Politics and Volunteering in Japan

A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Mary Alice Haddad

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Politics and Volunteering in Japan begins by painting a portrait of volunteering in Japan, and from this starting point it demonstrates that our current understandings of civil society have been based implicitly on a U.S. model that does not adequately consider participation patterns found in other parts of the world. The book develops a theory of civic participation that incorporates citizen attitudes about governmental and individual responsibility with societal and governmental practices that support (or hinder) volunteer participation. This theory is tested using cross-national and subnational statistical analysis, and it is refined through detailed case studies of volunteering in three Japanese cities. The findings are then used to build the Community Volunteerism Model, which explains and predicts both the types and rates of volunteering in communities around the world. The model is tested using four cross-national case studies (Finland, Japan, Turkey, and the United States) and three subnational case studies in Japan.

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To My Parents

For my mother who taught me to love the family trade

and

For my father who taught me the value of perseverance and dedication

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Preface

Every day, millions of people perform a myriad of services in their communities for free. They might look after the elderly, clean parks, or risk their lives to put out a fire in a neighbor's house. These volunteers form the core of civil society, the organized element of society that lies between the family and the government. As such, they not only play an invaluable role in preserving and protecting their communities but, by acting as channels of communication with the government, also help keep democracies accountable to their publics.

Thus far, studies of comparative civil society have used three general approaches to explain why some communities or countries have much higher volunteer participation rates than others. They have examined how individual characteristics, such as education or income, increase the likelihood of individuals to volunteer; how social characteristics, such as levels of trust and social capital in a community, shape levels of volunteering; and how characteristics of government, such as levels of spending on social services, influence volunteer participation rates. All of these approaches have given us greater insights into volunteer behavior, but none of them can explain why volunteering is widespread in some communities whereas in others only a select few participate. Current approaches also cannot explain why one community might volunteer for organizations that work closely with their local governments, such as neighborhood associations or volunteer fire departments, whereas another might concentrate its resources on

advocacy or service organizations that tend to avoid significant government involvement.

This book takes a different approach to the study of volunteering. It argues that people do not volunteer in their communities because of their education level or level of social trust, or because the government spends a lot (or little) on social services. Rather, people around the world volunteer these valuable services for their communities because they think it is their civic responsibility to do so. Volunteers are performing a civic duty when they volunteer their time, their resources, even their lives for their communities. In the pages that follow, this book explores how this sense of civic duty is developed in different communities, and why it varies – in both content and intensity – from one community to another.

Ever since Robert Putnam's startling revelation in 1995 that Americans were "bowling alone," participating less and less in group activities, academics and the public have been reexamining democracy and the civic associations that were believed to be its immutable foundations. Although some of these inquiries took place in democracies outside North America, much of the understanding of citizen participation is based on an implicit model derived from the U.S. experience. This book joins in the dialogue about the relationship between citizen activities in voluntary and civic associations and the democracies they create. It does this, however, with a twist. Rather than taking the American democracy as its starting point, it begins its story in Japan. By placing the Japanese experience in a comparative perspective, the book comes to a very different understanding of volunteer participation, one that includes types, found across the globe, that go undetected or underappreciated in the American model.

Japanese have very high rates of participation in neighborhood associations, parent-teacher associations, volunteer fire departments, and other organizations that are locally based and work closely with the government. This type of volunteer participation, while present in the United States, is generally overlooked in favor of examining associational groups that build "social capital" (Putnam 2000), such as bowling leagues or book clubs; advocacy groups that promote particular political causes (Tarrow 1998; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995), such as the AARP or NAACP; or nonprofit organizations that provide social welfare services (Salamon et al. 1999), such as nonprofit

hospitals or schools. By overlooking groups like neighborhood associations, which work closely with the government, civil society scholars have mischaracterized volunteer participation in Japan and have misinterpreted the nature of civil society itself.

This book begins with the premise that civil society exists at the nexus of state and society, so patterns of participation can be explained only by exploring how civil society is shaped by the interaction of state and society. To this end, it explains participation patterns across as well as within countries. Citizen attitudes about individual and governmental responsibility for dealing with social problems determine the *types* of organizations that are prevalent in a community, and the practices of social and governmental institutions determine the *rates* of participation in a community.

This examination of the nature of civil society highlights the prevalence and importance of civic organizations that target the bureaucracy, rather than politicians or the courts, in their attempts to inject citizen accountability into government policy making and implementation. Additionally, it demonstrates how community-level factors can encourage (or discourage) volunteer participation by contributing to the development and transmission of norms of civic responsibility. Civic organizations lie at the heart of the state-society relationship, and understanding why volunteering patterns emerge as they do provides important clues about the dynamic relationship between democratic citizens and their governments.

Acknowledgments

This project has been an inspiration. Writing a book is a grueling experience, but I have been privileged to study a subject matter that has constantly put me in contact with the often forgotten, often overlooked elements of humanity that keep societies running in a positive direction. These are the people who are getting things done for their communities. Although many of them are dealing with intractable problems such as poverty, aging, truancy, and fire hazards, the men and women that I met – many in their sixties and seventies – are identifying problems, crafting solutions, and making life better for their neighbors. They are quiet, humble people who are putting in long hours and hard work to improve their communities, and they are succeeding. In a world where the media overwhelm us with stories of misery and hopelessness, it has been wonderful to spend some time in places where people are doing right by one another by making their small corner of the globe better for each other and for the next generation.

As with all long projects, I have accumulated many debts, most of which I will never be able to repay. I hope that those many individuals and institutions that have helped me along the way can have some satisfaction and pride knowing that their contributions have been invaluable to the completion of this work.

I begin by thanking those organizations that have provided financial support for my research. The Japanese Ministry of Education (Mombusho) provided funding for a predoctoral research year during 1998–1999. The Institute of International Education and the A50

Program awarded me a Fulbright Graduate Research Fellowship to conduct fieldwork in Japan for the 2001–2002 academic year. All of the Fulbright staff in Japan were exceedingly helpful and supportive of my research, and their assistance went far beyond the considerable financial support. I was also the beneficiary of a Chester Fritz Grant for International Exchange from the Graduate School of the University of Washington, which allowed me to buy a much-needed laptop computer. Sponsorship by the Social Science Research Council and the Japan Foundation allowed me to attend the very helpful Japan Dissertation Workshop in December 2000 in lovely Monterey, California. The Society for Comparative Research provided me with the extraordinary opportunity to participate with exceptional students and faculty from around the world during a graduate student retreat in Budapest, Hungary, in May 2002. The Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies granted me a postdoctoral year in which I did most of the rewriting and revisions of the manuscript; time away from teaching and access to the superb faculty at Harvard were invaluable for the completion of this book. Finally, Wesleyan University, my current institution, has given me the support and encouragement necessary to see this manuscript into print.

I have been privileged to work with extraordinary faculty. Chief among those to whom I am indebted are the members of my dissertation advisory committee: James Caporaso, Margaret Levi, Joel Migdal, and T. J. Pempel. Without their insightful criticisms, thoughtful comments, and constant support, this project would never have come to fruition. Special thanks go to T. J. Pempel and Joel Migdal. T. J. Pempel served as the chair of my committee for the first half of my graduate career, guiding me through the pitfalls of coursework and encouraging me to "think outside the box" in choosing a topic to research. Joel Migdal was the chair of my committee for the second half of graduate school. Through his care, mentoring, and ever-insightful editor's pen, this book has greatly exceeded my humble expectations. While I was in Japan, Ikuo Kume at Kobe University provided me invaluable support as I struggled with language, theoretical dead ends, and research roadblocks. Additional thanks go to the wonderful faculty at Harvard, especially Susan Pharr, Robert Putnam, Margarita Estevez-Abe, Pippa Norris, and Theda Skocpol. All of them bent their extraordinary minds around my project, offering valuable criticisms and suggestions at

critical moments during my revisions. As I begin to embark on my own career as an academic, I cannot thank them enough for being living examples of what it means to be a good scholar. They have demonstrated the ideal to which I aspire.

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Perhaps my largest debt is to those inspiring volunteers and city employees who gave me the material necessary to write this book. Chief among those is Kanaya Syouji in Sanda. Kanaya-katcho not only set me up with the interviews I needed in Sanda, but he also provided the contacts I relied on in Kashihara and Sakata. His generosity with his time, resources, insights, and homegrown veggies were the mainstay of this project. I must also extend a huge thanks to Sugawara Tsukashi, my main contact in Sakata, who managed to book my schedule so full that I was able to complete the interviews and collect the documents that took me two months in Sanda in only one week in Sakata. The welcome shown to me by everyone in Sakata, complete with a sakura-viewing expedition, demonstrated the best that Japanese hospitality has to offer. Oka Shigeki and Murai Senyoshiko in Kashihara introduced me to the extraordinary range of vibrant voluntary activity in that city.

I conclude with an enormous thank you to my family. My parents, Perry and Sarah Pickert, have always encouraged me to pursue my dreams and have supported my choice of an academic career. Because they both also have doctorates, they have sympathized with my agonies

and celebrated my triumphs as I have moved along this path. It is to them that I dedicate this book. I also thank my brother, Perry Pickert, who has offered wise words and encouragement and has also designed the beautiful cover. Finally, my husband Rami has made the past five years of this long journey the most joyful and fulfilling ones, even as our new son Tammer is bringing more laughter and love to our lives than I ever thought possible.

Introduction

On a warm sunny day in May, I was drawn out into the neighborhood streets by the sound of deep Taiko drumbeats followed by resounding cheers. As I followed the stream of people walking around the corner, I witnessed a hugely ornate *mikoshi* (portable shrine) making its way down my street – led by several dozen cheering people ranging in age from six weeks to eighty years. Half a dozen *happi*-coat clad youths were perched atop the large four-wheeled *mikoshi,* beating the Taiko drums, ringing bells, and chanting a call-and-response with those on the ground. I joined the spectators on the sidewalk for a while and smiled as the procession made its way through the small back streets of my community. Just as the small crowd on the roadside dispersed for people to continue with their weekend chores, resonant drumming could be heard again in the distance. Within ten minutes, another, equally ornate *mikoshi* could be seen rounding the corner a few blocks away, coming toward me. All day long the dozen or so *mikoshi* for the different shrines serving the community made their way through every street, blessing each road, each house, and each family for a prosperous year. Small volunteer fire trucks followed behind, keeping the peace and watching out for public safety.

As evening drew near, the entire neighborhood emerged to watch the festivities. Paper lanterns lit the sides of the roads, guiding residents toward the center of the neighborhood, a small square in front of the main Japan Railways train station. Many wore their favorite *yukata* (cotton kimono), and children laughed as they nibbled on cotton candy

or grilled squid-on-a-stick picked up by a parent or friend from a nearby food stand. Everyone chatted, sharing the local gossip. Residents laughed, offering *sake* and beer to neighbors, often poking fun at those who had already imbibed too much.

Under the glowing light of large paper lanterns announcing the Okamoto Festival in the center of the neighborhood and the dimmer glow from hundreds of smaller lanterns painted with the names of large contributors, the *mikoshi* began to convene. To the beat of the Taiko drums, the ringing of bells, and, what was most important, the loud encouragement of hundreds of spectators, the *mikoshi* teams proceeded to show off their tricks. One after another, the troops of drummers, middle school baton throwers, high school band players, and assorted dancers paraded by with their *mikoshi,* cheering and shouting as it stood up on end, rotated, and turned down the different streets. The teams competed to outdo each other in gymnastic feats and especially in the volume of noise generated from the crowd. After performing their tricks, each *mikoshi* would set out in a different direction, making its way back to its local shrine processing along the main and side streets, followed by a caravan of happy, tipsy neighbors. Eventually, community members headed home; parents carried sleeping toddlers; teenagers moaned about leaving their friends; and the rest of us strolled back to our apartments with smiles on our faces, looking forward to a good night's sleep.

All this did not take place in a small, rural Japanese village where traditions are maintained through the rhythm of agricultural life, but in Kobe, one of Japan's largest cities, with a population of more than 1.5 million people. The neighborhoods that were able to generate the hundreds of volunteers and thousands of volunteer hours necessary to put on this kind of event were not ones where everyone knows everyone else – nearly 200,000 people live in the Higashinada-ku district where the Okamoto neighborhood festival took place. The small volunteer fire department truck that followed the *mikoshi* throughout the day and the scores of volunteer firefighters who acted as street patrol for the evening festivities were not anomalies – Kobe city has 4,000 active volunteer firefighters (even Tokyo with a population of 12 million people has nearly 25,000 volunteer firefighters).

Daily life in Kobe provides a myriad of obvious and not-so-obvious examples of lively volunteering and civic participation in the community. Every month the community newsletter for the ward (jointly

sponsored by the government's city office and the volunteer neighborhood associations and hand-delivered by a member of the neighborhood association) would arrive in my mailbox. The newsletter detailed upcoming community events; provided important public announcements; issued volunteer recruitment drives; and listed the names, districts, and contact information for newly appointed volunteer welfare commissioners for the area.

Garbage is collected twice a week from each street corner by municipal sanitation trucks. If one did not observe carefully, one would assume that these same trucks pick up the recycling materials that must also be placed on the street corner. In fact, volunteers from the neighborhood associations, not city employees, are responsible for making sure that the recycling is sorted properly. During my frequent afternoon jogs in a park along a nearby stream, I would often encounter white-gloved residents wearing their neighborhood association t-shirts or sashes walking with garbage bag and tongs in hand, picking up litter along the path and stream bank as others walked and ran by, chatted, played with their dogs, or practiced musical instruments.

In the course of researching this book, I spent eighteen months in Kobe, nine months during the 1999–2000 academic year concentrating on language proficiency and preliminary research, and nine months during the 2001–2002 academic year conducting fieldwork. All told, I've spent approximately three years studying, working, and traveling in Japan. I have lived in homestay families, in dormitories, and on my own in cities from as far south as Hiroshima to as far north as Tokyo. Throughout my many stays, both before I was researching the topic of voluntarism directly and especially after I began concentrating my studies on civil society, I was astounded with the vibrant community life that bustled throughout Japan.

Anywhere in the country, I could walk by a community center and witness the civic involvement of the neighborhood. Bulletin boards are covered with carefully organized notices of upcoming events, meetings, and volunteer campaigns. In vibrant communities, I could stop by any time of day and find volunteers chatting with elderly residents, playing games, or doing crafts with them in organized day services. Although I did not witness the *bento* (lunch box) making directly, I could see the results of the flurried activity that must have occurred early in the morning: *bento* boxes stacked for delivery to housebound elderly, women rushing in and out of the buildings returning the empty boxes

for washing, and trash bags filled to the brim placed near entryways for pickup. Outside in the neighborhood parks, groups of retirees gather in the early mornings for festive (and competitive!) rounds of gate ball, and in the evenings couples and families meet together to play tennis, all of them taking advantage of organized clubs.

Yet all of these activities are occurring in a country widely described by social scientists as a volunteering laggard. Nearly every cross-national study of civic engagement and volunteering that has included Japan describes its civil society as "underdeveloped" or "weak" when compared with other advanced capitalist democracies (Curtis, Grabb, and Baer 1992; Salamon et al. 1999; Vosse 1999; Yamamoto 1999). This view suggests that "'Civil society', the part of the body politic outside the active Government and power system – is virtually unknown in Japan" (Wolferen 1991).

Universally, the weakness in Japan's civil society is attributed to a dominant, omnipresent bureaucratic state. One scholar wrote as recently as 1999, "Japan has not yet fully developed into a civil society that can comprehensively be considered an effective counterbalance to the state and its bureaucracy-dominated system" (Vosse 1999, p. 32). Often, Japan's centralized state is explained as a result of its "late development," which has forced Japan's government to focus on "catching up" with the advanced industrialized countries in Western Europe and North America (Dore 1973; Gerschenkron 1962; Huntington 1969; Samuels 1994; Woo-Cumings 1999). Historians have also examined the specific legal mechanisms through which the government has limited the growth of civil society and co-opted organizations into supporting national agendas (Garon 1997; Iokibe 1999; Schwartz 2002).

Yet, this anecdotal evidence suggests that Japan's civil society is far more vibrant than scholars have credited. The groups responsible for organizing these activities are involved in a number of important aspects of civic life. Much of their time is spent purely socializing, which helps build social capital among neighbors and may involve more doing *with* rather than doing *for* other people (Putnam 2000, p. 117). Other aspects of their activities are essentially the provision of services; while firefighters might enjoy getting together for training, they are also providing protection for their communities. Finally, some of their actions fall squarely into traditional definitions of civic participation, such as contacting public officials, working with government

to develop policies, and debating public issues (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995).

Civil society is multifaceted, and within it, volunteer organizations play three vital roles: they are the forum through which citizens meet one another to build trust and social capital; they act as a low-cost service provider, supplying necessary social services to meet the needs of community residents; and they act as a pipeline between society and the state, relaying citizen concerns to public officials and public policies to citizens. Although the research presented in this book touches on all three contributions of volunteer organizations, the emphasis is on their role as mediators between citizens and government officials.

Although the literature would suggest otherwise, Japan has extensive volunteer participation when viewed from a cross-national comparative perspective. Japan currently has nearly 1 million volunteer firefighters and 11 million parent-teacher association (PTA) members; measured on a per capita basis, this is more than twice as many volunteer firefighters and more than four times as many PTA members as in the United States, a country regularly ranked among the leaders in volunteer participation.[1] So, although Japan developed late and has a strong, centralized state, it also has a vibrant civil society. Comparatively speaking, its volunteer participation is equivalent to, or even exceeds, that found in other advanced capitalist countries. What accounts for the discrepancy between Japan's high level of actual volunteer participation and the low levels of civic engagement expected and reported by academics?

Japan may have high levels of civic engagement, but levels of participation are also not uniform across the country. The same neighborhood festival depicted here might receive a more lukewarm reception in a city

[1] The United States has 800,050 volunteer firefighters, according to the National Volunteer Fire Council Factsheet: http://www.nvfc.org/pdf/2005-fact-sheet.pdf (12/21/05), and about 6 million PTA members, according to the National PTA Web site: http://www.pta.org/jp_why_join_pta.html (12/21/05). Japan has 919,105 volunteer firefighters, according to the Volunteer Fire Department home page data: http://www.fdma.go.jp/syobodan/whats/data.html (12/21/05), and 11 million PTA members, according to the Nippon PTA Zenkoku Kyougikai (Japan's National PTA Council), Web site: http://www.nippon-pta.or.jp/jigyougaiyou/gaiyou_3.html (12/21/05). Population data from OECD figuresare from http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/62/38/35267227.pdf (12/21/05). Dates in parentheses after Web sites indicating date of access are given as month, day, year.

outside Kobe, or even in a different district within the same city. Some communities have active populations that volunteer for any number of service activities, while others have much lower levels of involvement. Furthermore, the divisions are not easily explained by rural-urban locations, levels of education, or per capita income. The cities of Kashihara and Sanda both have populations of about 100,000 people, most of whom commute to nearby cities for work. Kashihara has only 258 volunteer firefighters, whereas Sanda has more than twice as many (703). Kashihara is not an uninvolved community, however. It has more than twice as many eldercare volunteers (3,546) as Sanda (1,289). Why do members of these two cities participate at such different rates and for such different activities?

This book demonstrates that local communities and even entire countries have different volunteering profiles and asks why such different profiles emerge in different communities and countries. Although cultural heritage and historical precedent certainly influence volunteer participation, I argue that differences in types and rates of volunteering can be explained by examining norms of civic responsibility and how such norms are produced and reinforced in a particular community.

In countries such as Japan, the norms of civic responsibility encourage involvement in volunteer organizations that have close, embedded relationships with the government. These organizations have frequent, habitual interactions with the bureaucracy and engage cooperatively in policy making and implementation processes with bureaucrats. In other countries such as the United States, the norms of civic responsibility encourage involvement in volunteer organizations that have more distant relationships with the government. These organizations tend to engage with politicians and the courts rather than with bureaucrats when they are advocating on behalf of a particular cause, and as a result their relations with the government are often confrontational. When these organizations are involved with the bureaucracy, they are likely to have highly structured, contract relationships that clearly stipulate the obligations of both sides and are centered around specific projects rather than on maintaining a long-term relationship.

Thus far, comparative research on civil society, demonstrating a strong bias toward U.S.-type volunteering, has ignored the importance of embedded organizations. Researchers examining Japan have also focused on the kinds of participation prevalent in the United States.

In examining Japan, they have sought out advocacy groups that lobby politicians and incorporated nonprofits that contract with the government to provide social services and have found such organizations in short supply. As a result, these researchers have asked why volunteering and civic participation are lacking in Japan, not why they take on different patterns.[2]

In addition to explaining patterns in volunteer participation around the world – why some countries have more of one type of volunteering and fewer of another type of volunteering – this book is also concerned with explaining the rate of volunteer participation. Thus far, most studies of volunteer participation and civic engagement have looked to individual characteristics, such as education level, age, or propensity to watch television to explain national or even regional variation in levels of volunteering (Ladd 1999; Putnam 2000; Wuthnow 1998). As demonstrated in subsequent chapters, however, these individual-level factors do not account for variation between communities.

In contrast to prevailing approaches that focus on the characteristics of individuals, this book looks to the practices of state and social institutions to explain why some communities volunteer more than others with similar demographic characteristics. I argue that communities that traditionally support volunteers – by funding, organizing, and legitimizing them – will have higher rates of volunteer participation. Communities that do not support their volunteers with these practices will have lower rates of volunteer participation in all types of organizations, whether embedded or not.

The primary goal of this book is to predict and explain patterns in volunteer participation found in different communities. Why do some communities have more volunteers in organizations that have close, embedded relationships with the government and fewer volunteers in organizations with more distant relationships with the government (and vice versa)? Why do some communities have higher rates of volunteer participation than others?

Volunteer organizations lie at the heart of the state-society relationship, and understanding why volunteering patterns emerge as they do

[2] A notable exception to this rule is new work by Pekkanen 2002. He offers an institutional explanation for the low numbers of advocacy volunteers and high numbers of neighborhood association members.

provides clues about the health and operation of the dynamic relationship between democratic citizens and their governments. Therefore, understanding patterns of volunteer participation is vital not only for understanding and enhancing democratic development but also for enhancing social welfare.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

The next chapter develops a theory of volunteer participation. I theorize that volunteer participation in a community is a function of that community's norms of civic responsibility. These norms are formed by the *ideas* that citizens have of governmental and individual responsibility for dealing with social problems and the *practices* of state and social institutions that support or inhibit volunteer organizations. The ideas citizens have of governmental and individual responsibility inform the content of a community's norms of civic responsibility, suggesting which *types* of organizations citizens should join. The practices of state and social institutions affect the strength of those norms, influencing citizens' participation *rates*. The chapter also reviews the relevant literature on civil society, explains my theory of volunteer participation, and develops hypotheses.

The second chapter begins by debunking the common understanding that Japanese citizens volunteer less than people in other advanced democracies. Next, through a cross-national analysis of membership in eight different voluntary organizations (Red Cross, volunteer fire departments, YMCA, etc.), using data gathered from sixty-eight countries around the world, the chapter demonstrates that citizen attitudes toward governmental and individual responsibility can account for volunteer participation patterns found in these countries. In countries such as Japan, where citizens think that the government should take responsibility for dealing with social problems, there is more participation in organizations that have close, embedded relationships with the government.

In contrast, in countries such as the United States, where citizens think that individuals should take responsibility for dealing with social problems, there is more participation in organizations that have more distant relationships with the government. Alternative explanations for volunteer participation (education, income, urbanization, etc.) are

also tested and found to have less explanatory power than citizen ideas about governmental and individual responsibility.

Turning from the question about different types of volunteer participation, Chapter 3 moves on to ask why rates of participation vary. The chapter uses data from Japan's forty-seven prefectures and 3,258 municipalities to show that current explanations (e.g., education, income, demographics) fail to account for variation in participation rates in similarly situated communities. Chapter 4 then seeks to discover the community-level processes that can explain variation in participation rates.

These community-level processes are explored in greater depth in detailed case studies of three Japanese cities with varying rates of volunteer participation. The experiences of volunteers in Kashihara, Sakata, and Sanda, selected as "most similar" cases, demonstrate that governmental support and social support of volunteers through legitimation, organization, and funding are key to explaining variations in participation rates across communities. Even when demographic and other characteristics are similar, cities that had provided volunteer organizations with legitimizing support (through legal and symbolic means), organizational support (through public relations or other practices), and financial support (with direct or indirect funding) had much higher rates of participation than cities that had not provided volunteer organizations with these kinds of supports.

The fifth chapter combines the findings from Chapters 2, 3, and 4 to develop the Community Volunteerism Model. The model predicts that the types of volunteer organizations found in a community depend on the attitude that citizens have of governmental and individual responsibility for dealing with social problems, and the rates of volunteer participation depend on the extent to which communities legitimize, organize, and fund volunteers. The chapter then returns to the cases of Kashihara, Sakata, and Sanda to illustrate how the model explains their patterns of volunteer participation and explores what the model can reveal about their possible future participation patterns.

Chapter 6 tests the Community Volunteerism Model cross-nationally using the cases of the United States, Japan, Finland, and Turkey, selected as "most different" cases because they have very different patterns of volunteer participation, both in terms of rate and type of participation. The chapter demonstrates how well the model works to

explain the types and rates of participation found in each of the four countries. Applying the model draws attention to aspects of civil society in the four countries that are often overlooked, particularly the prevalence and important role of embedded volunteer organizations. The model also highlights dynamic state-society interactions, showing the ways that changing citizen ideas and institutional practices are influencing patterns of volunteer participation.

I conclude the book by exploring some of the implications of this study. In particular, I discuss my empirical and theoretical claims and highlight how my findings give us new insight and help us to ask new questions about civil society, civic participation, and democracy around the world.

1

Performing Their Civic Duty

A Theory of Volunteer Participation

Why do some places have much more participation in organizations that have close, embedded relationships with the government, whereas other places that may have equally high participation rates favor organizations with more distant relationships with the government? Further, why do some communities, even when compared to similarly situated communities in the same country, have much higher rates of volunteering? To address these two questions, this chapter develops a theory of volunteer participation that explains both the *types* of volunteer participation as well as the *rates* of participation found in a community.

The theory, in a nutshell, posits that volunteer participation in a community is a function of that community's norms of civic responsibility. Such norms are formed by the *ideas* that citizens have of governmental and individual responsibility for dealing with social problems and the *practices* of governmental and social institutions that support or inhibit volunteer organizations. The ideas citizens have of governmental and individual responsibility inform the *content* of a community's norms of civic responsibility, suggesting which types of organizations are prevalent in a community. The practices of governmental and social institutions affect the *strength* of those norms, thereby influencing community participation rates.

My theory of volunteer participation departs from other theories explaining volunteer participation in three fundamental ways. First, in utilizing a state-in-society approach I assume that both society and the

state are integral to the development of civil society and civic participation; I specify the ways that each side interacts with the other to encourage or discourage volunteer participation. Second, by examining the practices of state and society in addition to their institutions, I explain variation in civic participation at multiple levels, across countries as well as across prefectures or cities within a single country. Finally, I show that civic participation is strongly related to community-level factors rather than just individual characteristics. Thus, in this work the community, not the individual, is the unit of analysis. This perspective makes it possible to explain differences in participation rates among demographically similar communities, and it generates meaningful recommendations for increasing a community's volunteer participation.

I have chosen to investigate volunteer participation as a window into civil society because, in addition to voting, volunteer participation in civic organizations is one of the most important ways that individuals practice their citizenship. Volunteer organizations are critical components of civil society. It is through these organizations that citizens are able to keep governments accountable to their publics and through their participation that citizens develop social capital and civic skills (Kramer 1981; Salamon et al. 1999; Skocpol 2004; D. Smith 2000; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995; Wuthnow 1991). Examining where, how, and why people volunteer provides a window into the nature of civil society and helps explain why it takes different forms in different places.

This chapter begins with a review of the literature on comparative civil society, highlighting the benefits of the state-in-society approach. I build on this literature to construct a new theory of volunteer participation and then use the theory to develop testable hypotheses.

COMPARATIVE CIVIL SOCIETY SCHOLARSHIP

Studies of volunteering and civic engagement can trace their roots to Aristotle's writings on democracy, but most begin with Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* written after his travels to this country in the early nineteenth century. In his account Tocqueville expounds the virtues of Americans' propensity to join civic associations. He argues that volunteer associations provide critical training grounds for future democrats: they inculcate democratic values of

tolerance, communication, and trust; and they transmit civic skills of debate and public discourse. His line of reasoning – that high levels of civic engagement translate into successful democracies – has been tested by a number of scholars, who have used statistical data from both developed and developing countries to illuminate convincing correlations between civic engagement and successful democracies (Almond and Verba 1963; Cohen and Arato 1992; Inglehart 1988; Putnam 1993; Rueschemeyer, Stephens, and Stephens 1992).

In 1995, however, Robert Putnam wrote an alarming article in *Journal of Democracy* called "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." In it he argued that the civic associations, so often cited as the core foundation of American democracy, were in dire condition. America was no longer the "nation of joiners" suggested by Tocqueville and touted by Schlesinger (1944). Whereas Americans had once joined bowling leagues, now they went to the bowling lanes alone, stayed home watching television, or occupied themselves with some other form of individualized leisure. Putnam's article, and his 2000 book by the same title, struck a cord deep within the American public as well as academia, leading many scholars to reexamine the nature and health of civic engagement in the United States and around the world.

This new research represented a fundamental shift in scholarship on civil society. No longer were civic engagement and volunteering patterns treated as independent variables that explained cross-national or subnational variations in democratic performance. Instead, they had become dependent variables, something to be explained. This book follows the path cut out by this new research agenda. Variation in civic engagement – volunteer participation in particular – is the object of inquiry. Volunteer organizations are utilized as a window through which to examine patterns of civic participation around the globe. Although this book includes a wide range of organizations, my emphasis is on volunteer organizations in which participants donate time and energy to provide necessary services to their communities.

Volunteer firefighters are one such group. In every advanced democracy most firefighters are volunteers, although percentages range from Sweden's 66 percent part-time firefighters to Switzerland's 99 percent volunteer firefighting force (see Appendix B for detailed comparisons). These men and women risk their lives protecting their communities,

and the reasons why some communities are able to encourage so many of their citizens to volunteer for such service while others have more difficulty generating participation are the central concerns of this book.

The new research agenda aimed at explaining variation in civic engagement comprises two main avenues of scholarship. The first begins with society, examining how the behavior and characteristics of individuals influence civic engagement. The second begins with the state, examining how its institutions and policies influence civic engagement. Putnam's seminal *Bowling Alone* (2000) posits that the level of civic engagement can be explained by looking at changes in society. Specifically, he argues that demographic and social factors such as generational changes, longer commuting distances, two-income households (working women), and television watching have reduced individuals' propensity to become civically engaged.

The trends of declining participation in bowling leagues notwithstanding, a number of scholars have found rising participation in newer types of groups such as self-help groups or environmental advocacy organizations (Ladd 1999). The rise of Internet technology has opened up additional possibilities for grassroots organization and political engagement – Pippa Norris (2001, 2002) has found that Internet users are much more likely to be politically active than nonusers, and that organizations are finding new and innovative ways to use the Internet as an additional resource to enhance communication and expand participation in their organizations.

Reconciling these apparently contradictory accounts, Robert Wuthnow (1998) suggests that scholars need to examine not only the overall levels of civic engagement but also where citizens are devoting their time. He suggests that not all civic participation is the same – certain kinds of organizations that might have enjoyed support at one time might be declining, but other kinds of organizations are taking their place. As a result of what he calls "loose connections" in society, organizations that can accommodate flexible work schedules and require smaller time commitments are thriving whereas those traditional groups that count on citizens for regular weekly meetings or require long-term commitments are having trouble.

All of these scholars look to aspects of society to explain the levels and types of civic engagement. In her review of the civic engagement literature, Theda Skocpol terms them "neo-Durkheimian" to emphasize

their "bottom-up" orientation (Skocpol and Fiorina 1999, p. 13). For these scholars, individual involvement in civil society has changed due to social and demographic shifts, and higher levels of civic engagement are assumed to be better for democracy. Following Tocqueville, these authors argue that when individuals are engaged in civic activities, they develop skills that help them to become better democratic citizens (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995); however, they do not theorize a direct relationship between citizen participation in voluntary organizations and the state. In this conceptualization of civil society, the state has little influence over the shape or size of civil society.

Skocpol challenges these scholars to be more attentive to the role of the state – its institutions and policies – in shaping civil society. In a comprehensive study of nearly two hundred years of volunteer associations in the United States, she and her colleagues show how large voluntary associations began to take on the institutional structure of the federal government, developing local, state, and federal levels to their organizations to create large, national federations that became politically powerful (Skocpol, Ganz, and Munson 2000). In a similar vein, Margaret Levi issues a powerful critique of civil society scholars who ignore the influence of the state in her response to Putnam's *Making Democracy Work* (1993). She writes: "Governments provide more than the backdrop for facilitating trust among citizens; governments also influence civic behavior to the extent they elicit trust or distrust toward themselves" (Levi 1996, p. 51).

Indeed, scholars, such as Levi, who examine the historical origins of the state and civil society have observed the many ways that states can influence the shape and scope of civic engagement in the countries that they govern. Jonah Levy's *Tocqueville's Revenge* (1999) reveals the profound influence that national deregulation and decentralization policies had on the development of civic organizations in French localities. In his examination of two cities with similarly favorable economic and social environments but dramatically different outcomes after the implementation of these policies, he successfully demonstrates that "state actions have the capacity both to strengthen and to erode civil society" (Levy 1999, p. 13).

In *Molding Japanese Minds* (1997) historian Sheldon Garon shows how the Japanese state was active in the creation of certain welfare-enhancing "civic" organizations such as the volunteer welfare

commissioner system, and he documents how the state infiltrated local neighborhood associations and co-opted women's groups. Garon's findings are further reinforced by Amemiya (1998), Iokibe (1999), and Pekkanen (2000), who examine the ways that the legal system in Japan has restricted the growth of nonprofit organizations, constraining civic activities in areas that might threaten the government while encouraging state-friendly organizations and activities.

Just as scholars of advanced democracies have demonstrated that the state can influence civic engagement, researchers examining the developing world have also found the role of the state to be important in explaining the activities of civic organizations. In their studies of China, both Susan Whiting (1991) and Vivienne Shue (1997) show how many of the nonprofit and civic organizations are manipulated or even controlled by the communist state. In his study of nonprofit organizations in Jordan, Quintan Wiktorowicz finds similarly restrictive state oversight over civic activities. He cautions that the legal discretion afforded government ministries "allows the state to shape the specifics of organizational activity in the kingdom and directs civil society associations into activities approved by the regime" (Wiktorowicz 2000, p. 52).

The state certainly influences the shape of civil society, but just as scholars who look primarily to society to explain variation in civil society patterns are missing half the story, those authors who seek to explain that same variation by focusing on the state are equally limited. Civil society by its very nature lies at the nexus between state and society (Blaney and Pasha 1993; Habermas 1989; Keane 1988; Salamon et al. 1999; D. Smith 2000; Ware 1989; Wuthnow 1991). In a small number of ways, such as voting, citizens can influence the government directly; however, citizens can also work through civic organizations rather than as isolated individuals. These organizations gather citizen preferences and find ways to transmit those preferences to the government, whether by lobbying politicians, suing in the courts, or working directly with bureaucrats.

These same civic organizations often work the other way as well – transmitting information or wishes of the government to citizens. When policies relevant to the organization need to be enacted, the government will often ask the organization to disseminate information about the policy or perhaps assist in the actual implementation of the policy. In this way these organizations act as a "pipeline" between citizens and

the state – they channel citizen wishes to the government and government information to the citizens. In order to understand why patterns of participation occur as they do, it is vital to develop a theory that incorporates both the state and citizen activities in society, capturing the interaction between the two.

Two works have been particularly influential in shaping the development of my theory of volunteer participation. In *State in Society* (2001), Joel Migdal provides a theoretical framework called the state-in-society approach, which enables the incorporation of the influences of both state and society into a single theory of volunteer participation. Robert Wuthnow's *Loose Connections* (1998) highlights the importance of recognizing different types of civic organizations and makes the link between ideas of citizenship and citizen responsibility and volunteer participation.

As developed by Migdal (1988; 2001; Migdal, Kohli, and Shue 1994), the state-in-society approach conceptualizes the state as embedded in, rather than independent from, its society. Of primary interest to state-in-society scholars is the investigation of the imperfect and often contradictory interaction between state and society. For Migdal (2001, p. 16), "Actual states are shaped by two elements, *image* and *practices*." The image of the state specifies the territorial boundary between the state and other states and the social boundary between the state and its society. The practices of the state are important because of the ways that they reinforce or undermine the image the state is trying to maintain about itself.

This way of looking at the state also provides a useful perspective on civil society. Just as the state is shaped by the ideas people share about its limits – its physical limits that are defined in a geographical boundary and social limits that distinguish it from society – civil society is also shaped by the ideas that people share about its role in relationship with the state. In particular, citizens have ideas about the appropriate role of the state and the extent of governmental responsibility for dealing with problems in society – ideas that the government should be responsible for certain problems and not others, that it should get involved to some extent but no further.

Similarly, citizens have ideas about the appropriate role of civil society in dealing with problems in society: private citizens and organizations should limit their activities to certain issue areas and to a certain

degree of involvement. For example, in most places public safety is viewed primarily as the government's responsibility. Private citizens and organizations are not expected or encouraged to track down criminals and punish them. If a group in society wants a higher degree of safety than is offered by the government, however, then it is acceptable for that community to hire private guards or organize a "neighborhood watch" group to give it extra security, although punishment of criminals is still the purview of the government.

These ideas about the appropriate role of governmental and nongovernmental actors vary from place to place, and this variation can help explain why civil society takes on different shapes in different places, why some types of organizations are more or less prevalent in a given community.

Just as they are for the state, institutional structures and especially the practices of those institutions are important for explaining the shape and size of civil society. Institutional structures, such as a particular tax law that enables tax deductions for donations to certain kinds of organizations, and practices, such as the enforcement or nonenforcement of that law, greatly influence the kinds of organizations that are prevalent in a community as well as the rate at which people participate in them.

These two components – citizen ideas about the responsibility of government and that of private individuals for dealing with social problems and the practices of governmental and social institutions – are the framework around which I build my theory of voluntary participation. Utilizing the state-in-society approach, this theory incorporates both governmental and social influences on the shape and size of civil society without privileging one side over the other.

In the second work that has been particularly influential for this theory, *Loose Connections* (1998), Robert Wuthnow argues that organizations are of two different types: "tight" and "loose." Tight organizations tend to be more traditional groups in which the same group of people meets for many years on a regular basis. They form very close connections to one another, connections of mutual obligation that extend beyond the activities of the organization. Loose organizations tend to be newer groups that form spontaneously in response to a particular issue or cause or form to support a nonprofit organization. These organizations demand less of their participants; people can

come and go easily according to their schedules. The participants in these groups often make friends with one another, but the commitment they feel to the organization and to its members is fleeting compared with members of tight organizations.

As a sociologist, Wuthnow focuses primarily on the role of society; state influences on the shape and size of these groups are not really discussed. As a political scientist, however, I thought that the ideas of tight and loose connections could be applied not only to the connections that participants feel toward one another but also to the relationship of the group to the government. Some organizations in civil society have much "tighter" connections with the government than others. Organizations such as volunteer fire departments or parent-teacher associations are closely embedded in the governmental structure; these groups work closely with their affiliated bureaucratic department for many years, and expectations of mutual obligation form between the organization and the government. These organizations are quite enduring, and it is difficult for either side to sever the relationship.

Similarly, other organizations, such as professional nonprofit agencies that work on a short-term contract basis with the government or advocacy groups that are championing a particular cause, also have relationships with the government, but they are more fleeting. These groups view themselves as highly independent of the government and work with it on a project-to-project basis. There are obligations and expectations on both sides, but they are carefully delimited and do not extend beyond the boundaries of a specific project. It is relatively easy for either side to sever the relationship.

In addition to his recognition of tight and loose organizations, Wuthnow has also demonstrated the connection between ideas of citizenship and the prevalence of certain types of organizations. He noticed that people who were active in more traditional, tight organizations also shared similar ideas of what it meant to be a good citizen. They shared common scripts of good citizenship that emphasized service, belonging, and loyalty. In contrast, the loose-organization members, who also tended to be part of younger generations, shared common scripts of good citizenship that emphasized specialization, common interests, and personal relationships. These new ideas of citizenship made it not only acceptable but also admirable to limit obligations to neighbors one did not know and commit oneself to short-term cause organizations and

stay in touch with friends over the phone rather than through weekly meetings.

Ideas of citizenship are key to understanding why people become involved in civic organizations. Wuthnow demonstrated that people strive to be good citizens and their idea of what that is – what their civic responsibility entails – helps determine the ways that they will participate in civil society.

KEY CONCEPTS

In my theory of volunteer participation, key concepts include civil society, embedded and nonembedded organizations, volunteering, and norms of civic responsibility. I define civil society as those organizations intermediate between family and state that pursue neither profit within the market nor power within the state as their primary mission.[1] These organizations play three vital roles: first, they are the forum in which citizens meet each other to build trust and social capital; second, they act as low-cost service providers supplying necessary public services to meet the needs of community residents; and, third, they act as a pipeline between society and the state, relaying citizen concerns to public officials and public policies to citizens. Although the research presented in this book touches on all three contributions, the emphasis is on the role of civic organizations as mediators between citizens and their government.

Civic organizations can engage their government through multiple channels. They can lobby politicians in attempts to influence the legislative process. They can bring class-action or other lawsuits against individuals, corporations, or the government in order to achieve change through the judicial process. Or they can work directly with bureaucrats to influence the making and implementation of policy. In all three avenues of influence, the relationship between civic organizations and the government can be cooperative or conflictual.[2]

[1] This definition is quite similar to Schwartz and Pharr 2003, Diamond 1994, p. 5, and others. This definition is intended to capture local voluntary organizations (see D. Smith 2000 for an argument on the importance of these groups) in addition to larger, more formal nonprofit organizations.

