University of Alberta

Awakening, Ownership and NGOs

by

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Abstract

The ownership of issues (problems we are trying to solve) gives us a sense of fulfillment in living our life. For me the key to acquire that ownership is an "awakening"—an awareness that a problem is my own issue. The "Kanpo/Naikan" method is a practical tool that liberates me from my fixed self-awareness, and that liberation brings me an "awakening." The Kanpo/Naikan method is based on the worldview of Buddhism which regards "change and its process" as the essence of living/existing and attaches importance to each "encounter and relation."

When we review today's NGO movement from the point of view of "awakening and ownership," we find the significance of the movement lies in the fact that its members have ownership of the issues they are trying to solve and in the actions they take to solve these issues. I interpret the NGO as a place of ownership where the mechanism of "awakening" is working, and propose that this could lead to a new form of community in today's society. An NGO member's conduct of self-reflection through the Kanpo/Naikan method could contribute to organizational self-reform.

Table of Contents

Introduction 1

- 1. Background 1
- 2. Thesis statement 3
- 3. Framework of analysis 4

Chapter I: Critical Review of the Literature 8

- 1. Gordenker & Weiss, Mary Kaldor 8
- 2. Salamon, Nerfin, Korten 16
- 3. Saotome 18
- 4. Wakai 19
- 5. Nakata 20

Chapter II: Methodology for awakening: Buddhist worldview and Kanpo/Naikan-method 24

- 1. Worldview of Buddhism 24
- 2. Liberation from fixed self-awareness 25
- 3. Kanpo 28
- 4. Naikan 29
- 5. Mechanism of chain of awakening 32

Chapter III: A New interpretation of the NGO phenomenon 36

1. NGO as a place of awakening and ownership 36

2. SHARE 39

3. NGO as a new form of community 42

Conclusion 47

1. Significance of this thesis 47

2. Future tasks: the difficulty to continue checking ourselves 48

Endnotes 52

Bibliography 53

Introduction

1. Background

I came to the subject of this thesis through undergoing the following personal transformative event in my own life.

After a four year assignment of Japanese foreign service in Canada, I was posted to Tokyo in the summer of 2002. I almost lost the firm ground I needed to live my life with a sense of fulfillment. I was attracted by the satisfactory five years I had spent as a member of an emergency-relief NGO before I started my career in Foreign Service. It was my urgent need to search for and find once again the firm ground essential to be fulfilled in my current life. As a result, I was suffered from nervous depression and was motivated to seek medical treatment. In order to conduct self-reflection through the process of medical treatment, I was introduced by my psychiatrist to a psychotherapy method which drew me closer to Buddhism.

The idea for the thesis originated in my personal quest to find the answers to three fundamental questions in the transformative event: How can I live my daily life with a sense of fulfillment? How can I interpret the significance of the activities of today's nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)? and How can I marry my career in an NGO to a career as a civil servant in the Japanese Foreign Ministry?

Therefore, as you see in my first question, this thesis is a direct result of my soulsearching. Contemplation of my life has influenced the final product in that it has become a treatise that goes beyond a simple academic argument. It is the expression of a proposal that aims to discover concrete actions that will result in a sense of accomplishment and a contentment with life. The sense of fulfillment I experienced during my five years working in an NGO gave me a hint of the answer to the first question. This was a good reason to explore my contemplations of NGOs.

The scope of my reflection, however, was not confined to my personal agenda. As you see from my second question, it extended to the social agenda of NGOs. When I look

around our society today, I see many issues raised and discussed everyday through the media. In reality, however, we hardly find the words of "authorities" emotionally appealing. The words of figures in the positions of "authority"—politicians, bureaucrats, journalists, and scholars—fail to reach from their inner circle to the outer world.

It is also a reality that the significantly accumulated amount of official development aid (ODA) provided from western countries to Africa has not produced the desired result. It was intended to overcome the severe poverty and its relevant problems in the region but has failed to improve these conditions significantly. I witnessed this reality as an officer in charge of humanitarian assistance in the Japanese Foreign Ministry. Why does the aid from foreign "authorities" result in unsuccessful outcomes? From my working experience in NGOs I sense that the answer to the above-mentioned social agenda could reside in NGOs.

I believe that reviewing the phenomenon of the NGO movement will be helpful in answering both my personal quest and my question about the significance of NGOs although I acknowledge at the same time that not all NGOs are altruistic, cooperative, and accountable to the public at large. In addition, the following two remarkable events guided me to find the answers to my personal quest and to my questions about the social agendas of NGOs.

First, having lost the firm ground of how to live my life, I suffered from nervous depression and was motivated to seek medical treatment. I was introduced by my psychiatrist to the psychotherapy method of Kanpo/Naikan. I practiced the method everyday, the details of which are explained in Chapter II, and reflected on myself over and over. Buddhism is the philosophical basis of the Kanpo/Naikan method and I found the thoughts of Buddha compelling. As a result of that personal daily practice, I acquired my awakening.

Second, by coincidence I found in a bookstore a Japanese book written by Toyokazu Nakata, *Volunteer Mirai-ron*, which roughly translated means *Theory of a Volunteer's*

Future—If I become aware, society changes. Nakata argues that the approach of development studies is strongly influenced by the philosophy of Buddhism. I found the salient points of his work to be in accord with the principles of the Kanpo/Naikan method, which are emphasized in "the importance of awakening."

From these experiences, and guided by the wisdoms of my predecessors, I found the keys to the concepts of "awakening" and "ownership."

I have noticed that when I perceive a certain issue as not my own issue but as another's issue, concrete ideas and actions to resolve the issue do not arise, and neither do powerful and effective words. When I become aware of the issue as my own, this ownership of the issue stimulates concrete ideas and actions to resolve it at my individual level. This sense of ownership and my consequent actions give me a sense of fulfillment.

It is the ambition of this thesis to construct a road map to perceive an issue as my own and to take action to resolve it on an individual level. In other words, I feel the necessity to present a practical tool to promote "awakening," not just as a theory but as a method that when practiced can reach into an individual's way of life and transform it.

Finally, using the concepts of "awakening" and "ownership," I hope to be able to answer my original question: "How can I interpret the significance of the activities of today's NGOs?" I hope to move beyond past studies of NGOs to introduce a new interpretation of the strong NGO movement in today's society. This could show me the way to marry the current career of mine as a government official to my past career in an NGO. I expect that an answer to my personal quest could coincide with an answer to this very important social agenda.

2. Thesis statement

A significant aspect of an NGO today lies in the sense of ownership its individual constituents have of various issues. That ownership of issues is reflected in the actions taken by individuals in the NGO and is a source of fulfillment for these individuals.

When we review NGOs, which consist of a growing number of people with the ownership of issues, from the viewpoint of "awakening" and "ownership," we find that NGOs are places of ownership where "the mechanism of awakening" is working in today's society. This could lead to a new form of community. It could also contribute to NGO's self-disclosure, self-reform, and revitalization if each individual member of an NGO were to practice critical self-reflection, including Kanpo and Naikan methodology, while carrying out his or her tasks.

3. Framework of analysis

I came to the subject of this thesis after undergoing a personal transformative event in my life which introduced me to the Kanpo/Naikan method of psychotherapy and drew me closer to Buddhism as its philosophical basis. In planning this thesis and preparing my arguments, I was very much guided by a Japanese book written by Toyokazu Nakata, *"Volunteer Mirai-ron* which roughly translated means *Theory of a Volunteer's Future—If I become aware, society changes*. I develop my arguments in the following manner.

(1) I introduce several studies of nongovernment organizations (NGOs) and, among other things, I support the approach that focuses on individuals who constitute NGO activities.

(2) I find that an individual's "ownership" of an issue, which is to perceive an issue as his or her own issue, is important in leading the individual to resolve the issue. An individual's "self-awakening" to his/her own issue is the key to obtaining ownership of the issue. To my knowledge how to acquire this "self-awakening" has not sufficiently been in the scope of past studies in political science.

(3) I explore the methodology of "self-awakening" and suggest that the worldview of Buddhism which regards "change and its process" as the essence of living and existing to be a good basis for this journey. Herein, I Introduce "Kanpo" and "Naikan-method" as a practical methodology to "become aware." Further, I analyze the mechanism of a "chain of awakening" in which my "self-awakening" to an issue and my resulting actions induce awakening in others which initiates their actions. Thus, in a natural manner, the "chain of awakening" brings about a "chain of activity" directed toward an issue.

(4) I review NGOs from the above-mentioned viewpoint. I view the NGO as a place where this "mechanism of awakening" is working. That is, based on the individual's awareness of ownership in today's society and the growing participation in NGOs of individuals with such ownership of issues, I consider the NGO to be taking the role of "community."

In Chapter 1 I explore and critically examine past studies on NGOs by authors such as Weiss and Gordenker, Kaldor, Salamon, Nerfin/Hayashi, Korten/Utsumi, Saotome, Wakai, and Nakata. I refer to the work of Weiss and Gordenker first in order to introduce distinctions and classifications among the various types of NGO. I point out that not all NGOs are altruistic, cooperative, and accountable to the world outside the organization, and that some of them are self-serving and conflict-generating.

Next I show my sympathy with Wakai and Nakata who focus on individuals who constitute the organization of NGOs. Nakata, Chambers, and Freire recognized the importance of an individual's ownership of an issue; i.e., to perceive that an issue is one's own rather than belonging to others. I propose that "self-awakening" is the key to acquire that ownership and that the route to this "self-awakening" leading to "ownership" has not sufficiently been included in these past studies.

In Chapter II I search for a practical method to "become aware" of my own issue that leads to my "ownership" of it. I develop my argument by referring to oriental philosophy and psychology, a methodology for self-observation guided by Miyasaka and Nakata. I introduce the worldview of Buddhism as a suitable philosophical base. The Buddhist view is flexible and receptive to diversity; it regards "change and its process" as the essence of living and existing. This essence is well expressed by the following words, "All things are in flux and nothing is permanent."

When I perceive the world and living through the worldview of Buddhism, I am convinced that "change and its process" is the essence and even the purpose of my life.

