

Chapter 10

BUILDING NETWORKS FROM THE OUTSIDE IN: JAPANESE NGOS AND THE KYOTO CLIMATE CHANGE CONFERENCE

Kim D. Reimann

On December 7, 1997, 20,000 people gathered at Heian Shrine in Kyoto to show their support for an ambitious international protocol for the reduction of greenhouse gases worldwide. Organized by Students' Action for COP3 and Kiko Forum, an umbrella group of 225 Japanese NGOs, the event was a culmination of 688 NGO-sponsored workshops, events, and symposiums held in Japan throughout 1997 to raise awareness about global warming and to challenge Japan's international environmental policies. During the Third Conference of Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP3) held in Kyoto from December 1-11, 1997, Japanese NGOs lobbied for higher greenhouse gas emission reduction targets, issued press statements, and harshly criticized the Japanese government's policy.

This relative success of Japanese NGOs in mobilizing a movement around the international issue of climate change contradicts what one might have expected in a country where environmental groups have traditionally been weak and generally uninterested in global issues. Prior to 1997, in fact, only a handful of Japanese NGOs closely followed international climate change politics. Have things changed in Japan in the 1990s? If so, why and how?

This chapter looks at changing patterns of Japanese environmental NGOs active in the international sphere and argues that in the early 1990s changes in the international realm provided activists new opportunities and frameworks that allowed them to overcome steep domestic organizational barriers and participate in new activities focused on global environmental issues. Building upon recent work done by sociologists and political scientists, it outlines how international opportunity,

transnational diffusion, and international socialization of state actors have encouraged the growth of NGOs and new forms of social action.¹

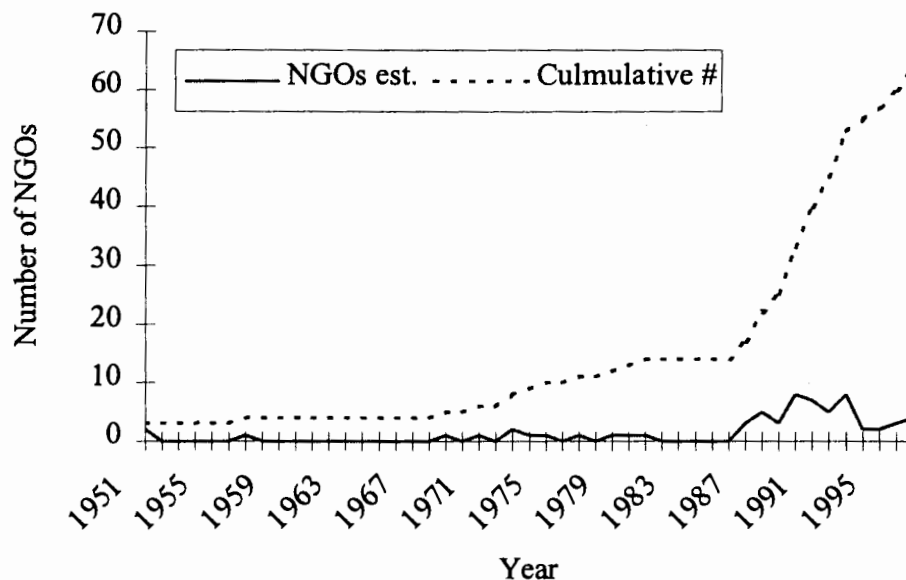
INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL ADVOCACY NGOS IN JAPAN

Scholars of Japanese environmental organizing have all noted that although local environmental protests and activism proliferated in the 1970s, these activities never fully congealed into a national movement with national associations as they did in many other industrialized countries (Broadbent 1998; McKean 1981; Schreurs 1996). Moreover, after tough antipollution measures were enacted by the Japanese government in the early 1970s, the movement's focus shifted from protest to everyday environmentalism such as recycling, organic farming, and educational activities. In general, the mid-1970s and 1980s were periods of less politically visible activity by environmentalists in Japan, and environmental advocacy NGOs active in global issues were practically nonexistent (McKean 1981; Schreurs 1996).

Since the late 1980s, however, advocacy groups interested in various aspects of global environmental politics have emerged in Japan. Some new groups focus on particular environmental problems such as tropical forest destruction, while others with a domestic focus have expanded their interests to include international concerns. As figure 10.1 illustrates, since the late 1980s, the number of advocacy groups focusing on global environmental issues or involved in a campaign with international dimensions has dramatically grown.²

This recent emergence of international environmental NGOs in Japan is puzzling because domestic barriers to organizing advocacy groups have been formidably high. Consistent with strong state theory and social movement theory (Krasner 1995; Skocpol 1985; Risse-Kappen 1995; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996; Kriesi,

Figure 10.1. Japanese Advocacy NGOs Involved in Global Environmental Issues



Sources: Honnoki USA 1992, JACSES 1994, JANIC 1996a and 1998a, Kansai Association for International Exchange 1994, and Internet search.