[2] See Baumgartner and Leech 1998 for an excellent review of the literature on interest groups in the United States – the multiple kinds, their types of activities, and their efficacy.

Overwhelmingly, the research on civil society thus far has focused on political efforts of civic organizations that target politicians and the legislative process. Scholars have examined the way that civic organizations consolidate the interests of the public and lobby politicians or form mass social movements in order to generate political support for their ideas (Pekkanen 2000; Skocpol, Ganz, and Munson 2000; Tarrow 1998; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995; Walker 1983).

An additional line of research examines the ways that civic organizations use the courts to raise their issues to the attention of the public and force policy change. In his pioneering study of gender pay-equity battles in the United States, Michael McCann (1994) found that even when they lost in the courts, feminist organizations were able to use the processes of litigation to create a legal discourse that enhanced mobilization and advanced their cause. Using a comparative framework to place the United States in a broader context, both *The Rights Revolution* (1998) by Charles Epp and *Cause Lawyering* (1998) edited by Austin Sarat and Stuart Scheingold highlight the importance of activist lawyers who strategically utilize legal mobilization in order to further a wide variety of political causes.

A third way that civic organizations can influence government policy is by working with the bureaucracy. Many of the organizations that pursue this avenue for their political action are providing social services to the public, and those organizations seek to change the manner or the amount of government provision of services. The vast majority of scholarship in this area concentrates on incorporated, service-providing, nonprofit organizations and the ways that their activities are curtailed or encouraged by the government (Kramer 1981; Levy 1999; S. Smith and Lipsky 1993; Wuthnow 1991; Yamamoto 1998).

Only a few authors also discuss ways in which the nonprofit and voluntary organizations use these bureaucratic channels to exert influence on the government (Salamon 1995, 1999). Of particular interest to me is the way that voluntary associations utilize these relationships with the bureaucracy to influence policy making and implementation. In the American context, Richard Wood (1997) has shown that church-based community organizations in Oakland were able to influence key public policy decisions in their communities; they were responsible for policy changes ranging from police reforms to cleaner city parks. In the Japanese context, Eyal Ben-Ari (1991) has demonstrated

ways that neighborhood associations were successful in their efforts at community action – blocking commercial developments, organizing necessary services for the elderly, and joining together for community festivals. Similarly, recent work by Margarita Estevez-Abe (2003) has illuminated the political role of local volunteer organizations as they participated in the creation and implementation of health and welfare policy.

In all cases civic organizations occupy a political space that lies somewhere between citizens and their government. Although this book discusses all three modes of political activity, it is particularly interested in why organizations pursue certain strategies in certain contexts, and how civic organizations effectively utilize connections with the bureaucracy to influence the making and implementation of policy.

Within civil society, I posit that organizations fall within a spectrum ranging from those that have close, embedded relationships with the government and those that have more distant relationships. By embedded relationship I mean that the organization has frequent, habitual interactions with the bureaucracy and is directly involved in the policy-making process. Embedded organizations include neighborhood associations, parent-teacher associations (PTA), and volunteer fire departments, to name a few. These organizations are made up primarily of volunteers and may have service missions that are broad (such as neighborhood associations) or narrow (such as volunteer fire departments) and may receive more or less financial support from the government.

Common to these organizations is their institutionalized, embedded relationship with the government. Whether this relationship is stipulated by law, as is often the case with volunteer fire departments, or not (neighborhood associations are seldom formally mentioned in city ordinances or national constitutions), these groups have close, ongoing relationships with municipalities or specific government ministries and participate in both the formation and the implementation of policy. In general, these groups tend to pursue policy goals through "internal" political channels – going directly to bureaucrats – rather than by lobbying politicians. As a result, these groups also tend to have more cooperative relationships with the government than organizations not embedded into the government structure. The concept of embedded-nonembedded organization is distinct from the more

common dichotomies of dependent-independent, formal-informal, professional-volunteer, or membership-advocacy.

Volunteer groups that have an embedded relationship with the government can be more or less dependent. Those groups that receive a large proportion of their funding from the government and perform nonessential services are likely to be more dependent on the government (e.g., one that helps a small group of handicapped residents). These groups will have less autonomy in decision making, be less likely to pursue agendas that conflict with the interests of the government, and be more likely to agree to implement requests from the government. Embedded groups that receive a smaller proportion of their funding from the government and perform essential services (e.g., firefighting or garbage removal) are not likely to be very dependent on the government. These groups will have more autonomy in decision making, be more likely to pursue agendas that conflict with the interests of the government, and be less likely to follow requests from the government.

Similarly, embedded organizations can be either formal or informal. The groups may have very structured and formal mechanisms specifying membership requirements and duties and clearly articulated modes of interacting with the government (many volunteer fire departments can be described this way). Or the groups may have quite informal membership and mission requirements and may have more ad hoc ways of interacting with the government (some neighborhood associations or PTA groups could be described this way). Likewise, embedded organizations can be professional (with many paid staff employees) or volunteer (with few or no paid staff employees), although in practice the latter are much more common.

Finally, embedded volunteer groups may be primarily associational organizations geared toward bringing people together (such as a neighborhood association) or they may be primarily political, advocating on behalf of a particular group or cause (such as environmental advocacy groups). The key feature of distinguishing embedded from nonembedded organizations is the former's close, institutionalized relationship with some bureaucratic arm of the government and their participation in policy-making and implementation processes.

All civil society organizations can be placed on a spectrum, ranging from embedded to nonembedded, so these types should be

conceptualized as ideal types rather than as strict categories. For example, neighborhood associations are located at the "embedded" end of the spectrum; environmental advocacy organizations could be situated at the "nonembedded" end of the spectrum; and a church group working with the city on a homeless shelter might be somewhere in between.

Most organizations lie somewhere in between the two extremes. A social welfare nonprofit group that is organizationally distinct from the government and relies heavily on volunteer labor might appear to be nonembedded. But, if it receives the majority of its funding from the government and has its programmatic decisions made in close consultation with government officials, it may appear more embedded. A professional organization such as the American Medical Association may be primarily nonembedded, but to the extent that it is integrated into the policy-making process, it becomes more embedded. Labor unions might also take on this mixed form. In some countries, such as the United States, labor unions are generally nonembedded; they act as political pressure groups that lobby politicians. In others, such as in Scandinavia and other neocorporatist countries, major policy decisions are made through peak-bargaining institutions that integrate labor into the policy-making process; in these countries, labor unions would be more embedded than they are in countries with different bargaining structures.

Finally, religious organizations are generally considered to be nonembedded, since they usually carry out their missions relatively independently of government. However, some countries have religious organizations that are closely affiliated with political parties. This complicates the picture. In some cases, such as the Welfare Party in Turkey or the Kōmeitō (and its affiliated religious organization Sōkagakkai) in Japan, the party is closely connected to a religious organization that organizes volunteer labor to distribute social services to the public. These social service organizations may not be directly connected into the bureaucratic decision-making process, but their connections through the political party (which may or may not be part of the governing coalition) makes them more of a mixed-type of organization. They are nonembedded to the extent that they are delivering social services and their organization is focused more on connections with the political party and the legislative process than on the bureaucracy, but

they are also embedded to the extent that their party has control over or is staffing the bureaucracy, thus linking the organization directly to the bureaucrats.

Both embedded and nonembedded organizations can vary in the degree to which they are politicized. Some organizations within civil society, such as book clubs, self-help groups, or alumni associations, might have very little interaction with the state, whereas others such as political advocacy organizations, labor unions, and neighborhood associations act as critical communication pipelines between state and society (see Alexander 1997 for an excellent discussion of the theoretical importance of these differences). Often, no distinction is made in the literature between these different types of organizations and their relationship to the state.

In contrast, I conceptualize civil society as having a number of key civic organizations that act as pipelines connecting state and society. Ideas, information, and policies cannot be expected to cross easily from one side to the other; they must pass through the civic associations acting as pipelines across the divide. En route, these ideas, information, and policies may become transformed; they may be denied passage; or they may pass through easily and intact. A process of easy diffusion should not be assumed.

I choose to use the word *pipeline* to describe the role of these organizations because that is the word that several of my interviewees used. In response to questions asking about their relationship to the government, several of the volunteers in different, usually embedded, organizations talked about how they acted "like a pipeline" between residents and governmental authorities. In their minds, by serving as a pipeline, they allowed ideas and information to flow between the two sides, and without the pipeline the ideas could not, or would have difficulty, crossing over to the other side.

The pipeline analogy is more accurate than assuming a porous boundary between state and society for a number of reasons. Pipelines are difficult to build, and they require constant maintenance. Old pipelines sometimes corrode and fall into disuse; new pipelines can be built. Societies that have many pipelines will have more ways to communicate with and transform their states than societies with few pipelines. Conversely, states that have many pipelines will have more ways to communicate with and transform their societies than states

with few pipelines. Finally, social scientists can find a pipeline and study how material moves through it – they do not just have to assume that something leaving the bank of the state lands safely and intact on the society's side, or vice versa.

Although this book discusses civil society in general – all organizations that pursue neither profit within the market nor power within the state as their primary goal – my chief interest is in the smaller number of "pipeline organizations" that connect state and society, particularly those organizations that have embedded relationships with the state. Including embedded organizations explicitly in the study of civil society is particularly important when conducting cross-national research, as is examined more closely in Chapter 2.

A third concept important to the theory that follows is volunteering. A person is a volunteer in two meanings of the word. First, the work performed is voluntary in that the person does not receive any monetary payment or payment is only a token amount, not a salary. Second, the work is voluntary in that it is not legally required. These characteristics are easily observable and do not have anything to do with the motivations of the individual. Importantly, no matter whether someone volunteers because of some individual rationale (e.g., he enjoys the activity, he has a special interest in the cause, he wants to make friends) or because of some kind of social rationale (e.g., he thinks that participation is a social responsibility, he was asked to participate), that person is considered a volunteer.

There is a strong bias in the literature (and also in the public) that emphasizes the importance of individual motivations of volunteers to determine whether they are "real" volunteers. There is a general understanding that people who engage in more altruistic behavior – for example, where the participator is anonymous, the service is provided for people one does not know, or participation incurs high personal cost for little or no benefit – are somehow more of a "volunteer" than people who donate time and energy for other reasons (e.g., they participate with their boss, they are serving friends or other members of their own community, or they might get a job with the organization).[3]

[3] See Asano and Yamauchi 2001; Ascoli and Cnaan 1997; Chiaki 2001; Nakano 2005; D. Smith 2000; Stevens 1997; as well as the large literature on altruism, for example, Simon 1993; Titmuss 1970.

However, there are two problems with definitions of volunteers that rely on inner feelings and individual motivations for categorization. First, it is impossible to measure a person's true inner beliefs. Such measurements invariably rely on survey data that are notoriously unreliable when it comes to gauging motivations. Respondents often give the answer they think will be the most appropriate irrespective of their true motivations.

Second, a definition of volunteerism that is dependent on motivational factors is culturally biased. If two people are participating in a clean-up-the-neighborhood effort and both are picking up trash for free, they both should be "counted" as volunteers. From my perspective, just because the first person thinks that a clean environment is important and that is why she is volunteering and the second person thinks that she needs to participate because it is expected of her as a resident in the neighborhood does not make the first person more of a "volunteer" than the second person. So long as both people are working for free and neither is required to participate, they both "count" as volunteers. When comparing cross-nationally, it is important not to privilege individualistic motivations for participation over social motivations because certain kinds of motivations are likely to be more prevalent in different cultural contexts. This issue is discussed in greater length in Chapter 2.

Although I often use civic organizations and volunteer organizations interchangeably throughout the book, they are distinct concepts. Civic organizations are all organizations that fit within the preceding definition of civil society – those organizations intermediate between family and state that pursue neither profit within the market nor power within the state as their primary mission. Civic organizations include a wide range of organizations: mass mailing organizations that have only paid staff and no volunteers, book clubs that have members but perform no volunteer service, all-volunteer social welfare organizations that serve the handicapped.

Volunteer organizations are that subset of civic organizations that have unpaid members that perform services for others. Although associational organizations such as book clubs are voluntary in that their membership is not mandatory, their members are not volunteering because they are not performing a service for others. Therefore, purely associational organizations are not treated as volunteer organizations

in this book. However, the distinction between associational organizations and volunteer organizations becomes blurred in some cases, such as the Boy Scouts or YMCA, where members may be receiving as well as providing services simultaneously. In these blurred cases, unless there are compelling reasons to eschew the term volunteer, I will also include these groups in the volunteer organization category.

Finally, I define what I mean by norms of civic responsibility. A norm of civic responsibility is a general understanding among community residents of what an individual is expected to contribute to the community in order to be a citizen of good standing. Norms are social constructs that change over time. They are sustained and modified through the practices of individuals who adhere (and violate) them. Norms are often used in discourses to pressure individuals or governments into conforming to certain expectations (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Newton 1997; North, 1990; Sikkink 1991).

Norms of civic responsibility refer to those social norms that dictate appropriate civic behavior, informing individuals of the kinds of participation that they are expected to perform for their communities. These norms cannot cause a person to participate, but they shape the social context in which individuals make decisions about whether to participate and the kinds of activities in which they become involved (Bellah et al. 1985; Greenberg 1998; Wuthnow 1998). The theory developed here articulates the links between norms of civic responsibility, volunteering behavior, and civil society.

A THEORY OF VOLUNTEER PARTICIPATION

The aim of this book is to explain both the rates and types of volunteer participation in a community. The rate of participation is a function of the practices of state and societal institutions, and the type of participation is a function of citizen ideas of governmental and individual responsibility for dealing with social problems.

Practices are the means through which communities build, maintain, and transmit norms of civic responsibility. Thus, communities where governmental and societal institutions have practices that support norms of civic participation through volunteering, rates of volunteering will be high. In contrast, in communities where the practices

are not supportive, volunteering rates will be lower. Some of these practices may come directly from institutions, such as the practice of conferring special legal status and government recognition on certain types of volunteers. Other practices may not stem directly from a legal institution, such as showcasing volunteer contributions during annual festivals or recruiting volunteers through social connections with family and school friends.

As discussed in Chapter 3, institutional structures such as a community-supported volunteer center can help promote volunteer participation but are not sufficient to explain variation in participation patterns; the practices of institutions are also critically important. If the volunteer center actively engages with the full range of embedded and nonembedded organizations, bringing together the leadership of different organizations with the city officials responsible for community development to work on joint projects, then participation rates in that community are likely to be very high. In contrast, another community with an institutionally similar volunteer center would likely have much lower levels of participation if the practices of that center are exclusive to only certain types of groups or do not facilitate coordination among organizations and the government in the development and implementation of new projects.

Although both the decision to volunteer and the decision about where to volunteer are often made simultaneously, it may be heuristically helpful to conceptualize the process as occurring in two stages: first an individual decides whether to volunteer (which then affects the rate of volunteering in his community) and then he decides where to volunteer (which affects the types of organizations prevalent in the community). The practices of governmental and societal institutions, discussed previously, determine the rate of volunteering in a community – the first decision of the individual. Community ideas about the responsibility of individuals and the government to deal with social problems determine the type of volunteering prevalent in a community – the second decision of the individual. The theory developed here is at the community – not the individual – level of analysis. However, this heuristic device that separates out the two kinds of decisions made by a volunteer may be helpful for understanding the relationship between the processes influencing the rates and types of volunteering in a community.

Utilizing the state-in-society approach described earlier, I expect the idea that citizens have of the appropriate role of the government and individuals in dealing with social problems to affect the types of civic organizations prevalent in a given community. In particular, in communities where citizens think that the government should be responsible for dealing with social problems, they will join embedded organizations that work with the government to address these problems.

In a community where citizens think that the government should deal with social problems, organizations with close, embedded relationships with the government will be viewed as engaging in a legitimate activity and will garner volunteer support. Furthermore, because in this context it is accepted that the government will be involved in all manner of social issues, the scope of governmental authority – a highly political issue – will be of less concern to citizens and their organizations than the form and content of government involvement, which is more of an administrative issue. When administrative rather than political issues predominate, it is more effective for civic organizations to become embedded in the policy-making and implementation process, so they can have a say in the content and direction of policies and guide the ways that the policies are executed (Baumgartner and Jones 1993; Kingdon 1984).

In contrast, I hypothesize that when citizens think that individuals should be responsible for dealing with social problems, organizations that are not embedded in the government will be more prevalent in the community. In this context, organizations that rely primarily on the efforts of private individuals will be considered to be legitimate and engaged in productive activities. Furthermore, political, rather than administrative, issues will likely predominate, leading the organizations to employ more overtly political methods of influencing agendas by contacting politicians through lobbying, mass mobilization, or court battles rather than through the internal channels to bureaucrats favored by embedded organizations.

These two ideas are not necessarily opposed to one another. It is possible for members of a community to think that *both* the government *and* private individuals should be responsible for dealing with social problems. In such a case both embedded organizations that work closely with the government and nonembedded ones that work more independently can flourish. However, the two ideas could be in

opposition. A community might think that the government and not private individuals should be responsible for dealing with social problems. In this case, I would expect there to be more embedded organizations than nonembedded organizations. The reverse should also hold. If a community thinks that private individuals and not the government should be responsible for social problems, then I would expect the community to have many nonembedded organizations and few embedded ones.

Practices can reinforce the ideas that citizens have of governmental and individual responsibility if they support volunteer organizations consistent with that idea. If a community has an idea of governmental responsibility, and the governmental and social institutions have practices supporting community organizations that have embedded ties with the government, then the idea will be reinforced and participation rates in embedded organizations will remain high.

However, if a community has an idea of governmental responsibility, but the practices of the local government or other social organizations reduce their support of embedded organizations, perhaps giving more support to nonembedded groups, then the idea of state responsibility will be undermined and will eventually adjust to be more compatible with the practices of state and society. Likewise, the feedback mechanism can work in the opposite direction. If the ideas citizens have of governmental and individual responsibility change, the practices may adjust accordingly.

One example of how practices can reinforce ideas, creating wide divergences in volunteering behavior can be found in Levi's account of war mobilization in Canada. According to Levi, "At the crux of the conscription controversy during both world wars was the question of what constituted loyalty to Canada" (1997, p. 150). For English Canadians, Canada was firmly part of the British Empire, so if Britain was at war, it was their responsibility to support the war and enlist. In contrast, Francophones did not consider Canada to be an immigrant colony of Britain, so their loyalties lay with Canada but not with Britain.

These two different ideas of their responsibilities as citizens were reinforced by the divergent practices of key social institutions. In Anglophone Canada, the militia tradition was strong and communities supported enlistment efforts with white-feather campaigns, speaker

bureaus, and organized efforts to pressure potential recruits. Not so in Quebec. The French Catholic Church, while giving verbal support to the war effort, was not supportive in its practices – it published articles and sent pastoral letters questioning the legitimacy of the English Canadian authority. Nationalist leaders were equally disparaging, calling those in the military "fools." The result was a vast difference in volunteering rates. While 30.1 percent of British Canadians volunteered for military service, only 4.3 percent of French Canadians did (Levi 1997, pp. 139–164). In this way, divergent ideas of citizen responsibilities were reinforced by divergent practices of key social institutions, leading to wide disparities in volunteering rates by the two communities.

Ideas can also change, forcing adjustments in the practices of state and social institutions. This was the case for many Japanese communities as they responded to the 1995 earthquake in Kobe. Traditionally, Japanese have had a fairly strong idea of government responsibility; they expected the government to care for society and their responsibility as citizens was to assist the government in that role. This idea had been slowly eroding as society had become more complex and social problems such as rapidly aging problem and youth delinquency had been rising (Iokibe 1999). The Kobe earthquake and the relief and reconstruction effort that followed, however, led to a shift in citizen ideas of governmental and individual responsibility.

The earthquake killed more than 6,000 people and some residents were without key services such as gas and water for months. An estimated 1.2 million volunteers from across the country poured into the area in the aftermath to volunteer in the relief effort. The failure of the government to deal with the problems and the heroic acts of the volunteers led to a shift in public understanding of state and individual responsibility for dealing with disasters. The idea citizens had of the state's role in society shifted from one where the state had primary responsibility for disaster recovery efforts to one where private individuals were expected to take greater initiative in disaster recovery efforts (Nakata 1996). After the earthquake, many communities across Japan altered the practices of their governmental and social institutions, directing more support toward nongovernmental organizations that operated more independently from government (Yamauchi 1999). Japan also changed its legal structure, passing the Nonprofit

Organization Law (NPO Law) in 1998 to ease the incorporation of these kinds of nongovernmental organizations.

Ideas take a long time to change, however, and as post-Kobe earthquake Japan illustrates, volunteer patterns are often very enduring. Japan's ideas about individual responsibility had shifted – private volunteer organizations were springing up all over (in the six years following the NPO Law, 16,160 organizations had incorporated),[4] but Japanese ideas of governmental responsibility remained strong. The time after the Kobe earthquake did see an upsurge in the number of people volunteering for nonembedded organizations, but this increase was not the result of volunteers shifting their efforts from embedded to nonembedded organizations. Embedded organizations remained very strong and, in some cases, saw their numbers increase as they found new and innovative ways to reach out to their communities; for example, the volunteer fire department in Kashihara reacted to the nearby Kobe earthquake by expanding its fire prevention and educational activities and nearly doubling the number of its volunteer firefighters.[5]

The embedded organizations such as neighborhood associations and volunteer fire departments have retained high levels of volunteer participation, while the new nonembedded organizations have continued to focus on traditional activities. Among the newly incorporated nonprofit organizations, 67 percent are involved in the traditional activities of health and social welfare; neighborhood development (*machi dsukuri*) is the second most popular activity, with 33.2 percent representation. Groups that focus on issues such as human rights and peace activist organizations are much less common; only 9.5 percent of nonprofits listed those as part of their mission.[6]

The story of wartime Canada has illustrated the important ways that practices can reinforce the ideas that citizens have about governmental and individual responsibility, leading to dramatically different rates

[4] Keizai Kikakuchou (Economic Planning Office), *Kokumin Seikatsu Hakusho* (White Paper on the National Lifestyle) (2004), chart 3–1-9: http://www5.cao.go.jp/seikatsu/whitepaper/h16/01_zu/zu301090.html (Japanese) (8/11/05).

[5] Kashihara is discussed in greater detail in Chapters 3 and 4. The full story of the expansion of its volunteer fire department can be found in Henshukyoku 2000.

[6] A total of 663 organizations participated in the survey conducted in September 1999. Note that, when answering the survey, organizations were able to select up to three activities, so the totals for all thirteen categories do not add up to 100 percent. Keizai Kikakuchou 2001, p. 136.

and types of volunteer participation between Anglo- and Francophone Canadians. The story of the response to the Kobe earthquake in Japan has illustrated the ways that shifting ideas can change the practices of governmental and societal institutions. However, the Kobe story has simultaneously highlighted how enduring patterns of volunteer participation can be; the Kobe earthquake disaster caused Japanese to think that individuals and nonembedded organizations should have a greater role in civil society, but it did not alter their strong belief that the government and embedded organizations should continue to play a major role as well.

Summary of Hypotheses

Types of Volunteer Participation

- Communities in which citizens have an idea of governmental responsibility – where they believe that the government should be responsible for dealing with social problems – will tend to have more volunteer organizations that have embedded relationships with the government.
- Communities in which citizens have an idea of individual responsibility – where they believe that private individuals should be responsible for dealing with social problems – will tend to have more volunteer organizations that do not have embedded relationships with the government.

Rates of Volunteer Participation

- Communities in which the practices of governmental and social institutions are supportive of volunteer organizations will have high rates of volunteer participation.
- Communities in which the practices of governmental and social institutions are not supportive of volunteer organizations will have low rates of volunteer participation.

2

Patterns of Participation

Volunteering around the World

Studies of comparative civil society tell a consistent story about volunteer participation in advanced democracies: the United States is always at or near the top of the pack, Japan trails in the rear, and European countries such as Britain and France occupy the space in the middle. This is true whether the studies examine participation using survey data, such as the World Values Surveys, or whether they consider organizational size and participation levels in nonprofit organizations, such as the Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project. If these studies are accurate – that Americans belong to "a nation of joiners" (Schlesinger 1944) and Japanese do not – then why does Japan have more than twice as many volunteer firefighters and more than four times as many parent-teacher association (PTA) members as the United States?[1]

This chapter argues that current studies of comparative civil society have been systematically biased in favor of the types of participation found commonly in the United States and against those commonly found in Japan. In particular, studies have not picked up participation in organizations with close, embedded relationships with the government such as PTAs or neighborhood associations that are prevalent in Japan. Because Japan is not the only country where this kind of underrepresented participation is prevalent – people in Spain and Germany volunteer in patterns similar to Japanese – new conceptualizations of

[1] See note 1 in the Introduction.

civil society are necessary in order to understand participation patterns around the world.

This chapter begins by comparing volunteering rates in the United States and Japan to demonstrate the high level of volunteering in Japan and to identify the distinct patterns of volunteer participation in the two countries. I then theorize about why these patterns exist. In the third section I test the hypothesis that volunteering patterns in a country are a function of citizen attitudes toward governmental and individual responsibility, using data collected from eight volunteer organizations in sixty-eight countries around world. This section also tests alternative explanations for variation in volunteer participation, such as level of education, income, and urbanization. I conclude the chapter with some observations about the implications of these findings for the study of comparative civil society and democracy.

VOLUNTEER PARTICIPATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

Table 2.1 lists a number of organizations that are active in the United States and Japan, with their per capita rate of participation and gross membership. The membership figures are from the most recent available data (the oldest are from 2000 and the newest from 2004 – a full list of data sources can be found in Appendix B).

As Table 2.1 indicates, Japanese do not volunteer less than Americans; they may in fact volunteer more. Certainly, they volunteer differently. The organizations are listed alphabetically, but there is a clear pattern to the types of organizations preferred by each country. Japanese have comparatively higher participation in those organizations that have embedded relationships with the government, whereas Americans have comparatively higher participation in those organizations that do not.

By embedded relationship I mean that the organization has frequent, habitual interactions with the bureaucracy and engages in the policy-making process with bureaucrats. Embedded organizations include neighborhood associations, PTA groups, and volunteer fire departments, to name a few. These organizations are made up primarily of volunteers and may have service missions that are broad (such as

TABLE 2.1. *Volunteer Participation in the United States and Japan for Selected Organizations*

Organization	United States	Japan
Amnesty International	1.06 (300,000)	0.05 (6,461)
Greenpeace	0.89 (250,000)	0.04 (4,500)
Labor unions	57.05 (16.1 million)	87.49 (11.1 million)
Lions Club	1.55 (437,887)	1.07 (135,285)
Parent-Teacher Association	21.26 (6 million)	86.61(11 million)
Red Cross	41.46 (11.7 million)	167.10 (21.2 million)
Rotary Club	1.39 (391,072)	0.84 (106,628)
Scouts (Boy, Girl, etc.)	22.11 (6,239,435)	1.74 (220,223)
Seniors' associations[a]	69.09 (19.5 million)	68.93 (8.7 million)
Volunteer firefighters	2.84 (800,050)	7.29 (919,105)
Women's associations	1.82 (500,000)	39.41 (5 million)
YMCA	62.18 (17,549,364)	0.90 (114,256)
TOTAL	282.692 (79,767,808)	461.15 (58,506,458)

Note: The per capita rate of participation (number of members times 1,000 per total population) is given first with the gross membership in parentheses.

[a] The figures are the number of members older than sixty-five because the seniors' associations (*rojinkai)* in Japan begin membership at age sixty-five. Total AARP membership is 35 million.

neighborhood associations) or narrow (such as volunteer fire departments) and may receive more or less financial support from the government.

Common among these organizations is their institutionalized, embedded relationship with the government. Whether or not this relationship is stipulated by law, these groups have close ongoing relationships with municipalities or specific government ministries and participate in both the formation and the implementation of policy. In general, these groups tend to pursue policy goals by using "internal" political channels – going directly to bureaucrats – rather than by lobbying politicians.

Volunteer groups with similar names or functions may be quite different in the extent to which they are embedded depending on their context. For example, seniors' organizations are quite different in the United States and Japan. In the United States, the AARP (formerly called the American Association for Retired Persons) is one of the most powerful lobbying forces in Washington. It has a total membership of

35 million people, 1,860 full-time staff members nationwide (1,200 in Washington, D.C., alone), and annual revenues of nearly $600 million. It was formed in 1958 for the purpose of promoting the interests of older people. Although AARP does have local branch offices (there are 3,100 independent chapters), they are minuscule compared to the total membership. Most AARP members pay their dues and receive their newsletter. Many sign up for various benefits, such as low-cost insurance and discounts at certain retailers; they do not gather together on a regular basis to chat, go on hikes, or make crafts.[2]

Japan's equivalent of AARP, Zenkoku Rojin Kurabu Rengokai (Japan Federation of Senior Citizens' Clubs), could not be more different. Although it has an office in Tokyo, it has essentially no full-time staff members and a budget of only $2 million. In contrast to AARP, which was formed and has existed primarily as an advocacy organization, JFSCC was formed in 1950 as the national representative of thousands of smaller seniors' clubs that met weekly or even more often for outings, activities, and fellowship. These organizations are primarily involved in associational activities. When they do become involved in politics, rather than lobby at the national level, they become directly involved with local bureaucrats in policy making and implementation on issues involving seniors. In contrast to AARP's 3,100 local chapters, JFSCC has 133,219 independent clubs with a membership of 8.7 million people.[3]

In addition to differences in the extent to which they are embedded, organizations may also vary in the extent to which they are politically involved. Many groups are not particularly involved in politics. Associational groups such as book clubs and alumni groups are often more interested in bringing people together than advocating on behalf of a particular cause. Other organizations that attract volunteers might be primarily geared toward service delivery, such as a neighborhood soup kitchen or a hospital, so political activity might be only a peripheral part of their work. Finally, for some groups political advocacy on behalf of a particular group of people or a cause is their primary

[2] Figures are from the AARP Fact Sheet: http://www.aarp.org/leadership/Articles/a2002-12-18-aarpfactsheet.html (10/23/05) and from telephone conversations with the AARP research department.

[3] Zenkoku Rojin Kurabu Rengokai (Japan Federation of Senior Citizens' Club): http://www4.ocn.ne.jp/~zenrou/ (1/05/06) (Japanese).

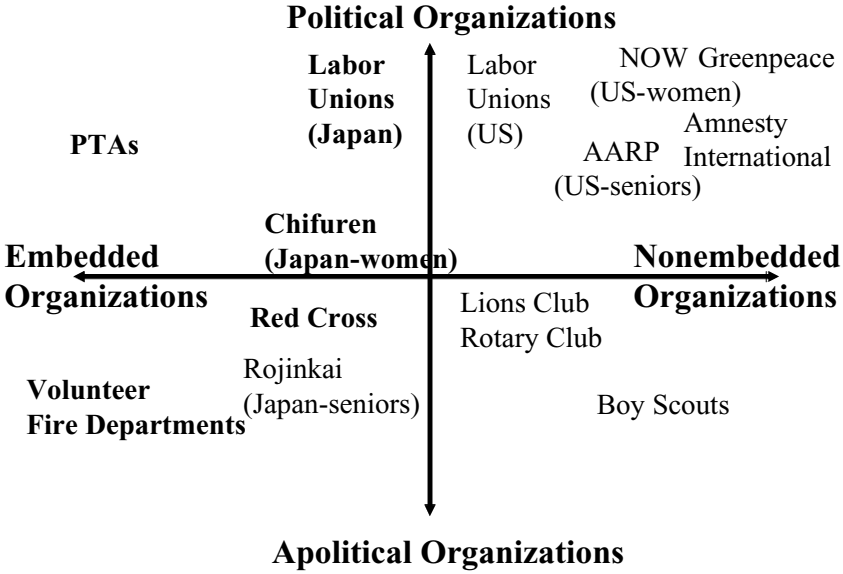

FIGURE 2.1. Volunteer Organizations in the United States and Japan.

mission – these groups can be either embedded (e.g., a neighborhood association) or not embedded (e.g., Greenpeace). Plotting the different organizations listed in Table 2.1 according to these two dimensions – their embeddedness and politicization – highlights the different volunteering patterns in the United States and Japan.

As Figure 2.1 illustrates, Japanese have much higher rates of participation in embedded organizations than their counterparts in the United States. Furthermore, when similar groups take different organizational forms in the two countries, they tend to be embedded in Japan and not embedded in the United States (e.g., seniors' associations, women's associations, labor unions).

REVISITING THE LITERATURE ON CIVIL SOCIETY IN JAPAN

If Japan has such high rates of volunteering in embedded organizations, why does it always come in last in comparative studies of civil society? This section revisits the literature on comparative civil society to investigate this discrepancy between the empirical reality of high levels of volunteer participation in Japan but scholarly findings of low

participation rates. The most comprehensive study of comparative civil society has been conducted by the Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, led by Lester Salamon at Johns Hopkins University. Its first major publication was *Global Civil Society* (1999). Drawing on research collected by teams from around the world, the book provides a systematic and detailed country-by-country analysis of the nonprofit sector in twenty-two countries in Europe, North and South America, Asia, and the Middle East. The authors closely examine the relative size, types of activities, funding sources, and employment (paid versus volunteer) structure of the nonprofit sector in each country.

This massive research project is generating important new empirical data and changing the way comparative scholars view civil society around the world. However, the research is specifically focused on the nonprofit sector as a sector in the economy, and thus it places emphasis on the economic influence of the sector – how many employees it has, how large its revenues are, and the economic (full-time-equivalent) contributions of volunteers.

Because the project is attempting to be rigorous in its definition and measurement of the nonprofit sector around the world, small, local organizations with entirely volunteer staff are often not included. Also, differences in legal definitions of organization status and national data collection methods caused some problems, particularly in accurately representing nonprofit organizations in Japan.[4]

Organizations included in the study were classified into twelve "fields of nonprofit activity": culture, education and research, health, social services, environment, development, civic and advocacy, philanthropy, international, religious congregations, business and professional and unions, and other (Salamon 1999, p. 7). Most embedded organizations (e.g., neighborhood organizations or volunteer fire departments) are difficult to classify under this schema because they fall in between categories, so participation in these types of organizations has often been overlooked or underrepresented. In the authors' ranking of countries by the size of their nonprofit sector including volunteer

[4] Salamon et al. 1999 says in an appendix on data collection that the sources relied upon in Japan "focus on corporations providing public goods and services, while seriously underreporting purely voluntary associations" (p. 492). See Yamamoto 1998, pp. 152–170, for a detailed description of the data included in the Nonprofit Sector Research Project studies.

labor, the Netherlands is ranked first, the United States is third, and Japan trails in twelfth place out of sixteen countries.[5]

In contrast to the Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project's emphasis on nonprofit organizations, the World Values Surveys project concentrates more on civic associations and citizen attitudes toward government and one another. The methodology of this project is different, relying on survey rather than membership data. Furthermore, the surveys are more interested in capturing the beliefs and practices of citizens around the world than in trying to document the actual size of the voluntary sector.

The surveys ask specifically about participation in organizations such as churches, sports clubs, and unions rather than volunteer work for incorporated nonprofit organizations or smaller, embedded organizations. In a seminal 1992 study using the 1990 World Values Surveys, James Curtis and associates did a series of statistical analyses on the data to test whether the United States could be characterized as "a nation of joiners" when compared to other countries, and they attempted to identify reasons for why citizens in different countries joined more or less.

They found that the United States was clearly at the top of the fifteen countries studied when no controls were used in the analysis, but its relative rank changed when churches and unions were excluded, although it still remained among the top group of countries. Likewise, Japan was at or near the bottom of the group of countries in terms of associational membership, no matter which model was used (Curtis, Grabb, and Baer 1992).

Although the World Values Survey captures a different aspect of volunteer participation than the Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, it also overlooks and obscures the importance of embedded organizations. The World Values Survey asks respondents if they are active or inactive members or if they do not belong to the following groups: church or religious organizations, sport or recreation organizations, art or music or educational organizations, labor unions, political parties, environmental organizations, professional associations, charitable organizations, or any other voluntary organizations (Inglehart et al.

[5] Salamon 1999, p. 134. Ranking is the nonprofit sectors' proportion (paid and in-kind employment) of the nonagricultural labor force in 1995.

2000).[6] As with the Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, none of these categories seek to elicit responses from members of embedded volunteer organizations. For the most part, the only place for volunteers in the plethora of these types of organizations to record their participation is in the "other" category.

Both the Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project and the World Values Surveys are generating valuable empirical data – I use much of it in this book. My intention here is not to criticize these projects for failing to capture the whole of civil society; I am very doubtful that any single research project could do so. My main purpose is to caution scholars who are using these important data resources from assuming that these studies represent the whole of civil society.

I want to underscore that the associations missing from these studies are not just a random assortment of groups, which might increase an error term in a statistical analysis but would not affect the legitimacy of general findings. Overlooking embedded volunteer organizations in comparative studies of civil society has created a *systematic bias* in favor of certain types of organizations, in particular, the types of organizations that are found in the United States, and a bias against the types of organizations found in many other countries in the world, Japan in particular. This bias results in the incorrect finding that Japan (and countries with similar volunteering patterns) have weak and underdeveloped civil societies, when, in fact, their civil societies may be equally well developed and just taking on a different shape.

Unfortunately, the research on civil society in Japan has not rectified the misperceptions encouraged by the comparative research projects. Scholarship concerned with civil society in Japan can generally be categorized into three groups. The first group comprises mostly anthropologists and historians who seek to describe and explain one organization or community in Japan, illuminating the unique role of volunteer groups in Japanese society and culture but with little reference to a broader comparative context (e.g., Ben-Ari 1991; Bestor 1989; Dore 1958, 1978; Garon 1997; LeBlanc 1999; Nakano 2005; Stevens 1997).

[6] In the 2000 surveys, the questions ask whether individuals are "members" or "nonmembers" and/or do voluntary work for the same listing of groups.

The second group consists largely of political scientists and sociologists who examine Japan but frame their main questions within a comparative framework: Why is Japan's civil society so weak compared with those of other advanced democracies, and how is civil society in Japan changing? Edited volumes by Tadashi Yamamoto (1998, 1999), Stephen Osborne (2003), and Frank Schwartz and Susan Pharr (2003) fall into this category. In all three volumes, contributors operate from the implicit, or sometimes explicit, assumption that volunteerism and civic involvement are limited in Japan and that this limitation is largely due to historical and legal constraints. Even chapters that focus on areas of rising activism highlight the ways in which these constraints persist into the present time.

Finally, a third group of scholars is investigating Japan's civil society from the perspective of its role in public policy. Frank Schwartz (1998) highlights the role of *shingikai*, advisory councils, in making public policy, and Patricia Maclachlan (2000) examines the give-and-take among national and local actors with respect to information disclosure policies. While both authors acknowledge the preeminence of state actors, they take great care to highlight the ways that citizen organizations also influence the policy-making process. More specifically in the realm of social welfare, Mutsuko Takahashi and Raija Hashimoto (1997), Roger Goodman (1998), and Margarita Estevez-Abe (2003) all investigate the important role that volunteer welfare commissioners play in providing social services in conjunction with governmental providers. As with their counterparts in history and anthropology, these authors are primarily concerned with explaining the processes in Japan rather than trying to generalize to other countries.

Two Japanese authors have written more theoretical contributions to the discussion about the role of volunteers in society. Okamoto Masahiro (1997) presents a model in which a core of necessary social services is offered by the state and a periphery of services – those desired by, but not critically necessary to, the public – is offered by the private, nonprofit sector. He argues that, as society comes to expect more and more services, gradually both concentric circles of the public and the private sphere expand outward, offering more and more services to the public.

Takayori Shouzou (1996) writes about the public-private interactions in the aftermath of the Kobe earthquake in the 1995. He

conceptualizes social services in a two-by-two table in which one dimension ranges from individual to corporate (actors) and the other from public to private (benefit). Family and volunteers occupy the individual-private quadrant, nonprofits and nongovernmental organizations are in the individual-public quadrant, local and national government are in the corporate-public quadrant, and for-profit companies occupy the corporate-private quadrant. He then describes a range of social service needs, indicates which quadrant they fall into, and speculates which type of organizations should fulfill those needs. Both of these authors, and especially Takayori, have useful and generalizable theories about the roles of volunteers and their relationship to the state. Unfortunately, these works have been published only in Japanese, so their audience has been limited.

In this way the comparative literature on civil society has largely omitted the importance of embedded volunteer groups, creating a systematic bias that overrepresents volunteer participation in the United States while underrepresenting volunteer participation in countries, such as Japan, where embedded groups are prevalent. Scholars who could have pointed out and rectified this bias, students of Japan's civil society, have not done so. These scholars have tended to focus on civic organizations' role in Japanese society and public service delivery rather than comparing those organizations to similar ones found around the world, and those that do refer to other countries have been preoccupied with trying to explain why Japan's civil society is so weak compared to that of other countries or why it is currently growing (from its weak condition).[7]

EXPLAINING PATTERNS OF PARTICIPATION

Having observed a pattern in volunteer participation rates between the United States and Japan, I now turn toward explaining those

[7] The only exception to this pattern that I have found is nearly thirty years old – Azumi 1974. She did not conduct a systematic study of Japanese organizations, but she highlighted the existence and active participation of Volunteer Welfare Commissioners, Social Welfare Councils, and local groups to help the handicapped and the elderly, as well as volunteers for the Red Cross and YMCA. She challenged nonprofit scholars to take a broader perspective when examining volunteering and civil society around the world.

patterns. This section asks a generalized version of the question raised at the beginning of the chapter: why do some countries have more volunteers in embedded organizations while other countries have fewer volunteers in that type of organization? I begin by developing two hypotheses to explain the observed variation in volunteering patterns between the United States and Japan. I then test these hypotheses using volunteering data from around the world. I include common alternative explanations for participation rates, such as education, income, and urbanization, in the analyses.

Several studies examining regional variation in volunteerism and size of the nonprofit sector in the United States have revealed that political culture may be influencing volunteering behavior in those areas. Wolfgang Bielefeld and his colleagues have suggested that certain regions in the United States have a greater propensity to invest community resources into nonprofit and volunteer efforts and therefore have more of these organizations (Bielefeld 2000; Bielefeld and Corbin 1996). However, these authors do not attempt to identify what element of political culture causes this variation, nor do they test their hypotheses outside the United States.