Then it becomes the most precious act to "think a great deal of" each process in my daily life—relations with people/incidents/issues. To "think a great deal of each process" is the

key to "liberate myself from fixed awareness" by viewing the relation from various viewpoints. If I pursue this method, a hidden link between the issue and myself appears and the issue becomes my own issue. This is the moment of "self-awakening."

Next, I introduce and explain the mechanism of a "chain of awakening," which starts with this "self-awakening" to the issue. The self-awakening leads me to take personal actions and these actions influence others surrounding me, inducing their self-awakening and their actions in a natural manner. Finally, I introduce an eastern traditional methodology for self-observation—"Kanpo methodology" and the "Naikan method" are practical methodologies from which I achieved my own "self-awakening."

As good references to support my argument in this Chapter, I provisionally translated the quotations from several Japanese articles published in a major Japanese newspaper of *Asahi Shimbun*.

In Chapter III, I interpret the phenomenon of strong NGO movements from the viewpoint of "ownership" and "awakening." I perceive an NGO as an entity where individual citizens take actions at their local level to resolve their own issues. Thus I find NGOs to be comprised of individuals with ownership of these issues that is based on "selfawakening." This is why I see the NGO as a place where the mechanism of "chain of awakening" is working in today's society. In order to explain this point, I was guided by the work of Nakata and also give examples of volunteer workers in the Hanshin-Awaji Great Earthquake disaster of 1995. I was also informed by my personal experience in a Japanese NGO, SHARE (Service for the Health in Asian & African Regions) where I worked as an intern. Through performing the daily domestic work in SHARE, I observed that personal "encounters" and "awakening" of staff members led to their activities in SHARE. As well, SHARE's activities brought "encounters" with new people. Like many others in the foreign service I am burdened by an enormous quantity of bureaucratic paperwork every day. I am forced to simply "process" each piece of paper, a ritual that tends to deaden "awareness." Working in a bureaucracy does not allow for much selfreflection or awakening. My experience in SHARE reminds me of how it is possible to live my life thinking a great deal of each "encounter."

It is a fact that "traditional communities" are being lost in Japan. However, I consider NGOs as assuming a role of "community" in our society through the growing participation of individuals who express ownership of issues. I explain this interpretation by referring to the defects in today's society, including lack of citizen self-responsibility and ownership of issues. I then describe the budding of new "community" values after the Hanshin-Awaji Great Earthquake disaster and following Japan's "Volunteer Revolution."

In the final Chapter, I review the salient points of the thesis and comment on their significance. I point out the challenges that ought to receive attention in the future.

Chapter I: Critical Review of the Literature

Starting with the campaign for an Anti-Personnel Landmine Ban Treaty, otherwise known as the Ottawa Process, the public and media's attentions have been exponentially captured by civil society movements including activities of NGOs in recent years. Civil societies are surely getting to be new important players in both domestic and international politics.

There are positive and negative evaluations currently jumbled together about those movements, and in fact, some of the movements were constructive; but others were nonconstructive, even destructive or violent. Civil societies can play a broad role in achieving society's goals—from researching methods to attain these goals to collecting data and disseminating information. By committing itself as a driving force a civil society can exert great influence on a specific campaign.

The Economist gave a critical review of nongovernment organizations in its editorial "Sins of the secular missionaries" (January 29, 2000):

In recent years, [NGOs] have mushroomed ... The general public tends to see them as uniformly altruistic, idealistic, and independent. But the term "NGO," like the activities of the NGOs themselves, deserves much sharper scrutiny.

1. Gordenker and Weiss, Mary Kaldor

Many academics have studied NGOs. Volume16, No 3 of Third World Quarterly (1995), is a special issue about NGOs edited by Leon Gordenker and Thomas G. Weiss. This work by Gordenker and Weiss is a good resource to research the role of NGOs in international politics and global governance.

To begin with, Gordenker and Weiss do "not assume that NGOs always or even usually succeed in reaching their goals or, if they do, that the result is beneficial for peace, social or personal welfare, or human rights" (Gordenker & Weiss 1995, 357). Not all NGOs are altruistic, cooperative, and accountable. Some of them are religious groups who may be

motivated to gain converts. Some are simply hobby groups whose members may be selfserving and uncommitted to their task. Some are even conflict-generating, which rather annihilates their purpose.

The NGOs of interest in the Gordender and Weiss study are defined as "private citizens' organizations, separate from government but active on social issues, not profit making, and with transnational scope." Gordender and Weiss point out that there are at least three significant deviations from their definition; they identify: GONGO (government-organized nongovernmental organization) are treated as only tangential to their examination, QUANGO (quasi-nongovernmental organization) whose services aim at internationally-endorsed objectives and whose operations are distinct from those of governments even if their funding is public, and DONGO (donor-organized nongovernmental organization). According to Gordenker and Weiss, QUANGOs and DONGOs fit well enough in the general definition to warrant inclusion in their study. QUANGOs and DONGOs aim at internationally-endorsed purposes and have private status, even if their funding is public. They offer services that clearly fall within the usual range of NGO operations (Gordenker & Weiss 1995, 360-361).

Gordenker and Weiss point out that NGOs consist of individuals' relationships/networks using specific techniques for a particular product and that the networks represent flat or horizontal organizational forms in contrast to vertical ones based on hierarchical authority (Gordenker & Weiss 1995, 358-375). Gordenker and Weiss attribute the growth of NGOs to three supporting factors, namely, the end of the Cold War, technological development, and the growing resources and professionalism of NGOs (Gordenker & Weiss 1995, 364-365).

Finally, Gordenker and Weiss suggest four dimensions with which to classify NGOs and their broadening activities, namely, "organization, governance, strategies, and output." Each dimension has subdimensions to further analyze NGO characteristics. Using these dimensions as criteria, it should be possible to classify the diversified characteristics of modern NGOs (Gordenker & Weiss 1995, 381-383).

Mary Kaldor's approach is reflected in "Global Civil Society: An Answer to War." Her work explains the conceptual development/transformation of "civil society" which has been closely linked with and limited by war/violence and state/territorial boundedness (Kaldor 2003, 3). Before the twenty-first century, the existence of civil society was confined within territorial boundaries of war-making colonial states; hence the outreach of civil society was fundamentally limited (Kaldor 2003, 49). Kaldor says that, in contrast to earlier centuries when civil society was understood in relation to territorial states, today's reinvention of civil society has to be placed and understood in a global context (Kaldor 2003, 142). She points out that the growing interconnectedness at the end of the last great global interstate conflict eroded the boundaries of civil society. Kaldor emphasizes the following two phenomena as key factors:

... [O]n the one hand, the extension of transnational legal arrangements from above, for example the Helsinki Agreement of 1975, provided an instrument for opening up autonomous spaces in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. On the other hand, the inheritors of the "new" social movements, the European peace movements and the North American human rights movements were able to link up with groups and individuals in Eastern Europe and Latin America to provide some kind of support and protection (Kaldor 2003, 5).

Kaldor observes that global civil society is moving its focus away from relations with the state to individual empowerment and autonomy; as well there is territorial restructuring of social and political relations (Kaldor 2003, 6).

Kaldor observes five stages in the historical development/transformation of civil society.

"In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when the central demand was for a rule-governed society, civil society was coterminous with the state" (Kaldor 2003, 48) and the "Societas civilis" was the society with a rule of law, a peaceful order, and minimized violence. It was closely connected with the existence of a state and distinct from noncivil society (such as empires or anarchy) and war (Kaldor 2003, 7).

"As demands were extended to cover political rights, the accountability of government to citizens, so civil society became distinct from the state and was identified with the new capitalist class who were demanding access to political decision making" (Kaldor 2003, 48). That "bourgeois society" is closely connected with the emergence of capitalism and is distinct from the state. When we transport it to a global level, it is captured as the phenomena of "globalization from below" including transnational corporations, foreign investment, migration, global culture, etc. (Kaldor 2003, 8).

Kaldor further says, "In the twentieth century, when demands were further extended to economic and social rights, civil society was redefined to exclude the private sector as well. It was the new workers' movements who became the main constituents of civil society. In the twenty-first century, ... [c]ivil society has become transnational. It remains distinct from profit organizations ... [and] its focus is public affairs not the market (activist version/neoliberal version/postmodern version)" (Kaldor 2003, 48).

The "activist version" of civil society insists on a redistribution of power from the state and it is a form of radicalized democracy and extended participation/autonomy. The key elements of this definition contain active citizenship, growing self-organization outside formal political circles, and expanded space where individual citizens can influence their living conditions both directly through self-organization and through political pressure. It is important, according to this definition, that noninstrumental communication can be seen in the forms of transnational advocacy networks, global social movements, international media, and new global "civic religions" like human rights and environmentalism transported to a transnational level (Kaldor 2003, 8).

According to the "neoliberal version," civil society consists of a nonprofit, voluntary third sector that not only restrains state power but actually substitutes for a state by performing many functions through charities and voluntary associations. When we transport it to the global arena, it smoothes the path to economic globalization—it is now the NGO acting in place of an absent global state (Kaldor 2003, 9).

Finally, the "postmodern version" of civil society is perceived as a place where pluralism

and contestation thrive, even between the Eurocentric view and the rest of the world, and different perspectives can be accepted despite dominant Western voices (Kaldor 2003, 14). I understand the concept of "NGO" to be a part of "civil society" in this thesis. According to Kaldor's classification, I am using the term of "NGO" as a concept with mixed characteristics of the "activist version," the "neoliberal version," and the "postmodern version."