Koopmans, Duyvendak, and Guigni 1995), which argue that state policies and domestic opportunity structures strongly influence how society organizes, rigid domestic policies and political institutional structures have made it very difficult to organize an advocacy NGO in Japan.

First, state policies such as legal frameworks and fiscal regulations regarding NGOs strongly affect activists' ability to organize, mobilize resources, and form legitimate groups (Fremont-Smith 1965; McCarthy, Hodgkinson, and Sumariwalla 1992). In Japan, such state policies have posed serious obstacles to the emergence of an active advocacy NGO sector. NGO legal status has been a contested issue and it was only in 1998 that a system of registration for nonprofit organizations was passed in the Japanese Diet. Until then, complicated requirements for establishing a "public interest corporation" discouraged activists from officially incorporating themselves, especially since this special legal status often implied bureaucratic control and a loss of freedom (Broadbent 1998; Pekkanen 2000; Imata, Leif, and Takano 1998; Yamamoto 1998). In terms of fiscal incentives, the standard tools of mobilizing funds and membership found in other countries such as tax deductible contributions and special bulk mail rates were not available (Pekkanen 2000; Imata, Leif, and Takano 1998).

Government funding policies for NGOs also affect their size and development. Scholars of international NGOs have noted that availability of state funds for international projects provide one source of financial support that affects group formation and development (Smillie and Helmich 1993; Smith 1990). Government funding of international NGOs involved in advocacy issues is more common in Europe and Canada than it is in the United States (Smith 1990), but until very recently it was absolutely unheard of in Japan.

Finally, key aspects of the political opportunity structure in Japan have been highly unfavorable to advocacy NGOs. Two important factors often mentioned by social movement scholars as determining political opportunity structure for group organizers, for example, are the degree of openness of the political system and the existence of elite allies (Kriesi, et al. 1995; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald 1996; Jenkins 1987). Japan's highly centralized political system and the limited access to channels of influence for outsiders have meant that the political opportunity structure for advocacy environmental NGOs has been highly unfavorable, discouraging formal organizational formation. It has also been hard for NGOs in Japan to cultivate elite allies at the national level—thereby limiting political opportunities. Until recently, bureaucrats were seen as very antagonistic and paternalistic toward NGOs (Yonemoto 1994). The ruling Liberal Democratic Party generally held this view as well, and its long hold on power until 1993 meant that NGOs with ties to opposition parties would not necessarily have any influence or access to the policy-making process.

INTERNATIONAL EXPLANATIONS FOR RISING NGO ACTIVISM

If domestic political factors have been so unfavorable to NGO formation and growth in Japan, how does one account for the growth of global environment advocacy NGOs since the late 1980s? I argue that answers lie in international-level processes and their domestic-level effects on the NGOs' ability to mobilize. In particular, since the late 1980s three factors have provided new resources for societal actors interested in international issues: more international opportunities, transnational diffusion of ideas among NGOs, and the international socialization of state actors.

International Political Opportunities

International relations scholars interested in nonstate actors (Risse-Kappen 1995; Keck and Sikkink 1998) and social movement scholars interested in the international movement dimensions (della Porta and Kriesi 1999; McAdam 1998; Kriesi, et al. 1995) have called attention to the importance of international arenas, networks, and actors in stimulating political changes at the domestic level. According to these theories, the international arena can provide domestic actors with outside opportunities that help them gain voice and circumvent the limits imposed on them by the domestic context. Specifically, the international realm can aid otherwise "blocked" societal actors through two mechanisms: (1) participation in international governmental organizations (IGOs), and (2) alliances with international actors.

International governmental organizations (IGOs). These potentially provide activists whose domestic opportunities are closed with several key resources: legitimacy, an alternative access channel to governmental officials, financial resources, and media coverage. Since NGOs are included in UN and other international conferences and meetings, activists who have difficulty establishing legitimacy at home can form an NGO and turn to the international arena for official international recognition and access to an alternative political process (Passy 1999; della Porta and Kriesi 1999; Smith 1999). IGOs thereby provide NGOs a new space for lobbying their national representatives. IGOs have also on occasion provided grants to NGOs for participation in conferences, and they have supported NGO networking projects with funding, meeting spaces, and equipment. Finally, media coverage of international events provides activists with a new sort of public relations tool which reaches not only domestic but international audiences (Lahusen 1999; della Porta and Kriesi 1999).

International actors. These can also help NGOs and activists circumvent domestic resource and political opportunity problems. Materially, foreign actors such as private foreign foundations, foreign governments, and wealthy international NGOs can provide needed financing for NGO projects and activities (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Passy 1999). In terms of nonmaterial resources, international allies can help groups get international attention through their public relations efforts and media ties that in turn provide possible benefits at home such as greater domestic legitimacy and more media coverage. When they include powerful foreign governments, transnational alliances can provide groups with heightened domestic importance in the eyes of their own government (Keck and Sikkink 1998; McAdam 1998; Brysk 1993).