I hypothesize that citizen attitudes about governmental and individual responsibility for dealing with social problems help determine the types of organizations that are most prevalent in a community. Note that this hypothesis does not predict anything about the rates of volunteering – it assumes that some exogenous factor has induced volunteer participation and is focused only on predicting the types of organizations that will be prevalent in a community. Chapter 4 will explain variation in community rates of volunteering.

When communities believe that the government should be responsible for dealing with social problems, they are likely to form and to join organizations that work with the government to accomplish this aim. These organizations that work closely with the government to alleviate social problems will be considered to be legitimate and engaged in productive activities. In contrast, when communities think that individuals should be responsible for dealing with social problems, they are likely to form and to join organizations that are not embedded in the government. In this context, organizations that rely primarily on the efforts of private individuals are considered to be legitimate and engaged in productive activities.

Note that these two hypotheses are not necessarily in opposition to one another. The examples presented thus far suggest that in countries where citizens think that the government should be responsible for dealing with social problems, citizens also think that individuals should not be responsible for dealing with social problems, leading to many embedded organizations and few nonembedded organizations (e.g., Japan). Or, in countries where citizens think that individuals should be responsible for dealing with social problems, they also think that government should not be responsible for these problems, leading to participation in nonembedded organizations and not in embedded ones (e.g., the United States).

However, theoretically speaking, there is no reason why citizens in a country might not think that *both* government *and* individuals should be responsible for dealing with social problems, a situation that would lead to participation in *both* embedded *and* nonembedded organizations. Finland is an example of such a country, and that case will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 6.

These attitudes can be expressed in two hypotheses:

- Hypothesis 1: Countries in which citizens think that the government should be responsible for dealing with social problems will tend to have more volunteer participation in embedded organizations.
- Hypothesis 2: Countries in which citizens think that individuals should be responsible for dealing with social problems will tend to have more volunteer participation in organizations that do not have embedded relationships with the government.

To test these two hypotheses I use data collected from eight different organizations that are active around the world. Three of the organizations – parent-teacher associations, the Red Cross, and volunteer fire departments – are embedded organizations with close relationships with particular government bureaucracies. Their embeddedness is determined by their institutional relationship with the government. Five of the organizations – Greenpeace, Lions Clubs International, Rotary Clubs International, Scouting International, and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) – have missions and organizational structures that are explicitly independent of the government, without embedded ties to bureaucratic agencies. Per capita membership rates in these organizations constitute the dependent variables

in the following analysis. Greater explanation about the classification of organizations can be found in Appendix A, which discusses the methodology in more detail; source information is in Appendix B.

The independent variable – citizen attitudes toward governmental and individual responsibility for dealing with social problems – is measured using data from the 2000 World Values (WVS) and European Values Surveys (EVS). I argued earlier that these surveys were not well designed to capture the total quantity of volunteers in a country because of the limited number of groups listed in the questions. The surveys, designed primarily to capture citizen attitudes, may not correctly identify whether an individual volunteers for his local fire department; however, they should correctly record that person's attitude toward government. Therefore, while not perfect, these surveys are a good way of gauging the prevalence of certain attitudes within particular countries.

In addition to the variable that I think should account for variation in volunteering patterns – citizen attitudes toward governmental and individual responsibility for dealing with social problems – there are several alternative explanations for variation in volunteering rates that I will test alongside my favored explanatory variable.

Scholars who research variation in volunteer participation can be divided into two groups. The first group looks primarily to individual characteristics to explain variation in volunteer participation rates and the second group looks to collective characteristics to explain the same variation. The first group of scholars is primarily concerned with explaining changes in volunteer participation in the United States over the past half century. These scholars vary widely on their prognoses. Robert Putnam (2000) documents the extensive decline of participation; Everett Ladd (1999) documents the extensive rise in participation; Robert Wuthnow (1998) and Theda Skocpol (2003) suggest that some kinds of participation are declining while others are rising.

Although these scholars vary in their diagnosis of the health of civil society in the United States, they all agree on the set of characteristics that determine an individual's propensity to volunteer. In particular, higher income and education levels increase the likelihood that an individual will be civically engaged. The findings on the influence of dual-income families (i.e., working women) are more mixed; some

studies find that having two income earners in the family decreases leisure time, whereas others find that women involved in the work force are more likely than their stay-at-home counterparts to join and participate in professional associations and other forms of civic organizations.[8]

These studies have identified a number of variables that predict variations in volunteer participation. However, authors often assume that volunteering is purely a function of individual motivations, so variation in individual-level factors should translate perfectly into collective-level variation. These assumptions have two problems. First, ecological correlations do not necessarily have a positive relationship with individual-level correlations for purely mathematical reasons. Second, there can be collective-level factors that influence ecological patterns independent of, or in conjunction with, individual effects.

As Robinson (1950, p. 354) has demonstrated in his classic article on the problems of drawing collective-level conclusions from individual-level data, "there need be no correspondence between the individual correlation and the ecological correlation." Through a careful mathematical proof, Robinson shows his readers that there are an infinite number of individual correlations that could correspond with any given ecological correlation. The differences were not only in magnitude but could even be in sign.

To give an example of how factors that predict individual volunteering rates may not correctly predict collective volunteering rates for purely mathematical reasons, imagine two communities each with a population of ten people. In community A, one person earns $1,000 a week while the other nine earn nothing. In community B all ten people earn $90 a week. Therefore, community A's average income is higher than community B's ($100 compared to $90). Given these data, it is quite possible for two statements to be simultaneously true: (1) richer people volunteer more than poorer people, and (2) richer communities volunteer less than poorer communities. Thus, for purely mathematical reasons, ecological relationships between variables may be quite

[8] For an excellent review of the literature on characteristics that promote volunteer participation in individuals, see D. Smith (1994), which examines contextual social background, personality, attitude, and situational variables. D. Smith (2000) also provides a number of very detailed literature reviews of work on volunteering.

different than a simple aggregation of the individual-level variables would lead one to expect.

In addition to simple properties of mathematics that confound individual and ecological relationships, contextual factors may also cause community-level variation. The influence of social factors is likely to be particularly important for volunteering. As Adam Przeworski (1974, p. 30) asserts in his seminal article on contextual models, "Social context has an effect on the behavior of an individual if two conditions obtain: (1) interaction takes place, and (2) this interaction is effective in converting either of the participants." These conditions are clearly present in volunteering since the activity by its very nature involves social interaction, not only with clients but often with other volunteers as well. Thus, there is a high possibility that social context could affect volunteering behavior.

Indeed, one set of scholars does utilize collective characteristics to explain variations in volunteer behavior. The empirical findings for these examinations are more mixed than those for the individual-level effects. One contextual effect that has been studied is the effect of rural versus urban contexts on volunteering behavior. Several studies have found that rural people and those who live in smaller, close-knit communities are more likely to volunteer than those in urban cities (Gamm and Putnam 1999; Oliver 2000), but others have found no significant difference in the volunteering rates (Lesk and Zippel 1975; Steblay 1987).

Another collective effect that has been extensively studied is the influence of government policy on the numbers of nonprofit organizations and volunteers. Lester Salamon's *Partners in Public Service* (1995) and Steven Rathgeb Smith and Michael Lipsky's *Nonprofits for Hire* (1993) both find that there has been extensive government-private sector cooperation in the delivery of public services. While Salamon takes a more historical perspective and Smith and Lipsky examine the contemporary situation more closely, they both reveal the heavy reliance of the nonprofit sector on government funding. They demonstrate that there has been a positive relationship between government funding and the scope and size of the nonprofit sector (and their associated volunteers). Roger Kemp's edited volume, *Privatization* (1991), comes to the opposite conclusion. Through an examination of many different service areas, from garbage collection to firefighting services,

the authors argue that increased government involvement and professionalized staff can "crowd out" private organizations and volunteers from providing public and social services.

I utilize World Development Indicators collected by the World Bank for the year 2000 to measure most of these alternative variables. The following regressions (see Tables 2.2 and 2.3) include my choice independent variable – citizen attitudes about governmental and individual responsibility for dealing with social problems – with all of the alternative explanatory variables (education, income, working women, government spending, and urbanization) and control variables where applicable. They test how well each of the variables explains the cross-national variation in eight different organizations found around the world.

I was able to collect data for more than twenty countries for only three of the groups: Scouting International, YMCA, and the Red Cross. Table 2.2 lists the regressions for these three organizations. For the remaining five organizations, I was able to gather membership information from only a relatively small number of countries, all of which are members of the OECD and therefore of a comparatively higher socioeconomic status than the larger pool of countries. Degrees-of-freedom considerations and multicollinearity problems necessitated in some cases the removal of explanatory variables from the regression model. A full explanation of methodology and why variables are eliminated in each case can be found in Appendix A. Table 2.3 tests the explanatory variables against all eight organizations, examining membership in OECD countries only.

Because of the relatively small number of cases, the regression results of Table 2.3 should be treated with caution and should be viewed only as preliminary evidence in support of the hypotheses. A more rigorous test of the theory and the hypotheses is carried out through the case study method in Chapter 5.

Results

Citizen attitudes toward governmental and individual responsibility for dealing with social problems have been demonstrated to be a very powerful predictor of the types of volunteer organizations prevalent in a country. The coefficient is statistically significant in eight of eleven

TABLE 2.2. *Factors Influencing Volunteer Membership around the World (N > 20)*

	Scouting International	YMCA[a]	Red Cross
Attitude of government responsibility	−14.947**	−2.289	123.871**
	(6.883)	(2.079)	(60.074)
Per capita GDP	0.000	0.000**	0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)
Education	–	–	61.679
			(54.200)
Government spending	−24.485*	−2.343	106.351
	(14.459)	(5.044)	(164.170)
Working women	−24.485	3.231	−10.715
	(14.459)	(5.155)	(149.979)
Urbanization	−2.041	−0.914	18.804
	(6.437)	(1.863)	(66.636)
Youth (as a control)	19.040	4.946	n.a.
	(14.396)	(4.138)	
Adjusted R^2	0.081	0.488	0.051
Total N	59	30	44

Note: Entries are ordinary least squares estimates (unstandardized beta coefficients) with standard errors in parentheses. * $p \leq .1$, ** $p \leq .05$, *** $p \leq .01$.

[a] The log of the per capita membership was used for these organizations in order to address heteroskedasticity problems. Also, a dummy variable was added for the United States and Canada because they are outliers; unstandardized coefficient = 3.365 (error = 1.062), significant to $p = .004$.

regressions. In all cases, the effect was in the expected direction – attitudes of government responsibility were positively associated with participation in embedded organizations (Red Cross and volunteer fire departments) and negatively associated with participation in nonembedded organizations (Greenpeace, Lions Clubs, Scouting International, and YMCA).

The contribution of alternative variables in explaining the variation of the volunteer participation was minimal. Urbanization and working women were statistically significant for only one organization each. Urbanization was negatively related to participation in YMCAs in OECD countries, and the percentage of women in the work force was positively related to participation in Scouting International – neither urbanization nor women in the work force were significant in the larger-n regressions.

TABLE 2.3. *Factors Influencing Volunteer Membership in OECD Countries (N<20)*

	Greenpeace[a]	Lions[a]	Rotary	Scouting International	YMCA[ab]	PTA	Red Cross	Volunteer Firefighters
Government responsibility	−11.688**	−4.093*	6.516	−11.656*	−9.925*	−207.463	228.052**	162.327*
	(4.294)	(1.582)	(3.637)	(6.718)	(4.887)	(149.033)	(83.473)	(53.158)
Per capita GDP	0.000	0.000**	0.000	0.000*	0.000	0.000	0.002*	−0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)
Education	8.617	–	−13.281	–	–	–	49.967	−366.496**
	(7.558)		(6.682)				(151.603)	(112.711)
Government spending	15.667	−1.561	22.465	−72.553**	−18.002	−1045.350	−44.879	306.372*
	(15.684	(6.440)	(12.046)	(27.029)	(22.294)	(547.965)	(281.861)	(109.944)
Working women	−30.608	–	30.920	51.967**	4.966	124.983	337.503	–
	(17.684)		(13.088)	(23.150)	(19.136)	(558.090)	(287.902)	
Urban	0.690	−8.929	2.685	8.735	−9.169*	–	66.143	–
	(4.590)	(2.650)	(3.735)	(8.105)	(4.242)		(92.000)	
Youth	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	19.245	−15.886	96.602	n.a.	n.a.
				(20.826)	(40.440)	(106.592)		
Adjusted R^2	0.462	0.845	0.460	0.387	0.569	0.134	0.451	0.639
Total N	13	8	8	26	13	10	20	8

Note: Entries are ordinary least squares estimates (unstandardized beta coefficients) with standard errors in parentheses. * $p \leq .1$, ** $p \leq .05$, *** $p \leq .01$.

[a] The log of the per capita membership was used for these organizations in order to address heteroskedasticity problems.

[b] A dummy variable was added for the United States and Canada because they are outliers; unstandardized coefficient = 3.438 (error = 1.670) significant to $p = .095$.

TABLE 2.4. *Cross-National Comparison of Patterns of Volunteer Participation*

	Embedded Organizations	
	High	**Low**
Nonembedded Organizations		
High	Finland	Australia
	Norway	United States
	Sweden	
	Switzerland	
Low	Germany	Mexico
	Japan	Poland
	Korea	Turkey
	Spain	

Surprisingly, education was statistically significant only for one organization – volunteer firefighters – and for that organization it was *negatively* related to participation. Government spending faired slightly better; it was statistically significant for three regressions (two of eight organizations). Countries with high levels of government spending tended to have higher participation in volunteer fire departments but lower participation in Scouting International (for both OECD and larger-n groups of countries). Income was statistically significant in four regressions (four organizations) – among OECD countries, it was significant for Lions Clubs, Scouting International, and Red Cross, and in the larger-n regression it was significant for YMCA. In all cases higher income was associated with higher participation, but the coefficient was minuscule, indicating that, while its influence was statistically significant, the effect was very small.

By comparing the average rates of participation for each of the two types of organizations, the twelve OECD countries can be roughly divided into four groups, as is illustrated in Table 2.4. For the majority of the cases, citizen attitudes toward governmental and individual responsibility correctly predicted in which of the four boxes the country would fall. An interesting exception is Germany – German respondents tend to have strong attitudes of individual responsibility and weak attitudes of governmental responsibility much like Americans, but their volunteering patterns are much closer to those of the Japanese, with

high participation in embedded organizations and relatively low participation in nonembedded organizations. It is not clear why Germany is an anomaly, although it could be an artifact of reunification. East Germans tend to have much stronger attitudes of government responsibility and West Germans tend to have strong attitudes of individual responsibility according to the 1995 WVS, which collected data on the two regions separately.

DISCUSSION

This chapter has made one empirical and one theoretical claim. The empirical claim was that Japan is a "nation of joiners" and that its pattern of volunteer participation in embedded rather than nonembedded organizations is not unique but is shared by several other countries as well, such as Germany and Spain. The theoretical claim is that citizen attitudes, not individual characteristics or demographic factors or government policy, account for this pattern of participation.

Much of the comparative civil society literature acknowledges that embedded organizations exist, but this book takes their presence seriously and demonstrates that there is considerable variation in the size of these types of organizations across countries. This finding raises additional questions about how to characterize and define the full range of volunteer organizations, particularly in cross-cultural research. It also suggests that embedded organizations as well as nonembedded ones may have an important role in affecting government policy that needs to be explored.

For example, in investigating embeddedness, researchers could ask: Do countries with many embedded organizations have policies toward the environment, community development, or social welfare that are different from those of countries with fewer embedded organizations? Do organizations that are embedded in the local government but nonembedded at the national level act differently from organizations that are embedded in a national government but nonembedded at the local level? Under what conditions are embedded organizations more or less effective than nonembedded organizations in achieving policy goals? Why would an organization choose to become embedded with the government; under what conditions would it elect not to become

embedded? These questions go to the heart of how citizen activism can be effective in influencing government policy.

These questions are most often asked in the context of a democratic policy, but one of the benefits of including embedded organizations in comparative research is that it provides scholars of comparative civil society a fruitful avenue of inquiry into the politics of nondemocracies and quasi democracies. Many of these countries have civic organizations that are embedded in the government: To what extent are these organizations able to act as advocates for their members and communities? To what extent do the organizations merely mask government control? Recent research on the civil societies in the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and Asia has started to ask these important questions (e.g., Ekiert 1996; Frolic 1997; Shue 1997; Stroschein 2002; Toprak 1996; Wiktorowicz 2000).

If community attitudes affect the types of volunteer organizations citizens support, as the findings of this chapter suggest, then there may be significant ramifications for the ways that we think about the interaction between government policies and civic organizations. Many studies on the nonprofit sector have classified the types of organizations that exist, but this book helps explain *why* certain kinds of organizations thrive or languish in different countries. Citizen attitudes about governmental and individual responsibility shape the kinds of volunteer organizations supporting their communities. Policies that support the attitudes extant in a community succeed in enhancing participation rates; incompatible policies tend to fail. Further research to specify the conditions under which civil society will be supportive of government policy should enhance the ability of policy makers to create effective responses to citizen needs.

This chapter has demonstrated that the underlying assumptions of many current theories of comparative civil society are inaccurate. Most of the world does not participate in civic associations in the same way that Americans do, and the differences are not just in volume; they are in type. In many countries, the nonembedded organizations that utilize overtly political methods of advocacy – lobbying politicians, mass public relations campaigns, or legal battles, which are the most common in the United States – are quite rare. In these countries, embedded organizations that work closely with bureaucrats in the making and

implementation of policy are often the most prevalent. Furthermore, factors that predict volunteer participation at the individual level, such as education and income levels, do not predict patterns of volunteering when the analysis is at the country level. Rather, it is citizen attitudes about the appropriate roles of individuals and government that predict the kinds of volunteer organizations prevalent in a given country.

In order for studies of civil society to be relevant outside the relatively few countries that have volunteering patterns similar to those of the United States, they must take embedded organizations and citizen attitudes about civic responsibility seriously and incorporate them in their research. Doing so will not only increase our understanding of how citizens mobilize to effect changes in government policies; it will also create a new set of possibilities for state-society cooperation in addressing social problems in both advanced and developing democracies.

3

Volunteering in Japan

Not Where You Would Expect

Why do some communities have higher rates of volunteering than others? This question is one of the central concerns of this book. In the previous chapter, I explored why people in various places might volunteer for different types of organizations. I showed how citizen attitudes toward governmental and social responsibility for dealing with social problems explain why some places have more of certain types of volunteer organizations and fewer of others.

Explaining differences in types of volunteering does not, however, explain variation in rates of volunteering from one place to another. Why might one city have very high levels of volunteering, whereas another city with similar demographic characteristics has much lower volunteer participation rates? In this chapter, I investigate how well conventional explanations for variation in volunteering rates can explain volunteer participation in Japan.

TESTING CONVENTIONAL EXPLANATIONS FOR VOLUNTEERING RATES

Recent studies of civic engagement in the United States have generated valuable tools for predicting which individuals will volunteer and how much. For example, we now have a better understanding of why a college-educated suburbanite would be more likely to volunteer than an inner-city high school dropout. However, these studies do not help us understand why one community has much higher rates

of volunteerism than another community with similar demographic characteristics. Because most scholars, governments, and activists are interested in building healthy, civically engaged communities, not necessarily changing an individual's psychology or propensity to volunteer, we need to look at volunteering as more of a collective activity than an individual one. In order for our research on civil society to be useful for building healthier democracies, we need to treat volunteer organizations as part of the societies and polities in which they reside and identify the characteristics that encourage higher levels of civic engagement.

To begin, I test how well conventional explanations explain variation in participation rates for a number of measures of volunteer participation in Japan. To summarize the lengthier description of conventional explanations for variation in volunteer participation that can be found in Chapter 2, the scholarship explaining variation in volunteer participation can be roughly organized into two groups, whose focus is on either individual or collective characteristics.

Among all of the possible individual-level characteristics that could influence volunteering behavior, considerable evidence shows that people who are better educated, have a higher income, and watch less television tend to volunteer more than those without these characteristics. Some scholars also think that having a dual-income family (where the woman also works) affects volunteer participation, although the evidence for this is mixed – some find that working women are more likely to volunteer, whereas others have found that they are less likely to volunteer (Putnam 2000; D. Smith 1994; Wuthnow 1998).

Two collective-level characteristics are thought to influence volunteering behavior – rural versus urban contexts and government spending. In both cases, the evidence is mixed, with some studies finding that rural people volunteer more than urbanites, whereas others find that population density does not affect volunteering behavior (Gamm and Putnam 1999; Lesk and Zippel 1975; Oliver 2000; Steblay 1987). Likewise, some studies have found that government spending crowds out volunteers, whereas others have found that it encourages the formation of nonprofit organizations and their associated volunteers (Kemp 1991; Salamon 1995). I use statistical analysis to test all of these possible explanations.

I begin by testing how well common explanations (education, income, working women, government spending, television viewing, urbanization) accounted for variation in seven different measures of

volunteer participation (volunteer firefighters, volunteer welfare commissioners, senior club members, PTA members, social service volunteers, hours of social service volunteering, and number of incorporated nonprofit organizations) in Japan's forty-seven prefectures (a subnational unit similar to American states).

In order to test the influence of these variables on the rate of volunteering, I ran ordinary least squares regressions for each of the dependent variables. Initially, I ran a regression with as many of the relevant independent variables as I could without including any with Pearson correlation values of greater than 0.5[1] with any of the other variables: population density, education, women in the work force, television viewing, government spending, career workers, and any relevant control variables.

Many of these variables were highly correlated with each other and seemed to be measuring some aspect of urbanization. In particular, rural areas tended to have lower income levels, more elderly people, lower population densities, and higher per capita government spending. In order to capture the importance of each factor, I tested each of them separately. Because Tokyo is a statistical outlier for several variables, I have included a Tokyo dummy variable as an additional control in all of the regressions (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2).

Although Table 3.1 does not lend any support for the "crowding out" hypothesis that holds that levels of volunteering should drop as more professionalized, paid employees perform the same service, I wanted to test this hypothesis further in the case of volunteer firefighters because more detailed data were available. Using data from a smaller governmental unit – municipalities (3,251 total) – I tested the hypothesis along with alternative explanations related to urban density, population growth, and geographic size (see Table 3.3).

SUMMARY OF STATISTICAL FINDINGS

For the seven measures of community volunteerism (volunteer firefighters, volunteer welfare commissioners, seniors club members, social service volunteers, hours donated by social service volunteers, PTA

[1] Because my interest is in capturing the independent effects of these variables, I utilized 0.5, a strict noncollinearity standard. In cases where the variables were highly correlated, I tested the variables separately.

TABLE 3.1. *Volunteer Participation in Japanese Prefectures: Full Regressions*

	Volunteer Firefighters	Welfare Commissioners	Senior Clubs	Social Service Volunteering	PTA Members	Nonprofit Organization Members
Population density	−2.17E−03*	−1.53E−04*	−1.08E−02**	−4.73E−04	−9.88E−04	1.885E−05
	(.001)	(.000)	(.005)	(.000)	(.002)	(.000)
Education	−.158	6.352E−04	.670	6.46E−02**	−.274	4.954E−03
	(.121)	(.008)	(.445)	(.0028)	(.218)	(.016)
Working women	−.188	−7.88E−03	9.077E−02	1.183E−02	−5.41E−02	4.076E−02*
	(.175)	(0.012)	(.661)	(.042)	(.310)	(.023)
TV viewing	.637	3.656E−02	−18.535	−2.504**	−2.019	−.110
	(4.293)	(.265)	(14.865)	(.941)	(7.027)	(.518)
Government spending	1.124E−05	2.397E−06****	6.220E−05*	−1.06E−06	2.260E−06	−1.43E−06
	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)
Career firefighters	.472	–	–	–	–	–
	(4.167)					
Home helpers	–	.240	16.594*	5.313E−02	–	–
		(1.63)	(9.131)	(.578)		
Control variables						
Fires	.167	–	–	–	–	–
	(.228)					
Elderly residents	–	−1.52E02	.954	.147*	–	–
		(.023)	(1.316)	(.083)		
Schools	–	–	–	–	.116	–
					(.166)	
Tokyo dummy	−1.579	.887	38.567	−621	47.928***	−5.431****
	(7.981)	(.604)	(33.851)	(2.143)	(13.804)	(1.044)
Adjusted R^2	.280	.569	.464	.210	.445	.581

Note: Analysis is by ordinary least squares. Entries are unstandardized coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses. N = 47. * $p < .10$, ** $p < .05$, *** $p < .01$, **** $p < .001$.

TABLE 3.2. *Volunteer Behavior in Japanese Prefectures: Rural-Urban Variables Tested Separately*

Urban Variables	Volunteer Firefighters	Welfare Commission	Senior Clubs	Social Service Volunteering	PTA Members	Nonprofit Organization Members
Population density	−3.23E−03***	−2.47E−04**	−1.17E−02**	−1.46E−04	−1.14E−03	1.007E−04
	(.001)	(.000)	(1.272)	(.000)	(.002)	(000)
Adjusted R^2	.256	.343	.329	.032	.472	.571
Education	−.295**	−1.13E−02	.348	7.428E−02***	−.286	1.356E−02
	(.121)	(.010)	(.493)	(.027)	(.202)	(.014)
Adjusted R^2	.161	.259	.241	.173	.491	.573
Income	−6.85E−03**	−2.91E−04	6.963E−03	1.167E−03	−7.24E−03	−5.443E−04*
	(.003)	(.000)	(.014)	(.001)	(.005)	(.000)
Adjusted R^2	.172	.256	.237	.075	.492	.592
Government spending	2.078E−05***	2.881E−06****	9.012E−05***	−1.43E−06	8.132E−06	−1.21E−06
	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(000)	(.000)	(.000)
Adjusted R^2	.259	.564	.360	.043	.473	.588

Note: Analysis is by ordinary least squares. Entries are unstandardized coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses. N = 47. *$p < .10$, **$p < .05$, ***$p < .01$, ****$p < .001$. Regressions are run with a single independent variable (e.g., population density or education or income), appropriate control variables (e.g., per capita number of fires, the elderly, schools), and the Tokyo dummy. Only the results for the independent variables are reported because the rest are acting as controls and are not theoretically significant even if they are statistically significant. The adjusted R^2 is reported for the entire OLS regression.

TABLE 3.3. *Volunteer Firefighter Participation in Japanese Municipalities*

	Per Capita Volunteer Firefighters	Per Capita Volunteer Firefighters	Growth in Number of Volunteer Firefighters	Growth in Number of Volunteer Firefighters
Population density	−.442****	–	.093****	–
	(.000)		(.000)	
Population growth	–	−.109****	–	−.154****
		(.006)		(.011)
Geographic size	−.036**	.000	.012	.002
	(.002)	(.002)	(.003)	(.003)
Per capita career firefighters	−010*	−.018	−.071***	−.024
	(.465)	(.523)	(.713	(.868)
Growth in number of career firefighters	−.051***	−.011	.182**	.093****
	(.004)	(.005)	(.008)	(.009)
Tokyo dummy	.198****	−.056****	.010	.057***
	(3.442)	(2.966)	(6.123)	(4.924)
Adjusted R^2	.132	.016	.035	.046

Note: Analysis is by ordinary least squares. Entries are standardized beta coefficients; standard errors are in parentheses. Growth is calculated as the difference between 1990 and 2000 values. N = 3,251. $^{*}p < .10$, $^{**}p < .05$, $^{***}p < .01$, $^{****}p < .001$.

members, nonprofit organizations), the variables that the civil society, nonprofit, and privatization literatures use to predict volunteerism accounted for very little variation in the per capita number of volunteers at the prefectural or municipal levels.

The individual-level factors (education, income, dual-income families, and television viewing), which have been able to explain volunteering behavior of individuals, are not particularly useful for explaining volunteering behavior at higher levels of social aggregation. Furthermore, contextual factors such as population density or those factors credited by nonprofit and privatization scholars as influencing volunteer behavior – presence of paid workers supplying similar services and the volume of government funding – either did not affect volunteerism much at all or affected it in the opposite direction from what was expected.

Although education is one of the strongest predictors of volunteering behavior on the individual level, it did not explain any variation in the rate of volunteering in any of the organizations across Japanese

prefectures. Similarly, income is usually a good predictor of volunteering behavior at the individual level, but in these tests it was statistically significant to the $p < .05$ level only for volunteer firefighting; it accounted for only 12 percent of the variation, and the coefficient was in the opposite direction from what would be expected – higher-income prefectures had *lower* rates of volunteering. The proportion of women in the work force was not significant at the $p < .05$ level for any measures of volunteering. Television viewing was significant only for the percentage of the population engaged in social service activities; the coefficient was in the expected negative direction – more TV viewing led to lower rates of volunteering.

Thus, many factors – education, income, dual-income family, and television viewing – may predict volunteering on an individual level, but they do not have much explanatory power at a collective level. This finding is important because, just as Robinson (1950) cautioned his readers not to assume that U.S. states with high percentages of foreign-born residents would automatically have lower literacy levels than states with fewer foreign-born residents just because most foreign-born people have lower literacy than natives, it would be incorrect to assume that prefectures with higher levels of education also have higher rates of volunteering just because educated people volunteer more than less educated people.

Another possibility for why individual-level factors fail to explain community-level variation is that contextual factors are affecting collective volunteering rates. In the full regression, population density was statistically significant to the $p < .05$ level for only one measure of volunteer participation: senior club membership. In all cases, the coefficient was in the negative direction – prefectures (and municipalities) with higher population densities had fewer volunteers. This finding gives lukewarm support to the hypothesis that rural communities have higher volunteering rates than urban communities. However, the variable was statistically significant for only half of the measures of volunteering, and it could explain only one-third of the variation in the best case. Therefore, population density – urban versus rural environments – is likely to play some role in encouraging or discouraging volunteering behavior, but this role is not particularly strong or consistent across different kinds of volunteering activity.

Among the variables studied by nonprofit and privatization scholars, government spending was the variable with the strongest predictive power of all of those in the regression analyses. In the full regression, it helped account for nearly 60 percent of the variation in the per capita number of volunteer welfare commissioners. Alone (with controls), it was statistically significant in the cases of volunteer firefighters, senior club membership, and volunteer welfare commissioners, accounting for 26, 36, and 56 percent of the variation, respectively. In all cases, the relationship between government spending and volunteer rates was positive.

These findings give fairly strong support for those nonprofit scholars who claim that government funding supports rather than hinders volunteer participation. The "crowding out" hypothesis of scholars who suggest that government spending or provision of services hinders volunteer participation was tested further by examining the influence that the presence of paid workers supplying services similar to those provided by the volunteers had on volunteer participation.

At the prefectural level, the number of career workers providing services similar to those provided by volunteers did not appear to affect the rate of volunteering in those service areas. There was no statistically significant relationship between the number of career firefighters and the number of volunteer firefighters. The number of home helpers was statistically significant for only one type of volunteering, senior club membership, and the direction of the effect was the opposite of what would have been expected by "crowding out" theorists – the number of home helpers was positively associated with higher levels of membership in senior clubs.

When the privatization literature's "crowding out" hypothesis was tested more closely at the municipal level for volunteer firefighters, the findings were again surprising. The change in the number of career firefighters between 1990 and 2000 had a statistically significant ($p < .05$), positive relationship with the change in the number of volunteer firefighters for the same time period. This finding suggests that career firefighters in Japan do not crowd out volunteer firefighters; in fact, the opposite is more likely to be true: increases in the numbers of career firefighters encourages the growth of volunteers.

Although scholars have found a number of individual-level factors to be useful in predicting volunteering patterns by individuals, these

factors do not explain much of the variation at higher levels of aggregation. Collective level variables fared slightly better, but even with these the variables were often statistically insignificant or the directions on the coefficients were the opposite of what would be expected by the theories. Thus, volunteering in a community is more than merely the sum of individual volunteer participation or the result of collective-level demographic characteristics. Clearly, some process is occurring at the level of the community that engenders more volunteer participation in some places than in others. Chapter 4 explores those processes through the close examination of volunteering in three cities in Japan.

4

Practices That Count

Legitimizing, Organizing, and Funding Volunteers

The previous chapter has illustrated that current studies may be able to explain why certain types of individuals volunteer at different rates but are inadequate for explaining why similar communities volunteer at different rates. In order to develop a better explanation of variation in volunteer participation at the community level, this chapter seeks to illuminate the factors that generate high rates of volunteer participation in some communities and lower rates in others. In the following pages, I closely examine volunteer participation in the delivery of two services, firefighting and eldercare, in which both volunteers as well as paid city employees provide services. I gathered documentation and talked with city officials and volunteers in Kashihara, Sakata, and Sanda, three medium-size cities in Japan.

The cities were selected as "most similar" cities – they all have populations of approximately the same size – but they also had experienced very different growth rates in their numbers of volunteer firefighters (the only volunteer organization for which I could obtain municipal-level data prior to fieldwork in the city) in the past ten years. Sanda experienced the largest population increase among cities with populations of approximately 100,000 people (it doubled between 1989 and 1999), but at the same time the numbers of its volunteer firefighters remained constant. Kashihara and Sakata had stable populations throughout the ten-year period, but among cities whose populations were approximately 100,000 in 2000, Sakata experienced the largest decrease in its number of volunteer firefighters (–31 percent), while Kashihara had the largest growth rate (+79 percent).

Therefore, the cities were selected to control for as many demographic variables as possible while ensuring variation in their levels of volunteer participation. For more details concerning the case selection and research methodology, see Appendix A. Through an analysis of primary documents and interview data, this chapter demonstrates that the practices of the governmental and societal institutions – how well they legitimize, fund, and organize volunteers – determine the rate of volunteer participation in a community.

CASE STUDY PORTRAITS

Kashihara

Kashihara, whose name means "oak plain," is in Nara prefecture and home to 125,000 people living in an area of 25.5 square miles made up of a wide valley and three small hills. The city traces its history to prehistoric times and houses the remains of the Fujiwara Palace, established in 694, recognized as the first capital of Japan. Nowadays, much of the city acts as a bedroom community for Osaka, which is approximately 30 miles away, with some commuters also traveling to Kyoto (40 miles) or even Nagoya (100 miles).

Although geographically compact, socially the city divides itself into two parts. In the historical sections of the city, the residents tend to be older, living a more traditional life-style in historic buildings. These residents, and their neighborhood associations, are very concerned with historical preservation, environmental issues, and, above all, how to sustain their communities when most residents are elderly. The newer residents tend to live in very dense apartment complexes and commute long distances to work. These residents, and their neighborhood associations, are less concerned with historic preservation and are more worried about community development and coping with the problems of contemporary urban society – child truancy, crime, and the growing numbers of aging, isolated residents.

Sakata

Sakata, whose name means "sake field," lies at the mouth of the Mogami River in the northwestern part of Yamagata prefecture in

northern Japan. The city is 109 square miles large and home to 101,311 people. Sakata has a long history and served as the capital of the Dewa region 1,000 years ago, before Japan was a unified country. In 1672 a port was established, and Sakata has been an important port on the Japan Sea ever since.

Unlike Sanda and Kashihara, Sakata is the largest city in the area, so it does not serve as a bedroom community for commuters traveling to a larger urban center. As in the case of Sanda, however, the city is essentially divided into two distinct geographic sections. A core "downtown" district has high population density, with younger and mostly professional residents. Farmland surrounds the city, and approximately 700 families work the land as full-time farmers, and many more farm part time. The social structure in these areas resembles rural villages; small enclaves of 10 to 40 families clustered together surrounded by their rice fields. These residents tend to be older and concerned primarily with economic and environmental issues.

Sanda

Sanda, whose name means "three rice fields," lies in the in the southeast corner of Hyogo prefecture in a valley surrounded by mountains on all sides. It has a population of 113,585 people and spans a wide geographic area of 131 square miles. The city traces its history back 30,000 years, and old Buddhist records show that the name Sanda was in use 1,300 years ago. Sanda has experienced a population explosion that started in the late 1980s and has continued to the present (the population rose from less than 50,000 to more than 100,000 between 1989 and 1999). This population boom was largely due to the expansion of rail access to Kobe (15.5 miles away on the other side of Rokko Mountain) and Osaka (21.7 miles away), which made Sanda an easy commute from these large cities.

As a result of careful urban planning, the growth of the city has been almost entirely confined to three districts collectively know as the "New Town" areas, close to the main train stations. These districts house more than half of the city's total population in an area that is about 10 percent of its geographic space (Sanda Shi Shakai Fukushi Kyougikai 2002, p. 9), and nearly all of these mostly younger residents commute to Kobe and Osaka during the day. Outside the concentrated New Town districts lies rural farmland dotted with traditional farmhouses.

Although few people can afford to farm full time anymore, most of these residents are either retired or have salaried day jobs and spend their extra time working the land. The geographic and social distinction between the New Town and the older parts of Sanda is so complete that creating exchanges between the urban and rural residents is a major task of the city government.

VOLUNTEER ORGANIZATIONS

Volunteer Fire Departments: An Embedded Organization

Japan's volunteer fire departments trace their history to the Edo period (1603–1867). In 1719, in response to the fire hazards of a rapidly urbanizing Edo (Tokyo), neighborhood firefighters (the so-called 48-gumi) were established as the predecessors of today's volunteer fire departments. The firefighting system was systematized throughout Japan during the Meiji period (1868–1912), and jurisdiction for firefighting was placed with the Ministry of Internal Affairs. As tensions in the Pacific worsened, an Imperial Ordinance in 1939 dissolved the police, firefighting, and air-raid defense corps and formed a comprehensive Civilian Guard, ending the firefighting system that had existed since the Meiji period. After Japan's defeat in World War II, the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) required the abolishment of the Civilian Guard and initiated the 1947 Fire Defense Organization Law that separated policing and firefighting functions, returning them to local control and stipulated the formation of volunteer fire corps.[1]

Nowadays, nearly every city, town, and village in Japan has an active volunteer fire department.[2] Volunteer firefighters do not sleep in the firehouses but live close enough to be able to respond quickly to an alarm. In rural areas, volunteers bear almost exclusive responsibilities

[1] As a result, in 1948 approximately 10,000 local governments found themselves having to manage 11,000 regular firefighters and about 2 million volunteer firefighters. For an excellent history of the fire service in Japan, see Fire Service Information Center 1999, pp. 25–32. The law stipulated: "In order to perform fire service duties, municipalities shall establish all or part of the following organizations: (1) fire defense headquarters, (2) fire station, (3) voluntary fire corps." Shoubou Soshiki Ho, Article 9; International Fire Service Information Center 1998. Fire Defense Organization Law (official English translation of Shoubou Soshiki Ho).

[2] Only 17 of the 3,258 municipalities in Japan (0.5 percent) have no volunteer fire department (Soumushou 2001b).

for firefighting, while in more urban cities they share this responsibility, to greater and lesser extents, with paid city firefighters. In all communities, volunteers are involved in far more than just firefighting, often providing fire-prevention and first aid demonstrations, helping out with the neighborhood festivals, and even delivering lunches to elderly people living alone. There are currently 944,134 volunteer firefighters in Japan.[3]

Volunteer Welfare Commissioner System: An Embedded Organization

The Volunteer Welfare Commissioner system, modeled after a similar program in Germany, began in 1918 after rice riots in Osaka drew attention to the rising problems of poverty in rapidly growing urban areas. Originally, the welfare commissioners were elite members of society who had contact with the poor (e.g., rice dealers, policemen, teachers). They would determine and distribute public assistance directly to the needy. After World War II, the occupation officials recognized the value of the volunteer welfare commissioners in combating the social devastation wreaked by the war, so the system remained largely intact in the postwar period. The Volunteer Welfare Commissioner Law was enacted in 1948, and it established national guidelines for the system. In 1950 the Daily Life Protection Law was amended to add the role of professional social workers employed by the city and limit the role of the volunteer welfare commissioners in distributing public assistance.[4]

Each city, town, and village appoints volunteer welfare commissioners to advise citizens and help out with a variety of social welfare issues. Broad guidelines for the specific number of commissioners are established by the Ministry of Health and Welfare.[5] Each governor sets

[3] Soumushou Shoubоucho (Fire and Disaster Management Agency) keeps current statistics and information on the state of volunteer firefighters nationwide: http://www.fdma.go.jp/syoubodan/ (Japanese) (1/06/06).

[4] Volunteer Welfare Commissioner Law (Minsei'in Hou); Law no. 198, 1948, and the Daily Life Protection Law (Seikatsu Hogo Ho), 1950, especially Article 5. See also Takahashi and Hashimoto 1997 and Renkei 1991, 1992, for an overview of the volunteer welfare commissioner system and its history.

[5] For 2002 the number of recommended commissioners ranged from one for every 70 to 360 families, depending on the population of the municipality (Yamagataken Minsei Jidoi'in Kyougikai 2002, p. 121).

the exact number of commissioners in consultation with local leaders, and, if the individuals accept the post, they are commissioned for a three-year term. These terms are renewable (there is an age cap of seventy-five years old), and many volunteers serve many years, even decades. The volunteer welfare commissioners are engaged in a wide variety of activities ranging from certifying individuals as eligible for disability benefits to driving the elderly to the hospital for checkups or emergency care. Although the position was initially created to help combat the problems of poverty, as Japan became wealthier and the population aged, the activities of the volunteer welfare commissioners have become dominated by eldercare.[6] There are currently 21,544 volunteer welfare commissioners in Japan, and in 2000 they dealt with more than 13 million cases.[7]

Eldercare Volunteers: Nonembedded Groups

Unlike the volunteer firefighters and volunteer welfare commissioners, who are volunteering in organizations with deeply embedded relationships with the government, there are a number of volunteers who become involved in nonembedded organizations. These individuals donate their time to organizations because they are committed to the particular mission of the organization, and the groups are involved in a much narrower spectrum of activities. Groups of this kind perform a host of activities and services for the elderly, including providing transportation for wheelchair-bound individuals, outings for care providers, arts-and-crafts activities, meal delivery to houses, and exercise and health workshops.

