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The Cultural Dimension in

Measuring Social Capital: Perspectives from Japan

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The original purpose of this paper was to highlight the cultural dimension in measuring social capital from the Japanese perspective. Through a description of the cultural problems and issues that arise in measuring social capital in Japan, I explained how these issues relate to survey design at both the national and international levels. However, actually, what I do in the paper is arbitrarily propose a number of theoretical and methodological suggestions that could be, I hope, applied at both the national and international levels. This attempt is at least based on my experience in conducting surveys of international civil society organizations in Japan, Korea, the U.S., Germany, and China during the period 1997-2002 (Tsujinaka, ed., 2002, Tsujinaka, 2003).

1. Introduction: A fundamental problem

Before reviewing the literature review section, I would like to touch on a fundamental problem that social capital research seems to be now facing concerning its definition and research strategy (see ONS: 2001).

Social capital research is doubtlessly a growing industry but the concept itself is confusing. Similar to the concept of "globalization", the term social capital has become a kind of panacea and is in danger of losing its heuristic meaning. The main plausible reasons causing confusion are as follows: First, the actual use of the term "social capital" confuses cause- and-effect relationships, or the structural and cognitive sides of "social capital" itself; and second, its use assumes that there is a certain research object without empirical examination that serves as "positive" (plus functioning) social capital.

Let us examine the most representative and influential definitions for social capital as described by Robert D. Putnam, the OECD, and the World Bank. Putnam (1993:167,2000:67) first defined the concept as follows: "Social capital here refers to **features of social organizations**, such as **trust, norms, and networks** that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions." According to the World Bank web-site, "social capital refers to the **institutions, relationships, and norms** that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions ... Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions that underpin a society – it is the glue that holds them together." Finally, a 2001 report authored by the OCED entitled *The Well-Being of Nations* defined social capital as "**networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups**" (2001:41).

The first problem is the combination of cognitive, subjective elements such as values, understanding, and trust with structural elements such as social institutions, organisations, and networks. The cognitive side is certainly an important aspect to consider in investigating social capital phenomena. However, it is not a causal feature but an effect feature. These subjective aspects are the outcome of the structural side of "social capital" as well as that of many various elements stemming from other social factors such as politics, economy, culture, and even purely personal experience. They are particularly contingent on many factors.

We should not include such effect aspects in the definition of what we would like to investigate in the future. Such cognitive elements are quite similar to what we want to explain by the social capital concept itself, namely, co-ordination, co-operation, and social cohesion, etc.

The use of the term social “capital” is not the same as social “factors.” The former means that we would expect that it could be accumulated and invested through the operations of policy makers or citizen activists in a particular area. (Even in the social area, we should not treat family, religion, and other purely personal and cultural entities as capital. Certainly, we invest money and other types of capital, for instance, in family and religion. Yet, this activity should not be conducted by either policy makers or external actors. Families and religious bodies are not the objects of policy investment processes although we can conceive that family and religious policies may affect them. But here I am relating “direct” investment and accumulation of capital to families and religious bodies.

In terms of understanding the term “capital”, in what sense can we consider cognitive aspects such as trust, shared values, and understandings, etc. as capital? They may serve as good indices of the dependent variables of cooperation, co-ordination, and bonding etc., yet they are not indices of independent variables. They are worth researching but not as the main theme of social capital because they lack the essential nature of capital.

From my own perspective, present developments in social capital research seem to be losing direction. We have to clearly focus the research and more rigidly demarcate its primary object. This entails returning to the starting point of this concept in order to understand its original form.

Most authors agree that Pierre Bourdieu first defined it theoretically in the context of discussing his famous “cultural capital” concept (1979).

“Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word ... The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent thus depends on the size of the network of connections he can effectively mobilize and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) possessed in his own right by each of those to whom he is connected” (1985:248-249).

Needless to say, the very productive network and formal theorist James S. Coleman contributes a great deal to the understanding of social capital in his last book:

“As these examples indicate, social organization constitutes social capital, facilitating the achievement of goals that could not be achieved in its absence or could be achieved only at a higher cost ... The function identified by the concept “social capital” is the value of those aspects of social structure to actors, as resources that can be used by the actors to realize their interests” (1990:304-305).

We should realize that the definitions offered by Bourdieu and Coleman are slightly different from the current and influential definitions presented earlier. They focus more on the **structural side of the current area under discussion, namely, on networks, social organizations, and institutions**. But all networks, social organizations, and institutions are not necessary social capital. Certain types may function as social capital under certain contexts. More importantly, there is no pure social capital without empirical examination. Therefore the most that we can hope for in the study of **social capital is to perform comprehensive research of “potential” social capital found in networks, social organizations, and social institutions**. We have to examine what type, in what context, and how they may function as social capital as such in these milieus.

This kind of “open” approach does not assume that a certain “key” research object without empirical examination is a positive aspect (“plus” function) of social capital. Many analysts would like to assume that there is a key variable of social capital. But so far, we can say all things are contingent and depend on context. There are a number of examples that initially indicated a positive function that ultimately ended up being stubborn, resisting power for vested interests (Olson 1972), especially in Japan in areas such as trade associations, agricultural cooperatives, among others (Tsujinaka, ed. 2002).