Transnational Diffusion

Writing about the international spread of ideas among nonstate actors, a new and growing literature on transnational social movements has turned to the concept of diffusion to examine how movements in one part of the world can activate similar movements in other parts of the world (McAdam and Rucht 1993; Snow and Benford 1999; Kriesi et al. 1995; McAdam 1995; Tarrow 1998).

Diffusion is defined as the acceptance by one set of actors of an object or idea through external channels of transmission. Such diffusion channels take one or a combination of two forms: (1) relational channels: direct, interpersonal contact between transmitters and adopters, and (2) nonrelational channels: indirect transfers of information through the mass media (McAdam and Rucht 1993: 59; Kriesi, et al. 1995: 184-186; Snow and Benford 1999).

Diffusion can involve a variety of objects of diffusion, ranging from the content of a campaign or a movement (e.g., the diffusion of the antinuclear movement in the 1970s) to organizational forms used by social actors (e.g., umbrella organizations) to forms of action (e.g., demonstrations, sit-ins, petitions, etc.) (Kriesi, et al. 1995: 185-186). Although *transnational* diffusion was traditionally viewed by scholars as less common than diffusion within a country due to the obvious obstacles of geographical and cultural distance, recently processes of globalization have made the diffusion of movement ideas and strategies across borders more common and easier to trace.

IGOs increasingly are spaces for the transnational diffusion of ideas among societal actors and global training grounds for activists. As the number of international conferences and international treaties has increased and allowed for greater NGO participation, IGOs have become a hotbed of NGO activity where social activists from various nations meet and learn from one another. This has been true at the UN and to a limited degree at the European Union when its institutions have become targets of social movements that spread to other nations (Imig and Tarrow 2001). Whether it is a "spin-off" movement following ideas of an "initiator" movement (McAdam 1995) or an adoption of new organizational forms or strategies, transnational diffusion at IGOs is one potentially powerful explanation of advocacy NGO growth and NGO-organized movements in new parts of the world.

International Organizations and the Socialization of State Actors

Diffusion of new ideas and practices, however, has not been restricted to transnational exchanges between NGOs and social movements. As sociological institutionalists have argued, international organizations and arenas are also the mechanisms through which *state* actors learn international norms and are socialized (McNeely 1995). In the case of NGOs, the emergence in the 1980s and 1990s of an international norm among Western nations recognizing the role of NGOs in international politics has pushed many states to reexamine and/or justify their own relations with society.

Recent international relations and sociological institutionalist scholarship have looked at how international structures help shape domestic level behavior and beliefs (Katzenstein 1996; Finnemore 1996; Meyer, Boli, Thomas, and Ramirez 1997; McNeely 1995; Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 1999). These scholars emphasize the causal importance of international structures and describe a socialization process by which international norms and ideas spread to far-flung corners of the world. In essence, as states become members of international organizations, they enter a process of socialization which requires them to recognize a set of international rules, expectations, and concepts. This process leads to domestic transformation as states adopt new policies promoted by international institutions and actors.

Regarding state policies toward NGOs, the 1980s and 1990s brought about a new level of interaction and cooperation between NGOs and governments in world politics. In the area of international development, NGOs were promoted by IGOs and activist Western states as a more effective and democratic way of providing foreign aid. In the area of advocacy and participation in world politics, the increasing openness of the UN and other international organizations to NGO participation in conferences, meetings, and other forums beginning from the late 1980s also gave NGOs a positive image as "global citizens." When the Cold War ended, a new focus on "civil society" by Western powers as a desirable part of democracy also provided international normative

Table 10.1. Types of International Processes and Their Effects on NGOs at the Domestic Level

	<i>Domestic Level Effect</i>	<i>Domestic Actors Involved</i>	<i>International Actors Involved</i>
<i>International Opportunity</i>	Domestic-level obstacles are circumvented through use of new international resources	—NGOs, activists as initiators of action —state actors present at international organizations as responders to NGOs and international actors	—IGO as alternative access to state officials —International NGOs, IGOs, and third party states as alternative funding sources and external sources of legitimacy and pressure
<i>Transnational Diffusion</i>	Domestic societal actors and organizations are transformed through new ideas and forms of actions	—NGOs, activists as idea adopters (spin-offs)	—international NGOs as idea transmitters (initiators) —IGO as spaces of societal interaction and diffusion
<i>International Socialization of State Actors</i>	State structures and state actors are transformed (new state policies, opening of political structures)	—state actors as adopters (bureaucrats, politicians)	—IGO and states as transmitters of norms and ideas

support and legitimacy for NGOs.

This new pro-NGO international environment has provided domestic-level opportunities and political space for activists and groups in countries with weak NGO sectors. Although such effects vary from country to country, international-level activities have been a potential source of change in the domestic political opportunity structure for NGOs. Debates and new norms about NGOs found in international organizations and the international environment are sometimes reflected in changes at the domestic level: changes in government policies toward NGOs, greater numbers of politicians who are interested in international affairs and more willing to support NGO causes, the appearance of government officials seeped in the language of NGO-participatory democracy, and greater media attention.