Kaldor has a firm belief that a genuinely free conversation, a rational critical dialogue, will favour the "civilizing" option; in other words it is a condition for both political and economic emancipation (Kaldor 2003, 12-14). Kaldor tries to analyze civil society from the viewpoint not of its "form" but of its "function" based on individual freedom and defines it as a "medium for negotiation of social contracts/bargains between individuals and authority" as follows:

I have defined civil society as the medium through which social contracts or bargains are negotiated (discussed and mediated) between the individual and the centres of political and economic authority. Civil society is a process of management of society that is "bottom-up" rather than "top-down" and that involves the struggle for emancipatory goals. It is about governance based on consent where consent is generated through politics. (Kaldor 2003, 142)

Further, Kaldor prosposes that contestation of civil societies with other various actors/mechanisms will determine the future direction of globalization. If we consider global civil society as a process through which contracts or agreements are negotiated at global, national, and local levels (as Kaldor defines it from the aspect of its function), then it has to include all the various mechanisms such as campaigning, lobbying, and struggling for a new generation of rights at global, national, and local levels through which individual voices can be heard. Kaldor says that the array of organizations and groups through which individuals have a voice at global levels of decision making, represents a new form of global politics that parallels and supplements formal democracy at the national level and that such a differentiated character of global civil society can be understood in terms of the complexity of the contemporary world (Kaldor 2003, 107-108).

Kaldor suggests that it is the contestation between these different types of actors, as well as states, international institutions, and transnational corporations that will determine the future direction of globalization (Kaldor 2003, 108).

I agree with Kaldor's view which locates the NGO's role not as something to replace the state but as "a new form of global politics that parallels and supplements formal democracy at the national level." Given the fact that NGO personnel are not elected by anyone and that they represent the priorities of a limited portion of society, it is, in the end, the role of government to finally coordinate conflicting priorities and goals between the state and the NGO.

Through the coordinating process, given the broadening scope of issues/activities and increasing roles/abilities of NGOs, "[t]he relationships between governments and NGOs take several forms [which are] ... adversarial,... cooperative, and businesslike." According to Gordenker and Weiss, "[h]ost governments regulate activities by NGOs through domestic legislation and ... administrative procedures. ... Donor governments hire NGOs to implement projects and sign contracts subject to national legislation." And, in most cases, it is said that the host governments have little difficulty in crippling or favoring NGO activities to do harm or to provide popular benefits, respectively. Foreign-based NGOs are said to be particularly vulnerable to host government pressure since they need permission to bring in personnel and goods (Gordenker & Weiss 1995, 370-371).

Because of the above-mentioned relationships between NGOs and their host/donor governments, the issue of NGOs' independence from their donors arises. An editorial in *The Economist* (January 29, 2000) finds, "the principal reason for the recent boom in NGOs is that western governments finance them. This is not a matter of charity, but of privatization: many 'nongovernmental' groups are becoming contractors for government ... because it is cheaper, more efficient—and more at arm's length—than direct official aid." Gordenker and Weiss point out, "With more governmental and intergovernmental resources being channeled through international NGOs, the issue of independence—or a willingness to bite the hand that feeds in order to make autonomous programmatic decisions in spite of donor pressures—assumes greater salience" (Gordenker & Weiss

A close relationship with governments is not the sole concern in terms of NGO independence. Relationships with corporations can also threaten NGO independence. *The Economist* points out, "NGOs can also stray too close to the corporate world. Some, known to critics as 'Business NGOs (BINGOs)' deliberately model themselves on, or depend greatly on, particular corporations," And the problem of a too-close relationship with corporations is, "The focus of such NGOs can easily shift from finding solutions and helping needy recipients to pleasing their donors and winning television coverage. ... [T]hese groups manage funds and employ staff which a mid-sized company would envy" (*The Economist*, January 29, 2000).

In the feature issue of *Third World Quarterly* edited by Gordenker and Weiss, Natsios points out one of the dangers for business-orienting NGOs:

To attract private contributions to run their programmes, the NGOs must make use of news events and media coverage, which raise public awareness in a way that no paid advertisement could ever achieve. ... This distorts an organization's judgment on where to work and when, but it is not an easily addressed problem since without funding they cannot work at all. (Natsios 1995, 409)

At the same time *The Economist* says that NGOs themselves know the problem they have and describes an NGO effort to overcome it:

Since the events at Goma in Congo in 1994, NGOs have been working hard to improve. More than 70 groups and 142 governments backed the 1995 code of conduct, agreeing that aid should be delivered "only on a basis of need." (Editorial, *The Economist*, January 29, 2000)

The Economist posits lack of accountability to the outside as one of the causes of this problem: "... under-scrutinized groups can suffer from the same chief failing: they can get into bad ways because they are not accountable to anyone." (Editorial, *The Economist*,

January 29, 2000) It is to be hoped that the logic of self-criticism and accountability will prevail over subservience and the contract culture. I will come back to this issue of NGO self-criticism and accountability in the Conclusion of this thesis.

Kaldor specifies five issues—strengthened international humanitarian law including the International Criminal Court; multilateral capacity for international law enforcement; efforts to resolve local wars on terror; ways to bring about change to illegitimate/criminal leaders through support for local political constituencies; commitment to global social justice including poverty and inequality, environmental irresponsibility, and spread of diseases like HIV/AIDS—as material for a global social contract/bargain in order to strengthen the framework of international humanitarian law and reconceptualize military force as international law enforcement so that a peaceful environment and individual freedom is assured as a prerequisite for civil society's functioning (Kaldor 2003, 158). Kaldor asserts that it is the role of civil society to overcome natural indifference to others. In response to the consequent question of how to address these five issues and move those agenda forward, Kaldor answers that "it is the job of civil society groups to promote international norms and values, to show that the notion of human consciousness can be actively practiced."

Kaldor says, "it is natural to be indifferent to others. The point about concepts like human rights or global civil society is that they are ways of overcoming this natural indifference" (Kaldor 2003, 159). At the end of her work Kaldor reiterates:

That is why we need civil society alliances, debate, arguments, and struggles, why we need a global bargaining process. We need to persuade Muslims, attracted to fundamentalism, that Jews and Crusaders are human beings. And we need to persuade Americans that Afghan or Iraqi lives are equal to American lives. (Kaldor 2003, 159)

Civil society groups, who favour such a bargain, have to construct alliances with like-minded groups to strengthen their position in the bargaining process with political institutions, companies, and other civil society groups of a different persuasion. Such an alliance against global terror and the war on terror would need

to include a range of different groups. (Kaldor 2003, 158)

I fully agree with Kaldor that it is civil society's role to overcome the natural indifference of human beings to promote global norms and values and to become united, overcoming mutual differences. Kaldor's position against natural indifference accords with my own viewpoint regarding the importance of obtaining ownership. As well, Kaldor's expectation with regard to the role of civil society accords with my expectation of the role of NGOs.

2. Salamon, Nerfin, Korten

However, I have to point out that it is not clearly explained in Kaldor's work of "Global Civil Society: An Answer to War" how civil society can realize this goal. Gordenker and Weiss also admit that "this ... essay generally discusses the NGO phenomenon" (Gordenker & Weiss 1995, 357). Most of the past studies on NGOs have focused on the surging NGO phenomenon. For example, in several studies on NGOs which I analyzed the authors seldom dealt with the issue of "how" each individual within an NGO is roused to take action. It is my attempt in this thesis, however, to explore the concrete ground and practical methodology of obtaining ownership of issues from the NGO's functional viewpoint.

Lester Salamon, for example, has described the dramatic growth of NGOs in the 1980s and 1990s as the "global associational revolution." A Johns Hopkins survey of the nonprofit sector in twenty-two countries shows that this sector contributed significantly to employment growth in the 1980s and 1990s (Kaldor 2003, 88). Among many studies on NGOs, it was Salamon who first pointed out the growing importance of NGOs on a global scale in *Foreign Affairs* of 1994. He asserted that this revolution had a potential to cause permanent changes in the relationship between states and citizens and that it was having an enormous impact, tantamount to the emergence of nation states in the late 19th century. Furthermore, Salamon cited four crises (crisis of welfare state, crisis of development, crisis of environment, crisis of socialism) and two revolutionary changes (change of communication technology, revolution by the middle class) as the background and primary factors of the growth of NGOs (Salamon 1994).

At the time the study was released it was very significant to point out the growth of NGOs on a global scale in a systematic method and to provide further studies in this area with a firm basis. But the analysis did not come down to the mechanism of action by individuals who constitute NGO organizations.

Here again, despite the growth of NGOs and the crisis of state indicated by Salamon, I believe that NGOs are not replacing but supplementing the role of state. Politics by parliament and government ultimately has to assume the role and responsibility as the legitimate coordinating mechanism among conflicting priorities and goals of state and NGOs. It is appropriate to argue that NGOs function as a co-existing player with governments and business corporations.

Introducing the "Third System Theory" of Marc Nerfin that analyzes the structure of a state, Hayashi also points out the importance of the civic sector's activities in relation to government and business. Nerfin states that the activities in modern society can be classified into three systems: activities of governments (political power), activities of business corporations (economic power), and civic activities. Government and business are interested in exercising power in pursuit of national interest and profit respectively. In this modern society of capitalistic democracy, however, because the activities of government and business are so powerful, they cause tensions and conflicts in the process of expanding their activities. A metaphor suggested by Nerfin is that NGOs function as the citizen/people's power against governmental power as the prince and business power as the merchant. Gordenker and Weiss question the accuracy of this metaphor saying generalization is dangerous (Gordenker & Weiss 1995, 359).

It is civic activities as the third system that can play a role in resolving these tensions/conflicts or in correcting distortions/contradictions caused by the activities of government and business. This is because civic activities accept diversified values of individuals and aim for a better society, and because activities do "not pursue exercising power" as competitive activities do (Hayashi 1999, 10-11). The argument on civic activity was, however, inevitably confined to discussing civic activities as a whole in

order to define its role against government and profit sectors.

Utsumi introduces the Development Stage Theory of David Korten that perceives a four stage historical development of the NGO, but the theory also captures the NGO as a whole (Utsumi 2002, 11-13; 20-25). In *Getting to the 21st Century—Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda* (Korten 1990), David Korten classified NGOs into four generations: the first generation conducts direct services with a theme of "relief and welfare," the second generation works for "small-class development toward self-support," the third generation aims at "development toward sustainable systems," and the fourth generation is called "volunteer activity as people's movement" or "alternative development." Korten seems to have excessively simplified the historic development of NGOs by presenting this classification as the developing stages of NGOs and ignoring the layered aspects. However, Korten captures NGOs as whole entities.

3. Saotome

I do not conceive of NGOs from an organizational viewpoint. Instead, I would like to focus on the minds of individual persons who are components of an NGO. In this respect, Saotome, who was in a position to support NGO international cooperation as Director of an NGO Support Division in the Japanese Foreign Ministry, touches upon the minds of individuals who participated in NGO activities. Saotome states:

International cooperation has to be carried out based on the equal relationship between donors and recipients. It cannot be accepted without the spirit of mutual aid. The arrogance of donors such as "we give help/provide aid" can be easily sensed by recipients. We participate in NGO activities not for others but for ourselves. It is an act to enrich myself. (Saotome 1997, 25)

I remember Saotome as a pioneer who understood the importance of NGO activities while working on the side of a government. I cannot, however, confirm that his philosophically firm and deep awareness that "we participate in NGO activities not for others but for ourselves" was in himself as an individual. If he sincerely took the international cooperation through NGOs as his own issue, he inevitably had to face the awareness of how he, as a person on the side of a government, should act and live within its administrative system. I could not find in his book what significance he had found for himself in promoting the new concept of government partnership with NGOs and how he acted and overcame difficulties to that end in the old administrative system to which he belonged.

<u>4. Wakai</u>

Wakai emphasizes the importance of individuals taking action and views the NGO as a form of the individual's action (Wakai 2001, 2002a, 54). Wakai says that we often tend to give up and take no actions, feeling powerless as an individual trying to resist the dark situation of the world. Wakai asserts that the NGO is born from the movement that individuals try to do what they can do with hope. Wakai focuses on the development of an individual's actions in NGO movements, a point of view distinguished from other above-mentioned studies, and I fully support his approach.

Wakai analyzes individual actions and insists on the importance of acquiring ownership by pointing out the difference between two ethics. Wakai considers the minds of acting individuals using two concepts of Max Weber—the "ethics of good-will (gesinnungsethik)" and the "ethics of responsibility (verantwortungsethik)" (Wakai [2001] 2002b, 303-315). If I translate his argument correctly, it unfolds as follows:

In NGO activities, there are many opportunities when we come into direct contact with living people who have various beliefs in various regions and situations. There are many scenes, in which we are moved as human beings through facing those people directly. During these opportunities/scenes, we are obliged to face such fundamental questions as "What is human life and death?" and "How can I live humanly as a human being?" It is the issue of ethics that we are faced with at these times. There are tensions and conflicts between the "ethics of good-will" and the "ethics of responsibility." The "ethics of good-will" regards good-will itself as important; the result of an action does not matter as long as it is an action based on good-will. On the contrary, the "ethics of responsibility" tries to assume responsibility for the result of an action based on good-will.

19

Many people joined the Spanish Civil War in contrast to many "scholars" who argued social problems and contradictions from a safety zone and did not take any actions. Also, there were many people who tried to help victims and were themselves killed in the elaborately planned and systematically implemented genocide in Rwanda, in contrast to a cadre of intellectuals who supported the genocide. The former were people who developed their "ethics of good-will" into "ethics of responsibility" and took action. These cases ask us as social beings a tough question: are we truly able to transform "speaking about people" (ethics of good-will) into "walking along with people" (ethics of responsibility)? It is a difficult question because it is connected with the issue of how to live as an individual. In order to conduct social activities, we have to walk through this field filled with emotional tensions and conflicts between "good-will" and "responsibility."

Wakai concludes that it is important to live with these two ethics, although it is difficult to implement both of them. Again, I fully support his approach of focusing on the development of individual actions in NGO movements and in arguing the importance of acquiring ownership in order to take action. Unfortunately, his study does not reveal how individuals can develop their "good-will" sufficiently to accept their "responsibility" to take actions, and how it is possible to rouse action in other individuals.

5. Nakata

As a methodology to develop "good-will" to the point of taking "responsibility," I introduce several works which point out the importance of "self-awakening." That is, if I truly "become aware" that a certain issue is not others' but my own, I obtain "ownership" of the issue and can take personal action to resolve the issue. A book written by Toyokazu Nakata, "*Volunteer Mirai-ron* (Theory of a Volunteer's Future—If I become aware, society changes)" significantly influenced my thinking as I wrote this thesis.

Nakata started his career on the staff of an international NGO. He encountered a Cambodian refugee during study in France, and this incident strongly influenced him to become a NGO staff. Since then has been working for various NGOs.¹ The following questions asked him by a Bangladeshi farmer gave Nakata the starting point of his

20

consideration. When Nakata was a resident staff member of an NGO working on a project to improve Bangladeshi farmers' lives, he was asked a question by a villager, "Why do you come from afar and help us who have nothing to do with you? What is your benefit to do such a thing?" That question got to the heart of the matter. I translate his confession as follows (Nakata 2000, Preface):

Although I had managed to come through similar scenes with such exemplary answers as "because it is quite natural as a human being to help others in difficulties" and/or "because I am feeling a sense of unity to improve our society," that was a huge mistake. This was a question about the significance and value of my activities in my life. As a result of having avoided facing squarely this question, I was losing the most important energy to continue my activities. As time passed and the social situation changed, volunteer activities had gained social recognition and many young people had started to join them. I, however, had to admit that I lost the necessary vigor to stand against difficulties which appeared one after another although I had accumulated much experience, techniques and network through my career. I felt that I would not be able to stand in the front line of volunteer activities again unless I stopped and pursued seriously what it meant for me to have a hand in the problems of other individuals and societies as a volunteer worker.

Traditional development studies provide methodologies for "self-awakening" and "ownership." Even in development assistance, top-down style tends to have the harmful effects of prioritizing donors' conveniences including NGO. Because of that, several methods of "participatory development," where one is engaged in one's own emancipation, works well to implement self-disclosure and self-reform. These methods work as keys to "awakening" and "ownership."

In order to find the answer to the questions of the Bangladeshi farmer, Nakata referred to participatory development for methods of self-disclosure and self-reform (Nakata 2000, chapter 3). As an example of those methods, Nakata introduces PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) developed by Robert Chambers of Sussex University in the U.K. (Robert Chambers, *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*) which attaches great importance to becoming aware of one's own problem and making efforts to solve it.

PRA is an approach used by NGOs and other agencies involved in international development. In this view, an actively involved and empowered local population is essential to successful rural community development. The approach aims to incorporate the knowledge and opinions of rural people in the planning and management of development projects. The program encourages rural people to examine their own problems, set their own goals, and monitor their own achievements. The roots of PRA can be traced to the activist adult education methods of Paulo Freire, a Brazilian educationist and philosopher. Robert Chambers, a key exponent of PRA, argues that the approach owes much to "the Freirian theme that poor and exploited people can and should be enabled to analyze their own reality." The hundreds of participatory techniques and tools that have been developed can be divided into four categories: group dynamics, sampling, interviewing, and visualization.

Unless the party concerned understands the problem correctly and takes actions to solve the problem on their own initiative, nothing can be solved. The philosophical notion at the base of PRA is that it is impossible to promote self-reliance in aid recipients unless both donors and recipients regard the problem as their own.

If the problem belongs to the aid recipient, no one but the recipient can solve it. If there is something I can do to help solve the problem, it is because the problem is partly my own. When I become aware that it is my problem, too, and make efforts to solve it, real cooperation can take place. The philosophy of participatory development aims to create a world of mutual coexistence, without distinction between donor and recipient.

Nakata advocates PRA, PLA (Participatory Learning and Action), "Nonviolent Training," based on Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy, "Awakening Education," and the "Awakening Training for Social Reform" of Paulo Freire as useful tools for self-reform and methods to be used at a "workshop for awakening." In Japan today, these tools are beginning to become popular as methods to prompt self-disclosure/self-reform and real participation in NGOs, and also in schools as methods of self development study.

There is still a critical insufficiency in these past studies. Although they recognize that ownership of a problem is important in finding a solution, and acknowledge that "self-awakening" is a critical factor in acquiring that ownership, the methods to obtain the "self-awakening" that leads to "ownership" has not been developed. Therefore the search for a concrete methodology to produce "self-awakening" is a task left undone. I address this problem in Chapter II.

Chapter II: Methodology for awakening: Buddhist worldview and Kanpo/Naikanmethod

1. Worldview of Buddhism

How can I perceive a certain issue as my own? In other words, how can I "become aware" of my own issue? I need to first ask about my philosophical base—that is, how do I perceive this world and my own existence in it? I believe that the following argument will explain how these questions are interdependent.

Nakata explains that there is a definitive difference in worldview between the West and the East, particularly with respect to the idea of self-awareness, i.e., how we grasp our own existence. According to Nakata, Carl Jung, who founded depth psychology, assumed the existence of a true self, against the ego which renders selfish and superficial self-awareness. Jung thought that there is a true self which is at the bottom of ego and can view the ego. Furthermore, a person can acquire a stretch over space and time by thinking that the true self is connected to something transcendental.

In contrast, the oriental epistemology represented by Buddhist philosophy is based on the notion that "There is no fixed substance in true oneself. There are just various elements, which form self-awareness, coming and going. It ends up to a complete liberation from oneself" (Nakata 2000, 194-195). The worldview of Buddhism regards "change and its process" as the essence of living and existence, highly flexible, receptive, and full of diversity. Miyasaka explains the essence of Buddhist philosophy as follows:

It is said that Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, finally attained spiritual enlightenment after thorough introspection. The philosophy of Buddha is deeply involved in our Japanese spiritual culture, and it is his teachings of "All things are in flux and nothing is permanent" that are most important and are the basis of his ontology.

Everything changes. Everything that exists under the sun is in a process of constant birth, growth, and change. Nothing stays at one place, one stage. Even I myself am just one of those in flux, and I myself do not exist anywhere as a solid entity. Even the awareness of myself is just a state of mind. There is nothing like a true me. I am nothing but a set of coincidental relations of several elements, such as sense and feeling, that form the phenomenon of myself, and the awareness of myself is just something formed by experiences. This "complete dismantling of the selfawareness" is at the core of Buddha's spiritual enlightenment. He entered the complete peace, so called "Nirvana," by reaching that stage. Here, dismantling of oneself means the permanent "liberation" from suffering/anxiety, and this is the structure of salvation in Buddhism (Miyasaka 1994; Nakata 2000, chapter 5).

Surrounding circumstances change. I myself also change every moment. My personality, preferences, way of thought, sense of values and desires, which I have considered as mine and were functioning in myself at one time in the past, are not necessarily applicable at the next moment. I myself, who I believe am myself, am just a mixture of those qualities. There is nothing firm that I can say: this is myself. In other words, "myself" is not a fixed substance. There is no true me. What does exist is the current state of my relations with the surroundings in which I am feeling, thinking, and acting. My physical body, emotion, thought, and feeling are changing every moment through interactions with my surroundings.

I myself am formed by the elements that I have experienced and felt, and there is no fixed substance in myself. Furthermore, there is no single element in my self-awareness that can exist separately by itself. All of the elements of my self exist on the basis of interdependence with other selves, society, the environment, all that is outside of me. I am a combination of my interactions with elements surrounding the phenomenon of myself at a moment in time.

2. Liberation from fixed self-awareness

When I accept this view about the essence of existence and living, I became aware of my "fixed self-awareness" and felt the necessity and possibility to disclose and to reform myself ceaselessly. There is no preset purpose in life. There is no fixed "true me" to be found or realized either. What exists is natural "links," which are appropriate at each

place and time. When I fix a goal of self-realization, it binds me and discriminates against others by a differentiated "justice." Therefore, I came to want to live my life doing what I should do for relations with my surroundings at each place and time wherever my goal is.

I came to the conclusion that in order to do that I need to think a great deal about the process in the first place. If changing relationships is the substance of living and the essence of existence, to think a great deal of the process of encounters and changing relations to my surroundings must mean to think a great deal about living. Nakata says that it is not wasting time and energy to think a great deal of each relation. If relation is the essence of existence, the process of establishing the relation is the end and means at the same time (Nakata 2000, chapter 7).

Then, how can I think a great deal about the process of changing relationships with my surroundings? In other words, how I can implement this process.

Usually we see everything from our own side only. Here I suggest that by objectively "viewing" each relation between my surroundings and myself from diversified viewpoints I will free myself from my fixed awareness. If I "think a great deal of" each relation with my surroundings I think this is the key to "become aware" of personal issues that I have not previously been aware of. Our daily awareness tends to be formed by the worldview centered on "me" and to be substantiated and fixed. However, when I am in distress and anguish concerning emerging serious problems, especially in human relations, I inevitably notice that there is a gap between what I want to be and what I am or between what I want others to be and what they are. Even what I consider to be the true me is notreally what I am but just something I have formed at my own convenience. This is the nature of the self-awareness problem.

Miyasaka says that my fixed awareness on myself also forms the "other's view of myself." A considerable part of what I consider others' views of me to be is actually a reflection of my own awareness, which is a mixture of how I want to be viewed and how I do not want to be viewed by others (Miyasaka 1994; Nakata 2000, chapter 5). My adherence to what is not myself is the deepest root-cause of my problems, distress, and

26

anguish. Through persistent introspection, I notice that my suffering, agony, and stress arise from my fixed awareness that does not accord to reality. In order to think a great deal of the process of my living, I need to liberate myself from my fixed awareness first, and to view each "encounter" and "relation" from diversified viewpoints at each time point so that I can objectively view myself in those diversified relations.

When I become liberated from my fixed self-awareness and succeed in viewing myself from diversified viewpoints, a link between an issue and me becomes visible and the issue starts to seem to be "my own issue." This is the moment of "awakening" to "my own issue." According to Nakata, when I notice my adherence to the "myself," I am liberated from it. This is the very moment of "awakening" and it is also the moment when I can feel that this worldview (of Buddhism) is true (Nakata 2000, chapter 6).

In an article entitled "Deai-ni-tsuite (About Encounters)" and published in *Asahi Shimbun* (*Tokyo*) on 8 February 2003, Shigeaki Hinohara, who is a ninety-one year old Christian and still the honorary director of St Luke's International Hospital in Tokyo, states:

The way of thinking and living of a person can be significantly influenced and changed by others whom he/she encounters. As if he/she were reborn, there are encounters that could change his/her sense of values, way of perception, and even life customs. And that kind of definitive "moment" of encounters with others can occur for anybody at any occasion in his/her daily life. Therefore, I want you to notice the moment of encounter with your eyes and mind open to everything. You can catch the vibration on your antenna by your sense of feeling, by viewing your own mind. I want you to think a great deal of encounters with others; you never know when they will come.

It is my interpretation that Hinohara is stating the importance of thinking a great deal about each process in daily life and the importance of liberating oneself from fixed self-awareness. I feel this especially in the sentences "[T]hat kind of definitive 'moment' of encounters with others can occur for anybody at any occasion in his/her daily life. Therefore, I want you to notice the moment of encounter with your eyes and mind open

to everything."

3. Kanpo

"Kanpo" is an eastern traditional methodology for self-observation. Its implementation is "to think a great deal of each process and have the moment of awakening."

How can I view each encounter and the relation with each issue from varied viewpoints in order to liberate myself from fixed awareness in my daily life so that a hidden link between the issue and myself will become visible and the issue will become my own? This is a question of changing one's worldview. It is not just a philosophical argument, it is a practical method of living.

In order to grasp myself and the world, I have explored oriental thought represented by Buddhism that explains the essence of this world by this expression, "All things are in flux and nothing is permanent." It is interesting to find that most of the methods used in the workshops for awareness in the East and the West have a relation, either direct or indirect, to "Kanpo," an eastern traditional methodology for self-observation that has its philosophical base in Buddhism.

As Nakata refers to his personal experience (Nakata 2000, chapter 3):

[W]hen my hidden face, which I have never been aware of, comes up from the bottom of my heart, that face is the unknown darkness and seems just a cluster of chaos or contradiction which does not accept rational analysis and/or judgment. "Kanpo methodology" is just to face the cluster of chaos or contradiction silently and to view it as it really is. I just keep on viewing how my heart feels and moves. The moment when I can accept the chaos and contradiction as they are comes all of a sudden. This very moment of internal turning is called "awakening." The darkness turns to light. The unawareness and superficial awareness, which have been broken up and contradict each other, get reconciled. And I myself appear as a whole.

Miyasaka points out that many methods used in awareness workshops are based on depth psychology/psychiatry which originated with Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung. Jung was

significantly influenced by the Tibetan Buddhism worldview. As a visualized structure of unawareness, those methods have a part of their basis in "Kanpo methodology." Many nonviolence trainings originating in Mahatma Gandhi's movement of nonviolence/nonobedience have also been formed and developed based on East Indian meditation methods. At the basis of practical techniques used in participatory development and Paulo Freire's education, there is also an eastern "Kanpo methodology," and it is not easy to dismantle the door of unawareness without this methodology (Miyasaka 1994; Nakata 2000, chapter 5).

<u>4. Naikan</u>

Here, as an exercise to practice "Kanpo methodology," I introduce a unique Japanese method of psychotherapy, "Naikan," to which I was introduced by my psychiatrist and have continued using for almost five years. "Naikan" was originally intended as form of psychotherapy, but I find it is effective in eliciting objective viewpoints through replaying in my mind past interactions with my surroundings so that I can become aware of my own issue by myself.

Both East and West perceive that the gap between superficial awareness and the unconscious is a major cause of neurosis or psychosomatic disease. In terms of treatment and counseling eastern and western methods are similar.

The profound impact "Naikan method" had on many individuals resulted in its use in other areas of Japanese society. Today there are about 40 Naikan centers in Japan and the Naikan method is used in mental health counseling, addiction treatment, rehabilitation of prisoners, as well as in schools and business. It has also taken root in Europe, where Naikan centers are established in Austria and Germany. The Naikan method was also introduced to the U.S. in the 1970s.

Gregg Krech's book describes the concept and method of Naikan from a practitioner's viewpoint (Krech 2002).

Naikan is a Japanese word that means "inside looking" or "introspection." A more poetic translation is "seeing oneself with the mind's eye." It is a structured method of self-reflection that helps us to understand ourselves, our relationships, and the fundamental nature of human existence. Naikan was developed by Ishin Yoshimoto, a devout Buddhist of the Jodo-Shinshu sect in Japan. His strong religious spirit led him to practice "Mishirabe," an arduous and difficult method of meditation. Wishing to make such introspection available to others, he developed Naikan as a method that could be more widely practiced.

The Naikan method broadens our view of reality through asking the following three simple questions of ourselves.

-What have I received from ____? -What have I given to ____? -What troubles and difficulties have I caused ____?

These questions provide a foundation for reflecting on relationships with others such as parents, friends, teachers, siblings, work associates, children, and partners. We can reflect on ourselves even in relation to objects which serve us such as jobs and hobbies. In each case, we search for a more realistic view of our conduct and of the give and take which has occurred in the relationship.

In examining our relationship with another, we begin by looking at what we have received from that person. My wife made me fresh squeezed orange juice this morning. A colleague sent me a calligraphy pen. A man at the motor vehicle office gave me an application for renewal of my driver's license. These are all simple, clear descriptions of reality. The other person's attitude or motivation does not change the fact that I benefited from his or her effort. Often we take such things for granted. Through our daily life, we hurry giving little attention to all those "little" things we are receiving. But are these things really "little"? It only seems so because we are being supported and our attention is elsewhere. But when we run out of gas or lose our glasses, these little things grab our attention and suddenly we realize their true importance. As we list what we receive from

another person, we are grounded in the simple reality of how we have been supported and cared for. In many cases, we may be surprised at the length or importance of such a list and a deeper sense of gratitude and appreciation may be naturally stimulated. Without a conscious shift of our attention to the myriad ways in which the world supports us, we risk our attention being trapped by only problems and obstacles, leaving us to linger in suffering and self-pity.

Next we take a look at the other side of the equation. What have I given to the other person? This tells us what our balance is. If we take the efforts of others for granted, we live as if we were "entitled" to such efforts. If we resent it when people do not fulfill our expectations, we live as if we deserve whatever we want. As we reflect on our relationships, one by one, we begin to see the reality of our life.

The third and final question is the most difficult of all. Mostly we are aware of how other people cause us inconvenience or difficulty. Perhaps somebody cuts us off in traffic, or maybe the person in front of us at the post office has a lot of packages and we are kept waiting. We notice such incidents with great proficiency. But when we are the source of the trouble or inconvenience, we often don't notice it at all. Or if we do, we think, "it was an accident" or "I didn't mean it," or perhaps we simply dismiss it as "not such a big deal." But this question is truly important. Yoshimoto suggested that when we reflect on ourselves, we spend at least 60 percent of the time considering how we have caused others trouble. If we are not willing to see and accept those events in which we have been the source of others' suffering, then we cannot truly know ourselves or the grace by which we live.

Motoyama, my instructor of Naikan, explains that what is important is to look at myself from the viewpoints of various others. Diversified viewpoints lead to a broad view, help me become aware of my values and show me what I should do. It is a subjective feeling to think "I know," but there are many levels concerning how deeply I understand. In the Naikan method, it is thought that real understanding is naturally accompanied by actions. Therefore, the Naikan method appreciates attitude rather than knowledge. The attitude in question should be something natural, surging from the bottom of one's heart.
When I practice Naikan repeatedly, my perception of things in the past changes. The essence of things is so deep and diverse, so we must not interpret anything easily. Just reviewing facts repeatedly enables me to "understand in a real sense." Thinking that "I know it" discourages repeated review and thus stifles development of understanding; this leads to a shallow understanding of "it."

5. Mechanism of chain of awakening

Problems in human relations arise because both parties in the relation have problems, and the only solution is to view the problems from either side. Problems are rooted in relationships. If I avoid looking squarely at what the problems are and how they are connected to each other, I cannot improve the relation in a real sense; I cannot even become aware of my part in the problem. The gap between my self-awareness and what I am actually becomes obvious through my interactions with others. When I view my interactions with others I become aware of my own fixed self-awareness. I have described the method I use for "self-awakening. Next, I explain how my self-awakening induces other's awakening, and I introduce the mechanism of a "chain of awakening."

In order to prompt another's awakening I must show that I myself am aware. If I point out to a person that there is a big gap between his/her self-awareness and what he/she actually is, that person is sure to become defensive, thus locking up his/her awareness even more tightly. The best way to prompt his/her awakening is for me to demonstrate the process in which I become liberated from my own fixed self-awareness.

When my self-awareness changes through my awakening, my perception about others changes. My awakening will cause subtle changes in my relationships with others and in my attitude and mood. These changes will be observed by others and can thus make others more aware of their own fixed awareness toward me. Nakata says that I need to work on myself in order to work on others so others can see the development possibilities (Nakata 2000, chapter 7).

This action to tackle my own problem prompts others surrounding myself to feel

sympathy, to become aware of their own problems, and to eventually tackle them in a natural way. This is the principle of "If you change, your surroundings change." Then their actions to tackle their own problems prompt "the people surrounding them" to tackle their own problems ... and so on—a "chain of awakening." The hardest part is that I need to show others first that I really understand in order to prompt their understanding, this is very difficult to do.

I found three articles that express the principle that my own change could lead to others' changes through a "chain of awakening." The first two articles touch upon the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the United States, familiar to most people as "9.11," and the U.S.-led "war against terrorism."

In an article entitled "Heiwa-ni-tsuite (About Peace)" and published in *Asahi Shimbun* (*Tokyo*) on 1 February 2003, Shigeaki Hinohara says:

It is difficult to ask somebody else to change in the way I want. If I forgive the person and "I" also change, that prompts the changes of the person and the situation. I have witnessed those cases during my sixty five year life as a medical doctor. If violence bereaved a person of his/her beloved, he/she has a hatred for the person who employed the violence. He/she even wants to impose the same pain onto the person as what his/her beloved suffered. I assume that the U.S. after September 11 is quite in that situation. I, however, would like to ask Americans to look at the course of the citizens in Hiroshima and Nagasaki who suffered atomic bombs. The bereaved must have been disturbed by hatred thinking of their lost families right after their sufferings. They, however, have developed their emotions not into the form of "hatred" but into the acts for peace. Vengeance produces just a chain of hatred. In order to terminate this chain, it is the only and the most courageous act to "forgive" even hateful persons.

In an article entitled "9.11-Izoku 'Senso Yamete' (The 9.11 Bereaved want to 'Stop the War')" and published in *Asahi Shimbun (Tokyo)* on 15 February 2003, Daisuke Nakai reports that an anti-war citizens' group of about 80 families bereaved in the September 11

terrorism is visiting Afghanistan and Iraq to appeal for peace. The name of the group is "Peaceful Tomorrows" and this is the first anniversary of its establishment. The group is petitioning to explore a solution through dialogue under the slogan of "Do not war under the names of our families."

The third article is about the abduction of Japanese nationals by North Korea. The official admission and apology of North Korea in September of 2002 that it had abducted Japanese nationals sent a shock wave through Korean communities in Japan. There has been a lasting distrust and criticism against their home country's behavior from ethnic organizations in Japan . At the same time, the issue also raised arguments about how they should think Japan's past colonial rule of Korea. Then, the news of North Korea's abductions was followed by harassment of Korean children in Japan and most Korean people in Japan were forced to live their lives feeling ashamed and afraid. These situations raised the level of Koreans' anxiety and irritation at the same time.

In an interview-article entitled "Yureru Zainichi-Shakai (Disturbed Korean Community in Japan)" and published in *Asahi Shimbun (Tokyo)* on 22 November 2002, Si-john Kim, a North Korean poet who has been living in Japan for a half century, said:

I have spoken out in the media confessing "I have yielded to self-hatred feeling ashamed and angry. I am really ashamed as I am the same race." However, if we say now "Japan treated us Koreans more cruelly," that would just become an ethnic emotional confrontation. We Koreans who suffered enforced taking as a race by Japan during wartime can really understand the grief of Japanese abductees' families. I have decided to think that Japanese people will also become aware that Korean people experienced hundreds of times of grief and that the tragedy of this abduction could bring the opportunity to look at ourselves on each side if we sincerely face the grief of Japanese families.

Japanese people who criticize Japan's unsettled past are being accused of being "traitors to the home county." On the other hand, there are not a few Japanese people who say "Why do you behave so humbly, Mr. Kim? Japan treated Koreans

more cruelly." First, work on myself. Even if it is my home country, I must not side with what I am not convinced of so easily. If we can share the will between Japanese and Koreans, the basis of those two nations will change. That will will have a strong impact. Korean people in Japan also have to create the opportunities by which people in North Korea will be able to become aware.

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Chapter III: A New interpretation of the NGO phenomenon

In this chapter, I come back to the analysis of NGOs. I interpret the strong NGO movement from the viewpoint of "ownership" and "awakening" explained in the previous chapter. Then I explain how NGOs are assuming the role of "community" in our society through the growing participation of individuals with "ownership" of issues.

1. NGO as a place of awakening and ownership

In a new interpretation of the NGO, I try applying the "mechanism of awakening" and looking at an NGO as a place of collected individual ownership. I look at the character of the NGO as an entity where individual citizens take actions at their local levels to resolve their own issues. I define the NGO as a place comprised of individuals with ownership based on "self-awakening."

If individuals in an NGO have ownership of issues based on self awakening, it is also possible and likely that the NGO is a place where the mechanism of "chain of awakening" is working in today's society.

As an example to prove the validity of my interpretation of NGOs, I introduce Nakata's experience of personal awakening through his career as an aid worker. I introduced Nakata in Chapter II, and described how he was faced with a the questions of a Bangladeshi farmer: "Why do you come from afar all the way to help us who are complete strangers to you? What is your benefit to do such thing?" Had he not been able to find satisfactory answers to these questions he would have stalled there. Nakata confesses in his book:

In Bangladesh, I could not become aware of the real problem of a gap between my fixed self-awareness and my real existence connecting to my surroundings. If I had become aware of the problem, I would have been able to liberate myself from my fixed self-awareness and to find what to do. Even if the awakening of mine had been little, that must have affected my colleagues and friends and brought me new relations with them. But I could not resolve my problem because I could not become

aware. I wish I could have answered the questions from the Bangladeshi farmer as follows:

"From the first, we do not have anything to do with each other. I do make efforts to resolve my problems. You do make efforts to resolve your problems. That is everything. On the other hand, it is also true that no problem is exclusively mine or yours. I cannot become aware of my problem by myself, and neither can you. It is because the existence of myself consists not of fixed substances but of relations with others. That is why I would like to talk with you about the relation between us who are sharing this current moment and place. I would like to discuss with you here and now whether or not you really need aid, whether or not it is aid that we should really work on, and what kind of real problems exist on each side behind our relation. What about you?"

If I had deepened our talk at that time, I might have become aware earlier that we live in the same era sharing the same problems. We might have been able to attain true interactions and make a next step forward with fresh minds over our existing economic disparity. However, I avoided real talks, unconsciously entrenching myself in the role of project leader. By imposing on myself self-restriction as a local representative of an aid agency, I missed so many opportunities of encounter, which could also have been opportunities for me to become awake.

My problem was that I was adhering to the structural relation of a rich Japanese aid staff and a poor Bangladeshi farmer and fixed it as part of my self-awareness. That prevented me from behaving in a heart-to-heart manner at each time and place as a person. I dealt with their problems only as "problems." If I had been aware that the issue of poverty is linked with the issue of justice, I could not have argued that problems exist only on their side (Nakata 2000, chapter 6).

Nakata continues to confess:

It was finally made clear why I could not stay away from volunteer/NGO circles. I

wanted to solve my own problem. The commitment of myself to overseas volunteer activities was the process through which I became aware of my own problems and the related problems of our society. (Nakata 2000, chapter 6)

Nakata's concludes:

I could not find any necessity in myself that I have to extend a helping hand to the poor and weak. I could give up searching for a sense of absolute justice in myself such as anger at injustice or sympathy with others. What I could find is my personal reason why I still adhere to volunteer activities. By having relation to others, I can find my own problem and the way of solution to it (self-awakening). I can also hope that the way of solution to my problem might be able to contribute to solving others' problems (chain of awakening). This leads to today's significance of participation in volunteer/NGO/NPO activities. (Nakata 2000, chapter 7)

Nakata's awakening supports my assumption that the NGO is a place where the mechanism of "chain of awakening" is working. A movement spreads society-wide through personal sympathy. The year of 1995 is called "the Volunteer Revolution" or "the First Year of Volunteer" in Japan, due to relief activities by volunteer workers in the Hanshin-Awaji Great Earthquake of that year. The 1995 earthquake had a significant impact on Japanese society both in the scale of the disaster and in the broad base of participants in the recovery. The massive participation in this epoch-making phenomenon can be explained by the mechanism of "chain of awakening." Faced with the devastation, a continuous influx of volunteers traveled across the country to stricken areas; each of the volunteer workers paused, took this disaster as his/her own issue, and considered what he/she should/could do. Then they took various actions.

In other words, encounters with a ruinous situation prompted the personal awakening of many individuals; these individuals took actions which stimulated the personal awakening and action of many others. In this way a "chain of awakening" successfully took place on a nation-wide scale. This is an example of the strong potential of NGO activities to spread awareness of issues, to encourage ownership of issues, and to foster

attempts to solve issues.

2. SHARE

Here, I give an example of a Japanese NGO which reflects my argument of "awakening" and "ownership."

It was after the peak of political/social mass movement in the 1960s and 1970s that the name of "NGO" became widely recognized in Japanese society. The so-called "Indochina" refugee issue in 1979 is called "the First Year of Japanese NGOs." Japanese NGOs became active in 1980 providing relief for refugees from the Cambodian Civil War (which arose from the Vietnam War). Wakai points out that Japanese NGO activities began with work overseas; they were not an extension of domestic activities in Japan. (Wakai [2001] 2002a, 39-40) Today, however, we can see in many cases that their long-time overseas activities have extended to domestic affairs and that NGOs are coping with more and more local issues around them.

I introduce SHARE (Service for the Health in Asian & African Regions) as an example of a Japanese NGO, the domestic and overseas activities of which are closely linked and mutually influenced.

In January 2004 I was dispatched from my ministry to participate in a two-week "NGO Internship Program" which intended to promote better understanding between NGOs and the Japanese Foreign Ministry. I chose to be dispatched to SHARE and thus experienced some of their activities, helping with their daily domestic work. SHARE is a nonprofit voluntary organization which works to improve the health of people in need. It was founded in 1983 by doctors, nurses, and students who were motivated by their experiences in developing countries. By providing medical care, training, and advice, SHARE supports people and communities to overcome health problems. They promote access to essential health care services with full community involvement. SHARE advocates an equal partnership between those who support and those in need. They stress that SHARE aims to achieve a fairer and healthier world through working with people.

The pillars of SHARE's activities are in Thailand, Cambodia, and East Timor, with domestic activities in Japan. Since 1990 SHARE Thailand has conducted the Primary Health Care Program in Ubonratchathani province in northeastern Thailand. Training and health education are provided to health staff, village health volunteers, and villagers on issues such as diarrhea, hygiene, HIV/AIDS prevention, and so forth. SHARE has been working in rural Cambodia since 1988. In 1992 SHARE Cambodia started the Primary Health Care program in the Khsach Kandal district of Kandal province to improve rural health conditions. Six and a half years later this program was handed over to local health workers, and a new program was started in the Srey Santhor district of Kanpong Cham province in 1998. SHARE promotes health education in villages and schools, and training for local health workers as well as village people.

In November 1999 SHARE conducted research in East Timor to seek the possibility of a new project. In January 2000 emergency relief activities were started at a clinic in Dili city and in surrounding areas as a support to the outreach medical caravan. In April 2000 SHARE sent midwives, doctors, and nurses to launch a Primary Health Care project in two areas in the Ermera district. Since 1991 SHARE has provided free medical counseling and medical check-ups for foreign workers and day laborers in Japan. SHARE also sponsors seminars on international cooperation issues, campaigns for HIV/AIDS prevention, study tours to SHARE's overseas project sites, and many other events.

I would like to relate three stories experienced during my internship. These stories symbolically express the character of the NGO as a place of "awakening."

One day, I asked Dr. Honda, a representative of SHARE, how SHARE, a Japanese NGO originating in relief works for Indochina refugees, developed its activities from overseas to domestic ground. Dr. Honda answered:

To tell the truth, there was no plan or philosophy to start our domestic activities. A nurse happened to attend a report session of our activities in Indochina and she invited me to their medical counseling and check-up for foreign workers and day laborers. It was just a result of coincidence.

Dr. Honda's story explains the natural development of SHARE's health activities from overseas to domestic ground as an "encounter" with a nurse and program of a medical counseling and check-up for foreign workers and day laborers.

I questioned Ms. Aoki, who is in charge of the East Timor Project, as follows:

What if I say it is not the issue of us Japanese but the issue of the people of East Timor to improve the health situation in East Timor? If so, what are we Japanese pursuing through extending our hands to improve the health situation in East Timor? What is the meaning for us Japanese? What is our own issue that we are facing through committing ourselves to the work?

Ms. Aoki answered:

I decided to participate in SHARE when I experienced a kind of anger at the excessive inequality in the situations between the kid I was tutoring in Japan and the children in developing countries. I could not stop myself from getting angry at the excessive disparity thinking such an inequality should not be allowed in this world.

From Ms. Aoki's answer I observe that her personal "awakening" to her own issue caused her action of participating in international cooperation activities and that her participation expands the activities of SHARE as a result.

Finally, I would like to recount the comment of a male student who belonged to my discussion group in a high school which we visited for our HIV/AIDS workshop as part of SHARE's domestic activities:

Even though we know that the issue of HIV/AIDS is very important, we can hardly take it as our own issue until we are infected with it. For example, we do not readily take preventive measures against flu until we are infected with it although we know the prevention is very important. We know the importance, but we feel as if it were other people's affairs. It is very difficult for us to take the issue truly as our own.

I think his comment is honest and true. He points out the essence of the challenge we all face, not only in the issue of HIV/AIDS but also in every problem of this society. Through the issue of HIV/AIDS, this student perceived the difficulty to acquire his "ownership" to any issue. It was as if he asserted that the difficulty itself was his own issue. Perhaps he had "become aware" of his issue through the "encounter" with this HIV/AIDS workshop.

Through the three stories introduced above we can observe how SHARE has developed its activities from overseas to domestic ground and how both overseas and domestic activities are linked today. A common thread in the first two stories is the sense that a personal "encounter" led to an "awakening" which led to SHARE activities. In the third story we can identify with the common problem of ownership perception and hope that the student's encounter with the SHARE workshop stimulated his awareness. Hence it can be said that NGO activities help to spread awareness of society's problems. This awareness can lead to ownership of these problems and actions to bring about their solutions.

During my internship in SHARE, I was impressed with the importance of thinking a great deal of each "encounter" and of "becoming aware" of my own issue that appears because of the "encounter." Burdened by the enormous paperwork of the bureaucracy in which I work, I am forced every day to simply "process" each piece of work without "becoming aware" of my own issue that I have to face through the work. The two weeks I spent in SHARE reminded me that I should live my life thinking a great deal of each "encounter."

3. NGO as a new form of community

Finally, I explain how the NGO is assuming the role of "community" in our society through the growing participation of individuals who have obtained ownership of the issues they are trying to solve.

As NGO/volunteer activities become more and more popular through the "chain of awakening," Nakata also comes to the conclusion that NGOs are assuming today the role

that our communities used to play (Nakata 2000, chapter 7). Although traditional communities used to be a place where citizens developed their capacity to resolve their own issues, the sense of "community" has declined and so has citizens' sense of responsibility toward the community. "Ownership" is now relegated to property and material goods; "ownership" of issues has been forgotten. NGOs, however, are reviving that latter sense of ownership.

To make Nakata's view more clear, I give the example of Japan's official development assistance (ODA). In recent years this program has been argued about and reviewed in order to make its implementation more effective. The source of Japan's past unsuccessful development aid may lie in the way it is implemented. We have directly applied the domestic systems of public works in our society to our ODA in recipient countries whose systems themselves have fundamental problems.

When we review the fifty years after World War II, we find that Japanese bureaucrats have never seriously tried to know the real intentions of local residents, neither have they appreciated the reality of local communities or listened to hear what is behind the residents' voices or tried to determine what is actually causing the visible problems. We cannot expect these bureaucrats in charge of development aid to do in societies overseas what they have not tried to do in our own society. It is hardly possible that they could understand what they have never understood or implemented such as the "participation of local residents" and the "promotion of self-reliance." This is quite apparent when we see the current ruined situation of rural areas in Japan.

At the same time, these realities reflect us: citizens who have lost the capability to resolve social problems for ourselves. We dedicated ourselves to economic activities, entrusting all public policies to governments. We devoted ourselves to producing and consuming, leaving the resolution of public affairs in government hands. As a result of neglecting to resolve problems such as education, an aging society, family, environment, security, we have lost our capacity to cope with them.

Our unsuccessful ODA to developing countries reflects our citizens' indifference to

public affairs and our incompetence as members of the community—the most serious problem brought about by an economy-prioritized society. When we review our Japanese society especially for fifty years after WWII, we find that its government-led social system has promoted the private sector's dependence on government, delayed the private sector's independence, and hindered the establishment of self-responsibility/ownership while elevating its significant performance in contributing to Japanese economic growth.

We have been following governments' guidance/directions unquestioningly and have avoided self-responsibility. When problems have appeared, we criticized governments without trying to resolve those problems ourselves. We find the principles of selfresponsibility and ownership of a democratic society have been forgotten.

When ordinary people infrequently exercise their legitimate power as an electorate, they tend to lose their political interests, evident in the dropping trend of voting rates, especially in developed countries. Voters feel their powerlessness on political issues. The limited people in our society, the politicians, bureaucrats, media, and some businesspeople have exclusive access to the political process to reflect their interests; we see the harmful effects of this reality in the lack of ownership and self-responsibility of the ordinary people.

Today this social system centered on the government sector is facing system fatigue. One of the primary factors of the growth of NGOs, as Salamon pointed out, is "crisis of the welfare state" (Salamon 1994). We face the danger that democracy is getting to be a matter of form. We need to revitalize the essence of democracy, which is people's active interest and participation, through providing ordinary people with the opportunity to connect to political and societal issues so that they become aware of "being constituents of our society" with the mind to support our society and take actions to that end.

Traditionally, it was the role of "communities" to cultivate awareness of social issues in members of society and to gather support to deal with these issues. In today's Japanese society we cannot find the "communities" in the way they used to be. Especially in urban areas where 70% of the entire Japanese population resides, the so-called "community-

like" communities do not exist anymore. Consequently, we have lost our minds, capabilities, and skills to resolve our problems on our own, the most important function of a community. Now we need to review the function that the place of "community" used to play and need to rebuild a resource that will be able to play a similar function.

Nerfin analyzed modern society by classifying it into three systems. What we have described by the term "public" consists of the "official" part of governments and the "common" part that is difficult for governments to assume. In addition, there is the "profit" part in our society which comprises our economic activities to support and improve our lives. The "common" part is the place where daily problems occur and are resolved. Since World War II Japan, as the whole country, has dedicated itself to "profit" activities and has succeeded well. The people also have been busy in "profit" activities and have paid little attention to the "common" part. As a result the "common" part of Japanese society has severely declined. Now, facing the "public" problems of our societies and homes one after another, we learn the lesson that there is a "common" part that the "official" part of governments cannot fully take over.

Then, what can we expect to play the role that the "common" part has traditionally played? I think the NGO will take the role of the "common" part. NGOs, where active individuals encounter, work together, and get united in a shared purpose, have the potential to rebuild the "common" part of society.

For example, in the case of the Hanshin-Awaji Great Earthquake that killed about six thousand people in January of 1995, 1.4 million citizens volunteered for relief activities, an unprecedented number in the history of Japanese volunteer activities. According to a survey by *the Asahi Shimbun* newspaper, two thirds of these relief workers had never experienced volunteer activities before. Another survey by *the Mainichi Shimbun* newspaper revealed that eighty-six percent of the Japanese electorate had made a donation and/or participated in disaster relief. This is the reason the year 1995 is called "the Volunteer Revolution" or "the First Year of Volunteer" in Japan.

The earthquake disaster was a turning point. Since then, in the Kobe-Hanshin region, it is

said that citizens have been aware and taken actions, and the bud of new "community" seems to have been growing modestly but steadily. The volunteer groups are diversified in their organizational histories, structures, purposes and styles, and many of them are so small that they cannot employ a full-time staff. But they exude the feeling of a new generation, the budding of a new society and life-style. Thus, the challenge to play the role of the "common" part is unexpectedly stimulating the revival of the "community." Participation in various activities provides people with opportunities to realize themselves as members of local regions.

The disastrous Hanshin-Awaji Great Earthquake proved that independent citizenship, including ownership and self-responsibility, can become active even in Japan if the appropriate opportunities to demonstrate the public mind and spirit are given.

Conclusion

The significance of today's strong NGO movement lies in its individual constituents with their sense of ownership of various issues and their actions taken. The ownership of issues gives the individuals a sense of fulfillment. The key to acquire that ownership is the individual's "awakening" to his or her own issue. "Kanpo-methodology" and its practical "Naikan-method" are the tools that help me liberate myself from my fixed self-awareness, and that liberation causes a moment of "awakening" in me. The Kanpo-methodology and the Naikan-method are philosophically based on the worldview of Buddhism which regards "change and its process" as the essence of living and existing and thinks a great deal of each "encounter and its relation."

When we review today's strong NGO movement from the viewpoint of "awakening" and "ownership," we find that an NGO consists of a growing number of people with the ownership of issues, and I here interpret the NGO as a place of ownership where "the mechanism of awakening" is working in today's society. This could lead to a new form of community.

1. Significance of this thesis

As I mentioned in the Introduction, the original idea for this thesis started from my personal quest for the answer to three fundamental questions: How can I live my daily life with the sense of fulfillment? How can I interpret the significance of today's NGO activities? and How can I marry my career in NGOs to a career as a civil servant in the Japanese Foreign Ministry?

When I look back at the original questions, I think I can say that I succeeded in finding the answers. I have found the key to a sense of fulfillment, which is to obtain an "ownership" of each issue, the process of my living, and my entire life. The key to obtain "ownership" is "awakening," that is, being liberated from my fixed-awareness. The Kanpo-methodology and the Naikan-method are practical tools which lead me to the "awakening" and thus to "ownership." I have presented a new interpretation to today's strong NGO movement by reviewing it from the viewpoint of "awakening" and "ownership." I have shown that the NGO is a place where the "mechanism of awakening" is working and where a new sense of community is arising in today's society.

This thesis was written as a direct result of a personal quest to answer the three philosophical and practical questions above. The answers to these questions were revealed through contemplating NGOs with a fresh viewpoint. I propose that the significance of this thesis lies in the coincidence of my personal search and the revelation of a new social agenda—the fulfillment by NGOs of a role that has become vacant in our society, the "community."

2. Future tasks: the difficulty to continue checking ourselves

It is a very strict way of living, trying to become aware of the encounter each moment brings about, to acquire ownership of my own issue in each encounter, and to take actions as an individual to solve the issue. Facing the severe realities of our society, there could be a certain limitations in that others also conduct self-reflection through such personal activities as Kanpo/Naikan methodology. It might be too naive and optimistic to expect the awareness of individuals to extend further to organizational and societal levels. It is, however, this strict attitude of checking our own way of living all the time that is expected and needed for NGO members and volunteers.

Nakata says it is not predictable yet whether volunteer activities will actually take root in our lives and change our society and way of living. That will depend on how the role and significance of volunteer activities are perceived and interpreted. Therefore, we need to deepen our thoughts on volunteer activities and gain a firm foothold (Nakata 2000, 65).

Wakai also shows the same awareness of the issue by insisting that we have to keep asking ourselves the questions of for what and for whom NGOs exist (Wakai [2001] 2002a, 37). He says we cannot discuss/join NGOs without asking these questions. Unfortunately it can be seen that many NGOs around the world have forgotten these fundamental questions, and as a result these NGOs "ignore" the people who are at bottom level in society and operate for their own convenience and purpose. This is the negative

side of NGOs that is beyond the scope of this thesis. The questions of "for what" and "for whom" are important and inevitable for NGOs (and for government organizations and other institutions). When NGOs become a dead letter and do not notice their alienation from people, they do not stand on the side of the people any more.

It can be seen in their efforts toward self-disclosure and self-reform whether NGOs keep checking their "raison d'être" and purpose as organizations. It has been said today that the accountability of governments and business corporations is not sufficient, and the same criticism can be applied to NGOs. Some NGOs are not accountable to anyone. Unlike state representatives, NGO personnel are not elected and therefore one has to question who they represent. Because external checking is not as effective for NGOs as it is for other sectors, more accountability is required for NGOs than for other sectors. Furthermore, in order for NGOs to solve various issues toward building better societies, NGOs have to make efforts to reform their own "internal societies." Without self-reform, NGOs cannot advocate how external societies should be.

This work to keep exposing itself to internal/external pressures and requirements in an open manner can stimulate the organizational missions and visions of an NGO; it can bring about opportunities for self-awakening as an organization as well as a measure of self-reform. NGO members should ask themselves: Are the long-lasting organizational visions, missions, and actual activities still matching today's needs? Should we work on something else that has newly emerged?

As Sato also points out the importance of NGO's self-disclosure and self-reform:

[T]hey bear the risk to become an organization for their own unconsciously if they close themselves to the outside and try to go their own way. If they fix their system for stabilizing their organizations and activities, their organizations start bureaucratizing and members' energies for activities start cooling down.

The other way around, if they succeed in preventing their bureaucratization by staying in the field, exposing themselves to the outside, accepting external encounters as stimulations, and conducting self-reform without fear of changing, they can at least refresh members' energies for activities. The continuation of organizations and/or activities requires their own regenerations and changes. (Sato [2001] 2002, 160-161)

It could contribute to this self-disclosure and self-reform as an organization if each individual member of an NGO were to conduct a critical self-reflection method including Kanpo and Naikan methodology when carrying out his or her tasks.

Globalization accelerates further changes in various sectors including economy, politics, and culture. These changes include extended, market-driven environments and consumerism as well as strengthened pressures of competition. Under such environments, the mobilization of people, goods, and information speeds up, and this phenomenon should be considered not something good or bad, but something granted. In this fast-moving situation problems in individual/organization/state relationships can arise because it is difficult for individuals/organizations/states to stop and contemplate their relationship with their surroundings. Reflection on encounters with others is essential to get an objective view of oneself based on diversified viewpoints although reflection takes time and is hence very difficult in fast-moving environments.

Therefore, there is value for us to slow down and reflect on ourselves. I am convinced of this from my personal experiences. These experiences include my transformative event introduced in the Introduction of this thesis and my current daily experience, working under pressure in the Japanese Foreign Ministry. Conducting self-reflection is not something adversarial to globalization and its accompanying phenomena but it is something complementary through which individuals and their constituted organizations/societies/states counter/modify the harmful effects the speed of globalization brings about.

The answer to my personal quest is simply to take the way of ceaseless self-disclosure and self-reform through self-awakening and ownership. Regardless of whether I am in the position of an NGO worker or a government official, this is the way of living that allows me to take action with the issues I face every day. Nakata's question, "how it is possible

50

to keep walking along this steep way of ceaseless self-disclosure and self-reform?" increases in importance for both individuals and organizations. We can hope the "chain of awakening" will spread globally as more individuals and organizations find self awakening and ownership of issues.

Endnotes

1. Jesuit Social Center, Asia-Gakuin, Shapla Neer (posted to Dacca and Tokyo), Secretariat of Local Relief NGOs' Association for Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake Disaster (Acting Secretary-General), Save the Children Japan (Secretary-General), Participatory Development Research Institute (Representative) and Citizen's Activity Center Kobe (Chair of the Steering Committee)

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