Nonembedded organizations in general have enjoyed a rapid increase in popularity after 1995, when the earthquake in Kobe highlighted the importance of volunteers for providing social services, and eldercare-related groups are no exception. The new legal environment that resulted from the passing of the Law on Special Activities of Nonprofit Organizations (NPO Law) in 1998 has liberalized the process for volunteer organizations to acquire legal status as nonprofits, although

[6] In 1999 volunteer welfare commissioners dealt with more than 7 million cases related to the elderly – three times as many cases as the handicapped, youth, and poor combined (Kouseishou 2000, pp. 278, 279).

[7] Kouseishou (Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare) statistics for 2000: http://www.mhlw.go.jp/toukei/saikin/hw/gyousei/00/index.html (Japanese) (1/06/06).

most organizations do not yet have this status. The law's justification and timing were explicitly intended to encourage the development of private organizations that could serve the elderly.[8]

In the issue area of eldercare, most volunteer organizations involved with serving the elderly are organized under the umbrella of local Social Welfare Councils (Shakaifukushi Kyougikai). These councils were established across Japan in the 1970s as quasi-governmental associations that brought city officials together with community leaders concerned with social welfare issues. Most of the councils are incorporated Social Welfare Corporations, and members include representatives from the government, volunteer welfare commissioners, neighborhood associations, and registered (although not necessarily incorporated) volunteer groups.[9]

Issue-based volunteer groups dedicated to serving the elderly are usually members of the Social Welfare Council; as a result, they meet monthly with other Social Welfare Council groups and government officials and conduct many of their meetings and activities in Social Welfare Council–sponsored buildings. Often Social Welfare Councils have individuals, such as a volunteer coordinator, who are dedicated to supporting registered issue-based organizations. In 2000 there were more than 95,000 groups with more than 7.1 million volunteers registered with Social Welfare Councils across the country.[10] Many of these groups are dedicated to serving the elderly.[11]

[8] See Pekkanen 2000, p. 132; Kokushou et al. 1998, p. 23.

[9] For more about the Zenkoku Shakai Fukushi Kyougikai (Japanese Council of Social Welfare), see the home page of the national organization: http://www.shakyo.or.jp/ (Japanese) (1/05/06). Note that many volunteer groups are not members of the Social Welfare Councils. However, most groups serving the elderly are members of this umbrella organization, likely because they find the networks to other groups and the links to the government useful. Seniors' clubs (*rojin kurabu*) are separate organizations completely that focus on recreation rather than service.

[10] Zenkoku Shakai Fukushi Kyougikai (Japanese Council of Social Welfare): http://www.shakyo.or.jp/cdvc/zanvc.htm (Japanese) (1/15/03). See also Kouseishou 2000, p. 13, for similar data.

[11] It is difficult to determine the exact number of groups focused on the elderly, because those statistics are not collected at a national level. In the three cities I studied, among those volunteering for groups registered with the Social Welfare Council, the proportion of volunteers belonging to groups whose mission was directly related to eldercare ranged from one-third (Sanda) to 60 percent (Kashihara) (Sakatashi Bolantia Renraku Kyougikai 2001; Kashihara Shakai Fukushi Kyougikai 2002; Sandashi Borantia Katsudo Senta 2001).

Neighborhood Associations: An Embedded Organization

Contemporary neighborhood associations trace their origins to the Tokugawa period (1600–1868). During that time the Five Family Unit System formed across Japan; the system comprised groups in which the heads of every five households would meet together to address community needs (Goodman 1998, p. 139). Membership was based on the location of residence, and all members of the neighborhood were expected to participate in the network through their household. Participation was voluntary, in the sense that it was unpaid, but a strong sense of duty for families to shoulder their responsibilities as part of the community was combined with powerful local tax collection bodies to make nonparticipation difficult (Bestor 1989, p. 52; Dore 1958, pp. 63, 64).

These networks have functioned as a mechanism of social control as well as a way for citizens to relay their concerns to the government. Neighborhood associations have evolved over time, but they continue to serve residents in a plethora of ways, primarily by facilitating mutual aid and information exchange. Neighborhood associations are the most basic social organization in Japan (some argue more important than the family),[12] and nearly every other organization operating in society, and all of the previously mentioned embedded organizations, are connected to the neighborhood association in their district. Approximately 90 percent of all Japanese households (or about 115 million people) are currently members of neighborhood associations.[13]

THEORY OF VOLUNTEER PARTICIPATION IN SERVICE DELIVERY

While volunteering is a function of both individual motivation and social norms, the latter are particularly important for explaining variation in volunteer participation among different communities. The

[12] In a seminal study of Japan, one anthropologist emphasized the importance of daily contact among neighbors as being more important than blood ties of family (Nakane 1970, p. 137). This perception was substantiated in several of my interviews in which the respondents expressed the importance of the neighborhood associations when they got old, because their families were far off and unable (or unwilling) to care for them.

[13] Keizai Kikakuchou 2004, chart 3-1-7: http://www5.cao.go.jp/seikatsu/whitepaper/h16/01_zu/zu301070.html.

goal of this chapter is to refine this theory of volunteer participation and identify the specific institutions and practices found in communities that support and hinder volunteer participation, in order to help explain why the rate of volunteer participation varies across communities.

In order for communities to generate volunteer participation in the delivery of services, the work of the volunteers must be legitimized, organized, and funded. Especially in cases where the same services are also being provided by paid state employees (the only services under investigation here), the work of volunteers must be viewed as legitimate, as appropriate work for volunteers and not just a type of work that should be carried out by paid, professional employees. If volunteer participation is viewed as somehow inferior to that of the city employees or as an inappropriate use of time on the part of the volunteers, it is impossible to sustain volunteer participation in the provision of the service.[14]

Once volunteers have been legitimized, they must be organized. New volunteers must be recruited, interested individuals need to be matched with the organization that needs volunteers, or the organization must develop ways of finding people who would be willing to join. In addition, volunteers and their organizations must be matched to citizens in need of their services. Volunteer organizations must be coordinated with other organizations as well as the municipal government to ensure that services are delivered to those in need and to prevent duplication of efforts. Furthermore, the missions of the volunteer organizations must be adjusted to meet the changing needs of citizens, and all of these organizing and coordination functions must be performed to support these new missions.

Finally, once volunteers have been legitimized and organized, they must be funded. Volunteers may donate their time, but there are other costs (equipment, transportation, communication, etc.) involved in providing social services that must be covered. Furthermore, the manner in which the funding is raised can have spillover effects for the volunteer organization over and above the money received. Positively, the fund-raising methods can help connect the volunteers to their

[14] For a fascinating account of how volunteer firemen were delegitimized in urban American cities in the mid-nineteenth century, see Greenberg 1998.

community and increase loyalty among members. Or, conversely, the burden of fund raising can become so heavy that it discourages participation. Thus, in addition to the amount, both the source of the funding and method of fund raising affect volunteer participation.

These three resources – legitimacy, organization, and finances – are critical to building and sustaining volunteer organizations dedicated to providing services to the community. These resources are provided through the practices of governmental and societal institutions. Sometimes the practices of both sides reinforce each other and sometimes they act in opposition. Furthermore, since neither the state nor society is monolithic, there can be internal conflicts that undermine the efficacy of contributions. The following pages show how these interactions and conflicts affect the rate of volunteer participation in different communities.

Legitimizing Volunteers

Volunteers do not supply services to their communities for the purpose of gaining material benefits; rather their motivations come from a sense of satisfaction that they are fulfilling an obligation to their communities, from the joy they receive by helping others, and from the personal friendships they build and maintain. Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995, pp. 108–127) call these benefits "civic" and "social" gratifications and demonstrate the importance of personal involvement (as opposed to checkbook participation) for receiving these benefits. The social nature of the benefits gained from volunteer activity indicates the vital importance of legitimizing the volunteer activities through norms of civic responsibility.

Citizens legitimize the volunteer supply of services by paying public and private tribute to the volunteers, through large ritualized ceremonies and festivals as well as through more ordinary interactions that bestow respect and leadership on volunteers. However, changing social conditions challenge these norms, forcing difficult adjustments on the volunteer organizations as well as on the social mechanisms and civic norms supporting them.

Furthermore, social organizations are not the only ones that legitimize the activities of volunteers. The government, through laws and state-sponsored public demonstrations, codifies and publicizes the

importance and role of the volunteers. Most literature on legitimation focuses on the efforts of the state (or colonial elites) to build legitimacy for state-endorsed leaders and policies (e.g., Levi 1988; Migdal 2001; Moore 2001; Popkin 1979; Weber 1947). In this case, the opposite is occurring; the state is expending its efforts to legitimize the efforts of private individuals who are providing the same services supplied by the government.

Firefighting

On a warm sunny April day in Sanda, the city's 700-plus volunteer firefighters turned out in their dress uniforms and stood at attention in the public square in front of city hall as the mayor and other dignitaries praised their service during the past year. Families encouraged their fathers, brothers, and sons from under the tents, and children ran around in miniature versions of the volunteer firefighter *happi* coats. A high school marching band played and marched in formation around the square, followed by elementary school children performing dances with streamers and parachutes.

After the warm-up, the demonstrations began. Changing out of their dress uniforms to their *happi* coats, volunteers raced across the square with a hand-pulled pump to spray water successfully at a target. Next, each of the seven units showcased a team of acrobats performing synchronized tricks atop old-fashioned six-meter-high ladders reminiscent of firefighting in the Edo period (1603–1867). The finale came as a city fire truck raced into the center of the square with sirens blaring. The career firefighters in their work uniforms sprayed water tens of meters up the fire tower as a fire helicopter lowered two more firefighters onto the roof where they set up a zip wire and slid to the ground in a mock rescue. The remaining city firefighters raced off with the rescued mannequin in an ambulance, leaving the spectators to finish slurping their noodles, gathering their belongings, and walking off to enjoy the rest of the afternoon.

Scenes such as this play themselves out across Japan. The municipal fire department, in consultation with volunteer fire department leaders, spends months planning large public displays designed to honor the city's firefighters and especially to showcase the talent and contributions of the volunteer firefighters. In addition to the citywide

exhibitions sponsored by the fire department, volunteer firefighters are prominent participants in festivals sponsored by neighborhood associations to celebrate the New Year, the coming of spring, the planting season, or the harvest season. Described at greater length at the beginning of the book, these festivals often occur for two or three days on a weekend and the entire community, and sometimes residents from neighboring communities take the opportunity to don their *yukata* (traditional cotton kimono), eat grilled squid-on-a-stick, and watch or practice traditional dances.

Volunteer firefighters usually play central roles in these festivals. They can often be found carrying and directing the portable shrines as they are paraded around the streets to bless the residents and households for another year. The volunteer fire department's trucks accompany the parade both for display as well as for the purposes of safety because fireworks are inevitably part of the festivities. Everyone enjoys these events and crowds turn out to cheer and participate. The tradition is a meaningful one, and the parades could not operate without many hundred hours of volunteer labor. Therefore, volunteer organizations such as neighborhood associations, Shinto shrines, PTA groups, and others become actively involved every year and pass on the norms of participation to their members. Competition between neighborhoods for the biggest, best, and most beautiful parade and portable shrine also helps sustain and build norms for continued participation by residents.[15]

In addition to supporting firefighting and neighborhood festivals that pay tribute to volunteer firefighters, the Japanese government has also constructed a legal framework that legitimizes the work of volunteer firefighters. The 1947 Fire Defense Organization Law returned firefighting to local control and stipulated the establishment of a voluntary fire corps.[16] While acting in their capacity as firefighters, volunteers are treated as "local public servants with special duties" (Local

[15] For a wonderful account of a neighborhood association rivalry over the grandeur of their respective festivals, see Bestor 1989, chap. 7.

[16] Article 9 of the Fire Defense Organization Law (Shoubou Soshiki Ho) stipulates the establishment of a fire defense headquarters, fire stations, and voluntary fire corps. For an excellent history of the fire service in Japan, see Takatsuji and Tsuji 1983, pp. 25–32.

Autonomy Law 1947, Article 21) and receive the same insurance (death and disability) benefits as city firefighters if they are hurt while serving in their public capacity.

Laws also help set the expectations and guidelines for professionalism among volunteer firefighters. In 1963 the Basic Disaster Policy and Fire Service Laws were revised to assign disaster relief and emergency assistance to local fire departments, so local governments broadened the coverage of their communities. These legislative and policy changes served to provide the impetus for the professionalization of firefighting services and their expansion into emergency medical services. Paid city firefighters remain the exclusive providers of ambulance and emergency medical services – neither volunteers nor hospitals operate ambulances. Furthermore, these services now make up the vast majority of city firefighter's work; fire departments respond to more than 100 times as many emergency medical calls as to fires.[17]

Partly because they are not called on to respond to emergency medical calls, the training requirements for volunteers remain significantly below standards for paid firefighters, who are required to undergo an initial basic training lasting at least six months plus an additional two weeks every time they are promoted to a new rank. Volunteer firefighters must undergo a basic training of only four days, with an additional four days at times of promotion. Annual training is also required of both groups (one month for paid, four days for volunteer) to keep their skills up to date (Soumushou 1964a, p. 78; 1999a, p. 188). Although there are many opportunities to pursue additional specialized training at prefectural and national fire schools, the basic requirements for becoming a firefighter have not changed since they were established in 1964. These national guidelines legitimize the work and level of professionalization of volunteer firefighters, so they are not expected to expand their training unless they individually choose to do so.

Although these symbolic events and legal protections continue to legitimize the work of volunteer firefighters, shifting demographics are disrupting the traditional composition of the volunteer fire departments and are challenging some of the foundations of its legitimacy. Traditionally, a typical volunteer firefighter was in his late twenties or

[17] In 1999 firefighters responded to 2.2 million emergency medical calls and only 21.8 thousand fires (Soumushou 2003, pp. 466–467).

early thirties, was a farmer or self-employed shop owner, and lived and worked within blocks of the fire station. However, the number of farmers has shrunk substantially: between 1950 and 2000 the number of families farming full time plummeted from 3 million to just 426,000. Most Japanese farmers (82 percent in 2000) have jobs in other sectors and farm only part time.[18] Also, many young Japanese men are less interested in joining their volunteer fire departments. Sometimes this is because they do not like the military style training in which they have to spend countless hours on a Saturday learning to bow appropriately, and sometimes it is just because they would rather spend the time going to the mall or the movies with their girl friends (interviews, 2002).

The lack of men able and willing to volunteer as firefighters, especially during the day, has led to shifts in the target volunteer population. Where once only men who lived and worked near the fire station were asked to serve, now more men who commute away from their communities are also being asked to join. Between 1968 and 2001, the proportion of salaried men among the volunteer firefighters jumped from 26.5 to 68.5 percent.[19]

Another source of additional firefighters is women. Although almost all volunteer firefighters are still men (99 percent), the number of women participating is growing at a very rapid rate – from 1,923 to 10,176, or 429 percent, between 1990 and 2000.[20] In some cases, such as on a small island called Tobishima near Sakata City, women have been volunteer firefighters for centuries. Because fishing has been the main source of livelihood on the island, all able-bodied men were (and are) out at sea during the day, leaving the women to fight the fires. Although the firefighters in nearby Sakata speak with admiration about these women firefighters, the latter city's firefighters still view the inclusion of women as a measure to be taken only as a last resort (interview, 2002).

Of the three cities I studied, only Kashihara's volunteer fire department had opened its ranks to women (not coincidentally, it was the

[18] See Japan Statistical Yearbook 2006, table 7-1: http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/nenkan/ (1/10/06).

[19] Shouboudan Homepage: http://www.fdma.go.jp/syobodan/osirase.html (Japanese) (7/7/02).

[20] Shouboudan Homepage: http://www.fdma.go.jp/syobodan/osirase.html (Japanese) (1/99 and 7/02); Soumushou 1999a, p. 152.

only city of the three that experienced significant growth in membership). However, the method in which women were introduced speaks to the difficulty of adjusting the norms of participation to new circumstances.

After the devastating 1995 earthquake in nearby Kobe, the people and city government of Kashihara began to rethink how to improve their disaster preparedness and realized that they could tap the labor and expertise of the volunteer fire department. As newer nonembedded forms of volunteer participation were increasing across the city (see the example of the Silver Network Kashihara in the following sections), most traditional organizations, such as the volunteer fire department, began reshaping their norms of participation. In order to expand the disaster prevention demonstrations carried on around the city, Kashihara's volunteer fire department decided to increase its size; it added two men's units, a woman's unit, and raised the number of volunteers in each unit from 25 to 30, for a total increase of 105 people (Kashihara Shigikai 1996, pp. 1–27).

Although the addition of women into the volunteer fire department required an important shift in the norms of participation, in Kashihara's case the change should not be viewed as a radical break. The women's unit was given the same legal and organizational standing as the men's units, but it was set apart with different responsibilities – responsibilities much more suited for traditional women's roles. The women's unit does not have a fire truck and does not fight fires. It draws its membership from the entire city rather than just the geographic boundary served, the way the men's units do. It is more involved than the men's units in community outreach – leading elementary school fire-prevention parades, visiting and inspecting the homes of the elderly living alone, running first-aid sessions at schools for PTA groups, and teaching residents how to cook tempura properly so as to reduce the chance of fire from the hot oil.

The women's unit has not been isolated, and the men are proud of its efforts. The fire chief is especially proud of how well the women took up the challenge to form a color guard to promote the fire department in public parades (interview, 2002). Social norms have shifted to allow women to participate, but the shifts have been gradual, not radical, ones. The other volunteer firefighters are supportive of having women join their ranks, but as special, not typical members.

In addition to changing the focus of its recruiting efforts, another adjustment in the norms of participation for volunteer fire departments concerns the behavior of firefighters inside the organization. As discussed, the volunteer fire departments in Japan have their roots in the civil defense corps of imperial Japan and retain many militaristic training methods. The culture of the volunteer departments, however, is adjusting to new, more democratic values.

When I asked a group of volunteer fire department leaders in Sanda what the greatest difference was between their volunteer fire department now and how it was ten or twenty years ago, the unit chief who has been a volunteer firefighter for thirty years responded without hesitation: "The top-down relationship, the authority structure. After the war it was a very strict structure, and no one could complain or say anything. It used to be that the top would say something, and the bottom would bow repeatedly and say, 'yes, yes.' Now, it is the opposite – the bottom says something and the top bows and says 'yes, yes.'" The five other volunteer firefighters present roared in laughter in full agreement with this statement, and a representative from the city fire department at the meeting said the same thing had happened in the paid city fire department (interview, 2002).

Legitimacy is critical for the volunteer firefighter. If society does not view his contribution as a legitimate enterprise, he will no longer enjoy the civic and social benefits of serving and will cease to participate. Although both the city government and neighborhood communities will continue to provide opportunities to pay tribute to the volunteers, as society changes these norms must adjust to different demographic patterns and social values. Shifting the expectations of who should become a volunteer firefighter as well as how volunteers should act are necessary changes if the organization is to remain vibrant.

Eldercare

Legitimacy is just as important for eldercare volunteers as it is for volunteer firefighters, but it tends to be transmitted and reinforced in more personal and private ways. There are no citywide festivals to honor these volunteers, and they do not have flashy equipment with sirens. Furthermore, as members of a traditional, embedded organization, volunteer welfare commissioners experience forms of tribute and pass on their norms of civic participation in ways that are very

different from the volunteers in newer, nonembedded groups that may be performing similar types of service for the elderly.

Volunteer welfare commissioners experience forms of social and governmental support similar to those of the volunteer firefighters. Although they do not have large festivals in their honor, the volunteer welfare commissioners can be seen in the public spaces of a neighborhood chatting with the elderly, and their names are printed as part of public notices in the neighborhood newsletters so they can be contacted if needed. Their interactions with residents are more personal than those of the firefighters – for example, visiting an elderly person living alone to deliver a friendly note and some warm socks for winter or consulting with a family member about the prospects of a parent receiving eldercare insurance benefits. As a result, the tribute they receive is also more personal when compared to that of a volunteer firefighter.

The post of volunteer welfare commissioner used to be held only by elite members of the community. Although volunteering is no longer restricted to elites, the position retains this respected status. People do not request to do this job; they are selected. A careful and time-consuming process of committee meetings, recommendations, nominations, and more committee meetings is necessary before someone can become a commissioner. Only people who have reputations for being responsible, hardworking, and above all discrete will be asked by the nomination committee if they are interested in serving. Thus, making it through the selection process and gaining the high status of a volunteer welfare commissioner is an important form of public tribute.

Once someone becomes a volunteer welfare commissioner, she will be asked to participate in all of the important decision-making bodies and planning discussions having to do with welfare issues in her district. If she becomes the district head, these discussions will occur with government officials at the city level. If she becomes the chair of the city volunteer welfare commissioners association, then she will participate in prefectural policy discussions with important public and private leaders. The process is repeated up the administrative ladder – the head of the prefectural volunteer welfare association will meet with other prefectural leaders to discuss national policies with national ministry and other officials. Residents know that these volunteers have access to policy makers, so volunteer welfare commissioners are often

charged with the responsibility of taking citizen concerns directly to the policy makers in government. By placing these requests for policy changes and actively seeking council to solve personal domestic issues, residents pay tribute to the welfare commissioners and show each individual volunteer that her work is respected, valued, and necessary.

One of the foundations of the tribute paid to the volunteer welfare commissioners is their legal status and protection, similar to that provided to volunteer firefighters. As with the firefighters, the prewar institution was renamed after the war. The Volunteer Welfare Commissioner Law (1948) established the basic guidelines for the system. In 1950 the Daily Life Protection Law was amended to limit the role of the volunteer welfare commissioners in distributing public assistance.[21] Just as in the case of the volunteer firefighters, volunteer welfare commissioners have been treated as special public officials when on duty, and the government is required to provide insurance benefits if they are hurt on the job (although the chance of catastrophic injury is much less than for firefighters). In order to fulfill this obligation, prefectural governments have established insurance systems for their employees, and volunteer welfare commissioners have been covered by this insurance if they are injured or killed while performing care in an official capacity.[22]

Because the volunteer welfare commissioners have authority given to them by the government, such as the power to certify that someone is eligible for disability benefits, they have each been given an official identity card that indicates to their clients that they are legitimate and are authorized to perform certain services and obliged to keep conversations confidential. Like the *happi* coats of the volunteer firefighters, this identification card and a special appointment book represent the symbols of their office. These legal and symbolic supports given by the government help ensure that the citizens continue to pay tribute and view the work of the volunteer welfare commissioners as legitimate.

[21] Volunteer Welfare Commissioner Law (Minsei'in Hou); Law no. 198, 1948, and the Daily Life Protection Law (Seikatsu Hogo Ho), 1950, especially Article 5. See also Goodman 1998; and see Renkei 1991, 1992, for an overview of the volunteer welfare commissioner system and its history.

[22] For the specific benefits in Hyogo prefecture, see Sandashi Minsei'in Jidoui'in Kyougikai (Sanda City Volunteer Welfare and Youth Commissioner Council), undated, p. 61.

The legitimation of embedded volunteers is not so simple, however. For many members of the public, these same legal, symbolic, and financial (their small stipend is discussed in the next section) factors delegitimize rather than legitimize the welfare commissioners and other embedded volunteers. All of the volunteers consider themselves to be "real" volunteers, but in talking about my project with members of the public, I discovered that not everyone agrees. As mentioned in the first chapter, there is often an assumption that a "real" volunteer must serve people he or she does not know and cannot accept any form of compensation (social, financial, or otherwise) for the service. Furthermore, "real" volunteering should come from an individual's personal initiative and an individual interest in the service, not because she was asked or because there was social pressure.

Therefore, for some volunteers in traditional, embedded organizations, the very practices that lend them legitimacy – legal and symbolic status – can also rob them of their "volunteer" status in the eyes of some people. Usually, people with these opinions are not volunteers at all or are activists in nonembedded advocacy organizations. As I have argued earlier, the view that volunteering must be altruistic and must come from individual initiative is very culturally biased in favor of those cultures that cultivate individual initiative and the service of strangers (e.g., Western, Christian countries). A discussion of why the Japanese have internalized this value judgment of volunteering is beyond the scope of this book. It is just important to note that the legitimacy issue is not as clear-cut as it may appear – those factors that contribute to the legitimacy of embedded volunteers for much of the public may actually work to undermine their legitimacy for some segments of the population.

Most of the volunteers have reconciled these conflicting views for themselves. All of the volunteer welfare commissioners I spoke with emphasized that it was an honor to be asked to serve, and, as a result, many of them did not feel that they could turn down the request and often had trouble ending their service when their three-year term was up because they felt an obligation to serve. One volunteer welfare commissioner in Sakata explained how he became involved. He started serving because he was asked to fill in for someone who quit in the middle of a term. Laughing at himself, he explained why he has continued to volunteer – "for twenty-eight years I just haven't managed to quit." He was about to begin his twenty-ninth year as a volunteer

when I spoke with him, and he did not expect to stop until he was no longer eligible to serve, when he reached seventy-five years of age (interview, 2002).

Just as has been the case with volunteer firefighters, changing social norms have challenged the legitimacy of the volunteer welfare commissioners. Volunteer welfare commissioners have a prewar history in which their position was filled by aristocrats handing out charity directly to the needy, and in some cases clients still have trouble adjusting to the idea that any aid received is an entitlement, not a gift.[23] Some clients, such as single mothers, may have trouble talking to the volunteer welfare commissioners in order to obtain their benefits because they do not want to be patronized or have their choices criticized (Goodman 1998, p. 148). Contemporary ideas about personal privacy also make some potential clients reluctant to use the services of volunteers in their community. Opponents of the system think the volunteers are nosy and would rather take their concerns to an impersonal government official than to a neighbor down the street.

The work of volunteer welfare commissioner may be viewed as outdated by some, but all of the volunteers and all city officials who work with them acknowledge that the volume of work has skyrocketed in recent years and shows no signs of abating. The rising number of elderly citizens, especially those living alone, coupled with dual-income families that leave no one to watch over the elderly or children in the household, has left many members of the community vulnerable. Add to these difficulties the increasing prevalence of impersonal living conditions of high-rise apartment buildings, and the job of keeping track of residents has become much more difficult. Neglect of the elderly and the youth has become a real problem throughout Japan, and the volunteers are scrambling to do what they can to make sure everyone is cared for properly.

More volunteer welfare commissioners are needed, but as with the firefighters, the pool of traditional volunteers has shrunk. Most commissioners used to be retired men, but their numbers are no longer

[23] Dore 1973, p. 70. Part of the difficulty for clients is that there did not used to be many entitlements in the Japanese welfare system. One of the volunteer welfare commissioners I interviewed explained that one of the most difficult parts of her job is trying to convince clients that they should apply for their eldercare insurance benefits – that they have a right to these benefits, which are not just a gift from the government for the very poor.

sufficient to meet the additional labor needs. Therefore, as with some of the volunteer fire departments, women have also been asked to serve. Unlike the volunteer fire departments, which are still 99 percent male, women now constitute the majority of welfare commissioners. In 1961 there were 123,855 volunteer welfare commissioners, of whom 94,935 or 77 percent were men. In 1999 there were 229,582 commissioners, of whom 103,949 or 45 percent were men (Kouseishou 2000, p. 539). As is clear from these numbers, the shift in the gender balance is not because the women are pushing out the men; rather, it is because women are increasingly called on to fill additional positions (between 1961 and 1999 the number of male volunteers increased by 9,014, and the number of women increased by 96,713).

The addition of more women to the ranks of the volunteer welfare commissioners has created considerably less stress and anxiety than the threat posed by women to volunteer fire departments. Perhaps this is because caring for the elderly and the poor has always been part of women's social obligations or because the activities of volunteer welfare commissioners are more individual and less reliant on group fraternizing. Whatever the reason, women have been fully integrated into the volunteer welfare commissioner system and now hold many of its key leadership positions.

The process of legitimation for eldercare volunteers in nonembedded volunteer groups is much less systematic or ingrained in the community than the same process for volunteer firefighters or volunteer welfare commissioners. There are no parades to honor or pay tribute to these volunteers. There is no special nomination process or official papers to go with the post. The public respects and admires the work of volunteers, as countless newspaper articles and neighborhood newsletters will attest, but this admiration does not amount to the same kind of tribute as that afforded the volunteers in embedded organizations. While it is acknowledged that these volunteers are doing something important for the community, it is assumed that they are enjoying the work or somehow benefiting from it themselves rather than fulfilling a civic responsibility.

In discussions with volunteers, this assumption seems justified. While volunteer firefighters and welfare commissioners are asked to serve and then do so because they feel obliged to carry out their civic responsibility (three-quarters of those I interviewed gave that rationale

for joining), volunteers in nonembedded groups choose to volunteer because of a personal interest. Of the fifteen volunteers in nonembedded groups whom I interviewed who discussed their motivations for joining their organizations, seven said that they joined because they were interested in the mission and activities of the group, three joined because they had a friend in the group and were hoping to make some more friends, and five responded that they wanted to do something for the community.

Unlike volunteers for embedded organizations, most of whom said they joined out of a sense of civic duty, none of the volunteers in nonembedded groups mentioned civic responsibility or obligation as a reason for joining. Their reasons were primarily rooted in personal interests or desires. They stressed their desire and interest in the activity at hand rather than an obligation to help the community at large, doing whatever task was asked of them. For example, one volunteer I interviewed was a retired tour bus driver. He did not think he had too many skills to offer, but he enjoyed driving, so he joined a group that drives the housebound elderly and handicapped around town for appointments or group excursions (interview, 2002).

The government offers these volunteers very little legal support, in stark contrast to the volunteer firefighters or welfare commissioners. They have no legal status other than as private individuals, and, even after 1998 when the Nonprofit Organization Law (NPO Law) made incorporation easier, many of their organizations and associations have still not been incorporated as legal entities. Japan is not a very litigious culture,[24] and the legal framework for nonprofits and volunteers is quite weak and until recently has not supported nonembedded organizations.[25] The government provides some funding to support service-oriented organizations but does not provide the kind of insurance benefits it gives to the volunteer firefighters and welfare commissioners.

[24] For two excellent books on legal culture in Japan, see Haley 1991 and Upham 1987.

[25] Several scholars argue that the suppression of independent voluntary activity was a conscious decision made by the government as an effort of social control. See Amemiya 1998; Garon 1997; and Pekkanen 2000. My argument does not disagree with their assertion but suggests that their focus on the restrictive legal conditions ignores the many ways in which volunteerism has flourished (and is flourishing) in Japan.

The lack of history and government support hinders the legitimacy of these new organizations. However, unlike the embedded organizations, which have long histories and are facing social changes that challenge traditional ways of volunteering, these same changes in society have provided encouragement and greater opportunities for the newer organizations. Since the unprecedented outpouring of 1.2 million volunteers following the Kobe earthquake disaster in 1995, new organizations have sprung up across the country to mobilize volunteer labor that had previously been untapped.

Many of these newer organizations have taken advantage of new norms of civic participation that allow for ad hoc projects and flexible, infrequent participation – norms that result from what Robert Wuthnow (1998) called in the American context "loose connections" in society. These sorts of connections between people have been less stable or long lasting than the types required to sustain traditional, embedded organizations. Unlike the volunteer firefighters or welfare commissioners who are essentially on call for their communities all the time, volunteers in the nonembedded organizations have been able to set the terms of their involvement and can show up for meetings and events when it is convenient, rather than being obligated to help out anytime someone needs assistance.

Being flexible with the timing and amount of time donated means that these organizations can utilize a much wider range of volunteers. In particular, working women and commuting salaried men, in addition to the usual retirees and housewives, can schedule their participation to fit their busy schedules. As people's lives have become more complicated and as they have tended to live farther from where they work, organizations that can accommodate a flexible schedule and can operate with only a few hours of donated time a month have been able to flourish.

Legitimacy for the work of volunteers and norms of civic engagement are vital for creating the incentive to participate as well as the support to continue serving when the contribution might seem more of a burden than a benefit. Communities legitimize the work of volunteers when they have public and private mechanisms for offering tribute that shows the volunteers that their work is respected and valued. Volunteers who are providing firefighting and eldercare services embody community norms of civic responsibility as they carry out their

work, and these norms are reinforced and passed on as new volunteers accept requests to serve or come forward to offer their assistance.

As society changes, however, these norms of civic responsibility must adjust as well. In some cases, such as with volunteer fire departments, these shifts are very difficult to make, and, in other cases, such as newer nonembedded volunteer groups helping the elderly, the changing social mores are enabling new paths of participation that make it easier for these groups to recruit volunteers.

All three cities – Kashihara, Sakata, and Sanda – had mechanisms to legitimize their volunteers. All three cities have granted volunteer firefighters and volunteer welfare commissioners special legal status. All three cities also had symbolic means of legitimizing volunteers with public festivals honoring their services. Kashihara did the best job of this with several festivals for the volunteer firefighters, including a color guard made up of members of the women's unit, and a large conference honoring eldercare volunteers. Compared to the other two cities, Sakata was catching up in this regard. It had only recently instituted a fire festival – just one had been held when I visited in 2002 – and although the city was home to the newly established Tohoku University of Community Service and Science, there were few large, public events honoring eldercare or other volunteers.

Organizing Volunteers

In addition to legitimacy, organizational support is also crucial to high levels of volunteer participation in any community. The organization of volunteers has three necessary steps. First, new members must be recruited to replace those who leave or to expand an existing organization. This process of recruiting new volunteers also serves to pass the norms of civic responsibility, generated through the legitimization processes described previously, on to younger generations of citizens.

Second, those in need of services must be matched with organizations that can serve those needs. Finally, the volunteer organization must continually assess how well it is serving the community. If the service it is providing is no longer needed, is needed in greater volume, or needed in a different form, the organization must adjust its mission in order to remain relevant. By remaining relevant, the volunteers retain and reinforce the legitimacy of their work.

Firefighting

The path to membership in a volunteer fire department has been similar across Japan throughout the postwar period. When a position in a volunteer fire department unit has opened up, due to the retiring of a current member or the expansion of required numbers, a search for a new member is conducted. If a suitable candidate is not immediately obvious (e.g., the son of the retiring firefighter or the younger brother of a recent recruit), the unit chief will often call on the neighborhood associations, the organization most closely connected to the residents, for suggestions of potential volunteers. Neighborhood associations enjoy 80–100 percent membership rates, so they are very connected to their communities and know of boys who have just graduated from high school and are staying in the area or of men who went away to college or for work but have returned home. Once a name is suggested, someone close to the prospective volunteer, such as a parent, sibling, senior classmate, or colleague, is asked to recruit him for the department.[26]

Because someone in a position of social authority issues the request for participation, it is very difficult for the prospective volunteer to say no. In this way, norms of civic responsibility are passed from one generation to the next – a young man is told by his father, older brother, or classmate that it is his duty to serve the community, and the young man agrees to serve. If he does not join, the community views him as not quite an adult, not quite a man. As one retired volunteer in Sanda told me, in the old days young men who did not join the volunteer fire department would be yelled at by their mothers and had trouble finding girls to marry because they were not viewed as responsible men by their community (interview, 2002).

Through the process of participation, a young man becomes socialized into the group and internalizes the value of his volunteer work. When the next opening comes up, he then will pressure his younger brother or classmate to join up and fulfill his civic duty. As discussed in the preceding section, increasingly women as well as commuting office

[26] Note that this recruitment pattern is also common in the United States. According to surveys by the Independent Sector conducted in the United States, people who were asked were much more likely to volunteer (71 percent did) than those who were not asked (29 percent volunteered without being asked). Independent Sector 2001, p. 2.

workers have been asked to join in addition to the traditional recruits of farmers and self-employed men. In this way, with some adjustments, the norm of participation has been passed on, and the institution continues to serve its community.

Once a mechanism for recruiting new members has been established, the volunteer organization must then find ways to serve those in need. With the volunteer fire department, the task has been greatly enhanced by modern technology. When a fire call comes into the central fire station, it triggers the alarm in the firehouse nearest the emergency. Volunteers who hear the call respond immediately, rushing to their firehouse. They receive radio instructions about the location of the fire while they are in the truck. In the geographically spread-out cities, such as Sanda and Sakata, volunteers are usually the first to respond. In both of those cities, there is only one station for the city fire department, so it can take as long as twenty minutes for the city fire truck to reach the fire if it is on the outskirts of town. Thus, the city has been heavily dependent on volunteer fire departments to be the first responders, whether with their full-sized fire truck or a smaller apparatus such as a small engine pump mounted on a pickup truck or even hand-pumped devices.

Modern technology – fire alarms, motorized fire engines and pumps, radio communications – has greatly reduced the number of people required to fight a fire and increased the effective response time.[27] This means that not as many volunteer firefighters are needed to maintain adequate day-to-day fire protection, but, as the ineffective and inefficient response of city fire departments during the Kobe earthquake of 1995 showed, volunteers are still critical during large-scale disasters and can be useful in disaster prevention efforts (Konishi 1998).

Kashihara took up the challenge posed by the earthquake in Kobe to revamp and improve its own disaster prevention activities. Because Kashihara is so geographically compact, city firefighters nearly always reach the fire scene first, and volunteer firefighters have been relegated to assistance and cleanup roles. With the new interest in supporting disaster prevention across the city, however, the mission of the volunteer

[27] Before steam-powered and motorized engines, it took twenty to forty firefighters to operate a single engine; now they can be run with a minimum of four people (interview, 2002; Greenberg 1998, p. 139).

fire department had an opportunity to expand. In response to a national call for the formation of local disaster prevention groups, many neighborhood associations formed groups to study the evacuation procedures of their buildings and city, practice operating fire extinguishers, and learn basic first aid. The groups have also hosted information sessions and demonstrations for the residents in their communities in which firefighters give them basic household fire hazard information, show them ways to use their gas stoves and heaters more safely, and suggest methods of reducing the fire risk to their homes. Because the city firefighters did not have sufficient personnel to conduct all of these training sessions and demonstrations, the volunteer firefighters have been called on to serve in this new capacity – and have increased their numbers in order to perform the new tasks.[28]

The volunteers have the manpower to staff these public demonstrations, but they do not have sufficient administrative capacity to organize them. Thus, it has usually been the job of paid city firefighters to coordinate their scheduling. All city fire departments have designated personnel who provide a liaison with the volunteers. In some places, such as Sanda and Sakata, volunteer liaison positions have been full-time assignments for two to four paid city firefighters who handle requests from all of the volunteer units. In others places such as Kashihara, liaison with volunteer departments has been only a part-time responsibility held by many people (Kashihara has two paid firefighters assigned to each volunteer unit for a total of twenty liaison positions). In addition to coordinating the schedule of trainings and demonstrations, these liaison officers also process equipment requests and other administrative needs of the volunteer units (interviews, 2001–2002).

Kashihara's women's unit has identified additional ways it could serve, over and above working with disaster prevention groups. As part of its participation in a citywide visiting lunch program that delivered lunch boxes to the elderly living alone, the women's unit began to conduct inspections of the elderly residents' electrical outlets, heaters, and stoves and give them information to help reduce the risk of fire. Through the process of visiting, the firefighters were alerted to another problem. For example, elderly residents were not

[28] For a discussion of all the new activities of Kashihara's volunteer fire department and the ways it expanded, see Henshukyoku (Editing Bureau) 2000.

able to respond quickly to emergencies. Because of their weak vision and slow, clumsy motor responses, elderly residents would waste precious minutes trying to look up the appropriate numbers to call for emergency assistance, and, if they did call, they were not certain of the appropriate way of reporting the situation. To address this problem, the women firefighters designed a sturdy plastic placard with emergency numbers and phrases to use when reporting an emergency situation listed in a large, easy-to-read format. The volunteers lobbied the city government to produce the placards, and, once they were made, the volunteers distributed them to the elderly residents they visited, affixing them near the telephone for easy reference (interview, 2002).

Volunteer firefighters have had a long and venerated history, but changing technology and social mores have challenged the legitimacy of the organization. Through their recruitment process, volunteer firefighters have been able to tap into social networks and pass on the norms of civic responsibility to new generations of firefighters. Furthermore, by engaging the community and searching for new ways to serve, some volunteer fire departments have been able to expand their missions and reach out to different elements of society both as potential clients as well as possible recruits. In this way, the volunteer firefighters have been able to remain relevant and effective in their service while enhancing their legitimacy.

Eldercare

Unlike the volunteer firefighters, whose primary target for new volunteers is young men, volunteer welfare commissioners have tended to be middle-aged, in their fifties or sixties. Not only do younger people seldom have the time to donate to this time-intensive service, but they also do not yet have sufficient standing in the community to act as its representative and provide counsel on sensitive issues. As with volunteer firefighters, replacement volunteer welfare commissioners are sometimes found within families – several of the volunteers I spoke with had a parent who had volunteered, and in some cases the son or daughter replaced the parent directly. More often, however, the neighborhood association chiefs recruit new volunteers, usually from among its members. All of the volunteer welfare commissioners I spoke with were active members of their neighborhood associations, some holding officer positions.

Matching elderly residents who need assistance with people who can help is not as straightforward as relaying a radio message to a fire truck. One resource that the municipal government lends is its access to the national family registry, a system that requires all Japanese and foreign residents to register their address and family members when they move to a new location or change their family status (e.g., get married, divorced, or add a person through the birth of a child). In this way, the local governments know the names and addresses of everyone in the city and can target the elderly who are living alone as perhaps needing special assistance. The government also receives calls and visits from elderly residents who, depending on their problems, may be referred to the appropriate volunteer welfare commissioner for assistance.

The pipeline works the opposite way as well. If a neighborhood resident contacts a volunteer welfare commissioner because his son just died and he needs some welfare benefits in order to pay his bills, the volunteer will help him negotiate the city bureaucracy to obtain the appropriate assistance. Every month the volunteer welfare commissioners meet with all the other commissioners in their district to share problems and concerns and raise issues that need to be brought to the city's attention. They also submit monthly reports on their activities (keeping client names anonymous), so the city is able to gather information on the kinds of problems residents have been facing. The city then compiles the information and identifies trends that are reported back to the volunteers.

At the monthly meeting between city officials and the district heads, both sides exchange information. The volunteer welfare commissioners raise the issues they have been facing in their district and in some cases ask for specific government assistance with problems. City officials share information that they have received from the prefectural or national governments that they want passed on to citizens, alert the volunteers to educational and other training opportunities, and ask the volunteers to assist with upcoming projects. Constant interaction between volunteers and the city officials enables both sides to be sure that they are meeting the needs of city residents and adjusting their services to adopt to changing conditions.