COP3: GLOBAL WARMING COMES TO JAPAN

The Third Conference of Parties (COP3) to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC) was held December 1-11, 1997 in Kyoto. When Japan was announced as the COP3 host, a small group of Japanese NGOs previously active at global climate

conferences decided that as the "NGO hosts" they needed to make extra efforts in COP3 organizing. These efforts included: coordinating logistical arrangements and events for hundreds of international NGOs that would be participating in COP3, lobbying the Japanese government for ambitious CO₂ reduction targets, raising public awareness about COP3 and global warming, and getting maximum visibility for NGOs in the press. All of this required resources beyond the budgets of most small NGOs in Japan. When Kiko Forum was set up in December 1996 as an umbrella organization for Japanese NGOs participating in COP3, its organizers were far from sure that they would be able to achieve this ambitious agenda (Hayakawa interview 1998; Asaoka interview 1998).

In the end, however, Kiko Forum was successful in many of its efforts to mobilize public interest, create a national support network, and have its voice heard by the government. Kiko Forum membership grew from 46 to 225 NGOs by the time COP3 opened in December 1997 (Kiko Forum 1998a). In addition to coordinating more than 750 public workshops and talks on global warming in 1997, Kiko Forum organized numerous mobilization events and campaigns to raise awareness of global warming and public support for tougher government policies (Kiko Forum 1998a; see table 10.2). Kiko Forum and its NGO members actively lobbied and met with the three key ministries responsible for formulating Japan's COP3 policies and were visible participants in public debates. They also attracted considerable media attention, and their position was well represented in the press.³

International Opportunity, Diffusion, and Socialization

Changes in international opportunity, the expanding transnational diffusion of movement ideas, and the international socialization of political elites provide important clues about how Kiko Forum came to be and why it was able to achieve many of its goals. This section traces the ways in which these three international processes helped Kiko Forum surmount what in 1996 seemed like serious barriers to organization.

1. International Events as Political Opportunities

International institutions and international actors provided essential resources for Kiko Forum and NGOs that allowed them to circumvent obstacles they faced at home.

Funding. Forty percent of Kiko Forum's funding came from foreign sources, and such funding was key in helping Japanese NGOs get their campaign off the ground (Asaoka interview 1998).⁴ Foreign governments such as Germany, Denmark, and Norway sought dramatic cuts in greenhouse gas emissions at COP3, and they pursued this policy goal in part by providing substantial funding for Kiko Forum in order to encourage popular mobilization for a stronger treaty. Foreign foundations, including the Alton Jones Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, provided funding in part out of concern that Japanese NGOs would be too weak to properly fulfill their role as NGO hosts.

Access to the political process. International organizations provided Japanese NGOs with access to policy makers and a new channel for lobbying the government, enabling them to overcome problems of access they faced in Japan. Accreditation for NGOs at FCCC-related UN meetings has been easy to obtain, allowing for a relatively large and broad inclusion of NGOs as observers in the FCCC process. Using this easy

Table 10.2. NGO-Organized Public Events in Japan in 1997 Related to COP3

Event or Activity	Date	Description
"100-Day- Before Campaign"	August 23	Symposium in Kyoto attended by 200 NGOs and the general public and a "human chain" of 1,500 people joining hands on Suma Beach in Kobe to show support for COP3. Organized by Kiko Forum and 22 groups in the Kobe region.
Petition to the Prime Minister	October 13	Petition delivered by Kiko Forum with 750,000 signatures collected nationwide calling on Prime Minister Hashimoto to show stronger leadership for COP3.
Eco-Relay	October 21 – November 30	A nationwide bicycle "eco-relay" organized by Kiko Forum that starts in 6 separate cities in Japan in October and ends with 600 cyclists in Kyoto on the day before COP3. A total of 10,000 participate in one of the various stages and more than 1,400 signatures of heads of local government are collected by the cyclists.
International Postcard Project	December 2	Gathering of 21 youth from 21 countries at Heian Shrine at start of COP3 to present 7000 postcard messages supporting global warning from 50 countries. Organized by the Group of 21.
COP3 Rally	December 7	A rally of about 20,000 in Kyoto during COP3 organized by Kiko Forum and Student Action for COP3, including Diet members Kan Naoto (Democratic Party of Japan), Ikenobo Yasuko (Shinshinto), and Nishiyama Tokiko (Japan Communist Party).