Let us turn now to the common Japanese usage of social capital. In Japan, since the 1960s, the concept of social capital (*shakai shihon*) has been interpreted by economists, policy makers, and social scientists in accordance with the following definition provided in Kodansha (1993):

“[Social capital is] capital invested in the social infrastructure, primarily by government. Social (overhead) capital is broadly divided into two categories: capital for public amenities such as sewage systems, waterworks, schools, and parks, and capital for industry-related facilities such as ports, docks, airports, and expressways. In addition to public investments and the fixed capital of public corporations, social overhead capital includes private-company investments in facilities such as railroads and communications networks that are used by the public, although this private investment is difficult to measure statistically.”

This concept has no overlap with the present context of the OECD conference. I will touch again on this later, because recently the above definition is somewhat approaching the OECD's concept. However, for the time being, in order not to confuse it with the OECD concept, I will use the phrase "social overhead capital" to describe the unique Japanese usage.

As is shown by the range of definitions presented above, from Putnam and Bourdieu to the frequently used Japanese understanding, it is clear that the term "social capital" can span a very broad range. As an introductory proposal for clarifying the concept, I recommend **using the phrase "social relational capital" or "social network capital" instead of "social capital" as presented in the OECD's context.**

2. Literature review

2.1 Introduction

In Japan, social capital studies that adhere to the OECD's context have just begun. Similar to situations in other countries, there is a certain amount of confusion in exactly conceptualizing what is meant by "social capital". As noted above, the term has been used in a variety of contexts. "Social overhead capital" in the Japanese perspective has become a common phrase that often appears in daily newspapers and on television news programs.

On the other hand, the terms "civil society," "NPO" (non-profit organizations), and "NGO" (non-governmental organizations) also have become popular words and have been the focus of a variety of scholarly works since the 1990s. Some of these researches can be considered to be part of social capital studies (Yamauchi, 1999; Salamon & Anheier, 1997).

The difference in the popular usage of the term as well as the development of the field reflects differences in historical and cultural situations and in political regime situations in different countries. In Japan, recent studies are verifying that a new type of social capital has been in upsurge since the 1980s (Inoguchi, 2000, 2002; Tsujinaka, 2002). This situation seems different from that found in the United States (Putnam, 1995).

In Japan, social capital studies (in the OECD's context) have micro-level (where the individual is the research unit) and macro-level (where the group or society is the unit) approaches. From my own perspective, the macro-level approach is more relevant because social capital is capital of "relations" (relational goods) and the sum of individuals' social capital is not the group or society's social capital.

2.2 Social capital (OECD's context) studies in Japan

There are few published studies in Japan, either in book or article form, that have the phrase "social capital" in their titles. Although the works of Bourdieu (1979), Putnam (1993), Fukuyama (1995), and Baker (2000) have been translated into Japanese and are well-known in Japan, to date, there have been less than a dozen scholarly articles published regarding social capital. On the other hand, more than 450 entries related to civil society, more than 700 entries dealing with NGOs, and more than 430 entries covering non-profit organizations appear in the Yahoo Japan Data Base (August 2002, Yahoo Japan Data Base). As for articles, in the two-year period between February 2000 and May 2002, more than 220 articles on civil society, more than 590 articles on NPOs, and more than 360 articles concerning NGOs were listed in Japan's National Diet Library Data Base.

In terms of works in the social capital area, there is no consensus on the definition, approach, or on objects to be analyzed. Yet despite this chaotic stage we are facing in Japan in this field. I would like to highlight some representative works.

Inoguchi (2000, 2002) wrote a useful overview of Japanese social capital based on aggregate data and opinion surveys. His analysis follows the definition put forth by Putnam. He has also conducted an 18-country democratic governance survey and has tried to locate Japan comparatively among a group of nations. The Asian Economic Institute (Sato, 2001) has introduced the concept of social capital as a means of analysing development in developing countries. These two works are the exceptions in Japan to doing studies along the OECD line.

However, there are several interesting researches in neighboring fields. Yamagishi (1999, 2003) has been conducting experimental studies on trust through comparisons of individuals in American and Japanese

groups. He emphasizes that the distinction between secure feelings within groups and trust crosses group boundaries.

Similar to Yamagishi's individualistic approach, there are several behavioural studies of trust (Miyake, 1998), trust as shown through system and voting behaviour (Tanaka, 2002) or individuals' social capital (network relations), and voting behaviour (Ikeda, 2002; Hirano, 2002; Akuto, ed., 2000). At times, network analysis has been introduced to analyse individuals' relations (Yasuda, 1997). Although they are significant in terms of discipline, they are not closely implicated in this OECD conference.

From the measurement point of view, international comparative works by Hamaguchi, Shigetomi and Tsujinaka (myself) should be noted, and these are described in more detail later in this paper.

2.3. Social (Overhead) Capital (*Shakai Shihon*): A uniquely Japanese concept?

As I noted earlier, the "social capital" concept has been used for a long time in Japan since the 1960s in different contexts (EPA, 1998; Miyamoto, 1976). The following event which I describe is not directly related to the conference, but from the viewpoint of knowledge of sociology, how the concept was introduced in a certain society is interesting and relevant to this meeting as well.