This process of giving and receiving information and assigning tasks does not always happen seamlessly, however. Most of the volunteer welfare commissioners I spoke with thought that they were spending

a lot of time doing their volunteer work (estimates ranged from 10 to 40 or more hours per month) and felt that the load would only increase. I attended one of the regular citywide meetings in Sanda; in attendance were the seven district heads and the chairwoman of the volunteer welfare commissioner's association and six representatives from various parts of the municipal government. The chairwoman ran the meeting, and volunteer welfare commissioners and city employees were called on to report on issues and make comments as pertinent to the agenda.

At one point during a mundane procedural discussion concerning a new national-prefectural initiative on youth, the district head from one of the New Town districts became very agitated. "We are a democracy!" he nearly shouted, pounding on the table. "They [the national government] shouldn't push so hard. It is too much to ask." The sympathetic city official promised to pass on his objections to the higher-ups, and the volunteer promised to have a number of questions ready for the prefectural and national officials who were scheduled to come to the next meeting (interview, 2002).

This incident notwithstanding, most of the volunteer welfare commissioners agreed that the balance was tipped in favor of the volunteers, who asked more of the government than vice versa. As one astute volunteer remarked in Sakata, "We are volunteers, so the government can't ask too much or we'll quit" (interview, 2002). The volunteers have made budget requests and have acted as advocates for their clients to improve or expand services, and have asked the city to provide them with training or materials to help them learn how to deal with new problems. They have also promoted initiatives of their own that require government funding. For example, in Sakata, the volunteers designed a large-print placard with emergency numbers for the elderly or others with poor vision, and the government printed up several thousand for delivery. Additionally, the volunteers petitioned for and received office space where they meet and store resource materials.

At a national level, as the problems of the youth – bullying, truancy, depression, and the like – increased, the volunteer welfare commissioners lobbied for extra positions to allow some commissioners to specialize in the problems of youth. In 1994 the government amended the Volunteer Welfare Commissioner Law to designate a new type of volunteer welfare commissioner, a position that focused specifically

on youth.[29] Considering the historical roots of the volunteer welfare commissioner system, which functioned primarily as a mechanism for social control under the prewar imperial regime, it was surprising to me how much influence these volunteers have over government policy.

The mechanism for recruiting new volunteers is quite different for newer, nonembedded volunteer organizations. Rather than relying on pressure exerted by preexisting social networks, these groups rely largely on the initiative of individuals who come forward because they are interested in the mission or activities of the organization. For organizations registered with the Social Welfare Council, the office will advertise the activities of the volunteer groups and post recruitment notices in its monthly newsletter or magazine for organizations that need more volunteers or need volunteers for a particular event. Although some volunteers join at the request of friends already in the group, most join in response to one of these published notices (interviews, 2002).

The nonembedded groups are usually very small, with no paid staff or office, so most cities have a designated volunteer coordinator who is a paid member of the Social Welfare Council. The coordinator can have a number of roles, but he often assumes the administrative task of matching potential volunteers with organizations, and organizations with those in need. Frequently, the coordinator fields phone calls from prospective volunteers as well as prospective clients inquiring about services that might be offered and matches volunteers with groups and with clients. Performing these administrative tasks for several of the groups frees volunteers to spend their time serving the clients rather than coping with administrative tasks. This volunteer coordinator may also create and distribute the volunteer schedule for the group and find replacements for people whose schedules change at the last minute. The irony of this arrangement is that instead of the civic groups acting as a pipeline to communicate citizen needs to the government, it is often the government that communicates citizen needs to the volunteer groups.

The independence of these groups has been most evident in the development of new groups to address unmet needs in society. While leaders

[29] Interview, 2002. In 1995, the first year of the new law, 13,823 volunteer youth welfare commissioners joined the 202,704 volunteer welfare commissioners (Kouseishou 2000, p. 539).

of embedded groups have tended to work within existing frameworks to create new directions and activities for their volunteers, leaders of nonembedded organizations have often started targeted organizations that focus on filling a need not currently met sufficiently by existing organizations. These leaders are often more outspoken, demanding changes to the current system, although they are most effective when they draw on the strengths of established organizations before embarking on their new project.

One illuminating example of this kind of independent thinker and community leader is Dr. Yashima Yutaka, president of the Silver Network Kashihara, which he founded in 1994. A medical doctor near retirement and a longtime Lions Club member, Dr. Yashima was determined to create a citywide network that would help the elderly in Kashihara. He did not like the way the government would give the elderly the runaround, forcing them to see multiple government employees to solve their problems. So, he lobbied for, and the municipal government adopted, a "One Door Policy," in which the elderly had a single contact person in the government to whom they could address all of their problems.

He also thought that the government publications on the new National Eldercare Insurance were too difficult to read and understand, so his group designed an easy-to-understand guide and distributed it to elderly residents. In only six years, the organization has grown to include a network of more than eleven volunteer organizations with a combined total of 13,459 volunteers, providing a range of services from neighborhood "Friendship Salons" and visiting lunch programs to caretaker field trips and annual symposiums on eldercare (interview, 2002; Silver Network Kashihara 1999).

Of the three kinds of support, organizational support varied the most widely among the three cities and appeared to be the most important. Kashihara dedicated considerable personnel resources to assisting volunteers and their organizations (twenty part-time liaison officers to work with volunteer fire departments and twenty-five full-time staff members to work with volunteers dealing with eldercare and social welfare). Of particular importance were the ways that civic activists as well as city employees in Kashihara utilized the forum of the Social Welfare Council to facilitate coordination and cooperation among volunteer groups, particularly between older and newer groups. They used

the Social Welfare Council as a place where they could brainstorm new ideas for service provision, plan jointly sponsored projects, and coordinate service delivery.

The organizational support in Kashihara contrasted sharply with Sakata. Sakata also had staff (four full-time people) dedicated to help volunteer fire departments and additional full-time staff to help out other volunteer organizations. One organizational structure that was quite different from the other two cities was that Sakata had created a Volunteer Promotion Center to help support newer-style nonembedded organizations. The result was that the Social Welfare Council (and the six city staff members associated with it) tended to work exclusively with embedded organizations and developed programs and initiatives that relied on those organizations and did not integrate newer, nonembedded groups. Likewise, the Volunteer Promotion Center (and the three city staff members associated with it) tended to be somewhat isolated from the activities of the Social Welfare Council and carried out its own initiatives and projects.

The volunteer coordinator in Sakata provided social work advice,[30] but he did not field phone calls from prospective volunteers to match them with organizations related to their interests; that job was rotated among a pool of volunteers from registered groups. Therefore, the newer, nonembedded groups had higher administrative burdens than similar groups in other cities, they were often isolated from the embedded organizations, and they were not brought into cooperative, joint projects with them. These institutional structures and practices created weaker nonembedded organizations than were found in other cities. In this case, having a center dedicated to nonembedded groups proved to be a detriment rather than a benefit to their organizational abilities.

The organizational support in Sanda lay somewhere in between the other two cities. It dedicated some resources to volunteer organizations (two staff members to volunteer fire departments and five full-time and five part-time staff members for social welfare and eldercare), supporting their work but not particularly enhancing or hindering cooperation among different groups.

[30] He was the only licensed social worker I met in any of the three cities.

Funding Volunteers

While volunteers may offer labor to their communities for free, the services they supply do not come without costs. In some services, such as firefighting, equipment and overhead costs are considerable. Volunteers may be willing to donate their time and money to their communities in order to provide the necessary service, but in many cases the nonlabor costs are too high for them to bear without significant outside financial assistance. There are generally two kinds of funding that governmental or societal institutions can give to volunteers. The first is direct funding, money or equipment given directly to the organization. The second way is through indirect forms of support, providing things that the volunteers would have to purchase elsewhere if they were not provided, such as insurance benefits or meeting space.

Governmental funding frees the volunteers from the burden of fund raising and enables them to concentrate their efforts on providing the service. However, receiving funds from the government denies the volunteer organizations the public relations and outreach benefits accrued when funding is solicited from the public or from members. In an unexpected twist, higher levels of governmental funding do not necessarily mean that the organization is more beholden to the government – often the organizations that are fully funded by the government also have the strongest negotiating power.

Firefighting

The Japanese state gives significant direct funding to volunteer fire departments; municipalities cover the majority (90–100 percent) of costs, with some help from the central government. Although the amount of funding varies by department, the city usually provides the firehouses, trucks, hoses, uniforms, and other necessary equipment. The units may also receive small additional funds for extra hoses and other incidental equipment from their local neighborhood association, but the amount of these extra funds is usually 10 percent or less of the total budget. In addition to equipment, the volunteer units also receive cash to cover maintenance and entertainment costs. The Fire Bureau of the national government sets guidelines for the allowances, but the actual amount is determined by municipal statute and therefore

varies widely.[31] Although this money appears in budgets as allowances for individual firefighters, it is usually pooled for use by the unit as a whole for such purposes as going out for food and beer together after a drill session, and coffee or cleaning supplies for the firehouse. Retirement allowances are kept by the individual firefighter.

In addition to direct funding for equipment, municipalities also provide insurance benefits for volunteer firefighters. The Fire Defense Organization Law requires municipalities to compensate volunteer firefighters or their families for death and disability incurred as a result of injury or illness sustained during official duty and to pay them a retirement allowance.[32] In 1956 the national government established a volunteer firefighters compensation fund to assist local governments in covering these insurance costs, and it was later expanded to include retirement allowances. In 1997 the fund became a private, nonprofit corporation called the Volunteer Firefighters Public Service Disaster Compensation Mutual Aid Fund. Currently more than 90 percent of municipalities have contracted with the fund for the provision of injury and death compensation, and all have joined for the provision of retirement bonuses (Firefighting Bureau 1998, p. 41).

Because volunteer fire departments receive almost all of their funding from the government, they do not have to engage in any fund-raising activities and are able to dedicate their time to providing firefighting or fire prevention services. However, because funding for the volunteer fire departments is part of the city fire department's regular budget, there is a direct conflict between the two departments – any money given to the volunteer departments is money not given to the city firefighters. In some cases, the public leaders may view the municipal department

[31] For example, the 2000 national guidelines for annual figures suggested that a volunteer fire chief receive 79,000 yen (about $607) per year and a regular volunteer firefighter receive 32,500 (about $250). In Sanda the chief received 148,700 yen and a regular volunteer 15,000 yen (Sandashi Shoubou Honbu 2001, p. 60). In Kashihara the chief received 14,200 yen and a regular volunteer 8,800 yen. In Sakata the amount given to a chief was 110,000 and 17,000 was given to a regular volunteer firefighter (Sakata Chiku Shoubou Kumiai Shoubou Honbu 2001, p. 96). Retirement benefits are fixed nationally – about 130,000 yen ($1,000) for a regular firefighter and 920,000 ($7,000) for chief. Recent figures available from the Shouboucho Shouboudan (volunteer fire department homepage) homepage: http://www.fdma.go.jp/syobodan/osirase.html (Japanese) (1/10/06).

[32] Fire Defense Organization Law, 1947, Articles 15.7 and 15.8.

as representing or carrying the "image of the administration," so if a choice must be made between the departments, the city fire department should be favored over the volunteers (Jimukyouku 1978, p. 1760). In the 1950s and 1960s, a national plan for consolidating municipal units resulted in a dramatic expansion of paid municipal departments and a reduction in the number of volunteer departments.[33]

In the three cities that are the focus of this study, there was little discussion of competition, and all parties suggested that the relationship between the volunteer and city firefighters was very good. In general, due to a national recession and tight government budgets, all cities were actively trying to expand the activities and numbers of volunteer firefighters because this is an area where a little money could go a long way. Furthermore, city and volunteer departments seemed to be performing different work or serving different areas, thus reducing conflict.

In all three cities, emergency medical and ambulance services were the bulk of the city fire departments work and were not provided by the volunteers (ambulance services in Japan are run not by hospitals but exclusively by municipal or consortium fire departments). In Kashihara, the city fire department also did most of the firefighting; the volunteers concentrated on support, clean up, and community education and outreach. In Sanda and Sakata, the volunteers were the first responders to fires in the rural parts of the city, with the city fire department taking primary responsibility for fires in the more urban, downtown areas. The relatively clear delegation of roles helped reduce the potential for conflict that was inherent in the funding structure; each side was able to see the value of the other and not feel that its position was threatened.

Eldercare

As in the case of firefighting, the government provides both direct and indirect funding for volunteers providing eldercare service. The funding system for the volunteer welfare commissioners is similar to that

[33] Among other reasons for this change was a central government policy that promoted the consolidation by offering funding for the building of new firehouses – however, the funds supported only paid fire department houses, not those belonging to volunteer departments.

supporting the volunteer firefighters because they both have the same quasi-public-servant status. The Volunteer Welfare Commissioner Law requires the prefectures to cover the costs associated with the volunteer commissioner work. Volunteer welfare commissioners are paid a lump sum to cover administrative costs, such as transportation to client meetings, copies, postage, phone calls, and the like. In 2001 the amount received by volunteer welfare commissioners in Sanda and Sakata was 63,000 yen annually (approximately $485) (Sandashi Minsei'in Jidoui'in Kyougikai 2001, p. 13; Yamagataken Minsei Jidoi'in Kyougikai 2001, p. 4). Although high by American standards, this figure is barely enough to cover the amount volunteers spend serving their clients and attending meetings, and it is likely that many volunteers spend more than what they are given. Unlike volunteer firefighters, volunteer welfare commissioners do not receive money from the state when they retire; this stipend is the extent of the direct funding they receive.

In terms of indirect benefits, as with the volunteer firefighters, volunteer welfare commissioners receive insurance coverage while they are serving. The prefectural governments have established public insurance systems for their employees, and volunteer welfare commissioners are covered by this insurance if they are injured or killed while performing care in an official capacity.[34] Furthermore, the volunteers have full use of public buildings to hold their monthly meetings or to meet with clients. City officials produce all of the training material for the volunteers and print any other information circulated to residents by the volunteers.

Therefore, just as in the case of the volunteer firefighters, the government covers most of the nonlabor costs of providing this service, and the volunteers do not have to spend time raising money to fund their activities.[35] As noted in the previous section on organization, however, this does not mean that these volunteers are under the thumb of the

[34] In Hyogo prefecture, death benefits are 10,000,000 yen (approximately $77,000) (Sandashi Minsei'in Jidoui'in Kyougikai, undated, p. 61).

[35] The volunteer welfare commissioners, along with members of the Social Welfare Council, municipal employees, and neighborhood associations, participate in Japan's national "red feather" annual collection campaign. Money collected from this fund-raising drive is aggregated together at the national level and then redistributed to Social Welfare Councils across Japan.

government. In contrast, all of the city officials I spoke with acknowledged their heavy reliance on the volunteer welfare commissioners and deferred to them in tone and action during meetings.

Although the government asks volunteer welfare commissioners to perform certain tasks, it is usually the volunteers who are demanding things from the government, and they often have their requests answered. Of ten volunteer welfare commissioners I asked, seven characterized their relationship with the city government as "balanced, like a 'pipeline,'" two thought that the volunteers asked more of the government than vice versa, and only one thought that the government demanded more.

Funding for nonembedded volunteers comes from a combination of public and private sources. The cities provide small amounts of funding through grant programs to groups registered with the Social Welfare Council. One organization in Sanda that helps elderly and handicapped residents get out of their houses for walks in the park, trips to the doctor, or group activities provides a typical example. It had about forty members and a total budget of 260,000 yen (about $2,000) in 2001, of which 40 percent came from government sources and most of the remainder came from membership fees (Gaishu Kaijyo Borantia "Kakehashi" 2002, p. 7). Some organizations, such as for the group Rainbow in Sanda, which also assists elderly and handicapped residents in wheelchairs to get out of their houses, require special costly vehicles in order to perform their service. These volunteers covered the cost of gas out of pocket, but the city owns and stores the cars and pays for the auto insurance (interview, 2002). Larger organizations, such as the Silver Network in Kashihara, are able to garner greater public funds, especially if the initial investment comes from the private sector.[36] In addition to whatever direct funding they receive, registered volunteer groups are able to use the facilities in the city's welfare or volunteer centers free of charge.

These nonembedded volunteer groups generally receive most of their funding from member fees. These organizations do not generally take drop-in volunteers; an individual must become a member in order to

[36] The Silver Network was founded in 1994 with 7,500,000 yen ($57,000) from the Lions and Lioness Clubs. In 1999 the two clubs together contributed 100,000 yen ($770), and the city provided 2,500,000 ($19,000) in grant money (Silver Network Kashihara 1999, p. 21).

volunteer. Becoming a member means paying a small (often 1,000 yen or about $8) annual membership fee and signing up for regular service times. After they pay their fee, members do not generally have to incur the incidental costs of volunteering, such as those for gas or insurance for the car. These membership fees indicate a recognition that the volunteer has chosen this activity and gains some benefit from it; therefore, paying a membership fee for the privilege of participating is expected, just as it would be for any other kind of club.

In addition to membership fees, another source of private-sector income is money raised at charity events, often flea-market sales or benefit concerts. An organization may plan one or two events to raise some money to help cover administrative costs. Larger organizations tend to organize more visible and more expensive events, such as a charity golf tournament or a benefit concert, and smaller organizations rely more on smaller-scale flea markets. A final way organizations can raise money is by collecting fees for performing some kind of service, such as passing out leaflets, collecting recyclable items, or giving lectures to schools. These efforts help make the organization more visible in the community, and they reinforce and pass on norms of civic responsibility to members of the organization as well as the community.

Although nonembedded organizations are less reliant on government funding than their embedded counterparts, they are often more beholden to the state. Because they are not performing services such as firefighting that are viewed as vital social services, city officials are less concerned about the continued viability of any one of these organizations. Furthermore, these organizations usually have little or no administrative capacity, so they rely entirely on the government to connect them to clients and to new volunteers. As a result, smaller groups are limited in their ability to pressure the government for the additional funding that would enable the group to grow. For example, the leadership in Rainbow was thinking about expanding its services beyond Sanda's border to serve the elderly and handicapped in neighboring towns. However, city officials were not interested in this proposal, so it did not move forward.[37]

[37] The group is now considering whether to try to become incorporated under the new Nonprofit Organization Law and is researching possible funding options, although it is doubtful about this outcome (interview, 2002).

All three cities offered considerable funding to volunteer organizations. Of particular note is the volunteer promotion program in Sakata. This program grants up to 28 million yen (about $215,000) to as many as nine volunteer organizations in the form of matching grants. The grant supports new initiatives on a one-time basis. These grants have particularly targeted newer organizations in order to promote the creation and expansion of nonprofit activities in the city (interview, 2002). Unfortunately, Sakata's funding support was not sufficient to overcome its weakness in organizational support, leaving Kashihara as the city with the highest volunteer participation rate among the three cities I investigated.

KASHIHARA: PORTRAIT OF A VOLUNTEERING COMMUNITY

Of the three cities, Kashihara had the most active volunteer participation. While the other two experienced stagnation or decline in the number of volunteer firefighters, its department grew by 79 percent. It had the largest number of volunteer welfare commissioners (229 compared to Sanda's 199 and Sakata's 182). Finally, more than twice as many Kashihara residents volunteered for nonembedded volunteer organizations than in the other two cities (3,546 compared to Sanda's 1,289 and Sakata's 1,496).

Kashihara's high level of volunteer participation was a direct result of the legitimizing, organizing, and funding support offered by its community. Not only did the community provide a number of public and private means of offering the volunteers legitimation and tribute, but the city used the Social Welfare Council as a forum to forge connections between embedded and nonembedded groups, facilitating the efficient use of resources and expanding the network of volunteers available for projects.

The government provided extensive resources to enhance cooperation among volunteer organizations (twenty-five full-time staff members; Sakata had three and Sanda had four). Kashihara also had the strongest leadership and recruitment support of the neighborhood associations (93 percent of households were members, as opposed to 85 percent in Sanda and 87 percent in Sakata). These organizational supports were supplemented by extensive funding, direct and indirect, from both public and private sources.

As a result of the practices of governmental and societal institutions that legitimized, organized, and funded volunteer organizations, Kashihara had very high levels of volunteer participation compared to levels in Sanda and Sakata. However, both Sakata and Sanda have been making changes in the practices of their governmental and societal institutions that may increase the rates of volunteer participation in their communities. A closer examination of the three cities and the ways that their volunteer participation is changing can be found in Chapter 5, where the cases are reexamined using the Community Volunteerism Model.

5

Engaged Communities

The Community Volunteerism Model

This book has developed a theory of volunteer participation that is based on citizen ideas of governmental and individual responsibility and the practices of governmental and societal institutions. The second chapter explored the ways that citizen ideas of governmental and individual responsibility for dealing with social problems in different countries influenced the types of organizations prevalent in a country. The fourth chapter identified ways in which the practices of governmental and societal institutions influence different rates of volunteer participation. This chapter ties both ideas and practices together to develop a model predicting the types and the rates of volunteer participation in communities. This model intends to help answer some of the pressing questions addressed in this book: Why do some communities have more of certain types of volunteer organizations and fewer of others? Why are some communities more civically engaged than others? How do communities motivate and organize volunteers to provide services that the government also provides?

The chapter begins by outlining the model and explaining how ideas and practices fit together to determine the type and rate of volunteer participation in communities. Unlike previous chapters in which ideas and practices were analytically isolated from one another, this model highlights the connection between the two, showing the ways that changes in citizen ideas can alter the practices of governmental and societal institutions and vice versa. The model is then applied to the cases

of Kashihara, Sakata, and Sanda that were examined in Chapter 4. It is tested cross-nationally with the cases of Finland, Japan, Turkey, and the United States in Chapter 6.

THE MODEL

The Community Volunteerism Model explains why different communities volunteer for different types of organizations at different rates. The model has two dimensions. First, citizen ideas of state responsibility and individual responsibility for caring for society determine the types of civic organizations in which they will choose to volunteer. Second, the rate of volunteer participation is determined by the level of support that the community offers volunteer organizations through the practices of their governmental and societal institutions: legitimizing, organizing, and funding volunteer organizations.

These two dimensions – ideas and practices – help shape and reinforce community norms of civic responsibility. A community's idea of governmental and societal responsibility informs the *content* of the norm of civic responsibility; it tells the citizens which type of organization should be supported with their volunteering efforts. Chapter 4 told the story of a volunteer welfare commissioner in Sakata who had served his community for twenty-eight years. He believed that he had a duty to work with the local government to address problems facing the elderly and disadvantaged in his community; as a result, he volunteered with an organization that worked very closely with the municipal government to address community problems. Because many communities in Japan sustain this norm of civic responsibility, Japan has high levels of volunteering in embedded organizations that work closely with the government.

These two ideas are not mutually exclusive. If a community has both ideas in equal strengths, that is, if citizens think that both the government and private individuals should deal with social problems, then both embedded and nonembedded organizations will be equally present. In Finland this is particularly true, as is explored in greater length in the next chapter. Finns in the city volunteer for nonembedded organizations like Greenpeace and Amnesty International at rates higher than most of the world, but Finns are also strongly supportive of embedded groups that work with local (and national and

international) government to promote village life in rural Finland. Conversely, if citizens think that neither the government nor private individuals should deal with social problems, then neither type of organization will be present.

In addition to having varying content, a community norm of civic responsibility can also be stronger or weaker. The practices of governmental and societal institutions determine the *strength* of a community's norm of civic responsibility. If the practices of these institutions reinforce the norm of civic responsibility by legitimizing volunteer organizations and providing organizational and financial support, then the norm will be strengthened and more people will volunteer. The preceding chapter highlighted the successful ways that public and private individuals in Kashihara were able to use the institution of the Social Welfare Council, common to most cities in Japan, to promote high levels of volunteer participation because of the ways that the institution's practices legitimized, funded, and especially organized volunteers and their groups.

The ideas that citizens have of governmental and individual responsibility influence the content of a community's norm of civic responsibility and determine the types of organizations prevalent in the community. The practices of governmental and societal institutions influence the strength of the community's norm of civic responsibility and determine the rate at which community residents volunteer. Both of these elements – ideas and practices – shape a community's norm of civic responsibility, which serves to direct volunteers toward certain types of organizations and motivates residents to volunteer in the first place. The model is illustrated in Figure 5.1, and an outline of the predicted outcomes is presented in Table 5.1.

This model is applicable at the level of the community. The community under examination could be geographically large or small, but it must include both state and society. In order for a community to include the state, there must be some governmental organization with jurisdictional boundaries that correspond with the boundaries of the community. Likewise, in order for a community to include society, the members of a social group must have an identity tied to being a member of that community and social institutions that recognize the boundaries of the community. The boundaries constituted by the government and those constituted by society must be identical or nearly so.

TABLE 5.1. *Predictions of the Community Volunteerism Model*

	Ideas: Type of Volunteering		
	High Governmental Responsibility	**Moderate/Mixed**	**High Individual Responsibility**
Practices: Rate of volunteering			
Supportive	Embedded organizations prevalent High participation rates	Embedded and nonembedded organizations equally present High participation rates	Nonembedded organizations prevalent High participation rates
Not supportive	Embedded organizations prevalent Low participation rates	Embedded and nonembedded organizations equally present Low participation rates	Nonembedded organizations prevalent Low participation rates

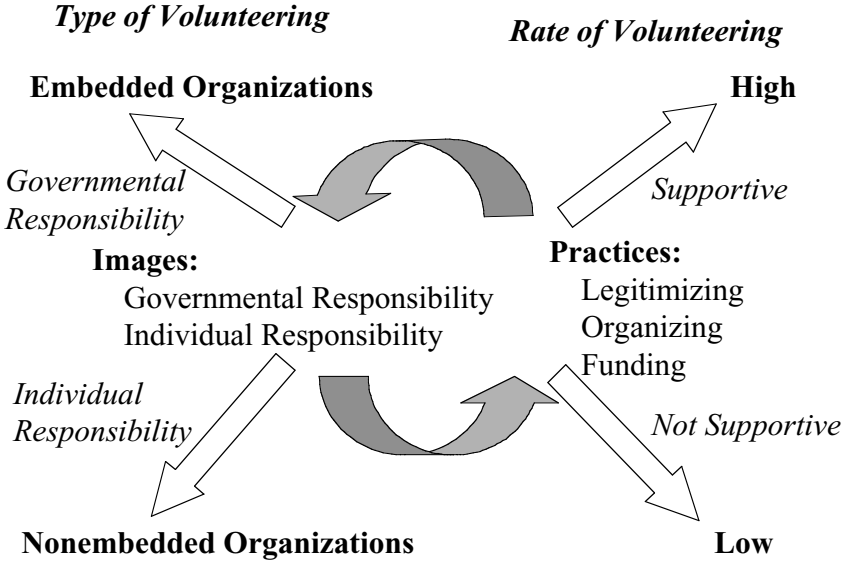

FIGURE 5.1. The Community Volunteerism Model.

For example, if a city government has neighborhood or ward offices that treat the subunits differently from one another – legitimizing volunteers in one neighborhood but not another, organizing volunteers in one but not another, or funding volunteers in one but not another – and there are social organizations with boundaries that correspond with those recognized by the local government, then the model should be able to differentiate volunteering patterns for different neighborhoods within a single city. If, however, the city government does not have neighborhood-level units, then there is no state institution to be in relationship with the social institution of the neighborhood. Likewise, if the members of a city neighborhood view a neighborhood as merely an address but not part of their identity, or if they have no social institutions with boundaries corresponding to those of the city's demarcated neighborhood, than the model cannot be used. In either case – whether it is the government or the society that fails to recognize the boundaries of the neighborhood – the model cannot be used at the level of the neighborhood because it would not meet the definitional requirements of a community for the purposes of applying the model.

On the other end of the spectrum, the model should also be applicable at the national level, predicting variation in volunteering patterns across countries. Chapter 2 has demonstrated that different countries have different ideas of civic responsibility, and they can have different practices as well. Some countries may have significant legitimation of volunteers whereas others do not; some countries might offer organizational or financial support to volunteer organizations whereas others do not offer such support. As long as a good measure of the practices of governmental and societal institutions can be developed and consistently applied in different countries, the model should also be able to predict the variation in volunteering patterns across countries. The Community Volunteerism Model is tested using the cases of Finland, Japan, Turkey, and the United States in the next chapter.

There has been much discussion about the rise of a "global civil society" (Keane 2003; Salamon et al. 1999). The Community Volunteerism Model cannot predict the size or shape of civil society on a global scale. This model was developed using a state-in-society approach; it therefore assumes that volunteering patterns are a function of state-society interaction. Because there is no global government, the

model cannot be used where there is no unified state organization or authority.[1]

In this book, the boundaries of a community are assumed to have both geographic and social dimensions that match one another. For example, a neighborhood (or a city, or a prefecture, or a country) has a geographic boundary that is reflected in the jurisdiction of both governmental and societal institutions – a resident living on one side of the street votes for different ward representatives and joins a different neighborhood association from a resident living on the other side of the street. Theoretically, however, there is no reason that the boundaries between communities necessarily correspond with geographic boundaries, so long as they are recognized by both state and society. For example, one could imagine a city with two ethnic groups. The city government might have a different office to deal with each ethnic group, and the members of the two ethnic groups might join separate – but parallel – social organizations. In this case, even if the people of the two communities were geographically mixed together, they could still be considered to be part of two communities, and the model should be able to distinguish the volunteering behavior of each one.

Within any given community, members have an idea of governmental and individual responsibility. These ideas help shape the content of the norm of civic responsibility held by that community, directing volunteer activity toward different types of organizations. Both ideas will exist in any given community. Indeed, a single person might even hold both ideas simultaneously and could volunteer for both types of organizations. One benefit of this model is that it identifies the predominant ideas held by a community as a whole, and thus can predict the types of organizations that will be prevalent in that community.

As the preceding illustration indicates, ideas and practices can reinforce or undermine one another. If a community has a strong idea of

[1] It is possible to imagine that the European Union might be a reasonable community-unit because many Europeans see themselves as part of a European community and there are governmental organizations covering the geographic location. The challenge would be to discover if there were meaningful practices of the EU in all of the member countries such that the EU could be compared to a country such as the United States (where national policies are also mediated by the state governments). While an interesting puzzle for further research, this question lies outside the scope of the current project.

individual responsibility and a weak idea of government responsibility, then there will be higher participation in organizations that are more independent of the government and lower participation in organizations that have an embedded relationship with the government. If this same community has practices that support nonembedded organizations by legitimizing, organizing, and funding them, then there will be a virtuous cycle in which the volunteering in nonembedded organizations grows, year after year, or at least remains at a high rate of participation.

If, however, the practices of governmental and societal institutions do not reinforce the idea of individual responsibility held by the community by withholding support from this type of volunteer organization, then the number of volunteers will dwindle. Eventually, the idea of individual responsibility may even fade in favor of a stronger idea of governmental responsibility as it becomes apparent that organizations that are independent of the government are not vibrant and are not caring for society. If a community's idea shifts from one of individual responsibility to one of governmental responsibility, the practices of state and social institutions may also adjust to support more embedded organizations and fewer independent ones. This could then result in another virtuous cycle where both the idea and the practices support embedded organizations and many citizens volunteer.

Thus far, this has been an abstract discussion of the model and its application. For a clearer understanding of how the Community Volunteerism Model can be utilized to predict and explain the differences in volunteering patterns across communities, the following section returns to the cases of Kashihara, Sakata, and Sanda to illustrate how the model reveals the dynamic interplay between ideas of governmental and individual responsibility and the practices of governmental and societal institutions.

REVISITING KASHIHARA, SAKATA, AND SANDA

The Community Volunteerism Model explains the variation in volunteer participation in Kashihara, Sakata, and Sanda quite well. The ideas that residents have of their civic responsibilities correctly predict the types of organizations prevalent in each city as well as their prevalence relative to one another. Similarly, the practices of governmental

TABLE 5.2. *Responses to NHK Survey on Attitudes (%)*

	Kashihara (Nara)	Sakata (Yamagata)	Sanda (Hyogo)
Yes to nonembedded volunteering	59.4	54.5	52.1
Yes to embedded volunteering	50.7	57.5	45.9

and societal institutions – how well they legitimize, organize, and fund volunteer organizations – correctly predict rates of volunteer participation in each city. Kashihara has the most volunteers in nonembedded organizations and the highest rate of volunteering overall. Sakata has the most volunteers in embedded organizations and the second highest rate of volunteering overall. Sanda has the lowest numbers of both types of organizations and the lowest rate of volunteering overall.

It is difficult to obtain subnational data on ideas that citizens have of state and individual responsibility in Japan. As a substitute measure for this variable, I utilized NHK data from a survey on Japanese attitudes and values. The survey of 900 individuals in each of Japan's forty-seven prefectures, a total of 42,300 respondents, was conducted in June and July 1996. I assume that the cities of Kashihara, Sakata, and Sanda have preferences similar to those of their respective prefectures: Nara, Yamagata, and Hyogo. This is a big assumption, although not an unreasonable one, because all three cities are reasonably representative of other communities in their respective prefectures.

I am using these NHK data primarily as an additional measure of community attitudes to supplement the data collected in interviews. While my interviews were extensive, they were not from a randomly selected sample, so the NHK data are used to supplement those data. Because these data suggest the same kinds of differences between communities that I found in my interviews (discussed at greater length later in this chapter), they are reasonable to use as proxy variables in the quantitative analysis.

The NHK survey did not ask respondents directly about their ideas on governmental and individual responsibility but instead asked about the types of volunteering and community activities that they supported. These responses are used as proxy measures of the ideas (see Table 5.2). Thus, an idea of civic responsibility that supports nonembedded

volunteering was measured in the percentage of yes responses to the question, "Do you think you would like to try volunteering for handicapped people or the elderly?" (NHK Housou Bunka Kenkyuu Sohen 1997, appendix p. 32). The question uses the English term "volunteer" to describe the activity. This term is associated with volunteering for nonembedded organizations that have an issue-area focus (such as on the elderly or handicapped in the question) and have an independent relationship with the government.[2]

An idea of civic responsibility that supports volunteering in embedded organizations was measured in the percentage of yes responses to the question: "Do you think you want to participate actively in local projects or festivals?" (NHK Housou Bunka Kenkyuu Sohen 1997, appendix p. 34). These two activity areas are dominated by embedded organizations such as neighborhood associations, so affirming an interest in participating in these groups indicates support for organizations with close connections with the government.

From these survey responses, the Community Volunteerism Model would expect Kashihara to have the greatest participation in nonembedded organizations and Sakata to have the highest level of participation in embedded organizations. Within each city, Kashihara should have the most skewed distribution of volunteers between the two types because of the nearly 10 percent point difference between the two responses. Sakata and Sanda should have a more balanced distribution of the two types of organizations as they have only a 3 to 6 percent point difference between the two ideas. These expectations are fulfilled when the relative level of volunteering is examined in each city.

As Table 5.3 indicates, Kashihara has the highest level of nonembedded volunteers in the group: it has the highest values for both measures of nonembedded volunteering, Social Welfare Council volunteers and incorporated nonprofit organizations (NPOs). Likewise, Sakata has the highest level of embedded volunteering: it has the greatest number of volunteers in four of six measures of embedded volunteering. Sanda fills in the bottom of the chart: it has the lowest levels of nonembedded volunteering and is the middle or the lowest participator in all six measures of embedded volunteering.

[2] For more on the Japanese concept of "volunteer," see Aoki 1999; Asano and Yamauchi 2001; Nakano 2000, 2005; Nakata 1996; Stevens 1997.

TABLE 5.3. *Chart of Relative Strength of Each Type of Organization in Each City*

	Kashihara	Sakata	Sanda
Highest participation			
Nonembedded	Social Welfare Council Incorporated NPOs	Incorporated NPOs	
Embedded	Neighborhood association	Volunteer firefighters Senior club members PTA members Women's club members	
Medium participation			
Nonembedded		Social Welfare Council	
Embedded	Welfare commissioners	Neighborhood association Welfare commissioners	Volunteer firefighters Welfare commissioners Senior club members Women's club members
Lowest participation			
Nonembedded			Social Welfare Council Incorporated NPOs
Embedded	Volunteer firefighters Senior club members Women's club members		Neighborhood associations PTA members

Note: Ranking based on per capita membership; full membership data can be found in Appendix B.

Within each city, the model also accurately predicts the distribution of volunteers between the two types of groups. Kashihara has the most skewed distribution of organizations: it is the highest participator for both measures of nonembedded volunteering and the lowest in most measures of embedded volunteering. Sakata and Sanda are more

balanced: they both occupy adjoining squares on the chart, with volunteering more evenly distributed between the two types of organizations.

Thus, the ideas that the citizens in these cities have of their civic responsibilities accurately predict the types of organizations that they join. However, these ideas cannot predict the rate of participation; for that, one needs to examine the practices of the governmental and societal institutions in each city. The model predicts that cities whose institutions are supportive – they legitimize, organize, and fund volunteer organizations – will have higher rates of volunteer participation. Likewise, those cities where the practices are not supportive – they do not legitimize, organize, or fund volunteer organizations – will have lower rates of volunteer participation.

As Chapter 4 demonstrated, Kashihara's practices are the most supportive of volunteering. The governmental institutions offer legitimation through the sponsorship of festivals and cooperative citywide events that promote volunteerism. There are many city officials dedicated to providing organizational and logistical support to both embedded, and especially nonembedded organizations, and the government offers considerable financial support to volunteer organizations. Societal institutions are equally supportive. One of the key societal institutions, neighborhood associations, has an extraordinary 93 percent membership rate, and it is effective in using this broad access and support to sponsor many neighborhood-based activities and to create linkages across different volunteer groups. Individuals in Kashihara also provide significant funding for volunteer organizations through membership dues and private donations.

Sakata's practices are also supportive of volunteer organizations, but are not as supportive as those in Kashihara. The government has not been as good at legitimizing volunteer organizations (it only recently sponsored a fire festival for volunteer firefighters, and it does not provide much publicity for nonembedded volunteers, eldercare volunteers in particular). It has offered moderate organizational support – it has a Volunteer Center – but its organizational support has not created linkages between embedded and nonembedded organizations, and staff resources heavily favor the former type of organization. The government does provide high levels of funding for both types of groups, offering large grants to nonembedded organizations while covering operational costs for embedded groups.

Societal institutions in Sakata have also provided mixed support for volunteer groups. They provide considerable legitimation to groups: they are active in holding festivals and sponsoring activities that increase the visibility of volunteers and their organizations. Societal groups offer more moderate levels of organizational support: membership in neighborhood associations is a fairly high 87 percent, but there are few links between embedded and nonembedded groups. Sakata residents also support their volunteer organizations financially but not as strongly as residents of Kashihara.

Sanda's practices are moderate across the board. Both governmental and societal institutions provide moderate levels of legitimation (some festival and publicity support), moderate levels of organizational support (assignment of a few city employees dedicated to helping volunteer organizations), and moderate levels of financial support (monetary contributions from the city government as well as private individuals to support both embedded and nonembedded types of volunteer organizations).

Based on their practices, the Community Volunteerism Model would predict that Kashihara would have the highest rate of volunteer participation, far above Sakata and Sanda. The model would expect Sakata to have slightly higher rates of participation than Sanda, although these two cities are likely to be much closer in their volunteer participation rates.

These expectations are fulfilled. If participation rates are calculated for the cities by taking the sum of all the volunteer memberships measured in the study (volunteer firefighters, volunteer welfare commissioners, senior club members, PTA members, women's club members, neighborhood association members, and Social Welfare Council volunteers) and divided by the population of the city, a comparable volunteer participation rate can be calculated for each city and compared. Because many of these memberships overlap (nearly all residents belong to their neighborhood association in addition to whatever other volunteer service they offer), the number of volunteers could appear to exceed the population of the city and the volunteer participation rate might exceed one. Thus, while this figure does not represent a "true" volunteer participation rate in terms of the proportion of the population engaged in volunteering, it does provide a mechanism to compare the volunteer participation rates of the cities to one another.

TABLE 5.4. *Independent Variables for Each City: Ideas*

	Commitment to Volunteering	
	Embedded	**Nonembedded**
Kashihara	Medium (50.7%)	Strong (59.4%)
Sakata	Strong (57.5%)	Medium (54.5%)
Sanda	Low (45.9%)	Medium (52.1%)

Note: Numbers in parentheses represent the prefectural response to the category in the NHK survey.

TABLE 5.5. *Independent Variables for Each City: Practices*

City	**Legitimizing**	**Organizing**	**Funding**
Kashihara			
Governmental	High	High	High
Societal	High	High	High
Sakata			
Governmental	Low	Moderate	High
Societal	High	Moderate	Moderate
Sanda			
Governmental	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate
Societal	Moderate	Moderate	Moderate

When the volunteer participation rate is calculated for each city, the Community Volunteerism Model's expectations are fulfilled. Kashihara has a volunteer participation rate of 1.25; Sakata's is 1.09; and Sanda's is 0.99. As expected, Kashihara's rate of volunteer participation is substantially above those of Sakata and Sanda, and Sakata's is slightly higher than Sanda's.

Therefore, the Community Volunteerism Model does a very good job of predicting both the types and the rates of volunteering in Kashihara, Sakata, and Sanda. Tables 5.4 and 5.5 summarize the key variables.

For these three cities, the Community Volunteerism Model accurately predicts both the types and the rates of volunteer participation in each of the cities. In addition to explaining the pattern of volunteer participation at any given point in time, one of the strengths of the model is the ways that it captures the dynamic nature of volunteer participation, drawing attention toward important feedback mechanisms

between state and society as well as between ideas and practices that are helping and hindering volunteer participation.

Kashihara

Kashihara is the leader of the three cities in terms of volunteer participation. The city has created a virtuous cycle in which ideas and practices work together to support and encourage volunteering in nonembedded organizations. The city has a strong idea of individual responsibility. In addition to the NHK survey data on Nara prefecture as a whole, the interviews I conducted with volunteers and city officials in Kashihara support this finding. Volunteers in Kashihara talked about the importance of taking individual initiative to redress needs in the community – 67 percent (eight of twelve) of the volunteers talked about their desire to serve their community or their individual interest in the service area as their primary reason for deciding to volunteer (as opposed to feeling a social obligation to join or feeling an obligation for having been asked to serve). This figure stands in contrast to the smaller 43 percent of volunteers who offered similar responses in the other two cities (six of fourteen in Sakata and nine of twenty-one in Sanda).

Even the city employees in Kashihara emphasized the importance of civic leadership. In an interview with me, one astute Social Welfare Council manager said, "The people are really the most important. If there isn't any leadership, the government people can talk and talk and encourage and encourage, but you just can't do anything unless you have [civic] leadership" (interview, 2002). These words by city workers are backed up with action as well. When interviewees were asked to characterize the balance of the relationship between the volunteer organizations and the government, six of eleven thought that volunteers asked more of the government than vice versa, four thought the relationship was balanced, and only one respondent answered that the government asked more of volunteers.

This idea of individual responsibility was reinforced by the practices of both state and social institutions in Kashihara. The city government legitimized the volunteers with special status, government-sponsored festivals and events, and extensive publicity. Social institutions, particularly the powerful neighborhood associations, reinforced this legitimation with an array of opportunities for the volunteers to showcase their

skills and the community to offer their admiration and appreciation. The funding of volunteers was similarly generous – the government covered 89 percent of the operating budget of the umbrella neighborhood association and provided grants to nonembedded groups working in specific social service areas.

Perhaps most important in Kashihara was the organizational support received by the volunteer organizations. The government provided many organizational resources – meeting space, leadership and practical skills trainings, and coordination of projects. Twenty-five staff members (up from only three in 1994) were dedicated to assisting welfare-related volunteers. The Social Welfare Council helped volunteers from both embedded and nonembedded groups coordinate their activities and plan new ones in order to be more effective in their efforts to serve the community. The neighborhood associations enjoyed a very high (93 percent) membership rate, so they were able to utilize their vast network to enhance the volunteer recruiting as well as the public relations for these community projects.

Much of these efforts were geared to help nonembedded organizations. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, these organizations were not separated from their embedded counterparts; rather they took advantage of the extensive membership and leadership resources in the established, embedded groups to expand their pool of volunteers and enhance their effectiveness. The Silver Network utilized the volunteer resources of the neighborhood associations and the social welfare expertise and personal networking of the volunteer welfare commissioners to create and expand their local Friendship Salons that provided day service and recreation for the elderly.

Likewise, embedded organizations also benefited from working on cooperative projects with newer nonembedded groups. These interactions helped the established organizations renew their missions and retain their relevance, even when the idea and practices of the city provided greater support for the newer groups. For example, Kashihara's tiny volunteer fire department increased its membership by 79 percent between 1990 and 2000 after it extended its mission to include extensive local fire-protection workshops and expanded its membership to include women.

Thus, Kashihara has created a virtuous cycle of volunteer participation where the citizens' ideas of their civic responsibility channel

their energies toward newer, nonembedded volunteer organizations, and those organizations have then been supported by the practices of governmental and social institutions. Nonembedded organizations have become more effective as a result of this support, and, working with embedded organizations, they have been able to help renew those organizations so both types of volunteer groups have increased the numbers of their volunteers and projects.

Sakata

Sakata also enjoyed a virtuous cycle of volunteer participation, but its ideas and practices have supported embedded volunteers. In Sakata, eight of fourteen interviewees (57 percent) said that they joined their volunteer organizations out of a sense of obligation – to their community as a whole or to the person who asked them to volunteer. Sakata's embedded organizations enjoyed high levels of participation: more than four times as many people joined volunteer fire departments and women's clubs in Sakata as in Kashihara.

Just as Kashihara's practices have reinforced the idea of individual responsibility by supporting newer, nonembedded volunteer organizations, Sakata's practices have reinforced its idea of governmental responsibility by supporting embedded volunteer groups. Sakata's city government had twenty-two full-time workers dedicated to volunteer-related issues (four worked with the volunteer fire department, six helped volunteer welfare commissioners, and twelve worked with the neighborhood associations), but none of these were dedicated to assisting nonembedded volunteer organizations. The Volunteer Center offers space to volunteers in nonembedded organizations, but the difficult task of coordinating volunteer schedules with those of clients, matching potential volunteers with groups, and providing publicity of events and recruitment drives were all accomplished by rotating groups of volunteers rather than by a dedicated city employee.

The embedded organizations in Sakata have been very well supported. In addition to the organizational support in the city government, the city government as well as social groups and individuals have provided extensive funding for these groups. Furthermore, the embedded organizations have been very well integrated with one another, working together on joint projects and developing new

initiatives. One example of such an initiative was the innovative and extensive project called the Grassroots Welfare Network that has linked volunteer welfare commissioners, neighborhood associations, women's organizations, elementary schools, and other institutions to make sure that all elderly people living alone in the city have a group of three to five people looking after them. This program has provided a support network to check up on these elderly residents on a regular basis as well as be responsible for them, so that their sidewalks are shoveled in the wintertime and they receive regular visits and adequate health care.

Sakata's high level of support for embedded volunteer organizations has resulted in very high levels of participation in these groups – a virtuous cycle of volunteer participation in which an idea of state responsibility has been reinforced by the practices of state and social institutions supporting embedded organizations – and people continue to volunteer for these groups.

This virtuous circle supporting embedded organizations is not the end of the story in Sakata, however. The city's ideas about governmental and individual responsibility toward caring for society have been changing. In the words of the section chief of the city planning and coordination office, "There has been a progression from government as the source of social services, to government sponsorship [of privately provided social services], to a feeling where it is not just the government that is responsible – people have to take care of their own neighborhoods" (interview, 2002). This balanced ideal where government and volunteers work together was reflected in interview responses; fourteen of sixteen of volunteers I interviewed thought the relationship between the city and the volunteer organizations was balanced; two thought that volunteers asked more of the city, and none thought the city asked more of volunteers.

A shift in the idea of civic responsibility – from governmental to individual responsibility – means that Sakata's previous virtuous cycle of volunteer participation, in which both ideas and practices supported embedded organizations, must undergo a transformation. Indeed, cracks in the old system were evident when I visited. Although some initiatives, such as the Grassroots Welfare Network, which rely primarily on volunteers in embedded organizations, have been working superbly, other groups have not been fairing so well. For example,

although Sakata had the highest number of volunteer firefighters of all three cities, the reason I chose the city as a case study site was because, of all cities with populations between 100,000 and 200,000, Sakata had experienced the largest decline in the number of volunteer firefighters, losing more than 500 volunteer firefighters (31 percent of its total volunteer fire department) between 1990 and 2000.

The city government has been struggling to adjust its practices. City employees have been active in seeking out ways to stem the losses in the embedded organizations – for example, by bolstering the visibility and legitimacy of volunteer firefighters in a firefighting festival instituted in 2000 designed to show off the skills of volunteer firefighters. The city is also changing some of its practices to support emerging nonembedded organizations as well. In 1998 the city created a Volunteer Promotion Center and developed an annual seed or matching grant competition to encourage nonprofit and other citizen organizations to apply for funds to develop their activities. In 2001 the fund gave away 8.4 million yen (about $70,000) in grant money.

In spite of this money, however, the organizational structure in Sakata has hindered the development of nonembedded groups. Unlike in Kashihara, where the Social Welfare Council has served as a meeting place for both types of organizations, fostering cooperation between the two, Sakata has split its nonembedded groups away from the Social Welfare Council. The hope had been that by giving these groups their own building and own organization – the Volunteer Liaison Council – they would be able to grow. By separating them physically and organizationally from the embedded organizations, however, they have been cut off from the experience as well as the recruiting and publicity networks that are the strength of the older organizations and their broad-based memberships. Innovative volunteer initiatives, such as the Grassroots Welfare Network, have been executed entirely by embedded groups, so the newer, nonembedded groups have not had an opportunity to join in support of these new and successful projects.

The Community Volunteerism Model, beyond predicting the types and rate of volunteer participation, draws out these important feedback mechanisms between state and society and ideas and practices. The model requires the researcher to investigate the practices, not just the institutions, supporting volunteer organizations in a community. Both

Kashihara and Sakata have Social Welfare Councils, but the practices of the two are quite different, with substantial implications for volunteer participation.

Sanda

The story in Sanda is similar to the one in Sakata, but it is has been weaker, both in its ideas of civic responsibility and in its practices supporting volunteers. Indeed, although most interviewees thought that the contributions of the city and the volunteers were balanced (eight of eleven gave that response), two thought that the government asked more of the volunteers than vice versa, and one gave a qualified response by saying that, although the government asks, the volunteers can refuse to cooperate. Therefore, compared to the volunteers in the other two cities, those in Sanda have felt less powerful in their relationship with the government, perhaps contributing to their relative malaise.

As in Sakata, Sanda too has been struggling with shifting ideas of civic responsibility resulting from dramatic demographic changes experienced by the city. Its population doubled between 1990 and 2000, and it shifted fundamentally from a community dominated by agriculture to one heavily populated by commuters traveling to Osaka and Kobe. The "newness" of Sanda may, in fact, be partially responsible for its comparatively low levels of volunteer participation.

In an interview with the head of Sanda's Community Department right before I left Japan, he asked about my overall findings. I told him of the high volunteer participation rates in Kashihara, commenting particularly on the success of developing cooperation between embedded and nonembedded groups. His response to my observations surprised me. First, he said that Kashihara was just like Sanda, only it had experienced its population boom thirty years earlier. So, in Kashihara many of the residents and neighborhood association leaders who moved to the area in their thirties were now in their sixties. These community leaders were now retiring and had more time to volunteer for their communities, whereas in Sanda most of the residents in the urban areas were young families who were focused on their careers and children without time to dedicate to community projects. He predicted that in twenty or thirty years Sanda would be very much like Kashihara with high

volunteer participation rates as the population stabilized and people became more invested in their communities.

Although I had not expected this answer, the idea that the "age" of a community influences the level of volunteerism is also supported by the literature. Several scholars investigating volunteering have found that established communities are more likely to be able to support higher levels of volunteering because longevity increases the organizational skills of residents and existing organizations can help start new ones (e.g., Lincoln 1977; Stinchcombe 1965; Wuthnow 1998). This hypothesis – that the "age" of a community influences its levels of volunteer participation – fits well with the Community Volunteerism Model, which explains *why* younger and older communities might have different rates of volunteer participation. The model specifies and measures more precisely which practices of "young" and "old" communities are important in supporting or hindering volunteer participation. A community will not have high levels of volunteerism just because it is "old." It will have high participation rates if its practices are supportive of volunteering, and older communities are more likely than younger ones to have these supportive practices.

The head of Sanda's Community Department also discussed a number of new initiatives taking place in his city. Since I had last seen him, two months earlier, his title had changed – from the chief of the Community Department to the chief of the Citizen Activity Promotions Department. His staff of six would continue to be evenly distributed – three would focus on traditional, embedded organizations and three would focus on newer, nonembedded organizations. The reorganization of his department came out of an ongoing study project with officials in the neighboring cities of Takarazuka, Nishinomiya, and Ashiya, who have all been discussing ways to promote citizen activities. His thinking and planning was in line with the findings from my research – that one of the keys to promoting volunteer participation is for the city to facilitate cooperation and communication between different types of volunteer groups. He has envisioned the new, public Community Centers being built in neighborhoods throughout Sanda as serving this coordination function at the local level.

The Community Volunteerism Model predicted that of the three cities Sanda would have the lowest levels of volunteer participation

of the three cities studied. The model also predicts that if these organizational changes in Sanda's city government take place – changing the practices to give greater organizational support as well as perhaps greater funding and legitimation to volunteer organizations – then Sanda's volunteer participation rate will increase. With so much growth in volunteer participation in Kashihara and so many changes in Sakata and Sanda, the volunteer participation in all three cities, in both their types and their rates, may look very different in another decade. The Community Volunteerism Model provides insights about the directions in which these changes are likely to occur.

In spite of the challenges city officials and civic leaders in all three cities face, there is great reason to be optimistic that volunteering will grow in each of the cities. When interviewees from both embedded and nonembedded organizations in all three cities were asked about their thoughts about the health of their volunteer organization in the future, twenty-seven of thirty-two responders (84 percent) predicted that their organizations would remain strong or grow; only two people thought their groups would shrink in membership, and three interviewees offered more cautious "it will continue; it won't disappear" responses. Therefore, although everyone I spoke with was worried about their ability to recruit new members and meet rising needs in a rapidly changing social environment, most of the volunteers with whom I spoke were highly optimistic about future growth of volunteer participation.

CONCLUSION

This chapter began by asking three questions: Why do some communities have more of certain types of volunteers and fewer of others? Why are some communities more civically engaged than others? How do communities motivate and organize volunteers to provide services that the government also provides? The Community Volunteerism Model helps provide some answers to these important questions.

The Community Volunteerism Model posits that volunteer participation is a function of community norms of civic responsibility. These norms are shaped by the *ideas* communities have of the responsibility of government and individuals to care for society, which determine the

types of organizations prevalent in a community, and by the *practices* of governmental and societal institutions, which determine the *rate* of volunteer participation in those communities.

Thus, why do some communities have more of certain types of volunteers and fewer of others? Communities have different ideas of civic responsibility. In those communities where citizens have an idea of governmental responsibility for caring for society's needs, they see their civic responsibility in terms of volunteering for organizations that work closely with the government in its effort to address those needs. These communities will have many embedded organizations. In contrast, communities where citizens think that individuals should be responsible for caring for society's needs will tend to have more people volunteering for nonembedded organizations that are more independent from the government.

Why are some communities more civically engaged than others? In some communities, the practices of governmental and societal institutions support volunteering, resulting in higher rates of volunteer participation. The Community Volunteerism Model asserts that volunteers and their organizations need three kinds of support in order to become engaged in their communities: they must have their work legitimized, they must be organized, and their organizations must be funded. The communities that are able to provide high levels of these types of support have higher rates of participation in volunteer organizations that provide services than those communities that provide only low levels of these types of support.

Finally, how do communities motivate and organize volunteers to provide services that the government also provides? The Community Volunteerism Model suggests that of the three types of support, legitimacy and, especially, organizational support are the most important for encouraging individuals to volunteer. This organizational support is not just the function of an institutional arrangement – all three cities had operating Social Welfare Councils. Rather, the activism on the part of city officials and civic leaders to utilize these institutions to create cooperative relationships among volunteer organizations, particularly between embedded and nonembedded groups, was critical in Kashihara's successful effort to promote volunteer participation. City investment in the legitimation and organization of volunteers was more important than its financial contribution; Sakata made higher financial

contributions, but, without supporting the legitimacy and organization of the volunteers, it was not able to motivate as many people to participate.

The Community Volunteerism Model explains both the types and the rates of volunteer participation in a given community at a given point in time. In addition to this static application of the model, however, by asserting that both state and society have roles in shaping community norms of civic responsibility, the model highlights important feedback mechanisms between state and society that help promote and undermine volunteer participation over time. Similarly, the model emphasizes the interaction between the ideas of state and individual responsibility and the practices of state and social institutions. These interactions not only assist in predicting the types and rates of volunteer participation in a given community at a particular time, but they also explain how and why volunteering patterns change in a community over time.

For example, in the case of Sakata, the model has suggested that its current volunteering profile – high levels of embedded volunteering and low levels of nonembedded volunteering – will be shifting in the near future because the idea of state responsibility is weakening even as the idea of individual responsibility is strengthening. Likewise, in Sanda the government is changing some of its practices to increase the legitimation of volunteers as well as the organizational support of volunteer groups, and the model predicts that these policy changes will result in increases in volunteer participation in the city.

The Community Volunteerism Model is a valuable improvement over current models of participation in three key areas. First, in utilizing a state-in-society approach, the model assumes that both society and the state are integral to the development of civil society and civic participation. This perspective makes it possible to capture a wider range of volunteering in the analysis than is typical of research on volunteering, which tends to ignore the role of embedded volunteer organizations. Furthermore, by including both state and society, this model specifies the feedback mechanisms between state and society – how their interactions can facilitate or undermine volunteer participation.

Second, by examining the practices as well as the structure of governmental and societal institutions, it becomes possible to explain

variation in volunteering even when communities have similar institutional structures. As a result, the model has high analytic leverage – it is able to explain variations in volunteering patterns at the city, prefectural, and even national levels.

Finally, the model utilizes the community instead of the individual as the unit of analysis. This enables researchers and practitioners to understand how community norms of civic responsibility influence volunteering behavior and the ways that ideas of governmental and individual responsibility, as well as the practices of governmental and societal institutions, shape those norms. By examining the relationships between governmental and societal institutions within a community, rather than just the demographic characteristics of individuals, the model can explain differences in volunteering patterns between communities with similar demographic characteristics. Furthermore, the model identifies which mechanisms and which environments encourage (and discourage) volunteer participation. Thus, it becomes possible to create policies that can enhance volunteer participation within a community. Volunteering is no longer just the passive result of demographic characteristics; civic leadership and governmental planning can have a profound and positive influence on volunteer participation.

6

Cross-National Volunteer Participation

Testing the Community Volunteerism Model

This chapter tests the Community Volunteerism Model developed in Chapter 5 through the study of four countries – Finland, Japan, Turkey, and the United States – that the model predicts should have very different volunteer patterns. The Community Volunteerism Model does a good job of predicting both the types of participation found in each of these countries as well as the rate of participation. Furthermore, the model highlights important ways in which the practices of the four countries reinforce (or undermine) the ideas of individual and governmental responsibility, thereby affecting the types of organizations that are supported and the rates of participation over time. This chapter highlights how the practices that were important in determining volunteer participation at the local community level (as seen in Chapters 4 and 5 in the three Japanese cities) are also influencing volunteer participation at the national level.

The first section in the chapter explains why these four countries were chosen and outlines the pattern of participation predicted by the Community Volunteerism Model. The second section examines each of the four countries in detail, testing the model to see if the ideas of individual and governmental responsibility and the practices of societal and governmental institutions interact to produce the predicted patterns of volunteer participation in each country. The third section returns to evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the model as revealed by this test.

FOUR DIFFERENT PATTERNS OF VOLUNTEER PARTICIPATION

Community patterns of volunteer participation can vary by type and by rate. In order to test the Community Volunteerism Model cross-nationally, I have selected four countries that should have very different types and rates of volunteering. They were selected to ensure variation on the independent variables (community attitudes and governmental or societal practices), and then studied carefully to discover if the Community Volunteerism Model accurately predicts their patterns of volunteer participation.

These countries were selected to ensure maximum variation, so I could conduct a rigorous test of the Community Volunteerism Model. If the relationship and processes identified in the model are able to explain the variation in these very different cases, then I can be more confident in the validity of the model. In addition to variation in the independent variables listed, the countries have very different historical, cultural, and religious traditions. They represent four distinct geographic regions: America, Europe, the Middle East, and East Asia. They all have different religious traditions: Protestant/Anglican, Lutheran, Islamic, and Buddhist/Shinto. While all four countries are members of the OECD, three have high incomes while one has considerably lower income (per capita GDP ranges from $26,000 to $36,000 for the United States, Finland, and Japan but drops to just over $6,000 for Turkey).[1]

I am not suggesting that historical, institutional, cultural, or economic contexts do not matter. This book argues that they matter, but they do so only insofar as they affect the variables specified by the model. A country's ideas of civic responsibility and its governmental and societal practices that support or hinder voluntarism are of primary importance in determining its pattern of volunteer participation. If the processes identified in the Community Volunteerism Model work as predicted in these very different contexts, then we can be confident that it has identified the key factors that explain differences in types and rates of volunteer participation in different communities.

Community attitudes about individual and governmental responsibility are measured using several variables. The first measure comes from the 1995–1997 wave of the World Values Survey, in which

[1] Data for 2002 from www.oecd.org.

TABLE 6.1. *Responses to the World Values Survey in Finland, Japan, Turkey, and the United States (%)*

	Finland	Japan	Turkey	United States
Government should take more responsibility[a]	47.2	75.0	56.9	27.5
Individuals should take more responsibility[b]	52.8	25.0	43.1	72.5

[a] Percent of respondents answering 1–5.
[b] Percent of respondents answering 6–10.

respondents were asked to place their views on a scale of 1–10. One meant that the respondent completely agreed with the statement: "The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for." Ten meant that the respondent completely agreed with the statement: "People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves" (Inglehart et al. 2000, p. 36).

The findings, depicted in Table 6.1, suggest Japan should have comparatively more embedded organizations that have close relationships with the government than organizations that are more independent of the government. In the United States, the opposite should be true: there should be more nonembedded organizations that have more distant relationships with the government than embedded organizations with close relations with the government. Both Finland and Turkey have fairly balanced attitudes; therefore, the Community Volunteerism Model would expect both countries to have a relatively even distribution of the two types of organizations.

This survey question asks respondents directly about their attitudes toward individual and governmental responsibility and requires that the answers be given along a single dimension. Therefore, it can be fairly certain that the United States has a strong idea of individual responsibility and a weak idea of governmental responsibility, and Japan has the reverse. However, it is impossible to determine if Finland and Turkey have attitudes of individual and governmental responsibility that are equally strong or equally weak; one can only be certain that the two attitudes are held in relatively equal strength. Further evidence for the relative distribution of ideas of government and individual responsibility among these four countries can be found by looking at answers to similar questions on the World Values Survey.

Another question in the same survey asks respondents whether private or government ownership of business and industry should be increased. Both the United States and Finland had very high responses supporting the idea that private ownership should be increased, 84 and 78 percent respectively.[2] In contrast, Japan and Turkey gave more tepid support for private ownership; only 50 and 63 percent of respondents in each country respectively gave similar answers. These answers indicate that the United States and Finland have stronger ideas of individual responsibility than Japan and Turkey.

Similarly, another question asks, "If you had to choose, which would you say is the most important responsibility of government: (1) To maintain order in society; or (2) To respect freedom of the individual?" Once again, the Japan and Turkey thought that government had a strong role to play in society – 78 percent and 76 percent of respondents in the two countries respectively thought that maintaining order was the most important. Respondents in Finland and the United States favored the protection of individual freedom; only 46 and 48 percent thought that maintaining order was the most important in those two countries, respectively.

Although responses to these two questions seem to suggest that people in Finland and the United States have strong ideas of individual responsibility, there is some evidence that Finns also have strong ideas of governmental responsibility, which would help account for their moderated response to the direct question about individual versus governmental responsibility. In a question about whether the government was doing too much or too little for people in poverty, Finns responded much more like Japanese and Turks than Americans: 65 percent of Finns, along with 83 percent of Turks and 60 percent of Japanese, thought that their government was doing "too little" for people in poverty; in contrast, only 40 percent of respondents in the United States thought the same. These answers suggest that people in Finland might have strong ideas of governmental responsibility in addition to strong ideas of individual responsibility.

Attitudes toward individual and governmental responsibility along with the practices of governmental and societal institutions that promote and inhibit volunteer participation are explored in more

[2] Percentage of respondents in each country answering 1–5 to the question.

TABLE 6.2. *Cross-National Predictions of Volunteer Organization Types*

	Governmental Responsibility	
	Strong Idea	**Weak Idea**
Individual Responsibility		
Strong Idea	Many embedded organizations Many nonembedded organizations Finland	Few embedded organizations Many nonembedded organizations United States
Weak Idea	Many embedded organizations Few nonembedded organizations Japan	Few embedded organizations Nonembedded organizations Turkey

TABLE 6.3. *Summary of Practices in Finland, Japan, the United States, and Turkey*

Country	Legitimizing	Organizing	Funding
United States			
Governmental	High	Medium	Medium
Societal	High	Medium	High
Japan			
Governmental	High	Medium	High
Societal	High	Medium	Medium
Finland			
Governmental	High	Medium	Medium
Societal	High	Medium	Medium
Turkey			
Governmental	Low	Low	Low
Societal	Medium	Medium	Low

depth in the following sections that focus on each individual country. Table 6.2 outlines the pattern of volunteer participation and Table 6.3 provides a summary of practices in these four countries expected by the Community Volunteerism Model. Table 6.4 gives the membership participation in a number of organizations in the four countries. Members per 1,000 people in the population is given first with total membership listed in parentheses. Source information for all organizations is listed in Appendix B.

These figures show a very clear pattern in volunteer participation that corresponds with the expectations of the Community

TABLE 6.4. *Volunteer Participation for Selected Organizations in Four Countries*

Organization	Finland	Japan	Turkey	United States
Amnesty International	2.41 (12,445)	0.05 (6,461)	0	1.06 (300,000)
Boy Scouts	5.20 (26,885)	1.03 (130,460)	0.12 (8,174)	11.69 (3.3 million)
Greenpeace	2.53 (13,060)	0.04 (5,206)	0.09 (6,339)	0.95 (267,369)
Labor unions[a]	76.2 (1.5 million)	21.5 (11.5 million)	31.5 (3.0 million)	12.8 (16.3 million)
Lions Club	5.26 (27,200)	1.07 (135,285)	0.14 (9,489)	1.55 (437,887)
PTAs	38.67 (200,000)	70.94 (9 million)	0.00	21.23 (6 million)
Red Cross	19.33 (100,000)	49.66 (6.3 million)	5.86 (395,000)	4.25 (1.2 million)
Rotary Club	2.25 (11,650)	0.09 (11,500)	0.10 (7,184)	1.42 (400,000)
Seniors' associations[b]	34.85 (380,000)	39.88 (8.7 million)	n.a.	57.04 (25.6 million)
Volunteer firefighters	2.90 (15,000)	7.50 (951,069)	0.00 (67)	2.75 (777,350)
Women's association	n.a.	39.41 (5 million)	n.a.	1.77 (500,000)
YMCA	14.03 (72,542)	0.90 (114,256)	0	62.01 (17.5 million)
TOTAL	47.85 (2,474,782)	32.99 (41,854,237)	5.08 (3,426,253)	25.72 (72,582,606)

Note: Number of members per 1,000 people in the population is given first with total membership listed in parentheses. Population from World Development Indicators 2000: Finland, 5,172,000; Japan, 126,870,000; Turkey, 67,420,000; United States, 282,224,000; n.a. indicates that the data are not available.

[a] Labor-union membership from OECD data: the number of union members as a percentage of total paid employees.

[b] Numbers are for members older than sixty-five in Japan and sixty in Finland and the United States. Percent is the membership divided by the relative population. Population figures gathered from World Development Indicators data.

Volunteerism Model: Japan has much higher participation in embedded organizations than in nonembedded organizations. The United States has more participation in nonembedded organizations than in embedded organizations. Finland has high participation rates in both types of organizations, whereas Turkey has low participation rates in both types of organizations.

COUNTRY CASE STUDIES

The following section explores the factors influencing volunteer participation in the United States, Japan, Finland, and Turkey in more detail. Using the Community Volunteerism Model, citizen ideas of individual and governmental responsibility will be explored along with the practices of governmental and societal institutions. Of particular interest will be the ways that citizen ideas of whose responsibility it is to care for people in need interact with the practices of governmental and societal institutions. Changes in each country that may be affecting the interaction of these two influences on volunteer participation are also examined.

United States

People in the United States have strong ideas of individual responsibility with weaker ideas of governmental responsibility as shown by the results from the World Values Survey. The International Social Survey Program (ISSP) also conducts surveys of individuals in a number of countries. In 1996 its survey "Role of Government III" focused on individual attitudes toward their governments in twenty-three countries, drawn primarily from among the OECD countries. The results from the ISSP study supported the findings of the World Values Surveys. In response to the question: "Would you attend a public meeting organized to protest against the government?" 63 percent of those asked in the United States said that they "definitely" or "probably" would attend.[3] This response indicates a strong attitude of individual responsibility.

In contrast, in response to a statement about government responsibility, "It is the responsibility of government to control prices by

[3] International Social Survey Program 1999.

law," only 35 percent of Americans agreed. This was the smallest percentage of respondents of all twenty-three countries in the survey (the average for the remaining countries was 71 percent). Respondents in the United States not only had a limited idea of what the government should be responsible for but also thought that the central government currently wielded too much power; 66 percent of those asked thought that the federal government had too much power, a percentage exceeded by only the Philippines at 76 percent (the average for the remaining twenty-two countries was 41 percent).

These responses indicate that Americans have a very weak idea of governmental responsibility, and they are also suspicious of government power. Certainly, much of these attitudes can be traced to the roots of American history of individualism and self-reliance. Alexis de Tocqueville championed early American willingness to organize to solve problems rather than relying on the government and documented public wariness of governmental institutions and power. Although the history of nonprofit and voluntary organizations clearly demonstrates that volunteers have worked closely with the government throughout the country's history, this suspicion of government and valuing of individual effort undoubtedly remains.[4]

The Community Volunteerism Model predicts that a country, such as the United States, with strong ideas of individual responsibility and weak ideas of governmental responsibility will have few embedded organizations that have close ties with the government and comparatively more nonembedded organizations that are more distant from the government. If the practices of the governmental and societal institutions reinforce these ideas of individual and governmental responsibility, then the model predicts that there should be high rates of volunteer participation in nonembedded organizations with lower rates of participation in embedded organizations. As Table 6.4 has demonstrated, these are the participation patterns found in the United States.

In order to understand why the United States enjoys such high volunteer participation rates, especially in nonembedded organizations, the model requires a closer examination of the practices of governmental

[4] See Salamon 1995, Skocpol 2003, and Skocpol and Fiorina 1999, for particularly good historical reviews of voluntarism in the United States.

and societal institutions to discover both the ways that they support (or inhibit) volunteering and the ways that they reinforce (or undermine) citizens' ideas of individual and governmental responsibility.

The United States offers volunteers considerable legitimizing support through the practices of both governmental and societal institutions. The government offers tax-exempt legal status for most nonprofit and volunteer organizations. There have also been national volunteer-promotion programs, such as the first President Bush's Thousand Points of Light and his son's USA Freedom Corps. Many schools not only support volunteer service in the community but also require some number of hours for graduation.[5] Civic leaders are honored and their work legitimized when they are asked to testify as experts in congressional hearings or to consult with public officials in the development and assessment of social service programs.

Societal support for volunteering is also very high. As many have noted (e.g., Curtis, Grabb, and Baer 1992; Putnam 2000; Salamon et al. 1999; Skocpol 2004; Wood 1997; Wuthnow 1998), church membership plays an important role in legitimizing, organizing, and funding volunteers in the United States. In a report cosponsored with the American Council of Churches, the Independent Sector found that frequent churchgoers (about 30 percent of the total U.S. population) are responsible for 70 percent of the hours volunteered in the country each month.[6]

In addition to churches, private corporations also often encourage their employees to volunteer in the community as part of both public relations and corporate social responsibility campaigns. Examples include Starbucks' "Make Your Mark" program that organizes volunteer activities for employees and provides matching funds; since the program started in 2000, employees and customers have volunteered more than 250,000 hours, and with matching fund contributions from Starbucks generated $1.2 million in donations to local charities.[7]

[5] According to the 1988–2000 National Education Longitudinal Study, a survey of 24,599 high school students, almost 20 percent volunteered because they were required to do so (37.7 percent had "strictly voluntary" motivations). NCES Statistics in Brief: http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2004/2004365.pdf (1/10/06).

[6] Independent Sector 2002, p. 9.

[7] Starbucks.com, Make Your Mark fast facts: http://www.starbucks.com/aboutus/givesback.asp (10/23/05).

Organizational support, the practice I argued in Chapter 4 was the most important, is substantial but could be better. Governmental and social institutions in the United States have offered an extraordinary array of support mechanisms to match individuals with volunteer opportunities. Several on-line search engines – both public and private – have enabled potential volunteers to type their zip codes and find organizations in their area that are looking for volunteers (e.g., volunteermatch.org, servenet.org, networkforgood.org, unitedway.org). Some search engines allow the volunteer to search by subject or keyword. Other groups such as churches or the Boys and Girls Clubs of America connect interested people to volunteer opportunities in their area.

In this way the organizational support in the United States is excellent in terms of matching volunteers with volunteer organizations, but it is much less effective at organizing networks among volunteer organizations. Volunteer organizations can find each other and form networks, but umbrella organizations that gather groups together to develop joint projects or to cooperate with ongoing government initiatives are less common. It is also unclear how the practices of governmental and social institutions facilitate matching volunteer organizations with the needy they are trying to serve – often the needy are expected to find the organization rather than the reverse.

Funding for volunteers has been extensive in the United States. The government has tended to give less direct support to the voluntary sector, but it does offer some grants as well as indirect aid in the form of tax incentives. The government is the single largest source of income for the nonprofit sector, providing 31 percent of the funding if volunteer contributions are not counted, 26 percent if they are.[8] Furthermore, most volunteer organizations enjoy tax-exempt status for their organizations, and donations to the organizations are often tax deductible for the donor. These governmental supports encourage the private sector to support volunteers and their organizations.

Fortunately, the private sector in the United States has taken up this challenge and donates large amounts of money to the voluntary sector. Private philanthropy provides 13 percent of the funding for the nonprofit sector (27 percent if volunteer contributions are included).[9]

[8] Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Data: http://www.jhu.edu/~cnp/pdf/table401.pdf (10/23/05).

[9] Ibid.

Many umbrella organizations such as the United Way provide funding for thousands of smaller organizations ($3.9 billion in contributions in 2004).[10] Corporate philanthropy and individual giving also is widespread.

In the United States, the practices of governmental and social institutions, especially their organizational and funding practices, have promoted nonembedded organizations at the expense of embedded volunteering. The organizational practices of both governmental and civic institutions have been designed to help individual volunteers find organizations for which they would like to volunteer. Similarly, the funding structure that relies heavily on individual donations has emphasized the importance of personal priorities and individual initiative in the financing of the voluntary sector.

This structure has generated numerous large, membership-based lobbying organizations, such as Greenpeace and AARP, which promote the interests of their members on Capitol Hill. These politicized, nonembedded organizations are particularly useful for the ways that they promote democratic accountability of the government and raise issues that are important to their members. However, they are much less good at building social capital because the members of these organizations, although they contribute to the cause, rarely meet with one another to form personal ties with each other or become involved in their local communities (Putnam 2000; Skocpol 2004; Wuthnow 1998).

The governmental practices that have legitimatized volunteers in the United States have supported nonembedded volunteering at the expense of embedded organizations, but the societal practices have supported embedded in addition to nonembedded volunteering. The national volunteer-promotion programs, especially the presidential initiatives by both George H. W. and George W. Bush, have emphasized the importance of individuals. The Thousand Points of Light highlighted the accomplishments of 1,000 individuals (and programs) as examples of exemplar volunteering. The USA Freedom Corps has also involved existing volunteer groups, but the emphasis has been on the initiative (and civic responsibility) of individuals to volunteer. Its Web site is one of those in which typing in a zip code will generate a list of nearby organizations seeking volunteers.

[10] United Way: http://national.unitedway.org/about/index.cfm (1/10/06).

The societal institutions that legitimize volunteering in the United States, however, have been more likely to support both nonembedded and embedded volunteering. The largest social institution in the country is the church. Churches (and synagogues, mosques, temples, etc.) have all provided opportunities for their congregations to volunteer both within the religious community as well as in the community at large. Groups from congregations usually have participated in a number of different volunteer projects around their community that deal with specific issues such as homelessness, hunger, or truancy. Religious congregations have also provided support for embedded organizations in their area, such as offering space for neighborhood association meetings, inciting the formation of neighborhood watch groups, or sparking community cooperation to solve collective problems like vagrants or littering. Thus, the religious institutions in the United States, while also supporting nonembedded groups, are one of the strongest supporters of embedded volunteering.

This basic pattern of volunteer participation in the United States, in which nonembedded volunteer organizations are favored over embedded volunteers, does not appear to be changing and may be becoming more pronounced. In their studies of civil society in the United States, Robert Putnam (2000), Theda Skocpol (2003), and Robert Wuthnow (1998) have all identified the trend of declining embedded membership and volunteering, even as they have debated whether nonembedded organizations are rising sufficiently to replace them. Although specific communities may be making successful attempts to expand embedded volunteering in their area, there do not appear to be any national initiatives from the public or private sector to alter the current volunteering patterns and trends in the United States.

Japan

Japanese ideas about governmental and individual responsibility are almost the opposite of those found in the United States. The data from the World Values Survey have demonstrated that Japanese generally have very strong ideas of governmental responsibility with weak ideas of individual responsibility. These findings are supported by data collected by the International Social Survey Program.

In response to the question: "Would you attend a public meeting organized to protest against the government," 23 percent of those

asked in Japan said that they "definitely" or "probably" would attend, compared to an average of 61 percent in the other twenty-two countries surveyed.[11] These responses indicate a weak attitude of individual responsibility.

In contrast, in response to a statement about government responsibility, "it is the responsibility of government to control prices by law," 76 percent of Japanese agreed, compared to an average of 69 percent among the remaining countries. Respondents in Japan not only had a limited idea of what the government should be responsible for but also thought that the central government currently wielded too little power. A total of 58 percent of those asked thought that the central government had too little power; this figure was exceeded by only Russia with 65 percent (the average for the remaining twenty-two countries was 17 percent). These responses indicate that Japanese have a very strong idea of governmental responsibility and, in contrast to Americans, are not suspicious of government power.

As in the United States, these attitudes likely have historical roots. Some authors argue that Japanese culture is rooted in Confucianism, which respects and values order and suspects and discounts individual initiative. Whether rooted in Confucianism or not, certainly Japan's prewar corporatist and fascist state mobilized citizens to organize in "volunteer" groups that then worked with the government to promote economic and military gains. In the postwar period, many of these organizations, such as the neighborhood associations, volunteer fire departments, and volunteer welfare commissioners, continued to work closely with the government to achieve national and community goals. Because many of these goals, such as national economic growth and improvement in local environmental conditions, were achieved, community attitudes supportive of government responsibility have largely persisted. Citizen attitudes are not fixed, however, and the Japanese are increasing their sense of individual responsibility, and their ideas are changing.[12]

The Community Volunteerism Model predicts that a country with strong ideas of governmental responsibility and weak ideas of individual responsibility, such as Japan, will have many embedded

[11] International Social Survey Program 1999.

[12] For an excellent review of how prewar patterns were continued in the postwar period, see Garon 1997 and Iokibe 1999.

organizations that have close ties with the government and comparatively few nonembedded organizations that are more distant from the government. If the practices of the governmental and societal institutions reinforce these ideas of individual and governmental responsibility, then the model predicts that there should be high rates of volunteer participation in embedded organizations with lower rates of participation in nonembedded organizations. As Table 6.4 has demonstrated, these are the participation patterns found in Japan. Once again, in order to understand why Japan's overall volunteer participation rates are so high, as opposed to why they are concentrated in embedded organizations, the Community Volunteerism Model requires an examination of the practices of governmental and societal institutions.

Just as in the United States, volunteers in Japan enjoy high levels of legitimation from the practices of both governmental and societal institutions. The government has granted special legal status to several types of volunteers, such as volunteer firefighters and volunteer welfare commissioners, giving them rights and obligations comparable to public employees performing similar services when they are on duty. The government also is active in inviting civic leaders to consult about the development and implementation of social service programs through forums such as Policy Advisory Councils (*shingikai*). In 1996, the year after the devastating earthquake in Kobe, the Japanese government declared a Year of the Volunteer, and Japan was one of the leading sponsors of the International Year of the Volunteer in 2001.

Societal groups are also very strong in their legitimation of volunteers and their activities. Religious congregations play a much smaller role in encouraging volunteering than in the United States, although Shinto and Buddhist temples often promote community activities. Perhaps the most important social organizations involved in legitimizing (and organizing) volunteers are the neighborhood associations. Close to 90 percent of all Japanese belong to their local neighborhood association,[13] and these groups work together with other civic organizations to promote community-building activities such as summer festivals and sports field days. They also work to provide a variety of social services from adult day service to the collection of recyclable materials.

[13] Keizai Kikakuchou, White Paper on the National Lifestyle, 2004, chart 3-1-7: http://www5.cao.go.jp/seikatsu/whitepaper/h16/01_zu/zu301070.html.

In terms of organizational support in Japan, the system is almost the opposite from that found in the United States. It has been very difficult for an individual to get on line, plug in a zip code, and get a list of volunteer organizations in his or her geographic or issue area. However, it has been much easier for volunteer organizations seeking advice or assistance to connect with other groups offering resources. In contrast to the United States, there have been many organizational supports for volunteer groups seeking to cooperate with other organizations (or the government) on joint projects.

Several governmental organizations have promoted the coordination of nonprofit and volunteer efforts both abroad (e.g., Japan International Cooperation Agency) and at home (e.g., the NPO Home Page produced by the Quality of Life Policy Bureau in the Cabinet). The network of groups brought together under the quasi-governmental Social Welfare Councils has promoted both the recruitment of volunteers as well as cooperation in the planning and execution of projects among volunteer organizations and between the volunteer groups and the government.

From the societal side, various privately organized umbrella organizations facilitate networking among nonprofits (Japan NGO Center for International Cooperation [JANIC], Japan NPO Center, NPO Support Center, Coalition for Legislation to Support Citizen's Organizations [C's]). Furthermore, national associations of embedded organizations such as neighborhood associations, volunteer welfare commissioners, and women's federations promote cross-regional cooperation and resource sharing. Through these networks, successful volunteer recruitment techniques, service strategies, and outreach efforts can easily be shared with colleagues in other volunteer groups. Likewise, emerging or unmet needs can be easily identified (if no one in the network is addressing the problem, then no one is addressing the problem), facilitating the development of new groups and the expansion of the service mission of existing groups.

In terms of funding support for volunteer organizations, the government has taken on a greater burden than its counterpart in the United States. The government provides 45 percent of funding for the nonprofit sector. In further contrast with the United States, the government offers few incentives for private individuals and corporations to offer financial support to volunteers; although many nonprofit

organizations are granted tax-exempt status, especially since the 1998 passage of the NPO Law, very few donations to these organizations are tax exempt for the donors. As a result, private-sector support of volunteer organizations is much lower than in the United States; only 3 percent of funding for the nonprofit sector in Japan comes from private philanthropy.[14]

Although overall private financial support is less than in the United States, private programs generate large revenues for the voluntary and nonprofit sector in Japan. The annual Red Feather (*akaihane*) campaign uses door-to-door solicitations as well as appeals at railway stations and other public relations methods to ask for private donations to the central community chest (a member of United Way International); it distributed $19.9 billion yen ($154 million) in 2004.[15]

Corporate philanthropy is also rising. The Keidanren, Japan's largest business federation whose membership includes more than 1,600 of Japan's top corporations, industrial associations, and employers associations, has become more active in promoting corporate philanthropy. In 1991 it established charters for corporate behavior and environmental behavior that articulated ethical guidelines for its members. The 1% Club was established in 1989 as a group of corporations and individuals who committed to spending 1 percent of their profits on social causes each year. In 2002 there were 1,302 companies who were members, and they donated more than 92.5 billion yen (more than $700 million) to social causes in Japan and around the world.[16]

As predicted by the Community Volunteerism Model, citizen ideas about governmental and individual responsibility as well as the practices of governmental and societal institutions have created a pattern of volunteer participation in Japan that is quite different from that found in the United States. In Japan, all three types of practices – legitimizing, organizing, and funding – have reinforced embedded volunteers. Legitimation has been given by the government to certain groups of volunteers by endowing them with special legal status, and

[14] The figures change to 42 percent for government and 11 percent for philanthropy when volunteer contributions are added. Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Data: http://www.jhu.edu/~cnp/pdf/table401.pdf (10/23/05).

[15] Akaihane home page: http://www.akaihane.or.jp/english/body18.htm (10/23/05).

[16] Nihon Keizai Dantai Rengoukai 2004, p. 2.

it has been granted by social institutions in which recognition has generally been collective rather than individual in nature. Both the organization and funding of volunteers have supported volunteer groups through networking and cooperation, rather than focusing on an individual's interests.

None of this is meant to suggest that individual initiative is lacking in Japan. As I tried to emphasize in Chapter 4, civic leadership and individual perseverance is as critical in Japan for starting volunteer organizations and continuing their success, as it is anywhere else. However, the practices of governmental and societal institutions have supported volunteer organizations more than they have supported individual volunteers, and they have encouraged embedded volunteers more than they have encouraged nonembedded volunteering. The result has been more embedded volunteering and less nonembedded volunteering.

Unlike in the United States, where the practices of governmental and societal institutions are sustaining relatively consistent patterns and trends in volunteer participation, the practices in Japan are shifting the volunteering pattern found in that country. In all three practices – legitimation, organization, and funding – the Japanese have begun to lend greater support to nonembedded volunteers. In 1998 the NPO Law dramatically altered the legal landscape of the nonprofit sector, making it much easier for nonprofit companies to obtain legal recognition. The result has been a phenomenal increase in the number of incorporated nonprofit organizations, many of them issue-based, with 16,160 organizations incorporated during the six years following the new law.[17]

Organizationally, national and local governments are becoming more active in their efforts to reach out to nonembedded nonprofit organizations; the national government has set up nonprofit promotion departments in the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Technology, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has become more sensitive to the importance of involving nonprofit organizations in foreign development activities. The Internet has made it much easier for nonprofit organizations to reach out to individuals directly, and more Web sites

[17] Keizai Kikakuchou, White Paper on the National Lifestyle, 2004, chart 3-1-9: http://www5.cao.go.jp/seikatsu/whitepaper/h16/01_zu/zu301090.html (1/10/06, Japanese).

geared to helping individuals find volunteer opportunities that suit their needs are springing up all over. Finally, as a follow-up to the 1998 NPO Law, in 2002 the Diet passed an amendment that increased (slightly) the ability of individuals and corporations to deduct donations to nonprofit organizations from their taxes.

These changes in the practices of governmental and societal institutions in Japan are having an effect on the pattern of volunteering in that country. More people are volunteering for nonembedded organizations than ever before – the number of volunteers in groups associated with Social Welfare Councils jumped fourfold between 1980 and 2000.[18] This changing pattern should not, however, lead the reader to believe that Japan is converging on a U.S. pattern of volunteer participation. In Japan, the amount of nonembedded volunteering is increasing, but much of that new volunteering is occurring in traditional service areas and embedded volunteering remains strong – suggesting that Japan's volunteering pattern is starting to move toward that of Finland, discussed at greater length in the next section, rather than the U.S. pattern.

Among the newly incorporated NPOs (which do not include most of the traditional volunteer groups, which remain unincorporated), 67 percent are involved in the traditional activities of health and social welfare, with neighborhood development (*machi dsukuri*) as the second most popular activity with 33.2 percent representation. Newer advocacy groups, such as human rights and peace activist organizations are much less common – only 9.5 percent of NPOs have that as a main function, with international cooperation doing better at 19.5 percent.[19]

Furthermore, embedded volunteering has remained vibrant. Some embedded organizations have been experiencing slight declines in participation; the volunteer fire department has seen a fairly consistent 1 percent drop in participation for the past twenty years. However, other embedded organizations are increasing the ranks of their volunteers; volunteer welfare commissioners have enlarged their numbers by

[18] From 1.6 million to 7.1 million in 2000. See Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2000.

[19] A total of 663 organizations participated in the survey conducted in September 1999. Note that when answering the survey organizations were able to select up to three activities, so the totals for all thirteen categories do not add up to 100 percent. Keizai Kikakuchou (Economic Planning Agency). 2001, p. 136.

almost 20 percent in the past ten years.[20] Neighborhood associations, although complaining about recruiting, are still enjoying extraordinarily high participation rates of 90 percent or more.[21]

In Japan, these changing practices of governmental and societal institutions are interacting with shifts in citizen images of state responsibility and individual responsibility to care for society. Starting with the large social movements in the 1960s, Japanese began to realize that the government does not have sufficient resources to care for all of society's needs and that civic activism can be a good method of addressing social problems. The strengthening of the image of individual responsibility has grown even more pronounced as the recession of the 1990s strained the government's resources, the rising number of elderly residents stressed the social welfare system, and the 1995 earthquake in Kobe highlighted the difficulties the government has in coping with disaster.

Thus, the strengthening idea of individual responsibility to care for society has reinforced, and has been reinforced by, the changing practices of state and social institutions that have promoted nonembedded volunteering. In Japan, the practices of state and social institutions are interacting with shifting ideas of state and individual responsibility in caring for society, resulting in greater volunteer participation in nonembedded organizations, even as volunteer participation in embedded organizations remains strong. These trends suggest that Japan's participation patterns are moving in the direction of Finland's, where strong ideas of both governmental and individual responsibility combine with supportive practices to create high levels of participation in both embedded and nonembedded groups.

Finland

Ideas about governmental and individual responsibility are more balanced in Finland than in the United States or Japan. Finns tend to think that both the government and individuals have important

[20] From 182,000 to 215,444 between 1990 and 2000; Kouseishou, Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare, Report on Health and Welfare: http://www.mhlw.go.jp/toukei/saikin/hw/gyousei/00/index.html (1/10/06) (Japanese).

[21] Keizai Kikakuchou, White Paper on the National Lifestyle, 2004, chart 3-1-7: http://www5.cao.go.jp/seikatsu/whitepaper/h16/01_zu/zu301070.html.

responsibilities to care for the needy in society. Consistent with their answers to questions on the World Values Survey cited earlier, Finns showed strong ideas of both governmental and individual responsibility in their responses to questions on the 2002–2003 European Social Survey.

On the government responsibility side, 77 percent of respondents thought that the government should reduce income differences between rich and poor, and only 25 percent agreed with the statement: "The less the government intervenes in the economy, the better." On the individual responsibility side, an astounding 93 percent of Finns thought that helping people who are worse off was important to being a good citizen – the largest percentage among the 21 countries in the survey. Similarly, 24 percent had contacted a politician or a government official in the past year, once again, the highest percentage among the countries surveyed.[22]

Just as in the United States and Japan, Finnish attitudes can be traced to their historical situations. Many Finns talk about their agricultural heritage and the harsh environment fostering a strong sense of individual responsibility. As it did in the United States, colonialism and occupation (by Swedes and Russians) reinforced a sense that Finns must care for their communities themselves and should not rely on a central government. However, unlike the situation in the United States, this strong individualism is coupled with a legacy of socialism that gives the government primary responsibility for dealing with many of society's problems. The result has been a strong sense of both individual and governmental responsibility in Finland, attitudes that continue today.[23]

People in Finland have strong ideas of both governmental and individual responsibility, and therefore the Community Volunteerism Model would expect high numbers of both embedded and nonembedded volunteer organizations. As Table 6.4 has demonstrated, this is the pattern of volunteer participation found in Finland. In order to explain why Finland also has high rates of participation, it is necessary to explore the practices of governmental and societal institutions.

[22] European Social Survey: http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org (10/23/05).

[23] For a good overview of Finnish history, see Osmo 1999 and Singleton 1998; for an examination of voluntary associations in particular, see Nylund 2000.

Volunteers in Finland, both those in embedded organizations and nonembedded organizations, enjoy high levels of support from the practices of governmental and societal institutions. Finns have long had a strong tradition of embedded volunteering in the rural areas through mutual self-help organizations that worked closely with local governments to improve rural life. The term *talkoot*, which can be translated as "neighbor help" or "voluntary teamwork," is the term commonly used to describe cooperative activities that people do together on behalf of the community. A *talkoot* could be organized by an individual, such as a farmer needing to raise a barn, or by a community group gathering people together for a common project such as a road repair or cleaning a local stream or park.[24]

Much like the neighborhood associations in Japan, local community organizations in rural Finland gather residents together to solve common problems and manage common resources. For example, these groups are often responsible for the maintenance of rural roads and keeping public areas clean. Just as in Japan, although participation in these kinds of community activities is voluntary (not compelled by law and unpaid), nearly everyone participates. Not only is it a time to have positive social interaction with one's neighbors and feel like one is making a contribution to the community, there is significant social pressure to "pull one's weight" and a habitual nonparticipant would likely be accused of shirking a community responsibility (interview, 2003).

As urbanization began to threaten village life, rural Finns began to formalize some of these organizations and use them for more political purposes in order to work with local governments to gain resources and to keep the cultural traditions of their village alive and vibrant. In the 1970s many of these local organizations began to formalize their structure and link together in what is now called the Village Action Movement; approximately 3,000 of Finland's 4,000 villages have Village Associations that are part of this movement.[25]

These embedded organizations are still primarily concentrated in rural areas. They remain vibrant as a result of the strong support of

[24] See Merilainen 1993, pp. 73–86, for a description of how the *talkoot* work in farm villages in Finland.

[25] International Institute for Sustainable Development, Village Action Movement, Finland: http://www.iisd.org/50comm/commdb/desc/d38.htm (10/23/05).

the practices of governmental and societal institutions. Although many Finns now live in the city, most remain connected to the rural village where their family has its roots. They will often return to their village one or more times a year to visit grandparents and parents, and reconnect with the more traditional aspects of Finnish culture, including the embedded organizations that are abundant in those areas (interview, 2003).

In the urban areas, newer forms of civic organizations that take on more nonembedded forms are also receiving strong support from governmental and societal institutions. These groups focus on specific issues, such as environmental protection, and they lobby the citizenry as well as the government to improve policies. Another important growing area of nonembedded volunteer organizations is in the area of international development and aid. Many of the most high profile organizations issue mass appeals for humanitarian assistance and human rights to aid developing countries in crisis (e.g., famine in Ethiopia, political instability in Madagascar, refugees in Palestine). These internationally focused organizations often generate high levels of volunteer participation in addition to their fund-raising missions. Among the four countries examined closely in this chapter, Finland had the highest levels of participation in both Greenpeace and Amnesty International.

Volunteering is a large part of community life in Finland, whether people are living in the city or in the countryside. When asked as part of the 2002–2003 European Social Survey whether being active in a volunteer organization was important to being a good citizen, 52 percent of Finns agreed that it was important, with only 28 percent thinking that it was not important (the remaining 20 percent were neutral).[26] Volunteer organizations clearly have significant legitimacy in Finland, and they gain legitimizing support from the practices of both governmental and societal institutions.

The government legitimizes embedded volunteers through the corporatist social welfare state structure that incorporates the input from nonstate actors such as large voluntary organizations into the policymaking and implementation process. Likewise, traditional forms of honoring volunteers in the community such as neighborhood festivals

[26] European Social Survey: http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org (10/23/05).

continue to play an important role in the community life of Finnish localities, especially in the rural areas.

Interestingly, although most Finns are church members (85 percent are members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church), churches do not play the same kind of significant role in encouraging volunteering as they do in the United States. Although in the United States religious congregations are critically important in all three areas of support for volunteer organizations – legitimizing, organizing, and funding – in Finland there appears to be little relationship between religiosity or churchgoing and volunteering in nonchurch organizations (Yeung 2004). This phenomenon may largely be a function of the automatic nature of church membership in Finland (citizens are automatically considered church members; they pay government taxes to the church and have to go through a formal procedure to "divorce" the church if they do not want to be a member). The societal institutions that are supporting volunteering in Finland are more likely to be neighborhood associations in the rural areas and the wide array of advocacy and recreational and hobby organizations (Anheier and Salamon 2001, p. 15).

In terms of financial support, the Finnish government provides more support to the nonprofit sector than the United States does but less than the Japanese government. Not including volunteer contributions, the Finnish government supplies 36 percent of the funding for the nonprofit sector. As in the United States, the private sector helps to augment the moderate levels of government funding. In Finland, a substantial portion of this financial contribution is not just through direct monetary contributions but though substantial volunteer labor that substitutes for paid staff. Philanthropic support of the nonprofit sector jumps from 6 to 35 percent of total contributions when volunteering is included (Salamon et al. 1999, pp. 72–73).

Similar to other advanced capitalist democracies, Finland has undergone tremendous social and economic adjustments in the past half-century, transforming its economy from one based on agriculture to one based on high-tech service industries. This transformation has involved a large migration of Finns from the countryside to the urban centers; from 1960 to 2000 Finland's population changed from being 60 percent rural and 40 percent urban to the reverse. Likewise, there has been an enormous upsurge in the level of education. As late as 1970 only

13 percent of Finns sought education past the high school level; by 2000, 85 percent were seeking further education.[27]

These demographic changes have challenged traditional volunteering patterns, just as they have in the United States and Japan. However, whereas in the United States embedded forms of volunteering seem to be giving way to nonembedded forms, Finland seems to be strengthening its embedded volunteering. As was discussed in the previous section and chapters, Japan's embedded volunteer organizations have found ways to remain relevant for their increasingly educated, urban populations by altering their recruitment strategies and adjusting their service missions. In Finland, however, the pattern of volunteer participation seems to be becoming more bifurcated – the rural areas are holding onto and strengthening their embedded organizations, while urban centers are growing the number and range of nonembedded groups.

As an example of the expansion of embedded organizations, Finland's village associations have increased the sophistication of their organizations' funding and political strategies, even as they have preserved their focus on rural communities. Originally established in 1970, the Village Action Movement is a national, nonpolitical, nonprofit association for cooperation in village activities. From 1997 to 1999 the association ran a nationwide Village Links Project to broaden and consolidate the network of village associations. The project resulted in increased regional communication and established opportunities for transnational cooperation.

The movement has served as the model for similar networks in other Scandinavian countries. Now, all the Scandinavian village association networks participate in international conferences attended by representatives from dozens of countries, international nongovernmental organizations, and the European Commission, which also provides financial support to the village associations and their international networking efforts.[28]

The Community Volunteerism Model helps explain both the high rate of volunteer participation in Finland as well as its composition,

[27] All figures are from the World Development Indices. The first figures are the rural population as a percentage of the total population. The second figures are the tertiary school enrolment as a percentage of gross.

[28] Halhead 2002, pp. 3, 7, and 11–13.

consisting of both embedded and nonembedded organizations. An examination of the practices of governmental and societal institutions highlights the high levels of support given to both types of organizations. However, this same investigation reveals that embedded organizations, while still very well supported, remain concentrated in rural areas while nonembedded groups tend to thrive in urban contexts. These findings suggest that volunteer participation in Finland is vibrant, and the commitment of governmental and societal actors to the perpetuation of norms of civic engagement that include volunteer participation will continue to support both embedded and nonembedded types of organizations into the foreseeable future.

Turkey

Turkey presents an interesting counterexample to the cases of the United States, Japan, and Finland, and a challenge for the Community Volunteerism Model. While all three of the other countries have demonstrated high levels of volunteer participation, Turks seem much less likely to participate in these activities than citizens of the other three countries. Furthermore, rather than participating in a mix of organizations that are fairly easily classified as embedded or nonembedded, rising forms of volunteer participation in Turkey seem to be in mixed-type organizations, specifically Islamist political parties that have significant volunteering and social service components.

As the introductory section to this chapter discussed, Turks have moderate attitudes about both governmental and individual responsibility, somewhat favoring government responsibility when the two attitudes are directly pitted against one another (57 vs. 43 percent in the WVS question that asks about both attitudes along a single dimension). With fairly equally balanced ideas of governmental and individual responsibility, the Community Volunteerism Model would expect a fairly balanced allotment of organizations – some embedded groups and some nonembedded groups. The practices of governmental and societal institutions would then determine the rate of volunteer participation in these groups.

Data on civil society and voluntarism in Turkey are much less readily available than in the other three countries, although there have been several studies that focus on aspects of civil society and volunteer

participation in Turkey. The general consensus among scholars is that compared to other countries in the Middle East, there are aspects of civic participation that are higher, but compared to citizens of advanced capitalist democracies, Turks tend to participate in volunteer organizations much less. The Community Volunteerism Model would suggest that Turkey's participation rates are due to a lack of support in the legitimizing, organizing, and funding practices of governmental and societal institutions. Preliminary evidence suggests that this is likely to be the case, but because of a dearth of information, the results are not conclusive.

Once again, culture and history provide an important context for the attitudes of civic responsibility and practices of governmental and societal institutions in Turkey. Many scholars have suggested (while others have contested) that Islam, like Confucianism, tends to place greater value on authority and order rather than on individual initiatives. At the same time, Islam requires giving to charity and mosques have been key institutions for the organization of community activism and volunteering.[29] Civic participation in Turkey embodies these contradictions, demonstrating different types of volunteering than we have seen in the other three countries.

Since Mustafa Kemal Ataturk established Turkey's modern, secular state in 1923, Turkey has experienced a long and difficult transition to democracy, which in some respects it is still struggling to consolidate. Turkey's history of a very strong centralized state, dating back through the Ottoman period, has made the development of a civil society that might work with and challenge the state difficult. As Binnaz Toprak phrased it, "A major problem of the individual as citizen in Turkey is that a right given by law can only be used through bribery or connections because each step of the claim runs into some bureaucratic detail which is only overcome by personal intervention. Hence, the bureaucratic infrastructure of civil society based on the guarantee of rights and backed by impersonal procedure in their application has yet to be established" (Toprak 1996, p. 92).

To make matters more difficult, while Turkey became a democracy in 1946, it has experienced three military coups (in 1960, 1971, and 1980) with formal democracy resuming shortly after each coup. In 1982,

[29] See the Norton volumes (1995, 1996) for a good discussion of both sides of this issue.

under military tutelage, the most recent Constitution was established outlining the boundaries of the new power balance, restricting the political power of the Left and enshrining, once again, a strict secularism on public life. The 1982 Constitution stipulates that no autonomous institutions would be recognized: all organizations, mosques, universities, social clubs, would be put under the authority of some bureaucratic ministry (Toprak 1996, pp. 94, 96).

In stark contrast to Japan, where some volunteers are given special status that is legally recognized, Turkish volunteer organizations are legally hindered from organizing, reducing their legitimacy. Furthermore, although the Turkish government has established several legitimacy-enhancing institutions by signing a number of international conventions on human and labor rights, for example, the enforcement mechanisms of the agreements are very weak, and the practices of the Turkish government have undermined the legitimizing support that these institutions could have otherwise lent volunteer organizations. Indeed, organizations, such as the YMCA, which have religious affiliations but also significant social service components, have not been able to maintain branch offices in Turkey, despite their desire to do so.[30]

The Turkish government is not consistent in the way that it provides legitimizing, organizing, or funding support to civic organizations. While the Turkish government has supported some embedded organizations such as the Red Crescent Society, which has more per capita members or volunteers than the Red Cross Society of the United States, other groups that might perform vital social services, such as a volunteer fire department, are not supported (firefighting services in Turkey are handled by the military). Similarly, some nonembedded organizations such as labor unions are supported (in the four countries studied here Turkey had the second highest participation in labor unions after Finland), while others like Amnesty International are not. Overall, however, the level of support that the government lends to volunteer organizations through its practices is quite low, especially when compared to that of the other three countries under examination in this chapter.

Societal institutions in Turkey have given somewhat more support to civic organizations, although their practices cannot be classified as

[30] Email correspondence with World Alliance of YMCAs, September 1, 2004.

giving strong support in any of the three areas. As with several other Middle East societies, Turks enjoy a very rich "debate culture" in which individuals have heated discussions about a wide range of political and social issues in tea shops, on talk shows, and through the print media. However, these private debates are not usually organized, so while they may contribute to the overall pluralization of ideas present in society, they do not translate into strong civic organizations that can generate significant volunteer participation (Gole 1996, p. 37).

Advances in communication technology have enabled some volunteer organizations to generate greater societal support, although it has been less than in the other three countries. The greatest use of the Internet so far has been as a tool to facilitate the networking of different organizations with similar missions. One stellar example of a successful network is the Flying Broom project (http://supurge.dincsa.com/), which has created a national directory of women's organizations in Turkey. Its on-line database contains the contact information and brief mission outline for more than 350 organizations concerned with the issues affecting women. The list contains a wide range of organizations from those with explicitly feminist political agendas to those concentrating on more basic daily life needs of rural women.

The Flying Broom organization has undertaken several projects increasing the effectiveness of women's organizations as well as raising awareness of women's issues in Turkey. The on-line database project and annual national women's NGO meetings have sought to bring together different women's organizations. Projects and events such as the Local Women Reporter's radio project, the annual International Women's Film Festival in Ankara, and women's marches have raised awareness of women's issues. Participation in these organizations is still not widespread, but increased communication technology is enabling these kinds of organizations to increase their support from society if not from the government.

Although Turkey's government is staunchly secular, religious organizations play a profound role in legitimizing, organizing, and funding volunteers just as in the United States. Mosques and Islamic foundations are of particular importance in this regard. Unlike associations, which had been tainted by involvement in antigovernment activities in the 1960s and 1970s (which led to the military coups in 1971 and 1980), Islamic foundations have remained honored in society for their

involvement in charity and public works. Islamists have often played up this history, which can be traced back to the *vakıflar* of Ottoman times that provided civic services not provided by the state (White 2002, pp. 205–206).

The Sufi-based Gülen Movement is an example of the importance of these kinds of organizations. Although officially outlawed because of its religious affiliation, the movement was started in the 1980s by Fethulla Gülen who based his organization on the thinking of Said Nursi (1873–1960), which emphasized the importance of education for the spread of understanding of true Islam in the context of a modern, scientific world. The schools and dormitories sponsored by the Gülen Movement are explicit about their desire to use education as a means for building community and increasing tolerance. As of 1997 there were more than 250 Gülen inspired educational facilities around the world, enrolling more than 26,500 students.[31]

The most widely observed change in Turkey's civil society in recent years, viewed with hope as well as trepidation, is the upsurge of Islamist political movements. These organizations present a challenge to the Community Volunteerism Model because they are mixed-type organizations, containing characteristics of both embedded and nonembedded organizations. At the same time, the model's emphasis on practices highlights some of the reasons that these organizations have been so effective in generating high rates of volunteer participation.

Although these parties began forming in the late 1980s, they did not experience mass popularity until a decade later, and then their political success was tremendous. In 1994 the Welfare Party doubled its votes nationally from the previous election; in the 1995 general election it won the most seats in parliament. In 1998 the Welfare Party was closed and its leader temporarily exiled, but another Islam-inspired party, the Virtue Party, quickly rose to take its place. In 2002 the most recent incarnation of the Islamist political movement in Turkey, the Justice and Development Party, won a sweeping victory in the national elections.

In her important and persuasive book, Jenny White (2002) argues that the success of this movement has been the parties' ability to marry the methods of traditional, community-based organizations with the

[31] Yavuz and Esposito 2003, p. 48; see chapters by Bekim Agai and Thomas Michel for an overview of the Gülen Movement's role in education.

political savvy and policy goals of contemporary party politics. In the language of the Community Volunteerism Model, these organizations have utilized the techniques of embedded organizations to legitimize and organize their volunteers while at the same time relying on the strategies of nonembedded organizations to raise funds and promote desired policy goals.

Similar to the Finnish concept of *talkoot*, Turkey has a tradition of *imece*, or "community project." Turkish villagers would cooperate in the spirit of *imece* to build houses for the elderly or widows who were in need in the community as well as to provide volunteer labor for community projects such as laying sewage and water pipes. *Imece* would also be used to describe the organization of community social events such as intervillage sports meets. The activities of these communities were usually informal and daily and did not come under the rubric of any particular organization (Delaney 1993, pp. 150–154).

White documents the way that contemporary Islamist parties in Turkey have been able to tap into these traditional concepts and the social networks they engender in the community for political purposes. The Welfare Party's motto, "service to the people," was put into practice in the city of Ümraniye through a corps of associations, an Islamic foundation, and the party-run municipality. All of the groups claimed autonomy from both the municipality and the party, and yet they retained close, embedded relationships with them both. The groups organized fleets of volunteers, who formed smaller groups among their neighbors, with each group taking responsibility for seeing to the needs of residents (White 2002, p. 181).

The organization had a dense network of neighbors and party members who would not only recruit volunteers to distribute aid, but coordinated with the government to share information. The process often worked as follows. A Welfare Party member would identify a particular person or family as someone in need and notify the municipality. The municipality would then authorize another member of the party to verify the need by checking with the family's local grocery store or with neighbors. The referral was then routed to the foundation through the municipality by way of the public relations office (White 2002, pp. 184, 189). This process highlights the highly embedded relationship among the various groups, and the way that this embedded

relationship worked to the party's political advantage. White terms this process "vernacular politics."

Particularly effective for Islamist parties has been the active involvement of women in party activities. "In doing so, they mobilized women's realm, the interior, a space totally dismissed by the secular centrist parties, who often assumed the women's vote would follow their husbands'" (Gole 1996, p. 30). Young women in Turkey also often turn to the Islamist parties as an avenue for emancipation. Seeking greater rights to education (e.g., the right to attend university while veiling) and greater rights to employment, these women turn to the "modern" party for answers. However, these women also face "the implicit contradiction between conscious activist intentions and the varied cultural expectations hidden under the canopy of populism" (White 2002, p. 234).

Islamist parties also have many characteristics more closely associated with nonembedded organizations. In its political campaign for the 1991 general election, the Welfare Party used sophisticated marketing techniques to get its messages and issues across to the voting public. Conducted on billboards, television, and in the press, the campaign depicted selected issues of Turkish society through the profiles of individuals – for example, the problem of a young man searching for a job, a young woman in a headscarf who yearns to attend university, and a retiree asking for a better standard of living (Gole 1996, p. 29).

Islamist parties and their associated volunteer organizations have been able to generate an outpouring of volunteer participation in both political and nonpolitical activities. Their success has been attributed to their ability to marry the institutional structure of a traditional party (nonembedded organization) with the practices of traditional community-based groups (embedded organizations). While the Community Volunteerism Model is able to highlight the importance of both the embedded and nonembedded characteristics of these parties – supportive practices that legitimate, organize, and fund volunteers – and explain why they are so successful, the Turkish case also presents a challenge to the model. Rather than a "balanced" civil society containing both embedded and nonembedded groups, Turkey seems to be a more "mixed" civil society containing these groups that are simultaneously embedded and nonembedded.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has used the case studies of four countries – the United States, Japan, Finland, and Turkey – to test the validity and usefulness of the Community Volunteerism Model. Overall, the model held up well to this test. It was able to predict correctly the types of volunteer organizations that would be present in each of the four countries. It was also able to predict the overall rate of participation in the four countries. The model performed better for the three countries with high rates of participation (United States, Japan, and Finland), and did not do quite as well with Turkey, which has more limited data and lower overall rates of participation.

The investigation of the four cases revealed the analytic strength of the Community Volunteerism Model; the way it captures the dynamic interaction between citizen ideas of civic responsibility and the practices of governmental and societal institutions. In all four countries, and especially in the cases of Japan, Finland, and Turkey, the model was able to uncover developing trends in civic engagement and explain why patterns of volunteer participation are changing in each of the countries.

In the United States, citizen ideas of individual responsibility, which were already strong, are growing at the expense of ideas of governmental responsibility, leading to increasing participation in nonembedded organizations and a weakening of embedded groups. These newer organizations require little face-time for membership and are sophisticated in their marketing of issues and their political lobbying on behalf of the group or issue they support.

In Japan, citizen ideas of civic responsibility are shifting – while ideas of governmental responsibility have remained strong, Japanese increasingly believe that individuals need to take more responsibility for dealing with society's problems. The result has been a rapid growth of nonembedded organizations that are more independent of the government, even while traditional, embedded organizations have found ways to retain, and in some cases, increase their support through cooperation with newer organizations and by refocusing their activities and recruiting methods to suit the contemporary social environment.

Finland, like the United States and Japan, also enjoys high rates of volunteer participation. However, unlike the other two countries,

which have tended to favor either embedded or nonembedded organizations, Finns have strong ideas of both governmental and individual responsibility and as a result Finland has a fairly balanced mix of both types of organizations. Like Japan, Finland has managed to maintain its support of traditional, embedded organizations even in the face of tremendous demographic and social change. However, unlike Japan, these organizations are almost exclusively located in the rural countryside, while nonembedded organizations have tended to be concentrated in the urban areas. Both types of groups appear to be gaining support and are experiencing rising participation rates.

Turkey, unlike the other three countries, has much lower rates of volunteer participation overall. Turkish ideas of governmental and individual responsibility did not result as much in a mix of embedded and nonembedded groups, as in Finland, but rather in the development of mixed-type groups such as the Islamist political organizations that combine some characteristics of embedded organizations with some characteristics of nonembedded ones. These Islamist organizations, which utilize large numbers of volunteers in their social service activities, may resemble other political parties in their institutional structures, but differ dramatically in their practices. These groups have taken advantage of social networks embedded in Turkish communities to mobilize members even as they have pursued policy goals through nonembedded means, such as political lobbying and mass media campaigns.

The Community Volunteerism Model highlights important aspects of a community that help explain not only the rate of volunteer participation found in communities but also the types of organizations that will be prevalent. Chapter 5 illustrated how the model could be used at the level of a city, and this chapter has tested the model using four countries with different patterns of volunteer participation. The model has successfully explained the pattern of participation in each of the countries and highlighted important characteristics of participation that might otherwise have been overlooked.

7

Conclusion

Practicing Citizenship

Why do some communities have vibrant civic participation, whereas others are only tepidly involved? Why do some communities become involved in organizations with close ties to the government, whereas others choose groups that are more removed? These are some of the most pressing questions in the study of politics and political behavior. This book examined these questions by looking at a diversity of patterns of volunteer participation around the world, but it began its inquiry from an unusual starting point – with volunteer firefighters at a community festival in Japan. This unusual starting point opened up the possibility of developing a theory of civic participation and a robust model that seeks to explain both the types and the rates of volunteer participation in communities around the world.

Although I have made many arguments throughout this book, they can be distilled into one large empirical claim, one methodological claim with theoretical implications, and two theoretical claims. I discuss each in turn, highlighting how my findings give us new insight and help us ask new questions about civil society, civic participation, and democracy.

My main empirical claim is that, contrary to most of what has been written, civil society in Japan is vibrant and thriving. Furthermore, voluntarism in Japan is not a new phenomenon; it has been active for centuries. The reason this fact has been largely ignored is because most Japanese are involved in what I call embedded organizations, organizations that have close, ongoing relationships with the government,

rather than the nonembedded organizations that are more common in the United States, which have been the focus of most studies of voluntarism and the nonprofit sector.

Although volunteers for embedded organizations may be acting more from social rather than individual motivations, they are also unpaid, their activities are contributing positively to the well-being of their communities, and their organizations are acting as important pipelines of information and accountability between citizens and their governments. Requiring that all volunteers act from the same kinds of individualistic motivations that are common in the United States creates a cultural bias in the concepts of volunteering and civic participation that automatically excludes much of the world; very few cultures value individual initiative as much as Americans. Indeed, the Japanese pattern of participation that favors embedded organizations can also be found in many other countries, such as Germany and Spain. This empirical finding has important implications for the ways that we understand and study comparative civil society.

Most important, rather than placing them at the margins, this book takes embedded organizations seriously. Doing so reveals aspects of civic participation that have tended to be discounted or ignored. Furthermore, it raises questions about several basic assumptions about civil society and civic participation, and it suggests a number of directions for fruitful future research.

Embedded organizations relate to the state differently than nonembedded ones. Because they are involved in long-standing relationships involving habitual, institutionalized interactions with the government, they tend to work more with bureaucrats than with politicians. They tend to have more cooperative, rather than combative, relationships with these officials, and they generally work through predictable, regularized channels of communication to resolve any conflicts. They are incorporated into the consensus-building process during policy making and often serve as an important channel for feedback and innovation in the implementation stage.

The countries studied in depth here are all democracies. Within these countries, embedded organizations have helped keep governments accountable to their publics. If policies are going awry or priorities need to be changed, these organizations act as a pipeline, transmitting citizens' ideas and needs to the appropriate officials. For example,

after the 1995 earthquake that devastated the Kansai area, volunteer firefighters in Kashihara took the initiative and, together with city firefighters and community and government leaders, developed a comprehensive disaster prevention program. These processes through which embedded organizations interact with the government raise a number of important questions. Under what conditions are these channels effective? When are more overtly political, advocacy methods better? Do places with many embedded organizations have different policy preferences with respect to social welfare, the environment, community development, and other issues than places with fewer of these types of groups? Studies of interest groups and political lobbying have helped answer many of these questions for nonembedded groups,[1] but they have largely ignored embedded organizations.

In countries that are not democracies, where nonembedded forms of volunteer organizations are discouraged or even outlawed, embedded organizations often abound. In prewar Japan, many of the organizations examined in this book – neighborhood associations, volunteer fire departments, and volunteer welfare commissioners – were deeply embedded and worked closely with the fascist state to maintain social control and civil obedience. Today, these same organizations act on behalf of citizens as mechanisms of democratic accountability. The volunteer welfare commissioners of prewar Japan spent much of their time discouraging needy citizens from seeking or claiming benefits from the government. Now, a generation or two later, volunteers with the same titles are on the front line of the new, national eldercare insurance plan, helping seniors get the information they need to apply, assisting them in filling out the necessary paper work, and providing feedback to the government about ways it can reach more seniors and more effectively meet their needs.

This transformation of certain embedded volunteers from authoritarian oppressors to champions of democratic processes raises questions. To what extent are embedded organizations in nondemocracies and quasi democracies able to advocate for their citizens? Can these types of organizations act as transformative agents for democracy?

[1] See Baumgartner 1998 for a thorough and comprehensive review of the interest group literature.

What are the conditions under which these organizations inhibit democracy and enhance governmental oppression? Can they change? How?

These important questions are being asked by scholars in recent research on civil societies in the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and Asia (e.g., Ekiert 1996; Frolic 1997; Shue 1997; Stroschein 202; Toprak 1996; Wiktorowicz 2000), but like their counterparts studying advanced democracies, their focus has largely been on nonembedded rather than embedded groups. How civil societies are transformed is an important aspect of democratic transition and consolidation, and these processes can be much better understood if embedded organizations are explicitly included into scholars' theoretical models and empirical research.

Research on civic participation and voluntarism has made tremendous strides in understanding why some individuals participate more than others. Time and again it has been confirmed that people with more income and education who don't spend too much time watching television will tend to become more involved than those who are poor, less educated, and who watch a lot of television. However, as this book has demonstrated, although these factors are powerfully predictive of individual behavior, such individual characteristics tell us almost nothing about participation at higher levels of aggregation – in communities, cities, regions, or even countries. Civic participation is a collective phenomenon and not just the sum of individual activities. Methodologically, this suggests that studies of civic participation should place less emphasis on trying to quantify individual behavior and turn greater attention to units that are larger than the individual to examine why some places have vibrant civil societies while others are more lethargic and disengaged.

This methodological claim, that civic participation should be studied at a community rather than an individual level of analysis, has theoretical implications. First, it calls into question the usefulness of methodologically individualist rational choice theory for studying civic participation. Verba's classic Civic Voluntarism Model that conceptualizes an individual's ability to become involved as a cost-benefit calculation related to his resources (e.g., civic skills, education, social networks) and motivation has been invaluable for explaining individual

differences. However, it is quite likely that these models work better for explaining participation in nonembedded organizations – the focus of his study – than participation in embedded groups.

Many of volunteers that I spoke with, and most of those active in embedded organizations, did not articulate their decision to participate in ways that would comport easily with presumptions of rational choice. I remember the elderly volunteer welfare commissioner in Sakata who said that his reason for continuing to volunteer for twenty-eight years was that he "couldn't manage to quit." Using Verba's terminology, these volunteers tended to enjoy selective civic and social gratifications more than material ones; they gain satisfaction and social recognition by performing a civic duty.

However, focusing on individual calculations about whether or not to volunteer misses the very important story that is happening at the community level – the creation and maintenance of norms of civic responsibility. Civic gratification comes from feeling that one has done one's duty to the community. But stopping with that explanation ignores many important questions: How do you figure out that you have a duty and how do you determine what that duty is? How do communities instill a sense of civic responsibility in their members? How do norms of civic responsibility change over time? How do they adjust to changing social and political conditions? These questions are fundamental to understanding civic participation, and they must be asked at a community rather than an individual level of analysis.

This book has made two theoretical claims. First, community attitudes – not individual characteristics, demographic factors, or government spending – account for the types of volunteer participation found in a community, whether in embedded, nonembedded, both, or neither type of organization. Community attitudes about governmental and individual responsibility for dealing with social problems determine the kinds of organizations that volunteers join.

This finding turns much of the literature on comparative civil society and social capital on its head. It directs researchers toward new avenues of inquiry. Rather than asking (the somewhat obvious) question of why more education increases civic participation, we are pushed to ask how and why communities promote particular norms of civic responsibility. Rather than asking if and how government "crowds out" voluntary provision of services, this perspective suggests that there are more

pressing questions to ask about the interaction between governmental policy and prevalent citizen attitudes to promote types of volunteer participation valued by the community.

A plausible argument can be made that citizens respond to the institutional constraints present in their environment, and it is these institutional constraints and not citizen attitudes or community norms that actually account for the patterns of participation that we find in given communities (see especially Schwartz and Pharr 2003 for this argument in the Japanese case). However, the research presented here has demonstrated that it is not the presence or absence of institutions that is the critical difference – all three Japanese cities had active Social Welfare Councils, but they had dramatically different volunteer participation patterns. I argue that it is not the institutions themselves but their practices that matter the most. The way that people used their institutions to generate or inhibit volunteering determined whether a community had high or low rates of participation. Furthermore, leaders and community members prioritized certain types of activities, directing ordinary citizens to volunteer for certain types of organizations rather than others. I have argued here that these priorities come from (changing) community norms of civic responsibility, and these norms have their roots in the political culture of a particular community.

Researchers of comparative civil society are interested in the ways that culture influences civic participation. This study suggests that citizen attitudes toward government are a very good indicator of where one should expect civic participation to happen. Questions about the origins of those attitudes and how they change are important directions for further study: How does exposure to international norms change participation patterns? Do changes in government, from more conservative to more liberal (or the reverse) have an effect on citizen ideas and therefore on participation patterns? Does it matter if policy makers' attitudes are different than the attitudes of the public? Do different attitudes and patterns of participation change the policy profiles of the city, region, or country? These are basic questions, the answers to which will go a long way to explaining cross-time and cross-space differences in civic participation.

My second theoretical claim, that the practices of governmental and societal institutions – how well they provide legitimizing, organizing,

and funding support for volunteers – determine the rates of participation in a community, also calls into question many basic assumptions about civic participation and similarly opens up fruitful new avenues for research. This finding is in line with much of the research on collective action and institution building that argues organizational structures are important for enabling collective action. However, this book suggests that researchers should put more focus on the practices of institutions rather than just their structures when trying to explain differences in participation rates.

In his classic book on collective action, Mancur Olson demonstrated how difficult it is for people who have common interests to organize. Scholars have since made tremendous progress specifying how organizational structures create incentives that facilitate or undermine the effectiveness of collective action. This book supports his general argument, but it takes it in a different direction: what matters is not just the structure of the institution but also its practices. Places with very similar institutions may have very different rates of participation because the actual practices of the institutions are different.

As Chapter 4 explained, the cities of Kashihara and Sakata both had the institutional structure of a Social Welfare Council. In Kashihara, however, the council was used as a forum to bring together newer, nonembedded organizations and more traditional, embedded ones, so the two types of groups could work together in creating new initiatives and programs. Volunteering in Kashihara was greatly boosted, especially among the newer, nonembedded groups as a result of these connections. In contrast, even though the membership of Sakata's Social Welfare Council contained representatives from both types of groups, its meetings were largely pro forma; it did not try to create cooperative cross-type volunteer programs. Volunteering in both types of organizations but especially in newer nonembedded groups suffered. It was the practices of the Social Welfare Council that made the difference in the participation rates in two cities; the institutional structure was almost identical in both places.

Closely examining the practices of institutions raises a number of additional questions that influence civic participation: How is leadership cultivated? How are new ideas developed and how are they transmitted? How are conflicts resolved? How are organizations' missions renewed and adjusted as time passes and situations change? These

questions cannot be answered just by looking at the formal structure of the institution and identifying its inherent incentives (and disincentives) for cooperation. They must be answered with a more process-oriented approach that examines how power and ideas flow in addition to examining how they are structured.

These methodological and theoretical findings have important implications for public policy. First, if one recognizes that civic participation is a collective enterprise, then activists and government officials can find ways to increase participation rates as well as find ways for government and citizen activities to cooperate in solving public problems. This book has demonstrated that legitimizing, funding, and organizing volunteers is key to raising participation rates. Moreover, government involvement can play an important positive (or negative) role in promoting them. The public benefits of such actions can be huge: it is much easier to create organizational structures and practices that help volunteers coordinate their activities and cooperate with the government than it is to increase the individual incomes and educational levels of all citizens.