Sources: Kiko Forum, 1998a; Asahi Shimbun, 8.24.97; Asahi Evening News, 12.1.97; Daily Yomiuri, 12.3.97; Asahi, 12.8.97; Japan Times, 12.8.97.

access, Japanese NGOs conducted their first lobbying activities in the mid-1990s at the international level. By 1996, they convinced Japanese officials to meet with them regularly at FCCC ad hoc meetings and main conferences. Lobbying that Kiko Forum was able to do for COP3 was thus built on a history of interactions with state officials working in UN policy arenas. Instead of starting their lobbying at the national level in Tokyo, NGOs began first at the international level where they enjoyed legitimacy and then worked their way down to the national level.

Establishing legitimacy and getting press coverage. In addition to funding support, international NGOs (INGOs) and UN offices provided valuable nonmaterial support to NGOs that gave them greater legitimacy, media coverage, and access to the government in Japan.

International NGOs (INGOs) like the Climate Action Network (CAN)⁵ were very important allies for Kiko Forum, since foreign NGOs have tended to attract greater government and press attention in Japan. By publicly associating itself with INGOs, Kiko Forum was able to use INGOs' higher public profile to gain legitimacy in the

eyes of both government officials and the press, which also proved useful for fund-raising and public relations. For example, a three-day conference in March 1997 held jointly by Japanese NGOs and sixteen foreign INGOs and NGOs was a turning point that provided Japanese NGOs greater access to state officials and high levels of media coverage.⁶ Immediately after this conference, Kiko Forum found fund-raising and membership expansion were suddenly much easier (Asaoka interview 1998; Hayakawa interview 1998).

Since COP3 was being held in Japan, Kiko Forum also secured help from the UN and the FCCC secretariat. In addition to giving Kiko Forum advice on how to organize the NGO aspects of the conference, FCCC official Janos Pasztor and UN NGO liaison officer Azza Taalab participated in Kiko Forum conferences to educate the public on the FCCC process and the role of NGOs. Observing this cooperation from the UN, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) officials also became much more cooperative with Kiko Forum (Asaoka interview 1998). In addition, the Global Environment Information Center (GEIC), a center run jointly by the UN University and the Japanese Environment Agency, actively supported Kiko Forum and individual Japanese NGOs by sponsoring a series of public information programs on COP3 and the role of NGOs, providing NGOs free Internet space on its web page, and providing free meeting space for NGO events related to COP3.

2. Transnational Diffusion

Beyond being opportunities for overcoming domestic barriers, international experiences also provided new models of behavior and organization for Japanese NGOs that helped them achieve their goals. Transnational diffusion of ideas and models were particularly powerful in the case of mobilizing for COP3.

The Klima Forum model. Kiko Forum consciously modeled its goals and campaigns on Klima Forum, a German NGO network which lobbied the German government and organized NGO events for the First Conference of the Parties (COP1), held in Berlin in 1995.⁷ Kiko Forum took its name from Klima Forum (both mean "Climate Forum") and invited Klima Forum's leader Sasha Mueller-Kraenner to Japan for consultations during its early organizational stages in autumn 1996. Based on Mueller-Kraenner's experience and suggestions, Kiko Forum formulated the basic concept of its mobilizing role in the COP3 process (Asaoka interview 1998). This initial contact was followed up in December 1996 with meetings with other former Klima Forum organizers who helped Kiko Forum plan specific events and campaigns and estimate costs (Kiko Forum 1998a; Asaoka interview 1998). The Klima Forum model thus provided many key organizational and conceptual frameworks for Kiko Forum.

Lobbying. Through their contacts with INGOs and CAN at international conferences, Kiko Forum and its core NGO members also learned how Western NGOs lobby and pressure their home governments. Until relatively recently, lobbying at the national level by NGOs was rare in Japan. As some activists have mentioned in interviews, for many years NGOs were closed out of the policy process and it had never even occurred to them to try to lobby (Kuroda interview 1998; Hayakawa interview 1998). For Japanese NGOs interested in climate change, the FCCC process provided repeated exposures to lobbying and consultation with government officials. In the mid-1990s, Japanese members of CAN participated in CAN meetings with the Japanese government and learned how Western NGOs used these opportunities to

promote their causes. Lobbying efforts by Kiko Forum and other NGOs during the COP3 process were thus based on previous learning experiences with INGOs.

Media training. Media coverage is a crucial element in any NGO advocacy campaign for building public support and interest, gaining name recognition and legitimacy, and putting public pressure on the state to adopt certain policies. Since the 1980s, media-targeted activities such as issuing press releases, staging press conferences, conducting interviews, and cultivating personal contacts with the media have become quite common among INGOs in the West (Lahusen 1999). In the case of COP3, Kiko Forum had a very conscious media strategy that involved the active use of foreign models. In order to raise public awareness about global warming and pressure the Japanese government, Kiko Forum decided it wanted to conduct an "American-style" media campaign (Asaoka interview 1998, Riggs interview 1998). To learn more about using the media effectively, Kiko Forum's executive director, Asaoka Mie, went to New York to learn the press strategies used by INGOs and to make the rounds with a Western INGO press relations officer during a UN international conference.