A recognized economist and policy maker, Okita Saburo, formally introduced this concept in 1961 in the well-known policy called the "Income Doubling Plan" that would lead the Japanese economy to high economic growth during the 1960s (Emi, et al., 1974). Shortly after, the Cabinet Office (formerly the Economic Planning Agency) adopted it as a key concept (EPA, 1998). A statement given by the advisory council in the agency noted "that this capital, when relying on private investment, would not fulfil the necessity of the national economic society or it would cause a terrible imbalance between demand and supply" (1969).

This concept is introduced because policy makers would like to artificially fulfil demand from their policy perspective. This story is probably similar to those of the OECD and the World Bank.

In practical terms, this capital is provided primarily by the government through public works and public investment in social infrastructure, as I referred to earlier in the introduction.

Recently, Noguchi (1995) has characterised this social capital as "public goods" (non-exclusionary and non-competitive for common consumption such as streets, parks and river banks), decreasing cost industries (large overhead costs such as railways, telephone, and airports), externality effects, and income redistribution effects.

Using the "social common capital" concept, Uzawa (1995, 2000) and his colleagues (Uzawa, ed., 2000) enthusiastically analyse natural capital (environment) and institutional capital (education, medical services, finance, and governmental affairs) in addition to infrastructure capital. Their concepts, including institutional capital, approach the definition of social capital in the OECD's context (Inaba, 2002).

3. Existing measurement activity

3.1 Methodological problems from the review in Japan

Before elaborating on the existing measurement activity conducted mainly by government-related institutions in Japan, I would like to highlight out three major contributions by Japanese scholar groups: development scholars in Asian Institute, space analysts, and contextualism analysts.

3-1-A) The limitation of social capital as a development instrument in specific cases

Japanese development scholars have recently published *Aid and Social Capital* (Sato, ed., 2001) in which they examine the possibility of the social capital approach as a development instrument. They concluded their work with two cautions.

First, there is no "general" social capital. Any social capital is specific for a specific purpose (purpose-limited) or they are all context-limited. Different purposes require different social capital and different contexts require different capital. They make general statements such as "A cooperative action easily occurs in a village full of social capital," which in turn means only "a village where people are mutually friendly is a good village" and has no special implication for development. Talking about the "micro-credit

system” or about sanitary community works requires a different type of investigation of aspects such as cooperation, trust, and social organizations. Specifying the role of “the type of trust” for “the kind of cooperative action” makes the “social capital” concept useful and heuristic for developing a meaningful argument (Sato, 2001: 7-9).

Second, they point out the impossibility of aggregating a variety of social capital elements. This seems very natural because of their context-specific instrumental approach. While they accept the heuristic utility of the concept, they are very cautious as experts in analysing practical cases.

3-1-B) The space of social capital: Triangular constraints and alterations by government, company, and community

Considering the macro-structural side of social capital, I agree with Japanese development experts in terms of the context-binding character of social capital. My insight that there is no genuine or general index for “social capital” came from these developmental experts’ work and Shigetomi’s work on NGO development in Asian countries.

If the “vibrancy of associational life” (Putnam1993) is considered to be a critical component of social capital, NGO volume and activity would be an important index. Based on a 15-nation survey conducted in Asian countries on NGOs, Shigetomi (2002) described various forms in not only developing countries but also developed ones. In identifying why such a variety exists country to country, his key concept is the “space” that indicates economic needs of NGOs on one hand and political allowance to NGOs on the other. In the course of economic and political development, the space changes its area and shape. His idea is summarized in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Shigetomi

Empirically examining the data of cross-national surveys in civil society organizations in general, Tsujinaka (2002) presents the “integrated space dynamics model” for explaining the differences and similarities among Japan, Korea, and the U.S.A. If space for civil society organizations is determined first by the state/institutional dimension and the society/resource dimension, then the space will be become a mutual battlefield among government-related organizations (quasi- or semi-governmental organizations), market- or company-related associations, and community-related associations competing to occupy the space.

Figure 2 Tsujinaka

Both Shigetomi and Tsujinaka recognize that the three factors (actors) of the government, the company, and the community are significant for determining civil society space, or, put in other terms, social capital resources. They may oppress, encourage, or alternate the growth of civil society organizations. At least, these three factors affect the social capital. This recognition is very simple but forces us to consider the perspective of context-limitation in social capital.

Because of governmental influence in the form of registration, regulation, taxation, and administrative relations, the type of political regime does matter in making, maintaining, and activating civil society organizations and social capital that is generated through them (Pekkanen 2003). In addition to regime types, regime situations should also be considered: Are regimes stable and mature, insecure and transitional, or in the process of forming mature regimes?

Because of cultural impressions on community forms and styles including large families, local community and religious bodies, and cultural cleavages by ethnicity, language, generation, sub-groups, etc., the cultural patterns of a system matter in the same way as politics. Cultural pattern types such as cultural fusion (indigenous and exdigenous) or cultural pluralism should be considered in identifying the significance of civil society organizations. This is the same situation in terms of political and cultural impacts—economic and market aspects do matter—however I will not go into further detail regarding that aspect at this time.

Civil society organizations such as associations are no doubt a social capital resource, but it is not easy to grasp them in different regime systems or in different cultural patterns in the world. One simple example is the **naming of civil society organizations**. “**Association**” (or club, union, whatever term is used) could not be translated exactly in Japanese, Korean, or Chinese. The Japanese term “dantai” has the nuance of being specifically government related (public, cooperative, or controlled), and the Korean phrase “danche” has no significance without an adjective such as “business-“, “agricultural” except when it is used in terms of civic advocacy associations. Needless to say, the Chinese “shetuan” concept is

related to the communist government but still presents a very ambiguous image. In addition, Japan has a variety of organizations and their names are a mixture of traditional, Western, modern, post-modern, etc. terms. Grasping them comprehensively as a social capital resource would be worth surveying, but must certainly be a difficult task.

Besides, when we conduct surveys using imported terms such as association or club, a number of traditional organizations such as "kou" (a type of village group that exists for a specific purpose), "sahchu"(a group in a village festival, etc.) are not recognized. This is particularly crucial in cultural fusion (mixture) type societies such as Japan and Korea.

3-1-C) Difficulty in measuring interpersonal relations: contextualism surveys

No one denies that mutual trust is important and crucial in and between groups and in and between societies. It appears something like precious capital but is very difficult to measure. This is because of its contingent nature or context-binding. It is affected by a variety of factors, not only by the factor of social capital type (social human relations) but also by cultural factors such as religion, family, etc., or by economic factors such as business cycles.

If we are able to measure it, cognitive scaling also becomes problematic. One impressive experience that I can remember was the "International Contextualism Survey." Hamaguchi and his associates tried to verify the differences between Japanese and Western societies regarding principles in human relations. They insisted that Japanese society is based on contextualism or an emphasis on relations (the context) themselves rather than the individual (this is not groupism, which values the group itself) while Western society focuses on individuals.

Although here this theory itself is interesting, the point is their endeavour to test it using many questions in questionnaires administered internationally. They surveyed 8,232 persons in 25 countries on all continents using 48 questions of the scale.

However, so far they have not found evidence to support their original hypothesis. In general, Japanese are more individualistic and less contextualistic than Western people! For instance, they used questions like these to measure contextualism: "(27) When a problem arises, all involved should deal with it by working it out together," and "(19) In everyday life it is also necessary to see things from others' viewpoints". But in the results generated by the former question (27), it was found that American-British people scored significantly higher in answering positively than Japanese, and in the latter question, both groups showed similar high figures. On the other hand, in individualistically oriented questions such as "(26) I am not really interested in the concerns of others", Japanese showed a more positive inclination.

The lesson from the above experience is that to ask cognitive questions in a general context is very difficult. They sometimes just reflect norms or preferences concerning the answer rather than behaviour. My sense is that "general" questions are only useful for scholars to make correlations among many countries, but to explain why this is so is complicated and so messy. We would be better off asking about trust using some limitations of the context, specific to institutions, groups, or organizations that we have in mind.

In the next sub-section, I would like to describe Japanese measurement experiences in the framework of e-mail discussions focusing on three main dimensions: (a) community participation; (b) informal networks; and (c) trust, alongside with some other key factors including discussions of the causes and consequences of social capital.

3-2Community participation through organized groups

3-2-1Participation in organized groups

First of all, I would like to describe the measurement of organized groups in general. The volume itself of such organized groups does not indicate social capital functions, but without such volume, social capital could not function. They are a potential resource of social capital.

3-2-1-A) Volume of organized groups.

There are several government statistics dealing with organized groups in the civil society.

A-1 Corporate body (juridical person) statistics

In any countries, there are corporate body statistics. While more than 80 percent is occupied by business (profit-making) corporations in general, there are “non-profit corporate bodies” that can be considered a social capital resource in many ways. It seems there are big gaps among different countries (Table 1). Applying or not applying legal status depends on law-making activities and administrative discretion. The state does matter in this aspect.

A-2 Establishment census and national population census (complete survey)

In several countries including Japan, Korea, and the U.S., the numbers of association establishments as well as the number of the employees are aggregated in government statistics (establishment census). As an establishment is a durable workplace with more than one employee, these statistics indicate the volume of well-established associations, unions, and other types of civil organizations. Figure 3 seems to eloquently indicate sequential changes (or non-changes) within the civil societies of three countries, although it is not complete. In addition, surprisingly there is no drastic difference among these three countries in terms of total size of association number. The difference is found in their composition of sub-categories (business, labor, civil, etc.).

Figure 3

As for employee statistics, the population census in many countries is useful because it contains categories of membership organizations or associations as a minor category of industry.

A-3 Statistics of non-profit civil activity groups (complete survey)

In Japan, the same as in Korea, in the late 1990s, lawmakers enacted a law encouraging non-profit activity in the civil society sector. Based on this law, non-profit civil groups have to be registered at their respective government branch (prefectures or Cabinet Office). Since then, the volume and activities of these groups can be grasped. In general, the size of these groups is smaller than those in the establishment census.

A-4 NPO financial statistics (sampling survey)

Since 1981, the Economic and Social Research Institute in the Cabinet Office has been administering random sample surveys to non-profit organizations, including associations and non-profit service facilities.

A-5 Association survey using the telephone directory

Tsujinaka and his collaborators (Tsujinaka, ed., 2002) have been conducting random sampling surveys of civil society organizations in two areas (the capital and a local area) in respective countries (Japan, Korea, the U.S. Germany, China) since 1997. These researches are telling us a lot about their deeper structure, historical change, behaviours, etc. by different sub-categories.

Figure 4

B Participation in civil society and community organizations

B-1 Participation in the civil society organizations in general (aggregate)

To know people’s real participation in a variety of civil organizations is not easy, especially as hard data. As in many countries, there is a data for membership in labor unions, agricultural cooperatives, and consumer organizations, but in other fields, it is difficult or, if available, it is not so reliable.

B-2 Japanese election surveys, political opinion survey (sampling)

Since the 1960s and especially the 1970s, national opinion surveys have been conducted regularly at the timing of national elections by the Society for Promoting Fair Elections. In the surveys, a question in the face sheet asks respondents’ affiliation in civil organizations as follows (in earlier versions of the survey, 8 categories were used; these have been expanded to the 11 indicated below) :

1. neighbors’ associations;
2. women’s clubs;
3. youth associations, voluntary fire fighters’ clubs;
4. seniors’ clubs;
5. PTAs;
6. agricultural cooperatives and forestry, fishery, and agricultural organizations;
7. labor unions;
8. trade associations and other business organizations;
9. religious associations;
10. hobby and leisure clubs;
11. residents’ movements, consumer movements, and civic advocacy groups;
12. other civil organizations;
13. no affiliations;
14. D.N., N.A.

B-3 Voluntary work undertaken through groups (aggregate)

First of all, the concept of “volunteer” was also imported in the 1960s and 1970s, so it still has some Western connotations. Needless to say, there is a tradition of Japanese-style voluntary work, but similar to the term “association”, the use of this concept sometimes overlooks reality.

On the other hand, the Japanese term “hoshi” (voluntary social service) connotes conservative devotion to government affairs or to religious organizations.

As for aggregate data, the Volunteer Center in the National Social Welfare Council collects data through affiliated local councils. In the same way, the Red Cross Service Corps registers volunteers and governmental social educational facilities such as libraries, citizen halls, museums, etc. that have their own volunteer activities.

B-4 Voluntary work undertaken through groups (survey)

Since 1960, every five years, NHK (*Nippon Hoso Kyoku*, or the Japan Broadcasting Corporation) has been conducting a “Peoples Time-Budget Survey” where there is a category for social participation including voluntary work and a variety of social activities including ceremonial occasions (the sample size is about 45,000).

Since 1976, every five years, a more elaborate time budget survey has been undertaken by the Statistics Bureau of the Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs and Postal and Telecommunications (the sample size is about 80,000 families). This survey is useful because it queries interviewees regarding six types of voluntary social services and social participation activities separately in terms of annual participation frequency and through group affiliation.

Other surveys are available in order to understand volunteer experiences and opinions (significance recognition) with regard to voluntary participation (Social Stratification Surveys by scholar groups and Social Opinion Surveys by the Statistics Bureau).

C Informal networks

It seems very difficult to get hard data for informal networks except to conduct special surveys. In Japan so far, as far as I know, such surveys have not been done.

D Trust

Due to my own stance, this cognitive side is an output or close to dependent variables (bonding, binding, bridging, cooperation, coordination, etc.).

D-1. The National Character Survey (Ministry of Education, Institute of Statistical Mathematics, 1953-1998, every five years, see ISM, 1998)

The above survey collects data every five years domestically and on several occasion does so in other six countries as well Their questions are as follows:

“Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can’t be too careful dealing with people?”(Q53)

“Would you say that most people most of the time try to be helpful or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?”(Q51)

“Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance and would you try to be fair?”(Q52)

The answer style is always alternatives: For instance 1. Can be trusted; 2 Can’t be too careful; 3. Other (please specify __); and 0, Don’t know (in the case of Q53).

D-2 Japanese election surveys, political opinion surveys (Sampling)

This survey includes asking questions of trust with regard to national-local politics, political effectiveness (the people’s voice heard through elections, etc.), and relations between people, elections, and politics.

Political scientists (Kabashima, et. al 1998) conducted surveys including questions on “favorableness” (1983 and 1995 surveys) toward social institutions and groups as follows: 1.big companies; 2.labor unions; 3. politicians; 4 government bureaucrats; 5. courts; 6. self-defense force; 7. police; 8. citizen-led movements; 9. news media; 10. farmers; 11. middle and small employers; 12. office workers in large cities. Similar trust surveys in social institutions were done in European Value System Study Group surveys (in Japan, Nishihara 1987).

E. Other key factors

No particular comment at this time.

4. Concluding remarks: different possibilities

Task: In light of the problems and issues raised in the previous sections, the author should discuss how these could be overcome both in terms of national and international survey designs.

Since I have already commented on the different possibilities when I described the problems above, at this point, I will just summarize the above remarks.

- (1) Social capital research should adhere to the term "**capital**." Such research is not social "factors" studies. Capital can be accumulated and invested by the people (policy makers or citizen activists) artificially in the form of policy.
- (2) In terms of the previous point, social capital research should focus mainly on the **structural side** of present objects (networks, civil society organizations, and institutions, etc.) as independent variables. Quantitative volume as well as quality is important to understand the structural side. As for the quality side, composition and increase-decrease trends can act as indices. Cognitive-side variables such as trust and norms, etc. should be counted as dependent variables.
- (3) There is **no "genuine" social capital** showing plus values for coordination, cooperation and/or governance in some units. So it is preferable to use the term "social capital resource" or "potential social capital."
- (4) The term "social" capital is confusing because "social" is too comprehensive. We prefer using the term "social **relational**" capital.
- (5) Considering the capital nature of this object as well as the policy object nature, we should accent **objective aggregate data**.
- (6) Considering the "relational" nature of this object, we should focus more on the **macro** (group or society) side rather than the micro (individual) side. This is simply because the sum of individual capital is not that of collectivities.
- (7) With respect to the claim in (3), the **context** is critical in terms of whether some resources demonstrate plus values. This is particularly important as the instrument for specific development policy.
- (8) On the society level, the context is a **space** constrained (promoted) by a **triangular** arrangement of government, company and community. Correlative analysis is crucial for exact understanding.
- (9) In grasping social capital through measuring the structural side, governmental effects, market (company) effects, and community (cultural) effects should be counted. Even governments (public capital), companies (private capital), and communities (cultural capital) could alternate social capital. Therefore, the social capital effect should be calculated in relation to the other three factors.
- (10) Because of these three constraints, identification, and measurement of objects on the structural side is not easy. Even simple "association", or "volunteer" concepts contains "**extraneous nuance**" or "**statist connotations**" depending on what Japanese term is used. To overcome this problem, we should mobilize as many comprehensive words as possible.
- (11) Because of the significance of cultural patterns and political regimes in terms of the triangular relationship (8,9), international comparison in particular should be done in the same typology of these patterns or regimes.

- (12) There is a big gap in language connotation. In order to resolve language problems, the wording of any questions should be translated once by someone in a particular language and should be retranslated by another person into the original language in order to compare it with the original wording. This is known as back-translation.
- (13) In Japan, survey researchers conducting international surveys have realized that the Japanese have a tendency to avoid answering in superlative degrees and prefer to answer ambiguously or N.A., D.K answers. To resolve the distortion caused by these tendencies, we should design alternative answering styles and avoiding multiple degree choices.

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Table 1 Number of Incorporated Organizations in Japan, the U.S.A, and Korea by Type (per 100,000 persons)

	U.S.A	Japan	Korea
A State-Related	31	-	-
B Party-Related	-	58	-
C Public Interest Corporations, Nonprofit Organizations	511	273	65
D Profit-Making and General Corporations	8,184	1,906	366
Total	8,726	2,237	431

Note: Different classification methods are used for each country with regard to “state-related” and “party-related” categories.

Source: Compiled by author from government sources in the mid-1990s. □

Cited from Tsujinaka 2003.

Fig 1 □ Economic space for NGOs in developing countries

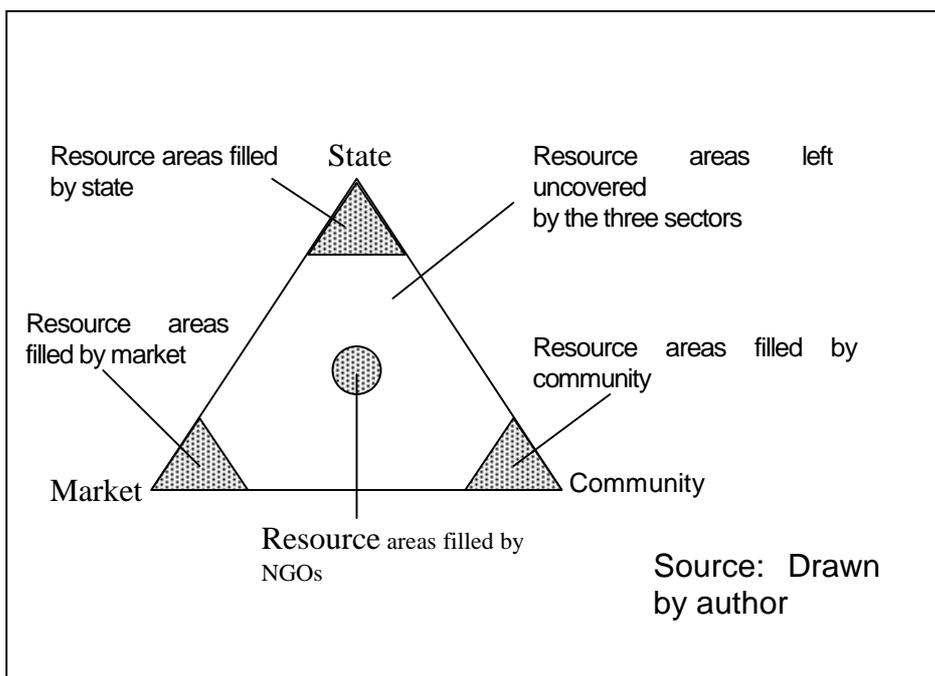


Figure 2. Association Space Dynamic Model and Locations of the 4 Sector Associations (Tsujinaka ed.2002)

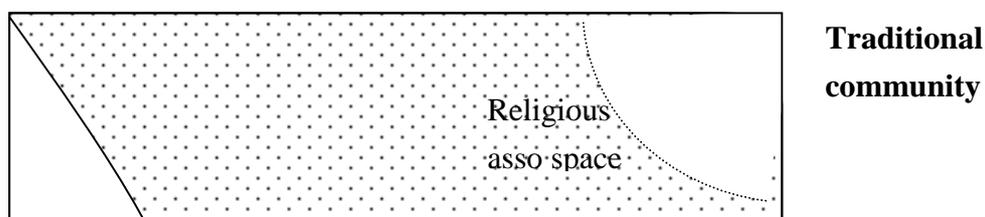
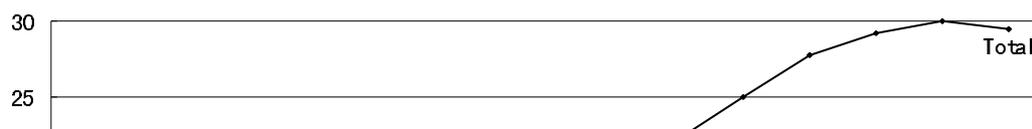


Figure 3 Association Establishments by Sub-category

3a Numerical Changes in Association Establishments in Japan 1951-1999

(per 100,000 persons)



3c Numerical changes in association establishments in Korea 1981 – 1996

(Establishment Census)

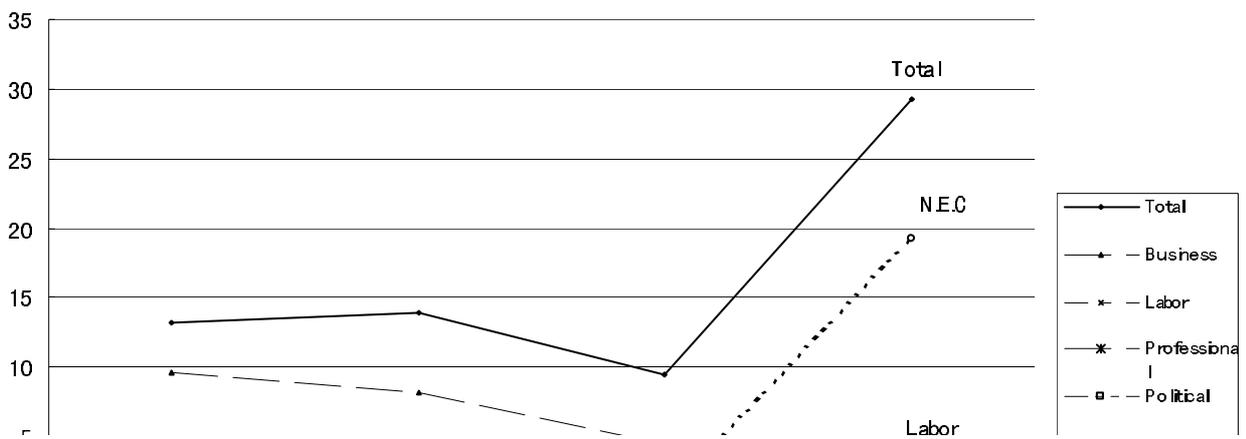
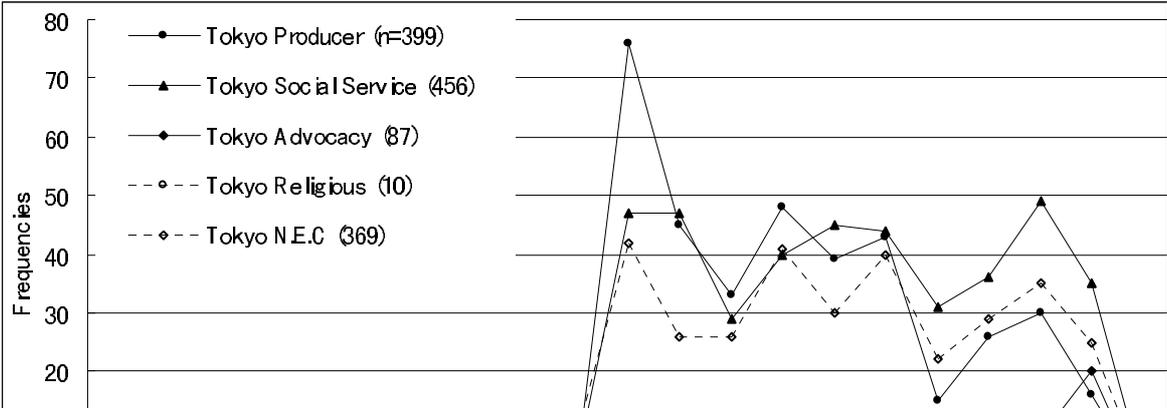


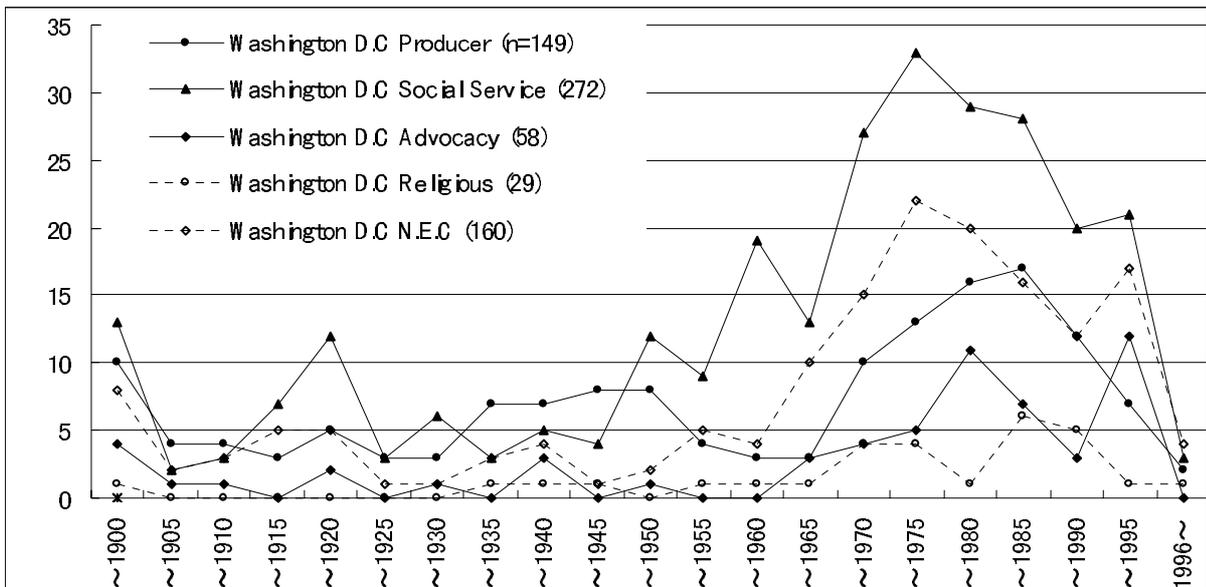
Figure 4 Formation of Civil Society Organizations

(Five sectors) in Japan, the U.S.A. and Korea

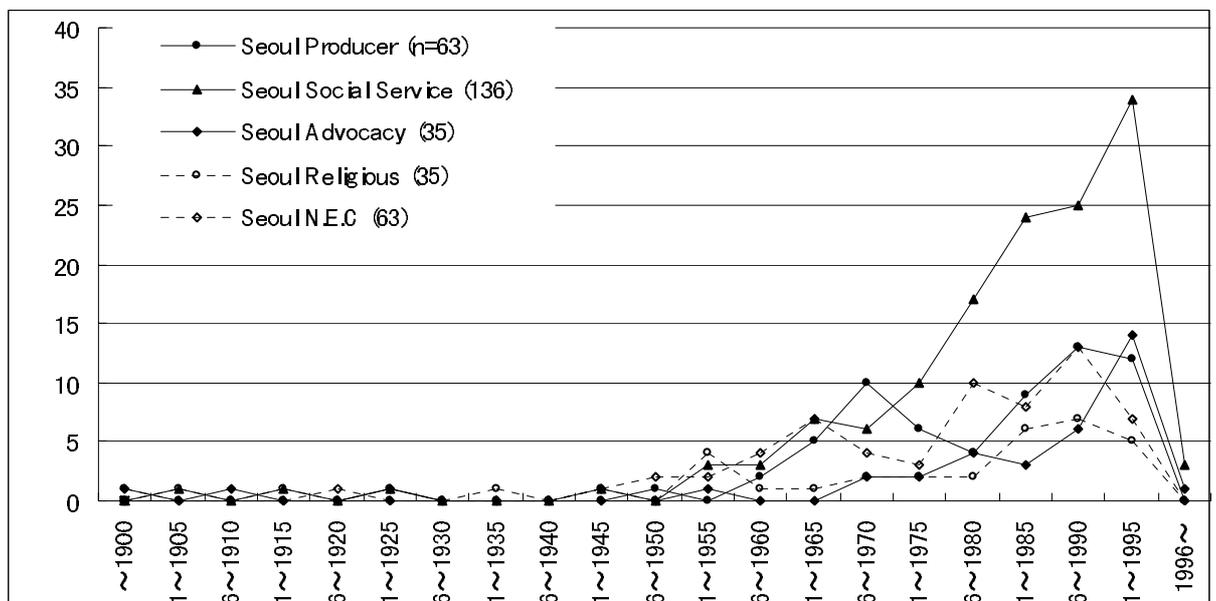
4a



4b



4c



Source: Surveys conducted by Yutaka Tsujinaka and Japanese Interest Group Survey (JIGS) Group,

Cross-national Survey on Civil Society Organizations and Interest Groups (Japan) 1997

Cross-national Survey on Civil Society Organizations and Interest Groups (U.S.A.) 1999

Cross-national Survey on Civil Society Organizations and Interest Groups (Korea) 1997