Second, while a number of studies have classified the different kinds of nonprofits that work with governments (e.g., Kramer 1981), the research reported here suggests *why* certain kinds of organizations thrive or languish in different communities. Citizen attitudes about governmental and individual responsibility help determine the kinds of volunteer organizations they support. Policies that rely on organizations that are in line with the community's prevalent attitudes should succeed; incompatible policies are likely to fail. Therefore, public officials and activists should invest time into discovering what kinds of attitudes about individual and governmental responsibility are present in their community, so they can direct their efforts toward creating virtuous circles of greater participation rather than working against community values and undermining the nascent voluntarism already extant in the community. Productive avenues of policy-related scholarship should seek to identify the organizational practices that best facilitate government-nonprofit cooperation as well as discover how governments can best promote communication and cooperation among volunteer organizations themselves.

Recent years have seen a boom in research on civil society, and comparative scholars have begun to extend this research agenda abroad.

Such comparative work allows for a more nuanced understanding of state-society relations, the role of civil society in promoting democratic and economic development, and the ways that civic engagement can help enhance governance and standards of living. To date most of the existing research on such questions has been done with the United States as its model. Patterns found in American society tend to guide the questions that are asked about the rest of the world. While this method can be useful, the greatest benefit of a comparative approach is that it often calls our assumptions into question and opens up new ways of looking at phenomena we thought we understood. Not only does studying other countries help us comprehend what is happening abroad, but comparative insights can also help us better realize what is occurring in the United States.

For example, academics have developed a cottage industry trying to identify why Americans are "bowling alone" and becoming less involved in organizations such as membership associations that once used to engage a large segment of the population. This study suggests that answers to these questions can be found by investigating changes in civic attitudes of responsibility – both how American attitudes have changed in general and how practices that inculcate values of civic responsibility have evolved over time. This book emphasizes the importance of embedded organizations. While the story usually told about the United States concerns a decline in these types of organizations – fewer volunteer fire fighters, fewer PTA members – there are still millions of Americans who participate in these types of groups. Studying how these organizations work with other civic organizations and with the government will lend greater insight into the quality and the direction of contemporary American democracy.

The findings in this book are highly optimistic. Previous studies of volunteering and civic participation have tended to doom communities to low civic participation rates either because of their culture (e.g., Islamic or Confucian cultures value the collective over the individual, so their civic participation will be low forever) or because of their socioeconomic status (e.g., education and money are necessary for volunteer participation, so poor places do not and will not have the resources to participate). This book acknowledges that culture matters, but it affects only the *type* of participation, not whether the community will participate at all. Those places that do not accord much value to

individual responsibility may nonetheless have very high volunteering rates; they are just likely to be in embedded rather than nonembedded organizations. Similarly, resources matter for civic participation. But financial resources are just one of several important factors that determine a community's participation rate. Legitimacy and organizational support are equally if not more important; while money helps, it is not required for those vital supports to volunteer organizations.

This book tells the stories of volunteers in unlikely places doing extraordinary things for their communities. These inspiring and dedicated individuals exist all over the world, and they work in a wide range of organizations performing what they believe to be their civic duty. By examining their involvement in embedded organizations, this book honors their dedication and reveals that most of the world has patterns of civic participation different from those found in the United States. Examining citizen attitudes about civic responsibility and how the practices of societal and governmental institutions affect volunteer participation has lent new insight into the formation and organization of civil society. Taking embedded organizations and citizen attitudes about civic responsibility seriously in research on civil society will not only increase our understanding of how citizens mobilize to affect changes in government policies, but it will also create a new set of possibilities for state-society cooperation in addressing social problems in both advanced and developing democracies.

Appendix A

Research Design and Methods

This book seeks the answer to two questions: Why do some communities have much more participation in organizations that have close, embedded relationships with the government, whereas other communities favor organizations with more distant relationships with the government? And why do some communities have much higher rates of volunteering than other, similarly situated communities in the same country? Chapter 1 has developed a theory of volunteer participation that explains both the *types* of volunteer participation – answering the first question – as well as the *rate* of volunteer participation – answering the second question. The chapters that followed tested this theory and from the results built a fully specified model that predicts both the types as well as the rates of volunteer participation for any given community.

CHAPTER 2 METHODS

The first task is to test whether the ideas citizens have about governmental and individual responsibility affect the types of organizations they join. To test these two hypotheses, I use data collected from eight different organizations that are active around the world. Three of the organizations – parent-teacher associations, the Red Cross, and volunteer fire departments – are embedded organizations with close relationships with particular government bureaucracies. Their embeddedness is determined by their institutional relationship with the government.

Both PTAs and volunteer fire departments have close institutional relationships with particular government bureaucracies – schools in the case of PTAs and municipal fire departments in the case of volunteer fire departments. The Red Cross also works very closely with government bureaucracies. In its domestic blood donor work, the organization has become integrated into the public (and in some cases private) hospital network. In its international relief work, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies works closely with governments to distribute aid and provide relief to victims of natural or other disasters.

Five of the organizations – Greenpeace, Lions Clubs International, Rotary Clubs International, Scouting International, and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) – have missions and organizational structures that are explicitly independent of the government, without embedded ties to bureaucratic agencies. Per capita membership rates in these organizations constitute the dependent variables in Chapter 2's analysis. A full list of source information is listed in Appendix B.

The independent variable is citizen attitudes toward governmental and individual responsibility for dealing with social problems. It is measured using data from the 2000 World Values (WVS) and European Values Surveys (EVS). Although these surveys are not well designed to capture the total quantity of volunteers because of the limited number of groups listed in the questions, they are specifically designed to capture citizen attitudes. Therefore, while they may not correctly identify whether an individual volunteers for her local neighborhood association, they should correctly record that person's attitude toward government. Therefore, while not perfect, these surveys are a good way of measuring the range and intensity of certain attitudes within particular countries.

The two surveys asked a series of similar questions of people in sixty-eight independent countries (EVS covered thirty-three countries and the WVS thirty-seven countries with both surveys covering two countries in common) during 1999 and 2000 (Inglehart 2004, ICPSR 3975). Citizen attitudes about governmental and individual responsibility were measured by responses to question no. 143 in the WVS and no. 54 in the EVS (variable e37 in the database). Respondents were asked to place their views on a scale of 1–10. One meant that

the respondent completely agreed with the statement: "People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves." Ten meant that the respondent completely agreed with the statement: "The government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for" (Inglehart et al. 2004, pp. 40 and 71). The percentage of respondents in a country answering 6–10 (indicating a strong attitude of governmental responsibility and/or a weak attitude of individual responsibility) in a country is used as an independent variable in all of the following regression analyses.

Note that the way the World Values Surveys collect these data – placing the attitudes of governmental and individual responsibility at the opposite ends of a single spectrum – makes it impossible to distinguish between a respondent who thinks that both the government and individuals should deal with social problems and a respondent who thinks that neither one should deal with these problems (both might give a 5 for an answer). The use of this measurement should not imply that the theoretical framework is similarly limited – theoretically speaking, it is possible for citizens of a country to think that both the government and individuals should be responsible for dealing with social problems.

In addition to citizen attitudes, I also test alternative explanations for variation in volunteer participation – education, income, urbanization, working women, and government spending. These variables are measured using 2000 data from the World Development Indicators collected by the World Bank. Education is measured as the net percentage of secondary school enrollment in the country. Income is measured by per capita gross domestic product (in constant 1995 US$). Urbanization measured by the percentage of the total population in urban cities. The percentage of labor force that is female is used as a proxy for the prevalence of dual-income families. Government spending as a percent of GDP (in constant 1995 US$) is used as a proxy measure of the extent of government spending that could be supporting (or crowding out) volunteer participation.[1] Finally, because a number of the organizations (i.e., Scouting International, PTA, and YMCA) are specifically geared toward youth, a control variable – the percentage of

[1] Per capita government spending was too highly correlated with per capita GDP (Pearson's bivariate correlation = 0.986**) to be a useful measurement of government spending in the regression.

the population under the age of fifteen – is added to regressions with those variables (data also from the World Development Indicators).

All of the variables are tested in larger-n regressions (the number of cases ranging from thirty to fifty-nine) for participation in Red Cross, Scouting International, and YMCA (the only organizations for which I could gather membership from a large number of countries). The explanatory variables are then tested again for all eight organizations in OECD countries.

The variables are tested for multicollinearity and heteroskedasticity in all regressions. In some cases there were clear outliers. Because OLS regressions are particularly sensitive to outliers, dummy variables were included in regressions when appropriate. In the first set of regressions (Table 2.2), the per capita membership of YMCA was logged to adjust for heteroskedasticity, and a dummy variable for the United States and Canada was added to eliminate their undue influence on the OLS regression.

In the second set of regressions (Table 2.3), the numbers of cases were fewer for all of the organizations. This smaller number of cases put greater restrictions on the degrees of freedom and presented greater multicollinearity problems. In order to address these problems, variables that were theoretically less relevant and statistically insignificant were removed from the regressions. Specifically, education was highly correlated with a number of variables and also had comparatively low levels of variation (this is likely to be because the countries were all OECD countries and therefore all enjoy high overall levels of education). Therefore, in several of the regressions (those for Lions, Scouting, YMCA, and PTA) it was removed. In all of these cases, when education was tested alone, it was statistically insignificant, providing further reassurance that its removal did not rob the regression of its explanatory power.

A similar problem happened for working women and for urbanization, and these variables were removed from two regressions each (urbanization was removed in the PTA and volunteer firefighter regressions and working women was removed from Lions Clubs and volunteer firefighter regressions). Once again, when tested separately, these variables did not have any statistically significant relationship with the variation in membership, so their removal did not impede the explanatory power of the regression. Finally, to adjust for heteroskedasticity,

the log of per capita membership, rather than just the per capita membership, was used in the regressions for Greenpeace, Lions Club, and YMCA.

CHAPTER 3 METHODS

My second task was to test whether practices of state and society influence the *rate* of volunteer participation. I did this utilizing a nested design consisting of a large-n statistical analysis combined with a qualitative examination of three case studies in Chapters 3 and 4.[2]

The method involves selecting units of analyses that are above the level of the individual but below the level of the national government. I measured "community" in Japan with two proxy units selected because they are sufficiently small to reflect subnational variation but sufficiently large for there to be meaningful data sources: prefectures (similar to American states, 47 total) and municipalities (3,251 total). I measure volunteering (the dependent variable) in a variety of ways. First, I collected prefectural membership data for the year 2000 from volunteer fire departments, volunteer welfare commissioner associations, senior clubs, and PTAs. I also obtained survey data reporting the number of people who volunteer in social services and the number of hours those volunteers donated. I include the number of registered nonprofit organizations in the prefectures as an additional measure of volunteering activity (see Appendix C for source information).

To measure the effect of individual characteristics, I examine the influence of education, income, television viewing, and working women on the seven measures of volunteer participation. I measure the education level of the prefecture as the percentage of high school graduates who go on to higher education, and I measure the income level as the per capita income in the prefecture. Television viewing is measured as the average number of hours of television viewing in the prefecture. The percentage of women in the work force is used as a proxy measurement for dual-income families.[3]

[2] For an excellent overview of the value of nested analyses, see Lieberman 2003.

[3] In some cases where it was impossible to obtain data for 2000, I obtained data for the closest available year. Full source information can be found in Appendix C.

Two collective level variables are also tested for how much they influence volunteer participation rates: urbanization and government spending. Population density (population per square kilometer) is used as a proxy measure for urbanization. Government spending is measured as per capita government spending in the prefecture, and, as an additional measure, the number of professional employees performing the same work as the volunteers is added where applicable (home helpers in the case of volunteer welfare commissioners and social service volunteers, and career firefighters in the case of volunteer firefighters).

Finally, a few control variables have been included to ensure that statistically identified relationships are not spurious. For regressions where the dependent variable is volunteer welfare commissioners, senior clubs, social service volunteers, or the number of hours donated by social service volunteers, the proportion of the population older than sixty-five years of age is added as a control. For volunteer firefighters, the per capita number of fires in the previous year is included. For PTA membership, the per capita number of schools is included.

In order to test the influence of these variables on the level of volunteering, I ran ordinary least squares regressions for each of the dependent variables. Initially, I ran a regression with as many of the relevant independent variables as I could without including any with Pearson correlation values of greater than 0.5[4] with any of the other variables: population density, education, women in the work force, television viewing, government spending, career workers, and any relevant control variables.

Some of the independent variables (i.e., population density, education, income, government spending, and proportion of elderly residents) were highly correlated with one another. These variables directly measure some characteristic of the prefecture (e.g., per capita income) and indirectly measure the prefecture's level of urbanization. Rural areas tend to have lower income levels, more elderly people, lower population densities, and higher per capita government spending. In

[4] Because my interest is in capturing the independent effects of these variables, I utilized 0.5 as a strict noncollinearity standard. In cases where the variables were highly correlated, I tested the variables separately.

order to identify the relative importance of each factor, I tested each of them separately. Finally, because Tokyo is a statistical outlier for several variables (income, population density, home helpers, PTA membership, and nonprofit organizations), I also included a Tokyo dummy variable as an additional control in all of the regressions.

As a more refined test, I ran an additional set of regressions testing the influence of geographic size, population density, and career firefighters on the per capita number of volunteer firefighters and the growth of the per capita number of volunteer firefighters at the municipal level (3,251 cases). Geographic size is measured in square kilometers. Population density is calculated as people per square kilometer for the municipality. Population growth is the growth percentage change in the municipality's population from 1990 to 2000. All data are from the Soumushou Shoubousho, *Shoubou Hakusho*. None of the variables commonly used to explain individual participation rates were able to explain much of the variation in community rates of volunteering.

CHAPTERS 4 AND 5 METHODS

In order to investigate the nature of the process encouraging and discouraging volunteering at the community level, I utilized a most similar case study approach, selecting three medium-size (populations of approximately 100,000 people) Japanese cities with similar demographic characteristics but different numbers of volunteer firefighters (the only volunteer organization for which I was able to obtain municipal-level membership data prior to visiting the city) to ensure variation on the dependent variable of volunteer participation (see Table A.1). Among these medium-size cities, Sanda had the highest population growth between 1990 and 2000, but no change in its number of volunteer firefighters. Kashihara had a stable population and the largest increase (79 percent) in the number of volunteer firefighters. Sakata, which also had a stable population, had the largest decrease (31 percent) in the number of volunteer firefighters.

Within these case studies, I concentrated on studying volunteering in two service areas: firefighting and eldercare. I selected these service areas for three reasons. First, I was interested in testing if and how

TABLE A.1. *City Comparison*

	Kashihara	Sakata	Sanda
Population in 2000[a]	124,201	101,210	110,163
Population growth, 1990–2000	8%	0%	87%
Percent of population older than 65	14.4%	21.3%	10.5%
Size	39.52 km²	175.79 km²	210.22 km²
Density	3,142 people/km²	576 people/km²	524 people/km²
Number of fires	55	52	49
City expenditures	43.0 trillion yen	36.9 trillion yen	34.3 trillion yen
Average income[b]	3.9 million yen	2.9 million yen	4.4 million yen

[a] Figures for Sakata are from 1999.

[b] I could not find comparable figures for per capita income. These are calculated from government data on taxes collected – dividing the total taxable income of a city by the total taxed population. Statistics Bureau: http://www.stat.go.jp/data/ssds/5b.htm (2/06/06 Japanese). I gratefully acknowledge Masami Imai for helping me find these data.

government service provision might crowd out volunteer service provision, so I wanted to make sure that the volunteers I studied were supplying a service that paid government employees were also supplying – thus setting up a potential conflict. If crowding out was going to happen, it should happen in these service areas.

Second, along the same lines, I expected that professionalization levels might negatively influence volunteering rates, so I selected two services with different levels of professionalization – firefighting is not very professionalized in Japan, whereas eldercare is. Finally, within both of these service areas, there are embedded organizations that provide much of the volunteer labor. Therefore, I was able to investigate these underexamined organizations, providing new empirical insights while developing my theoretical model.

Based in the city of Kobe, I conducted nine months of in-depth field research in these three cities, interviewing approximately one hundred government officials, civic leaders, and volunteers, and collecting hundreds of pages of published and unpublished documents. In each city I interviewed approximately ten government officials dealing with volunteer organizations. The remaining seventy interviews were distributed among the volunteers themselves. For each city I interviewed leadership and rank-and-file members of volunteer fire departments,

volunteer welfare commissioners, neighborhood associations, and at least one nonembedded organization dealing with the elderly.

Almost all of the interviews were conducted in group settings. I usually began my interviews in a city by meeting with the group of government officials whose primary responsibility was to act as a liaison with the neighborhood associations. I asked the city officials for an overview of the volunteer participation in their city as well as to explain the kinds of things that they, as government officials, did to support the volunteer groups and how they characterized their relationship with the volunteers and their organizations. These civil servants were often the ones to set up my subsequent meetings with the volunteer organization leaders, who in turn arranged for meetings with some of their rank-and-file members.

The interviews with the volunteers were also largely conducted in small group settings, often with two to five volunteers and myself, although occasionally the group was larger (such as when I was granted some time at the annual meeting of all the volunteer fire department unit chiefs in Kashihara or when I went to Sanda's monthly meeting between the volunteer welfare commissioner district heads and city officials). Often the government person who had set up the meeting was also present, although he or she usually remained quiet for the interview and the presence or absence of the government official did not seem to affect the responses of the volunteers.

I asked the volunteers a large range of questions, from basic information about the activities of their organization to how they were recruited to join, why they first joined, why they have continued to participate, where they get their funding, how they would characterize their relationship with the government, what they see as the future of their organization. Most of my interviews lasted about one hour, although sometimes they ran much longer (such as one marathon session in Sanda where I met with a rank-and-file member of a neighborhood association who invited me to lunch at his house. We had lunch, toured the district, attended the meeting of his neighborhood association in which new members were being initiated, joined in the meal that followed the meeting – I was there for about twelve hours).

Most of the volunteers I interviewed were older, between sixty and eighty years old. Because I interviewed both leaders as well as

rank-and-file members, most of the volunteers I spoke with had been with their organization for many years, sometimes several decades. Many of the volunteers, and especially the leaders, were retired, although some were still working full or part time. Not including the volunteer firefighters, who were almost all men, the volunteers I spoke with were evenly divided between men and women.

CHAPTER 6 METHODS

Chapter 6 undertakes a more rigorous test of the Community Volunteerism Model by examining four countries: the United States, Japan, Finland, and Turkey, all of which are predicted to have different volunteering patterns (see Table A.2).

By drawing on quantitative data on membership in a range of embedded and nonembedded organizations that are similar in all four countries (Greenpeace, YMCA, volunteer fire departments, Red Cross, etc.), the overall pattern of volunteer participation is determined. All four countries are then examined more closely to identify the ways in which the practices of governmental and societal institutions are influencing participation rates. The causal links hypothesized in the first chapter are scrutinized to determine whether the Community Volunteerism Model can explain variation in volunteer participation patterns. In particular, institutional practices that legitimize (e.g., special legal status and local festivals that honor volunteers), organize (e.g., Web sites that match potential volunteers with volunteer organizations and forums that facilitate cooperation among different types of volunteer organizations), and fund (e.g., tax-exempt status and levels of private and public giving) volunteer organizations are analyzed to identify the ways in which they support or hinder volunteer participation.

In Japan and the United States I interviewed volunteers in embedded as well as nonembedded organizations in order to confirm their classification given in Table A.2. I also asked open-ended questions about how institutional practices supported volunteering, focusing on legitimation, organization, and funding. In Japan, most of the interviewing and research was done at the local level in the three cities, although I also spoke with volunteers in Tokyo especially concerning their political lobbying techniques and the details of national policies that affected

TABLE A.2. *Cross-National Predictions of Patterns in Volunteer Participation*

	Governmental Responsibility	
	High	**Low**
Individual Responsibility		
High	Many embedded organizations Many nonembedded organizations Finland	Few embedded organizations Many nonembedded organizations United States
Low	Many embedded organizations Few nonembedded organizations Japan	Few embedded organizations Few nonembedded organizations Turkey

volunteers (e.g., the insurance program to support volunteer firefighters that is adopted by nearly every municipality).

In the United States, I interviewed some volunteers on an ad hoc basis and did extensive interviewing in Washington, D.C., during the summer of 2000. I focused especially on the organizations representing the volunteers, such as the National Volunteer Fire Council, those studying the volunteers such as the Urban Institute, and those representing the unionized workers who were performing some of the same services as the volunteers – International Association of Fire Fighters (IAFF) in the case of the fire fighters; American Federation of Federal, State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); and Service Employees International Union (SEIU) for social workers performing eldercare service.

I was forced to rely primarily on secondary source material and interviews with expatriates and scholars for my research on Finland and Turkey, as I do not speak either language. While considerable information about organizations and their membership was available on the Internet, the embedded organizations I was particularly interested in were largely absent from the World Wide Web. With the help of knowledgeable staff at both Finland's and Turkey's U.S. embassies and from connections with scholars working on the two countries, I was able to gather data about a wide range of both embedded and nonembedded organizations.

As an added check to make sure the story I was telling was accurate for Finland and Turkey, I sent drafts of Chapter 6 to country specialists – two for each country. In the end, I feel confident that I conducted the research in a rigorous, unbiased manner, and the findings I am reporting here accurately reflect volunteer participation patterns in all four countries.

Appendix B

Membership Source Information

INTERNATIONAL

Amnesty International

- Japan: 6,461 members. http://www.amnesty.or.jp/profile.shtml (Japanese) (5/15/03)
- United States: 300,000 members. Telephone conversation with Amnesty International USA headquarters, in New York (3/8/03)

Greenpeace

- Japan: 4,500 supporters. http://www.greenpeace.or.jp/info/index_en_html (10/23/05)
- United States: 250,000 members. http://www.greenpeace.org/usa/about (10/23/05)

Lions Clubs

Data on membership in Lions Clubs from an email correspondence from the U.S. headquarters of Lions and Lioness Clubs International (1/2/03)

- Australia: 28,185
- Finland: 27,200
- Germany: 41,336
- Japan: 135,285

- Mexico: 12,996
- Norway: 13,748
- Spain: 2,579
- Sweden: 14,826
- Switzerland: 8,136 (includes Luxembourg)
- Turkey: 9,489
- United States: 437,887 (includes affiliates in Bermuda and the Bahamas)

Parent-Teacher Associations

- Finland: Finnish Parent's Association, 200,000 parents; 1,100 associations. European Parents Association (www.epa-parents.org) (10/23/05) and www.suomenvanhempainliitto.fi (10/23/05)
- Japan: 11 million. Nippon PTA Zenkoku Kyougikai (Japan's National PTA Council): http://www.nippon-pta.or.jp/jigyougaiyou/gaiyou_3.html (12/21/05).
- Spain: Confederation Catolica Nacional de Padres de Familia y Padres de Alumnos, 3 million families. http://www.concapa.org/modules.php?name=Contenido&pa=showpage&pid=1 (8/8/06) (Spanish)
- Turkey: none. Email correspondence with Turkish embassy in Washington, D.C. (1/28/03)
- United States: 6 million members, 26,000 local units. National PTA: www.pta.org/jp_why_join_pta.html (12/21/05)

Red Cross

International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Profile of national Red Cross/Red Crescent Societies: http://www.ifrc.org/publicat/profile/index.asp (10/23/05)

- Membership analysis based on forty-four countries: Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Belarus, Bosnia Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Colombia, Croatia, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Finland, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, India, Japan, Korea (South), Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Mexico, Moldova, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Russia, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovenia, Spain, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, Uruguay, United States, Venezuela

Rotary Club International

Data on membership in Rotary Clubs from email correspondence (2/10/04) from Rotary Club International. Membership for each country (as of 1/31/04)

- Australia: 35,892
- Finland: 11,650
- Germany: 41,856
- Japan: 106,628
- Korea: 46,694
- Mexico: 10,659
- Norway: 13,416
- Poland: 1,915
- Spain: 4,315
- Sweden: 30,055
- Switzerland: 10,872
- Turkey: 7,184
- United States: 391,072

Scouting International

World Organization of the Scout Movement. Country profiles: http://www.scout.org/satw/index.shtml (10/23/05)

- Membership analysis based on forty-two countries: Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Colombia, Croatia, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Finland, Georgia, Germany, Ghana, India, Japan, Korea (South), Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Mexico, Moldova, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Russia, Serbia and Montenegro, Slovenia, Spain, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Uruguay, United States, Venezuela

Seniors' Associations

- Japan: 8.7 million members. Zenkoku Rojin Kurubu Rengokai (Japan Federation of Senior Citizens Clubs): http://www4.ocn.ne.jp/~zenrou/ (Japanese) (1/22/03)
- United States: Total membership, 34,770,982; 56 percent older than sixty-five (19.5 million). Telephone calls with AARP staff (5/15/03, 5/19/03): 1,860 nationwide, 1,200 in Washington, D.C.

Union Membership

- Japan: 11.1 million (2001). Japan Information Network, Statistics: http://www.jinjapan.org/stat/stats/09LAB81.html (English) (5/15/03)
- United States: 15.5 million (2004). U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics: http://www.bls.gov/news.release/union2.nro.htm (10/23/05)

Volunteer Fire Departments

- Australia: Email correspondence with Australasian Fire Authorities Council (10/2/00), 270,000 volunteer, 17,000 career
- Finland: Email correspondence with Federation of Finnish Contract Fire Brigades (9/9/04),15,000 volunteer (an additional 23,800 people – mostly women's auxiliary and youth – involved in support services but not included in the regression)
- Germany: Email correspondence with the German Firefighting Association, Deutscher Feuerwhr Verband (1/14/03), 1,059,497 volunteer and 27,627 paid
- Japan: Shoubocho, Shouboudan Homepage: http://www.fdma.go.jp/syobodan/whats/data.html (Japanese) (12/21/05), 919,105 volunteer, 155,524 career
- Norway: Email correspondence with BTY – Branntjenestemennenes Yrkesorganisasjon (1/9/03), 12,500 total, 77 percent of them volunteers
- Sweden: Email correspondence with Räddningsverket (1/7/03), 12,000 part time, 6,000 full time
- Switzerland: Email correspondence with Feuerwehrverband (1/6/03), 125,000 volunteer, 1,000 career
- Turkey: Email correspondence with Turkish embassy in Washington, D.C. (1/28/03), 67 volunteer, 14,934 career
- United States: National Volunteer Fire Council Factsheet: http://www.nvfc.org/pdf/2005-fact-sheet.pdf (12/21/05), 800,050 volunteer, 296,200 career

Women's Associations

- Japan: 5 million members. Chifuren (National Federation of Regional Women's Organizations): http://www.chifuren.gr.jp/aisatsu.htm (Japanese) (1/22/03)

- United States: 500,000 members. National Organization for Women: http://www.now.org/organization/faq.html#member (10/23/05)

Young Men's Christian Association

World Alliance of YMCA's country profiles: http://www.ymca.int/index.php?id=229 (10/23/05)

- Membership analysis based on twenty-two countries: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Estonia, Finland, Germany, India, Japan, Latvia, Lithuania, Nigeria, Norway, Peru, Poland, Russia, Switzerland, Ukraine, Uruguay, United States, Venezuela

JAPANESE MEMBERSHIP: CHAPTER 3 STATISTICS

Dependent Variables

- Volunteer firefighters – per capita. Ministry of Public Management 2000, p. 52
- Volunteer welfare commissioners – per capita 2000. Kouseishou (Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare) 2000, p. 262
- Senior club participation – members per capita, calculated by dividing the number of seniors' clubs by the population. Kouseishou (Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare) 2000, p. 250
- Average percentage of people who volunteered social services 2000. NHK Housou Bunka Kenkyujyo (NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Organization) 2000. Average number of hours volunteered among those who volunteered social services 2002. NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Organization 2000
- PTA members – per capita 2001, calculated by dividing the number of PTA members by the population. Nippon PTA Zenkoku Kyougikai (Japan's National PTA Council): http://www.nippon-pta.or.jp/jigyougaiyou/gaiyou_3.html (12/21/05)
- Nonprofit organizations – per capita 2000, calculated by dividing the number of nonprofits with founding dates before December 31, 2000 by the population. Nippon NPO Hiroba (Japan's NPO Square): http://www.npo-hiroba.or.jp (1/10/05) (voluntary reporting, so underreporting very likely)

Independent Variables

- Education – percentage of high school graduates who go on to higher education in 2000. The figures are given for men and for women and calculated for the prefecture by averaging the two. Japan Statistical Yearbook 2002, table 20–22; also available online: http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/figures/index.htm (10/23/05)
- Income – per capita by prefecture in 1998. Japan Statistical Yearbook 2002, table 4–14; also available online: http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/figures/index.htm (10/23/05)
- Population density – per square kilometer 2000, calculated using population and geographic size information in Soumushou Shoubouchou 2000, p. 52
- Percent of population working in the primary sector 2000. Yanotsuneta Kinenkai 2002, p. 155
- Working women – percentage in work force 1997. Yanotsuneta Kinenkai 2002, p. 159
- Television viewing (average hours of viewing). NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Organization 2000
- Government spending – per capita 1999, calculated by dividing total government spending by the population. Yanotsuneta Kinenkai 2002, p. 283
- Career firefighters – per capita, calculated by dividing the number of career firefighters by the population. Ministry of Public Management 2000, p. 52; 1990, p. 50
- Home helpers – per capita 1999, calculated by dividing the number of home helpers by the population. Home helpers Kousei Tokei Kyoukai (Health and Welfare Statistics Association) 2000, p. 312
- Cases of fire per capita 2000. Yanotsuneta Kinenkai 2002, p. 354
- Proportion of population older than sixty-five in 2000. Yanotsuneta Kinenkai 2002, p. 135
- Per capita number of schools 2001. From Nippon PTA Zenkoku Kyougikai (Japan's National PTA Council): http://www.nippon-pta.or.jp/jigyougaiyou/gaiyou_3.html (12/21/05).

Appendix C

Volunteering in Kashihara, Sakata, and Sanda

KASHIHARA

- *Issue-Based Volunteering:* 59.4 percent of respondents in Nara prefecture answered yes when asked: "Do you think you would like to try volunteering for handicapped people and/or the elderly?" (NHK Housou Bunka Kenkyuu Sohen [NHK Broadcast Culture Institute] 1997, appendix p. 32)
- *Community-Based Volunteering:* 50.7 percent of respondents in Nara prefecture answered yes when asked: "Do you think you want to participate actively in local projects and/or festivals?" (NHK Housou Bunka Kenkyuu Sohen [NHK Broadcast Culture Institute] 1997, appendix p. 34)

TABLE C.1. *Volunteering in Kashihara*

Volunteer Organization	Legitimation Support	Organizational Support	Financial Support
Volunteer firefighters[a] 258 VFF (79% growth) 88% men, 12% women 85 career FF (49% growth) 4,125 calls, 55 fires (2000) Career FF first to a call 99% of the time Time commitment: 12–26 trainings per year	**Government:** Quasi-public official status Annual firefighting festival Color Guard (W) **Society:** Cleanup after fires Neighborhood festivals Fire prevention demonstrations First aid classes/ demonstrations Visiting lunch program (W) Inspections of houses (W) Emergency number placard (W) School demonstrations (W)	**Government:** 20 part-time liaisons Training coordination Public demonstrations Firefighting festival **Society:** Recruitment of volunteers	**Government:** 9 firehouses 9 trucks Insurance coverage Equipment, uniforms 90% of funding 14,200 yen for chief[b] 8,800 yen for regular VFF (1996) **Society:** 10% of funding
Volunteer welfare commissioners 229 volunteers (23% growth) 50% men, 50% women Time commitment: 10–30 hrs/month	**Government:** Quasi-public official status Report on activities Policy making Document certification Annual citywide fund raising **Society:** Individual consultations Hospital transportation Friendship Salons Visiting lunch program Nursing home visits	**Government:** 25 staff for welfare-related volunteers Training programs Links across groups Program coordination **Society:** Recruitment of volunteers	**Government:** Meeting space Insurance coverage 63,000 yen per volunteer (14,427,000 yen total) **Society:** Partial funding of joint programs
Issue-based eldercare volunteers 46 registered organizations 3,546 volunteers 3 incorporated NPOs	**Government:** Policy making Newsletter publicity **Society:** One Door Policy Visible clubs and activities	**Government:** 25 staff for welfare-related volunteers SWC Center Volunteer Center **Society:** Initiation of organizations/missions Links among organizations	**Government:** Meeting space Funding for large, established groups **Society:** Funding for start-ups

Volunteer Organization	Legitimation Support	Organizational Support	Financial Support
Neighborhood associations 596 associations 93–94% membership rate	**Government:** Commissioning of association presidents Policy making Distribution of fliers and recycling Public contact **Society:** Neighborhood festivals Lobbying for benefits Support for 14 local organizations Safety/crime issues Monthly disaster prevention trainings Elder-care day service Visiting lunch service Funerals	**Government:** 3 full-time staff Bulletin boards Training materials Public information sessions **Society:** Training for presidents Links to local organizations Recommendations for new volunteers	**Government:** Umbrella organization 8,405,000 yen (89% of total budget) For one local association, 135,900 yen (2% of total budget) **Society:** Dues of 0–2,000 yen a month

Note: Societal support for volunteer firefighters and volunteer welfare commissioners is support that the neighborhood associations give to the organizations; for the issue-based eldercare volunteers and the neighborhood associations, it is the support that individuals or the public at large offer. VFF = volunteer firefighters; FF = firefighters; W = women; NPOs = nonprofit organizations; SWC = Social Welfare Council.

Other volunteers in Kashihara include 5,692 senior club members; 14,267 PTA members (49/100 population under 18); 435 women's club members.

[a] Total number in 2000 (% change between 1990 and 2000).

[b] This money is not given directly to the individual volunteer but is pooled by the unit. The numbers are not intended to suggest that the volunteers make a lot of money; rather they should be used for comparative purposes as a measure of the city government's financial support of the volunteers.

SAKATA

- *Issue-based volunteering:* 54.5 percent of respondents in Yamagata prefecture answered yes when asked: "Do you think you would like to try volunteering for handicapped people and/or the elderly? (NHK Housou Bunka Kenkyuu Sohen 1997, appendix p. 32)
- *Community-based volunteering:* 57.5 percent of respondents in Yamagata prefecture answered yes when asked: "Do you think you want to participate actively in local projects and/or festivals?" (NHK Housou Bunka Kenkyuu Sohen 1997, appendix p. 34)

TABLE C.2. *Volunteering in Sakata*

Volunteer Organization	Legitimation Support	Organizational Support	Financial Support
Volunteer firefighters[a] 1,219 VFF (–31% growth) 100% men 89 career FF (2% growth) 5,062 calls, 44 fires VFF first to a call 80% of the time Time commitment: 9 trainings per year, 2–5 hours per month	**Government:** Quasi-public official status Annual welcoming ceremony Biannual firefighting festival Annual fire ceremony **Society:** Firefighting Cleanup Neighborhood festivals Small crises Fire prevention demonstrations Flagging fire hydrants in winter First aid	**Government:** 4 full-time staff Training coordination Firefighting festival Research on recruiting **Society:** Recruitment of volunteers	**Government:** 15 firehouses 12 trucks 30 smaller pump garages 69 smaller pumps Insurance coverage Equipment, uniforms 95% of funding 110,000 yen for chief[b] 17,000 yen for regular VFF (24,340,000 yen total) **Society:** 5% of funding
Volunteer welfare commissioners 182 volunteers (15% growth) 45% men, 55% women Time commitment: 20–30 hrs/month	**Government:** Quasi-public official status Report on activities Policy making Annual citywide fund raising Survey on needs of elderly residents **Society:** Individual consultations Hospital transportation Contacts with elderly residents Visiting lunch program Inspections for fire hazards Emergency number placard Grassroots Welfare Network	**Government:** 6 full-time staff Training programs Study groups **Society:** Recruitment of volunteers	**Government:** Meeting space Resource room Insurance coverage 63,000 yen per volunteer (11,466,000 yen total) **Society:** Negligible

Volunteer Organization	Legitimation Support	Organizational Support	Financial Support
Issue-based eldercare volunteers 39 registered organizations 1,496 volunteers	**Government:** Newsletter publicity Joint projects **Society:** Club activities	**Government:** Volunteer Center Volunteer Promotion Center (3 staff) **Society:** Volunteer liaisons Links among volunteer organizations, matching college students to organizations and promoting NPO formation	**Government:** Meeting space 28,000,000 yen grant Citizen Activity Support Fund (matching funds for 9 projects) **Society:** Membership fees, benefit concerts, bazaars
Neighborhood associations 328 associations Size from 25 to 600 families 87% membership rate	**Government:** Policy making Distribution of fliers and recycling Public contact Collection of SWC fee **Society:** Grassroots Welfare Network Disaster prevention demonstrations Supervision of children and the elderly Visiting lunch service Trash/recycling sorting, cleanup Joint programs with SWC Crime prevention, extra lights Environment, cleanup efforts	**Government:** 12 full-time staff Biannual hearings for residents in all 22 school districts Meeting coordination Joint programs Clipboards (*kairanban*). **Society:** Links to local organizations Recommendations for new volunteers	**Government:** Umbrella organization 2,483,000 yen (59% of total budget) For one local association, 17,940 yen (2% of total budget) **Society:** Dues of 500–1,500 yen a month

Note: Societal support for volunteer firefighters and volunteer welfare commissioners is support that the neighborhood associations give to the organizations; for the issue-based eldercare volunteers and the neighborhood associations, it is the support that individuals or the public at large offer. VFF = volunteer firefighters; FF = firefighters; NPOs = nonprofit organizations; SWC = Social Welfare Council.

Other volunteers in Sakata include 7,892 senior club members (139 clubs); 10,000 PTA members; 1,946 women's club members (8 blocks); and 3 incorporated nonprofit organizations.

[a] Total number in 2000 (% change between 1990 and 2000).

[b] This money is not given directly to the individual volunteer but is pooled by the unit. The numbers are not intended to suggest that the volunteers make a lot of money; rather they should be used for comparative purposes as a measure of the city government's financial support of the volunteers.

SANDA

- *Issue-based volunteering:* 52.1 percent of respondents in Hyogo prefecture answered yes when asked: "Do you think you would like to try volunteering for handicapped people and/or the elderly?" (NHK Housou Bunka Kenkyuu Sohen 1997, appendix p. 32)
- *Community-based volunteering:* 45.9 percent of respondents in Hyogo prefecture answered yes when asked: "Do you think you want to participate actively in local projects and/or festivals?" (NHK Housou Bunka Kenkyuu Sohen 1997, appendix p. 34)

TABLE C.3. *Volunteering in Sanda*

Volunteer Organization	Legitimation Support	Organizational Support	Financial Support
Volunteer firefighters[a] 703 VFF (0% growth) 100% men 80 career FF (81% growth) 2,389 calls, 69 fires VFF first to a call 80% of the time Time commitment: 3–4 trainings per year No VFF in New Town Districts	**Government:** Quasi-public official status Annual firefighting festival **Society:** Putting out fires and cleanup after fires Neighborhood festivals Night patrol in winter Visits to schools Supervision of farm vegetation burning	**Government:** 2 full-time liaisons Training coordination Organization of firefighting festival **Society:** Recruitment of volunteers	**Government:** 7 firehouses 14 trucks Insurance coverage Equipment, uniforms 90% of funding 148,700 yen for chief[b] 15,000 yen for regular VFF (12,746,700 yen total) **Society:** 10% of funding
Volunteer Welfare Commissioners 199 volunteers (120% growth) 37% men, 63% women Time commitment: 20–40 hrs/month	**Government:** Quasi-public official status Reporting on activities Policy making Certification of documents Annual citywide fund raising **Society:** Individual consultations Contacts with the elderly Hospital transportation Annual gathering of elderly residents	**Government:** 1 full-time liaison; 5 part-time Client referral and reception Training programs **Society:** Recruitment of volunteers	**Government:** Meeting space Insurance coverage 63,000 yen per volunteer (12,537,000 yen total) **Society:** Negligible

Volunteer Organization	Legitimation Support	Organizational Support	Financial Support
Issue-based eldercare volunteers 56 registered organizations 1,289 volunteers 2 incorporated NPOs	**Government:** No special status Newsletter publicity **Society:** Club activities	**Government:** Volunteer Center for all SWC organizations 1 full-time volunteer coordinator 3 full-time staff **Society:** Negligible	**Government:** Meeting space Partial funding; total of 1,090,000 yen Newsletters publicity **Society:** All remaining funding, mostly raised through member fees, bazaars, and similar activities
Neighborhood associations 181 associations 85% membership rate	**Government:** Most important social organization Policy making Distribution of fliers and recycling **Society:** Holder of residents' deeds/contracts Neighborhood festivals Sports festivals Farmers Fair Care for mountains Regulation of irrigation/water Road maintenance Lobbying for benefits (street cleanup, roads, etc.) Visiting lunch program Quarterly gathering for elderly residents	**Government:** 3 full-time staff **Society:** Society's foundational organization Links to all locally operating organizations Recommendation of new volunteers	**Government:** Umbrella organization 1,035,000 yen (69% of total budget)[c] **Society:** Family contribution of 500–2,500 yen per month to local organizations Local organization contribution of 1,000 yen to city organization

Note: Societal support for volunteer firefighters and volunteer welfare commissioners is support that the neighborhood associations give to the organizations; for the issue-based eldercare volunteers and the neighborhood associations, it is the support that individuals or the public at large offer. VFF = volunteer firefighters; FF = firefighters; NPOs = nonprofit organizations; SWC = Social Welfare Council.

Other volunteers in Sanda include 6,203 senior club members (94 clubs); 5,265 PTA members; and 1,734 women's club members (6 blocks).

[a] Total number in 2000 (% change between 1990 and 2000).

[b] This money is not given directly to the individual volunteer but is pooled by the unit. The numbers are not intended to suggest that the volunteers make a lot of money; rather they should be used for comparative purposes as a measure of the city government's financial support of the volunteers.

[c] These figures are from 2002. They are for the citywide umbrella organization for the 181 neighborhood associations in Sanda.

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