3. *International Socialization of State Actors*

Although in the early 1990s Japanese NGOs faced many of the same formal organizational barriers they had earlier, they found greater support for international-related NGOs among some state officials. This final section briefly looks at a few of these domestic changes and how more "internationalized" government officials and politicians provided Kiko Forum and Japanese NGOs with a more favorable environment for organizing.

Japan Fund for the Global Environment. Hosting a major international conference is a prestigious national event that puts pressure on the host country to not only show its guests a good time but also to produce concrete diplomatic results. As the official host, Japan's Environment Agency was very concerned about achieving an ambitious protocol on greenhouse gas reductions, and therefore the agency tended to view participation of NGOs favorably. It also knew that Japan would look bad internationally if its NGOs were excluded from such an important event.

Given this context, Kiko Forum was able to secure substantial state funds through the Japan Fund for the Global Environment (JFGE), a semi-public fund that provides grants to Japanese NGOs conducting international environmental projects. The director general of JFGE, Matsushita Kazuo—a man with extensive international conference experience who was sympathetic to NGOs—worked with Kiko Forum and put together a generous 40 million yen grant package under a new, separate budget called the "Global Partnership Program" (Shindo interview 1998). JFGE funds comprised nearly 30 percent of Kiko Forum's 1997 budget.

The creation of JFGE itself is an example of how international actors and institutions have helped bring about unexpected shifts in state policies toward NGOs. JFGE was one of several Japanese global environmental initiatives launched by then-prime minister Takeshita in the period leading up to the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), which were meant to showcase Japan's new commitment and global leadership on environmental issues. The idea for JFGE, however, was not a domestic one—Takeshita was a conservative who disliked NGOs—but rather an international one that resulted from discussions between Takeshita and UNCED secretary general Maurice Strong during preparations for UNCED (JANIC, *Kokoro*, July 1993). Maurice Strong was a longtime and very active

promoter of NGO participation at both the UN and national level (Morphet 1996), and his imprint on Japanese policies toward NGOs is a clear example of how activist international actors and norms can override countervailing domestic practices and create small new windows of opportunity for previously marginalized actors.

The global environment politicians. In the late 1980s and early 1990s several Diet members took an interest in global environmental issues (Schreurs 1996: 268). The most environmentally active politicians are members of GLOBE (Global Legislators Organization for a Balanced Environment), an international parliamentary NGO formed in 1989 with sub-sections in the United States, the EU, Japan, and Russia.

As they have become involved in international exchanges and global conferences, some Japanese GLOBE parliamentarians have adopted more sympathetic views toward NGOs. House of Councilors member Domoto Akiko, GLOBE Japan's president during COP3 and the current head of GLOBE International, is one of the most active Diet members promoting both the environment and NGOs in Japan. She has formed her own environmental NGO, Mori no Kai. Domoto, and three other GLOBE Diet members are also on the board of directors of People's Forum 2001, a core member of Kiko Forum that has been following global warming since COP1. GLOBE Japan also took a big interest in COP3 and tried to include NGOs in its COP3 events. Generally, NGOs saw Domoto as an ally because of her contacts with them and her criticisms of Japan's global warming policies (Ogura interview 1998).

Non-GLOBE Diet members also showed support for Kiko Forum by joining its public mobilization activities such as the eco-relay or the rally and parade during COP3. In particular, the election of Tsujimoto Kiyomi as a lower house Diet member in October 1996 was very timely for NGOs. A founder herself of an NGO called Peace Boat, thirty-seven-year-old Tsujimoto had participated at UNCED in 1992 as an NGO representative and was very familiar with the Japanese NGO world. Upon taking office, Tsujimoto took an active interest in COP3 by attending FCCC meetings and serving as an information "pipe" for NGOs (Tsujimoto interview 1997). Since information from government officials is often hard to obtain without insider connections, NGOs were able through Tsujimoto to get information they would not have gotten otherwise (Ogura interview 1998).

CONCLUSION

Synthesizing previous work by political scientists and sociologists into a single model, I have shown how international factors can affect the domestic environment for social activism by either providing alternative resources or by transforming domestic structures and actors themselves. In particular, I have emphasized the importance of IGOs as the space and medium through which new opportunities, transnational diffusion of ideas, and transformation of state actors takes place. Although these three types of international effects are not always at work, their relevance for NGOs and social movements has grown as the number of international conferences open to NGO participation has increased in the past decade.

Japan provides a fascinating case for the study of NGOs and the emergence of new social movements in non-Western settings. Compared with many other industrialized nations, it has been difficult in Japan to establish NGOs and mobilize the necessary resources for large-scale social activism. In some ways, Japanese activists

face similar domestic obstacles as do those in many Southern developing countries. As the case of Kiko Forum and COP3 has shown, the traditional distinction of rich Northern and poor Southern NGOs is not always a clear one: despite Japan's status as a Northern nation, Japanese NGOs have clearly benefited from and turned to external resources.

Beyond providing external resources and ways of circumventing domestic limitations, international institutions and actors have also played a role in slowly transforming Japanese domestic structures and patterns of behavior. Through their participation in international conferences, Japanese activists have learned new forms of organization and action, have picked up new issues to champion, and have increasingly set up new NGOs. Japanese state actors such as bureaucrats and politicians, on the other hand, have gradually been socialized internationally to accept NGOs as legitimate actors and have given NGOs more access to the political process than was the case before the late 1980s. Although many tensions remain and NGOs still face much official resistance, state-NGO relations at the national level in Japan today are far more cooperative than they were a decade ago.

On a final note, however, a few limitations and qualifications to the international factors model should be noted. First, while external factors and conditions have clearly played a role in supporting the emergence and growth of *international*-oriented NGOs, it is unclear the extent to which they have done so for *all* NGOs. In general, one ought to expect international factors to have a greater and more direct effect on activists interested in issues debated in the international arena. Similarly, in terms of the state's changing attitude toward NGOs, one should also expect to find varying levels of international influence on the state depending on the degree to which a ministry or politician is integrated into global policy arenas (Risse-Kappen 1995). State actors that more actively participate in IGO politics are far more likely to be "socialized" and to take NGOs seriously than those who do not. Further refinements of the international model as well as additional investigation into its usefulness in other parts of the world provide fruitful avenues for future research.

NOTES

1. As a preliminary note of clarification, this chapter focuses on NGO formation and mobilization and will not deal with the influence of NGOs on policy outcomes.

2. These are conservative estimates. The data for figure 10.1 are taken from several NGO directories, a report on Japanese NGO participation in the UN Conference on Environment and Development, and an extensive Internet search. There are in fact more groups than those included in the figure because many of the NGOs located through my Internet searches did not provide their establishment dates on their web pages and had to be left out of the total count.

3. Kiko Forum's '97 *New File*, contains 236 pages of newspaper clippings on NGOs and COP3 (Kiko Forum 1998b).

4. NGOs also benefited from international funding for their COP3 related activities. Greenpeace Japan received support from Greenpeace International and WWF Japan received Japanese staff support for COP3 through WWF U.S. People's Forum 2001 received substantial funding for its COP3 activities from the National Wildlife Federation.

5. CAN is a global network of NGOs (dominated by several large Western INGOs) and is dedicated to the issue of climate change.

6. According to Kiko Forum executive director Asaoka, after this conference, officials at both the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) began to take Japanese NGOs more seriously as part of a larger international movement.

7. One Kiko Forum publication (1998a: 2) plainly states: "Without the prior existence of Klima Forum, the idea to form Kiko Forum might never have materialized."

REFERENCES

- Asaoka Mie, 1998. Executive Director, Kiko Forum, interview August 5, 1998.
- Broadbent, Jeffrey. 1998. *Environmental Politics in Japan, Networks of Power and Protest*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brysk, Alison. 1993. "From Above and Below: Social Movements, the International System, and Human Rights in Argentina." *Comparative Political Studies* 26 (3): 259-85.
- della Porta, Donatella and Hanspeter Kriesi. 1999. "Social Movements in a Globalizing World: An Introduction." Pp. 3-22 in *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht, eds. London: Macmillan Press.
- Finnemore, Martha. 1996. *National Interests in International Society*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Fremont-Smith, Marion. 1965. *Foundations and Government: State and Federal Law and Supervision*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Hayakawa Mitsutoshi. 1998. Managing Director, Citizens' Alliance for Saving the Atmosphere and the Earth (CASA), interview August 8, 1998.
- Honnoki USA, 1992. *Japanese Working for a Better World—Grassroots Voices and Access Guide to Citizens' Groups in Japan*. San Francisco: Honnoki.
- Imata, Katsuji, Elissa Leif, and Hiroyuki Takano, 1998. "Structural Impediments of Japan's Nonprofit Sector: Overcoming the Obstacles to Increased Nonprofit Collaboration with Japan." Paper presented at the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action 27th Annual Conference, Seattle.
- Imig, Doug, and Sidney Tarrow. 2001. "Mapping European Contention: Evidence from a Quantitative Data Analysis." Pp. 27-52 in *Contentious Europeans: Protest and Politics in an Emerging Polity*, Doug Imig and Sidney Tarrow, eds. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Japan Center for a Sustainable Environment and Society (JACSES). 1994. *Report of a Survey on the Earth Summit Follow-up Activities in Japan*. Tokyo: JACSES.
- Japanese NGO Center for International Cooperation (JANIC) 1998a. *NGO Dairekutori- '98*. (NGO Directory 1998) Tokyo: JANIC.
- . 1996. *NGO Dairekutori- '96*. (NGO Directory 1996) Tokyo: JANIC.
- . 1993. *Kokoro* (Newsletter), July.
- Jenkins, J. Craig. 1987. "Nonprofit Organizations and Policy Advocacy." In *The Nonprofit Sector, A Research Handbook*, Walter W. Powell, ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Kansai Association for International Exchange. 1994. *Interpeople Directory*. Osaka: Kansai Association for International Exchange.
- Katzenstein, Peter J., ed. 1996. *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kiko Forum. 1998a. *Activities of Kiko Forum in 1997 and Goals for the Future*. Kyoto: Kiko Forum '97.
- . 1998b. *Kiko Forum '97 News File*. Kyoto: Kiko Forum '97.

- Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond Borders*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Krasner, Stephen D. 1995. "Power Politics, Institutions and Transnational Relations." Pp. 257-279 in *Bringing Transnational Relations Back in: Non-state Actors, Domestic Structures and International Relations*, Thomas Risse-Kappen, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Ruud Koopmans, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Marco G. Giugni. 1995. *New Social Movements in Western Europe, A Comparative Analysis*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Kuroda Yoichi, 1998. Research Fellow, Institute for Global Environmental Strategies (IGES), interview August 13, 1998.
- Lahusen, Christian. 1999. "International Campaigns in Context: Collective Action between the Local and the Global." Pp. 189-205 in *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht, eds. London: Macmillan Press.
- McAdam, Doug. 1998. "On the International Origins of Domestic Political Opportunities." In *Social Movements and American Political Institutions*, Anne N. Costain and Andrew S. McFarland, eds. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- . 1995. "'Initiator' and 'Spin-off' Movements: Diffusion Processes in Protest Cycles." In *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*, Mark Traugott, ed. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995.
- McAdam, Doug, and Dieter Rucht. 1993. "The Cross-National Diffusion of Movement Ideas." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528: 56-74.
- McAdam, Doug, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald, eds. 1996. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCarthy, Kathleen D., Virginia A. Hodgkinson, and Russy D Sumariwalla, eds. 1992. *The Nonprofit Sector in the Global Community, Voices from Many Nations*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- McKean, Margaret A. 1981. *Environmental Protest and Citizen Politics in Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- McNeely, Connie L. 1995. *Constructing the Nation-State, International Organization and Prescriptive Action*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
- Meyer, John W., John Boli, George M. Thomas, and Francisco O. Ramirez. 1997. "World Society and the Nation-State." *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (1): 144-181.
- Morphet, Sally. 1996. "NGOs and the Environment." Pp. 116-146 in *The Conscience of the World. The Influence of Non-governmental Organizations in the UN System*, Peter Willetts, ed. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Ogura Tadashi, 1998. Japan Tropical Forest Action Network (JATAN), interview June 26, 1998.
- Passy, Florence. 1999. "Supranational Political Opportunities as a Channel of Globalization of Political Conflicts: The Case of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples." Pp. 148-169 in *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht, eds. London: Macmillan Press.
- Pekkanen, Robert. 2000. "Japan's New Politics: The Case of the NPO Law." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 26 (1): 111-143.
- Riggs, Peter, 1998. Program Officer, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, interview March 19, 1998.
- Risse, Thomas, Stephen C. Ropp, and Kathryn Sikkink. 1999. *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Risse-Kappen, Thomas, ed. 1995. *Bringing Transnational Relations Back in: Non-state Actors, Domestic Structures and International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schreurs, Miranda A. 1996. "Domestic Institutions, International Agendas and Global Environmental Protection in Japan and Germany." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan.
- Shindo Kaoru, 1998. Japan Environment Corporation, Japan Fund for the Global Environment,

- interviews November 11, 1997 and June 29, 1998
- Skocpol, Theda. 1985. "Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research." In *Bringing the State Back In*, Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smillie, Ian, and Henny Helmich, eds. 1993. *Non-governmental Organizations and Governments: Stakeholders for Development*. Paris: OECD.
- Smith, Brian H. 1990. *More than Altruism: The Politics of Private Foreign Aid*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Smith, Jackie. 1999. "Global Politics and Transnational Social Movements Strategies: The Transnational Campaign against International Trade in Toxic Wastes." Pp. 170-188 in *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht, eds. London: Macmillan.
- Snow, David A., and Robert D. Benford. 1999. "Alternative Types of Cross-National Diffusion in the Social Movement Arena." Pp. 23-39 in *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht, eds. London: Macmillan Press.
- Tarrow, Sidney. 1998. "Fishnets, Internets, and Catnets: Globalization and Transnational Collective Action." Pp. 228-244 in *Challenging Authority, the Historical Study of Contentious Politics*, Michael P. Hanagan, Leslie Page Moch and Wayne te Brake, eds. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Tsujimoto Kiyomi, 1998. House of Representatives, interview, November 13, 1997.
- Yamamoto, Tadashi, ed. 1998. *The Nonprofit Sector in Japan*. Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press.
- Yonemoto, Shohei. 1994. *Chikyu kankyo mondai to wa nani ka*. (Explaining global environmental problems) Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho.