

Name: Pilvi Ahonen

Student number: 70457

Date: 9.1.2012

PRO GRADU THESIS

**Animal Lovers, Bridge-Builders and  
Supervising Watchdogs:**

Framing and Civil Society Construction by Japanese  
Pro-animal Organizations in the Kansai and Tokyo Areas

Centre for East Asian Studies

Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Turku

UNIVERSITY OF TURKU

Centre for East Asian Studies/Faculty of Social Sciences

AHONEN PILVI: Animal Lovers, Bridge-Builders, and Supervising Watchdogs:  
Framing and Civil Society Construction by Japanese Pro-Animal Organizations in  
the Kansai and Tokyo Areas

Pro gradu -thesis, 178 pages, 6 pages appendices

East Asian Studies

January 2012

.....  
**Abstract**

Unlike their counterparts in Europe and America, the citizen organizations acting for the well-being of animals in Japan have not received scholarly attention. In this research, I explore the activities of twelve Japanese pro-animal organizations in Tokyo and Kansai area from the perspective of social movement and civil society studies. The concept of a ‘pro-animal organization’ is used to refer generally to the collectives promoting animal well-being.

By using the collective action frame analysis and the three core framing tasks – diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational – as the primarily analytical tools, I explore the grievances, tactics, motivational means, constructions of agency and identity as well as framing of civil society articulated in the newsletters and the interviews of the twelve organizations I interviewed in Japan in 2010. As the frame construction is always done in relation to the social and political context, I study how the organizations construct their roles as civil society actors in relation to other actors, such as the state, and the idea of citizen activism.

The deficiencies in the animal welfare law and lack of knowledge among the public are identified as the main grievances. The primary tactic to overcome these problems was to educate and inform the citizens and authorities, because most organizations lack the channels to influence politically. The audiences were mostly portrayed as either ignorant bystanders or potential adherents. In order to motivate people to join their cause and to enforce the motivation within the organization, the organizations emphasized their uniqueness, proved their efficiency, claimed credit and celebrated even small improvements.

The organizations tended to create three different roles for citizen pro-organizations in civil society: reactive, apolitical and emphatic animal lovers concentrating on saving individual animals, proactive, educative bridge-builders seeking to establish equal collaborative relations with authorities, and corrective, supervising watchdogs demanding change in delinquencies offending animal rights. Based on the results of this research, I suggest that by studying how and why the different relations between civil society and the governing actors of the state are constructed, a more versatile approach to citizens’ activism in its context can be achieved.

Keywords: Japan, animal welfare, animal rights, collective action frame, civil society, citizen organization, social movement organization

## Table of Contents

Abbreviations and Japanese names .....	i
Introduction .....	1
1 Frame analysis .....	8
1.1 Constructing collective action frames .....	9
1.2 Core framing tasks .....	11
1.3 Framing and context .....	14
2 Civil society as a facilitating and restrictive context .....	18
2.1 Regulating political environment and its influence .....	21
2.2 Constructing meanings of civil society .....	26
3 Animal protection and management in Japan .....	30
4 Data collection and research methods .....	36
5 Profiles of the pro-animal organizations .....	41
6 Analysis: Pro-animal organizations' framing efforts .....	52
6.1 Name and self-definition as components of framing .....	52
6.2 Diagnostic framing .....	60
6.3 Prognostic framing .....	82
6.4 Us and Them: audiences, agency, and identity .....	124
6.5 Motivational framing .....	132
6.6 Framing civil society .....	145
Conclusion .....	159
REFERENCES .....	164
Appendix 1: Questionnaire .....	179

## Abbreviations and Japanese names

- ALIVE** All Live for Viable Environment  
NPO法人 地球生物会議
- Angels** Dog Rescue Team Angels  
NPO法人 動物愛護団体「エンジェルズ」
- ARC** Animal Rights Center  
NPO法人 アニマルライツセンター
- ARK** Animal Refuge Kansai  
NPO法人 アニマルレフュジ関西
- ARK Tokyo** 東京アーク
- ARSF** Animal Rescue System Fund  
アニマルレスキューシステム基金
- CAPIN** Citizens for Animal Protection, Ibaraki Network  
NPO法人 動物愛護を考える茨城県民ネットワーク
- JAVA** Japan Anti-vivisection Association  
NPO法人 動物実験の廃止求める会
- JAWS** Japan Animal Welfare Society  
公益社団法人 日本動物福祉協会
- JSPCA** Japan Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals  
財団法人 日本動物愛護協会
- Knots** PIIA Knots  
公益社団法人ノッツ
- Lifeboat** NPO法人 犬と猫のためのライフボート

## Introduction

In the summer of 2008, my friends and I were walking in a neighborhood of Shibuya in Tokyo that is known for its nightlife and fashion stores. It was approximately 10 p.m. and we were looking for a place to eat and familiarizing ourselves with the neon lights of the hectic city. I noticed a pink sign above a brightly-lit shop advertising puppies and kittens. In front of the shop a crowd of people was looking through the windows while some potential customers entered the shop. In the shop, there were tiny pedigree puppies and kittens that were either lying down apathetically or rolling around impatiently inside small glass boxes without water or shelter. As this was against all my perceptions of proper animal handling, my first reaction was to think: “what can I do to change this?” It was this first encounter with a Japanese pet shop that also inspired this thesis.

I assumed that some others must have had a reaction similar to mine. Perhaps they had started activities to protest about the situation? It turned out that there are several active pro-animal organizations in Japan. When I started to study these organizations and their activities, I noticed that there was no existing research in English about them. Thus, primarily my thesis aims at providing information on a topic, which has not yet gained scholarly attention. Furthermore, activities for the well-being of non-human animals in other societies are considered to be an interesting example of the processes of collective action, its formation, maintenance, and success. This is because the topics advocated can be controversial and raise dualistic attitudes in the public, for example as in the debates on the necessity of fur or animal experimentation.<sup>1</sup> Although the main targets of the activities are non-human animals, they also relate to humans; animals irritate and fascinate people and they are abused, neglected, rescued, and cared for by humans. Moreover, problems in animal treatment and well-being originate from or are causing fractures in human society. As one of my informants argues, working for animals is ultimately working for human-human relations.

---

<sup>1</sup> Einwohner 2002b, 519–520.

Hence, if examined in a larger framework, the pro-animal citizen organizations are collectives engaged in collective action, which aims at changing the status quo. These collective efforts as citizen activism connect the topic closely both to social movement studies and civil society studies; The pro-animal organizations offer case examples of citizen activism in Japan, balancing in the regulatory environment of the Japanese non-profit sector, searching for and creating opportunities to overcome the problems in animal management and welfare in Japan. The perception of the most serious problems and their solutions vary among the organizations when the organizations collectively construct understandings of the situation with different emphasis. The organizations direct their attention, choose their tactics and create a rationale for their existence through this collective set of meanings, i.e. collective action frames.

In this research, my intentions are twofold: Firstly, I will illustrate grievances, tactics, goals and mobilization practices of selected pro-animal organizations in the Kansai and Tokyo areas and their differences on a rather practical level, because of the lack of previous information on the topic. I will explore the realities and meaning structures constructed by the organizations by using the frame analysis concepts of diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing as my analytical tools. In addition to conceptions of agency, these three framing tasks of collective action frames give me the means to conceptualize the different aspects of the meaning structures the organizations are producing and to study the shared understanding of the reality they are acting in.

Secondly, I will analyze these organizations as social movement organizations in the context of civil society. Because the collective action frames are also shaped and directed by interaction with the actors and factors outside the group (such as opponents, audiences, and restrictions), it is important to understand the basic characteristics of Japanese civil society. Referring to the growing body of research on Japan's civil society, I will analyze the findings of frame analysis in connection with the structure of civil society and illustrate how frames can affect the organizations' perception of their position and role in civil society and vice versa. Thus, as many scholars have stressed the importance of the context and the meanings attached to it in the research of social movements, I will argue that this

interconnectedness of framing processes and civil society structure is an important feature in understanding the dynamics and variety of roles and positions in state-civil society relations. In this research, I will explore the pro-animal organizations in this light, combining both social movement studies and civil society research in the context of Japan. Next, when introducing the central concepts and the framework used in this research, I will also elaborate on the connection of civil society and social movements.

I have chosen the term of “pro-animal” to generally refer to the research subjects of this study. This is mainly because the terms *animal rights* and *animal welfare* are concepts that are associated with certain activities advocating animal issues and ideologies in human-animal relations: ‘animal rights’ is associated with radical organizations aiming at abolishing all use of animals, ranging from meat-eating to companion animals, whereas animal welfare implies a more reformative and moderate stance. This difference between the two terms has been debated widely in philosophical literature and in research concerning the history of animal rights movement especially in United States and Great Britain.<sup>2</sup> In order to avoid both the burden of meanings associated with the concepts as well as *a priori* categorization, I will use the umbrella term of pro-animal organizations, because all organizations studied in this research share the motivation of promoting animal well-being. As the self-definition of the organizations constitutes an important component of framing, I will later analyze the definitions the organizations give to three different concepts of 動物愛護 (*doubutsu aigo*, animal love and protection), 動物福祉 (*doubutsu fukushi*, animal welfare) and 動物の権利 (*doubutsu no kenri*, animal rights), all of them used by the organizations themselves.

Thus far, I have referred to the collectives studied in this research as organizations. The choice of this concept is based on the civil society approach of this study, which stresses the idea of *organized* social activity as a feature of the definition of civil society. All the pro-animal organizations studied in this thesis are stable and formal organizations and most of them have been recognized as legal entities. However, I have observed that many of the collectives acting to improve the situation for

---

<sup>2</sup> For example in Regan 2001, 28–38; Garner 1998, 81–92; Ryder 1996, 166–168, 11; Jasper 1996, 134–136; Francione 1996, 42–60; Francione 1995, 6.

animals in Japan are rather small units and have not necessarily reached the legal status of organization or institutionalized. In spite of this, although it implicitly narrows down the scope of this research from spontaneous neighborhood activity to institutionalized units, the concept of organization serves the discussion about civil society better. In Chapter Five, the organizations' history, main aims and tactics, structure and background information, such as size, budget, legal status, and membership are introduced and compared to the results of a national animal welfare organization survey in conducted 2004 by the investigative commission of the animal protection and management of the Ministry of Environment.

Other concepts that frequently appear are citizen or civic activism, citizens' movement, and citizen or civic organization. Hasegawa defines citizens' movements as consisting of "autonomous individual citizens who share ideals and/or objectives". The focus of citizens' movements is broader than residents' movements, which are usually concerned with local problems in geographically specific areas. Residents' movements are usually based on already existing local organizations, such as neighborhood associations.<sup>3</sup> Because these movements are usually reactive and spontaneous, Hasegawa considers NPOs (non-profit organizations) as more institutionalized and proactive actors of citizen movements, engaged in activism.<sup>4</sup>

I use the term citizen or civic organizations and activism in a similar fashion to refer to pro-animal organizations, initiated by Japanese<sup>5</sup> citizens sharing an ideal and objective of improving and/or changing the state of animal welfare in Japan. Thus, citizen organizations are collective actors, engaged in activism i.e. performing activities in order to achieve their goals. Some of these movement organizations are becoming more institutionalized and gaining legal status. Their activities range from reactive to proactive. This kind of organized collective activism, which originates from the citizens, is acting as a third sphere of society vis-à-vis state and market. In other words, these organizations can be regarded as parts of Japanese civil society. I will discuss the definition of civil society in detail in the second chapter.

---

<sup>3</sup> Hasegawa 2004, 40–41.

<sup>4</sup> Hasegawa 2004, 61–62.

<sup>5</sup> Although the idea of Japanese citizen activism is relevant for this research, some of the first pro-animal organizations were established by foreigners, mainly by the British. For example, ARK was established by Elizabeth Oliver from England and it identifies itself more with British animal welfare organizations.



From the perspective of social movement studies, the citizen organizations that are advocating change in the current state of affairs also fit the definition of social movement as “collectives acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order they are a part.”<sup>6</sup> The use of non-institutionalized tactics (for example boycotts, sit-ins, and demonstrations) is characteristic to social movements, but institutionalized tactics (such as voting, lobbying, court cases, letter writing campaigns) can also be used.<sup>7</sup> The ultimate goal, which joins the pro-animal organizations together, is to improve the well-being of animals. The organizations are engaged in collectively challenging the status quo by using both institutionalized and non-institutionalized means, such as demonstrations, committee membership, petitions and panel exhibitions to reach their goals.

Furthermore, the pro-animal organizations can also be considered parts of a global animal welfare and rights movement: the organizations that were interviewed frequently referred to animal welfare or rights movement in the Western countries. They also have some international connections or are otherwise aware of global interest and activities advocating the well-being of animals. Thus, I consider the theoretical framework of social movements relevant and useful when trying to understand the activities of pro-animal organizations as social movement organizations, i.e. collectives taking a stance for the animals in Japan under the loose umbrella term of ‘pro-animal movement’. However, internationality and the existence of a pro-animal movement in Japan are not included in the research questions as such, and the social movement framing approach is used mainly as an analytical tool to approach the pro-animal activism from organizations’ perspective, basing the research on data analysis.

To summarize, I approach the pro-animal organizations from two interconnected perspectives of social movement and civil society studies. Several scholars have argued for the strength of this connection. Purdue has explained it with the role of civic organizations as manifestations of social movement: “civic organizations are a

---

<sup>6</sup> Snow et al. 2004, 11.

<sup>7</sup> Burstein et al. 1995, 138.

core element of civil society acting as hubs of social networks and social capital, elements of social movements and points of integration in the governance”. While the civic organizations are institutionalized forms of social movement activity, civil society itself can be seen as “the terrain of social movements”.<sup>8</sup> Attributing the apolitical nature of Japanese civil society to the weak tradition of social movements and to the restrictions hampering the institutionalization of the politically active social movements, He argues that “social movement is closely associated with civil society because it originates with the citizens”.<sup>9</sup> Lim Hy-Sop, studying the emerging civil society in Korea, has used the concept of civil social movements, since all modern social movements “began in the backdrop of an emerging civil society and strove for its growth”.<sup>10</sup> Because of this connection between social movements and civil society, I will use the concepts of (institutionalized) social movement organizations, civil society organizations and citizen/civic organizations interchangeably to refer to pro-animal organizations when discussing framing and civil society.

For the qualitative analysis of collective action frames, I conducted fieldwork in Japan in summer 2010. This research presents the views of the twelve organizations interviewed: ALIVE, Angels, ARC, ARK, ARK Tokyo, ARSF, CAPIN, JAVA, JAWS, JSPCA, Knots, and Lifeboat. In addition to the interviews, data published by the organizations was collected, such as newsletters and handouts. Because of the limited duration and resources of the fieldwork, the scope of this research is limited to the Tokyo and Kansai areas. Hence, I am not aiming to provide a comprehensive picture of pro-animal activities on a national level but rather approaching the pro-animal activities in Japan from the organizations’ perspective. Furthermore, the organizations interviewed include some of the oldest and most established organizations in Japan, together with younger and smaller organizations. Thus, in spite of the limited generalization possibilities, the data gives a wide perspective on the diversity of the organizations and their activities. The organizations, data and its collection methods are introduced in detail in chapters four and five.

---

<sup>8</sup> Purdue 2007a, 3–4.

<sup>9</sup> He 2010, 273.

<sup>10</sup> Hy-Sop 2000, 5.

This research approaches the perceptions of the organizations that are presented in the analysis chapter by starting from analytical and theoretical premises. This is because the following argumentation is based on the presumption of the importance of the social construction of reality and the meanings attached to it. In the first chapter, I introduce the frame analysis approach first by delineating the basic features of frames and framing processes in social movement studies. These features are important in understanding the dynamic and interactive nature of framing process in which the collective action frames are constructed. The three core framing tasks, to which I turn next, are central components of collective action frames. At the end of this chapter, the focus shifts to the meaning of the context in the framing process that will connect framing to the theme of the next chapter, which is civil society.

The second chapter explores the different aspects of civil society, starting from its definition and moving on to its more practical regulating and facilitating aspects. At the end of that chapter, I argue for the connection of framing and the perceptions of civil society and citizen activism. The third chapter introduces animal protection and management first from the historical point of view using the dog control policies as an example. Later, I delineate the features of animal welfare law, the official animal management system as well as visions for cooperation between pro-animal organizations and officials.

In the fourth chapter, I introduce the data collection process in detail. This process led to the selection of the twelve organizations studied in this research. These organizations, their basic features and the data collected from them are introduced in the fifth chapter. The sixth chapter consists of detailed frame analysis, including diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing together with constructions of agency, identity and framing of civil society. In the conclusion, I return to the interrelatedness of framing and civil society activities in addition to offering a summary of the thesis and discussing the prospects of future research.

## 1 Frame analysis

As I have argued in the introduction, pro-animal organizations can be approached from the perspective of social movement studies because they parallel social movement actors. Their activities are “collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities”<sup>11</sup> In this chapter, the pro-animal organizations are treated as social movement organizations (hereinafter SMOs): collective actors organized under the loose umbrella term of pro-animal movement. Frame analysis, alongside the political opportunity and mobilizing structure approaches, is one of the theoretical frameworks used to study collective activism and the emergence of social movements. It provides tools to understand the collective interpretation process, which is an important aspect of collective action, and it is discussed in detail in this chapter.

Hunt et al. suggest that in order to understand the emergence of collective action, analysts need to concentrate on SMO actors’ (inter)subjective understanding of reality.<sup>12</sup> The process of constructing collective understanding of reality is called framing. When acting in their context, social movements are not only adopting existent meanings, beliefs and ideas but also actively shaping them and reproducing new meaning structures for movement participants and outsider audiences as well as for movement antagonists. Thus, SMOs can be regarded as “signifying agents” constructing frames and interpreting meanings.<sup>13</sup> The main function of frames is to work as “frameworks or schemata of interpretation”, which “allows its user to locate, perceive, identify and label” events and their meanings.<sup>14</sup> Thus, the frames direct attention, attribute meanings and construct a framework of social reality, through which the actors perceive and evaluate the world.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Tarrow 1994, 3–4.

<sup>12</sup> Hunt et al. 1994, 204.

<sup>13</sup> Snow and Benford 1988, 198.

<sup>14</sup> Goffman 1974, 21.

<sup>15</sup> Snow and Benford 1988, 198; Zald 1996, 262; Entman 1993, 55.

## 1.1 Constructing collective action frames

Among social movement scholars, David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford in particular have elaborated on the definition of ‘frame’. They name the products of social movements’ framing process as collective action frames, which are negotiated *collectively* and used strategically by social movement organizations to trigger *action* and to challenge the opposing frames. Thus, in addition to the interpretive function, collective action frames have motivational and empowering function, since they are “action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization (SMO)”. Collective action frames are constructed in order to mobilize and increase support among possible adherents as well as to demobilize the antagonists.<sup>16</sup> The framing process has also been defined as “conscious strategic efforts by organizations of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action”.<sup>17</sup> Frames offer a motivational encouragement for participants in form of, as Hasegawa summarizes, an “image of the world” and a “self-image” for the movement.<sup>18</sup>

The frames are not static nor are they constructed in isolation from the audiences and context. The construction of reality by the SMOs – the framing process – is a continuous dynamic process and aims to create frames that are consciously used for certain purposes, such as recruiting, and targeted to different audiences. The SMOs attempt to adjust their frames so that they resonate with the audience’s frames to attract supporters for their cause; Benford and Snow call this the frame alignment process. The frame alignment process includes tactics, such as frame bridging, amplification, extension and transformation, which all refer to different ways to alter the primary frame according to audience.<sup>19</sup> In addition to the coherence and strength of the collective action frames, the success of these frame alignment processes affect the potential of the frame to attract new supporters and to mobilize bystanders.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> Benford and Snow 2000, 614; Snow and Benford 1988, 198.

<sup>17</sup> McAdam et al. 1996, 6.

<sup>18</sup> Hasegawa 2004, 80; Hasegawa 2011, 66.

<sup>19</sup> Benford and Snow 2000, 623–627; Snow et al. 1986, 467–476.

<sup>20</sup> Snow and Benford 1988, 199.

The collective action frames are created in discursive, strategic and contested processes. Discursive processes refer to speech acts and written communications of the movement members in the context of movement activities. In discursive processes the meanings given to situations are articulated in a relative coherent manner and some issues and meanings are highlighted. In this research, written communications such as newsletters have great importance. Strategic processes are goal-oriented and are used to reframe the issues for specific purposes. Both, frame alignment and strategic processes, depict similar frame adjustments. Contested processes then again refer to frame contests with movements' counterframes as well as to frame disputes within the movement between and also within its SMOs.<sup>21</sup> For example, the frames produced by social movements and their SMOs are constantly competing with the frames produced by the media as well as the ones produced by their antagonists and the public. Different factions also negotiate the meanings within the SMO.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, SMOs are likely to engage in frame disputes with the other SMOs representing the movement (inter-group disputes) as well as in contests with other actors in society, such as antagonists and media.<sup>23</sup> In addition, intra-group disputes are also possible when the frames are created and recreated in the collective meaning construction processes between the group members.<sup>24</sup> My analysis will also show that although the pro-animal organizations act for the shared agenda of animal well-being, there are several disagreements over the contents of different framing tasks. Because the frames are negotiated, contested and constructed by many actors, there is not one clearly articulated unified static frame to be found in social movement: several competing pieces of frames exist within and between the organizations.<sup>25</sup>

Especially after the emergent phase of movements, formal institutionalized organizations are the messengers of the movement and speak for it. At this stage of movement development, it is argued that frames are strategically produced increasingly on the level of formal organizations as the "property" of individual

---

<sup>21</sup> Benford and Snow 2000, 623–627.

<sup>22</sup> Tarrow 1994, 23.

<sup>23</sup> McAdam et al. 1996, 17; Benford 1993a, 680.

<sup>24</sup> Benford 1993a, 680. Since I am concentrating on the "public" collective action frames, articulated to outside audiences, I will not discuss intra-group disputes.

<sup>25</sup> Benford 1993a; Gamson and Meyer 1996, 283.

SMOs.<sup>26</sup> Although pro-animal activities are relatively young in Japan when compared to their counterparts in Britain and America, there seems to be a great variety and differences among the frames constructed by each organization. All the organizations studied here are institutionalized and promoting their views as the correct solutions to the problems. These frames contest not only with the outside actors' framing attempts and the public's frames, but also with each other. Thus, the SMOs can claim to be the representatives of the movement in early stages of movement development as well. However, the process of meaning construction is not exclusively the SMOs' task: different actors in different fields battle to define the meanings and the process is dialogical. The arguments of the opponents affect the framing tactics of the proponents.<sup>27</sup>

## 1.2 Core framing tasks

Snow and Benford suggest that social movement has to fulfill three core framing tasks that together constitute the SMOs' collective action frames. These tasks are *diagnostic*, *prognostic*, and *motivational* framing. Diagnostic framing identifies the problem that needs to be solved and attributes blame and causality. Although the movement often reaches a consensus on the problem, there are differences in the emphasis of causal factors and blame attribution between the movement actors. The second task, prognostic framing, offers solutions and specifies tactics and measures to achieve this proposed solution to the problem. There is often a strong connection between the diagnostic framing and the definition of what needs to be done. Their logical connection is considered to be an important factor in the effectiveness of the frame.

The third aspect of framing, motivational framing, aims at mobilization by articulating a rationale for action, "a call to arms". Because consensus on diagnostic and prognostic framings does not necessarily lead to activity, there is a need to create motivation for participation, thus motivational framing is needed.<sup>28</sup> Motivational

---

<sup>26</sup> McAdam et al. 1996, 15–16.

<sup>27</sup> Zald 1996, 269.

<sup>28</sup> Snow and Benford 1988, 201–202; further elaborated in Benford and Snow 2000, 615–618. Gamson (1992; 1995, 90–104) argues that the three components of collective action frames are injustice, agency and identity. For the purpose of this study, the model proposed by Snow and Benford

framing has an important role after the first protest wave and mobilization: in addition to the mobilization of bystanders, motivational framing efforts are vital to the maintenance of participants' motivation. For example, different collective accounts of success, credit claiming and attempts to see things positively are all strategies that fortify the motivation and confidence of the movement participants.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the degree of development, interconnectedness and strength of these three parts of collective action frame – i.e. successful strategic framing – affects strongly the success, survival and mobilization potential of movements and its SMOs.<sup>30</sup>

I will use these three framing tasks as analytical tools to reconstruct a picture of the shared beliefs, values, understandings and rationales of the selected pro-animal organizations. The framing attempts can be divided into external framing, which refers to mobilizing frames communicated to public, and internal framing, which means framing efforts aiming to create a shared understanding within the group.<sup>31</sup> Because my data consists of newsletters, interviews, internet pages, handouts, and survey answers, the frames articulated are mostly external, presented to the outside public and to me as an outsider during the interviews. However, especially the newsletters sent to group members are also aimed at constructing the understandings within the group, thus can be regarded to some extent as representing internal framing efforts.

As frames include an explanation of the reason for the problem to be solved, they also usually state who or what is to blame for it. Perceptions of “who are we” and “what can we do” for the problem are essential parts of collective action frames. Because of this, collective identity and agency can also be considered as features of framing processes.<sup>32</sup> In addition to other framing tasks, I will trace the constructions of “us” and “them” in the pro-animal organizations' collective action frames. It is

---

offers more tools for detailed analysis but, in addition, the agency and identity components are included in the analysis as well.

<sup>29</sup> Einwohner 2002b.

<sup>30</sup> Snow and Benford 1988, 199; Benford and Snow 2000, 615–618; McAdam 1996, 340.

<sup>31</sup> Watanabe 2009, 51.

<sup>32</sup> Hunt et al. 1994, 185; Gamson 1995, 94–104. Ira Silver (1997, 498) criticizes this as presenting the collective identity as a by-product of framing and argues that collective identity should be considered as a primary concern of SMOs. Nonetheless, the relation between framing and collective identity is considered to be strong.



also argued that the construction and adoption of different identities are strategic tactics, because relevant identities can be applied in different contexts.<sup>33</sup> In the analysis chapter, I will also discuss the organizations' accounts of the relevant actors in the field and the roles and meanings given to them.

As stated above, I use Snow and Benford's three framing tasks as guidelines of the analysis of the pro-animal organizations' collective action frames. Frame analysis has been criticized for lacking a systematic data collection method and suffering from static, elite and descriptive biases, reductionism, reification, and monolithic tendencies.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, several contributions have tried to answer this demand for more organized and explicit data collection and analysis processes. It is suggested that frames and framing processes can be detected from speech, action and texts produced by activists.<sup>35</sup> For instance, discourse analysis or abstractions of ideational contents of micro-level (individual) accounts could fill the gap between theory and practice as well as micro- and meso-level (individual and organizational level).<sup>36</sup> It is also suggested that analysis of different vocabularies of motive, which are created to persuade bystanders to take part in activity, and the origins of these vocabularies are important for understanding successful mobilization.<sup>37</sup> In contrast to the approaches concentrating on textual sources, McAdam emphasizes that "action speaks louder than words": the framing literature has been focusing on analyzing literal sources and formal statements of movement actors. He argues that tactics and how they fit the goals is an important aspect of collective action.<sup>38</sup>

This criticism is endemic to frame analysis because of its focus on subjective meanings and its social constructivist approach. In this research, I emphasize the dynamic and interactive nature of the framing process and attempt to analyze the data accordingly. The analysis of the meanings produced by the organizations is inevitably a more or less subjective interpretation by the researcher, and not totally

---

<sup>33</sup> Polletta and Jasper 2001, 292–294. Despite the notion of (collective) identity here, a detailed discussion of it is not included in this research. Thus, later in the analysis I use the concept of identity to generally refer to "the sense of collective us" that organizations seem to create, usually by defining "the others".

<sup>34</sup> Benford 1997, 414–424.

<sup>35</sup> Gamson 1992, 89–90.

<sup>36</sup> Johnston 1995; Gillian 2008.

<sup>37</sup> Benford 1993b; Steinberg 1998.

<sup>38</sup> McAdam 1996, 340–342.

free from biases. Hence, the features of the pro-animal organizations' framing tasks proposed here are not static or objective facts, but "interpretation of interpretations" that are the most dominant in the data. This does not reduce the value of the analysis, which brings forth both the diversity of practical concerns of the organizations as well as illustrating the dynamic, versatile, interactive and strategic nature of framing in itself.

### **1.3 Framing and context**

In addition to the interactive relation to audiences and other actors, several scholars have emphasized the meaning of the context in studying the social movements' framing processes. Hunt et al. agree that the SMOs are not born or do not act in a vacuum because "history, social structures and cultural arrangements constrain SMO actors' interpretative work". The effects of these constraints depend on how the SMO actors perceive these "realities".<sup>39</sup> In other words, the SMO actors interpret reality through the meanings in collective action frames, created from cultural resources. Broadbent stresses that social movements "cannot be fully understood as isolated units. Social movements appear within and are heavily influenced by a specific social context."<sup>40</sup>

Thus, cultural and social context has an influence on the framing process and the SMOs draw on cultural stock to construct their repertoires of contention. Because of their existence in a larger societal context, the SMOs will have to adjust their activities and arguments according to this context in order to be successful. This cultural stock is not equally accessible to all actors, since they have different social statuses, skills, orientation and style. Moreover, repertoires have to resonate with the public they are addressing and respond to their conceptions of perceived injustice.<sup>41</sup> As will be illustrated in the analysis, the pro-animal organizations' repertoires vary according to their own orientation, access to resources or positions in society as well as to skills and knowledge.

---

<sup>39</sup> Hunt et al. 1994, 204; Benford and Snow 2000, 628.

<sup>40</sup> Broadbent 2011, 4.

<sup>41</sup> Zald 1996, 266–267.

Similarly, the history of contentious action and interaction with the context are regarded as crucial factors shaping collective action. Social movements act in the complex system of social and political understanding as well as of historical experiences of contention and conflict. These shape both the form of challenge posed by the social movement and the response to the movement.<sup>42</sup> The collective action also shapes the context: He, for example, has studied the social movement traditions of Japan and Korea and concludes that the differences in the social movements have led to differences in institutionalization and recognition of the non-governmental sector i.e. of the civil society.<sup>43</sup> Hirata, on the other hand, argues that the persistent activism of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Japan has affected state-civil society relations by creating new possibilities for political participation and by altering the forms of governance, because the state had had to take into account the continuing pressure from domestic and international NGOs. The former suspicious relations between the government and NGOs have been transformed into dialogue and cooperation.<sup>44</sup>

Cultural and social structures are not the only ones affecting social movements. The political structure has an immediate effect on social movements' emergence and differences, as the collective action frames are restricted by and originate from them.<sup>45</sup> These structures and their influence on social movements and collective action have been referred to as political opportunity structures (POS). The presumption behind the political opportunity approach is that political constraints and opportunities play an important role in mobilizing and shaping the social movement.<sup>46</sup> Tarrow defines POS as "consistent – but not necessarily formal, permanent or national – dimensions of the political environment, which either encourage or discourage people from using collective action. The concept of political opportunity emphasizes resources *external* to the group". The state political structure is one rather stable set of opportunities.<sup>47</sup> In addition to state policies, the POS also includes temporal opportunities, such as specific events or incidents. In this research, I will concentrate on the political structure concerning regulations and opportunities

---

<sup>42</sup> Tarrow 1994, 25.

<sup>43</sup> He 2010.

<sup>44</sup> Hirata 2002, 126–129.

<sup>45</sup> Snow 2004, 385.

<sup>46</sup> McAdam et al. 1996, 2–3.

<sup>47</sup> Tarrow 1994, 18.

for non-profit citizen activities in Japan as the context in which the pro-animal organizations act.

It is suggested that the interactive connections between the different approaches to social movements can give valuable insights into the development of activism.<sup>48</sup> The constructed shared meanings are regarded as gluing the different aspects of collective action together and catalyzing it: “Mediating between opportunity, organization and action are the shared meanings, and cultural understandings – including a shared collective identity – that people bring to an instance of incipient contention.”<sup>49</sup> This refers to both shared understandings existing before the contention as well as to the meanings constructed by the contentious collectives. This also includes the connection between framing processes and political opportunities, which is complex and works on many levels, on an individual as well as group and movement level.

Interpretation is an important part of this connection and as Gamson and Meyer argue, “an opportunity unrecognized is no opportunity at all.” Thus, *political opportunity is a social construction*, also produced in the framing process.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, relatively static political opportunities (such as policies or laws) or their changes are not sufficient in explaining collective (citizen) activity and mobilization or the lack of it. For example the new NPO Law facilitated the formation of legally recognized collective action and organizations, while redefining power relations and roles between civic organizations and the state in Japan. Political changes create structural potential, but it is up to the actors whether they realize the potential and perceive them as political opportunities.<sup>51</sup> In addition to this, political changes set forth and catalyze new framing efforts in the new situation.<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> McAdam et al. 1996, 6–7.

<sup>49</sup> McAdam 1999, ix–x; Also Hasegawa (2010, 65–66), following the developments of McAdam et al. (1996) of the interplay of different aspects of social movement analysis, suggests that both framing processes and political opportunities affect the orientation for change. This model, however, in my opinion neglects to some extent McAdam’s original argument that political opportunities are also a subject of interpretation i.e. framing.

<sup>50</sup> Gamson and Meyer 1996, 283.

<sup>51</sup> McAdam 1996, 339.

<sup>52</sup> McAdam et al. 1996, 8–9.

The political opportunity structure approach has concentrated on how perceived and constructed opportunities affect the birth of social movements.<sup>53</sup> I will not wander into the details of POS literature any deeper or discuss the mobilizing effect of POS. Instead, I will use the framework of POS as the context that is also interpreted and constructed in framing processes. As most of the organizations actively define their relation to the authorities and to the political environment and are simultaneously influenced by them, I will study the ways the organizations perceive these relations in Japanese (civil) society and how these perceptions relate to the analysis of collective action frames i.e. how they frame their activities as well as the political opportunities. The legal and political restrictions and opportunities of institutionalized SMOs – paralleling with civil society organizations – are mostly discussed in literature related to the development and features of civil society in Japan, to which I turn next. I discuss the social construction of the meanings of legal and political context by the particular pro-animal organizations in the analysis chapter, using the civil society discussion as the backdrop of the analysis.

---

<sup>53</sup> Tarrow 1994, 81.

## 2 Civil society as a facilitating and restrictive context

The concept of civil society has its roots in Western societies: it has been associated for example with liberal democracy and activism that challenged totalitarian governments in Eastern and Central Europe. It is both a useful and ambiguous concept, generally used to refer to sustained and organized social activity in organizations that are formed outside the state, the market and the family. In the public sphere, which is created by the civil society activities, individuals and organizations can participate in public discourse outside the state.<sup>54</sup> For many scholars, Japan has served as an intriguing comparative example of an economically developed non-Western society, in which it is argued that civil society has been growing especially since the 1990s.

There have been debates on whether the concept of civil society can be applied to non-western societies. The history and features of the Western model and scholarly discussion of civil society are relevant and useful when studying Asian societies, but some scholars maintain that straightforward applications of it in an Asian context should be treated with caution because of the differences in history and social conditions.<sup>55</sup> However, as Schwartz argues, “there is no one way in which civil society “should” be defined”. This is because the usefulness of any given concept and its definition – civil society included – is determined by how it answers the demands of the approach used and research questions.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, I am using the definition of civil society introduced below to study a variety of pro-animal organizations’ framing efforts related to civil society, while bearing in mind the controversies and debates that the concept of civil society has provoked.

Since the aim of this research is not to engage in theoretical debates of the origins or implications of civil society, but rather to approach civic activism from the organizations’ perspective, the following definition of civil society used by Robert Pekkanen is suitable for my approach: civil society is the organized, nonstate,

---

<sup>54</sup> Pharr 2003a, xiii.

<sup>55</sup> Schak and Hudson 2003, 2–5; Hudson 2003, 15–16.

<sup>56</sup> Schwartz 2003a, 2.

nonmarket sector.<sup>57</sup> This definition on its own addresses the scholarly discussion of the boundaries of civil society with market and the state. It concentrates on organized collectives of civic activism engaged in sustaining the public sphere. Because it includes various kinds of organized non-profit and voluntary activity on different levels of society, its focus is useful for the perspective of this research. Moreover, Pekkanen acknowledges the variation of the patterns of civil society in time and place.<sup>58</sup> This is relevant when studying the dynamic process of framing in connection with the civil society. Hence, I use the term Japanese civil society instead of civil society in Japan, because I consider civil society to be a set of relations that differ from place to place and time to time, shaped by the historical, cultural and social factors.<sup>59</sup>

Although some scholars have argued that civil society is independent and autonomous from the state, in order to trace the relations between context and framing it is vital to note that “civil society cannot be understood in isolation, but it must be understood *in relation* to the state, not *in opposition* to it”.<sup>60</sup> As Habermas has pointed out, the division between state and society functions already became blurred in Western societies in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century mainly because of the influence of the growth of the market economy and of the distribution of public functions to private corporations.<sup>61</sup> Thus, the ideal of an independent civil society was gradually abandoned and varieties of state-civil society relations were created. As Garon has shown, in Japan too the state and civil society intertwined increasingly from the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>62</sup> Pharr has described the role of Japanese state as “activist state” engaging actively in shaping and initiating the civil society development.<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>57</sup> Susan Pharr (2003b, 316) also adds the attribute nonfamily to the definition of civil society.

<sup>58</sup> Pekkanen 2006, 3–4. Pekkanen 2003, 118.

<sup>59</sup> Pekkanen (2006, 85) uses the concept of “local civil society” when examining the role of neighborhood associations in Japan. According to the analysis of my data, it seems that the relative autonomy and motivation of local authorities affect what kind of state-civil society relations are constructed and how. Hence, as I will also discuss in the analysis how local variations of these relations exist in nation states.

<sup>60</sup> Schwartz 2003b, 28.

<sup>61</sup> Habermas 1989, 142.

<sup>62</sup> Garon 2003, 43, 48–50.

<sup>63</sup> Pharr 2003b.

Taking into consideration the contested idea of independent civil society, I am focusing on the diversity of the state-civil society relations and how civil society organizations as issue-oriented collectives construct and frame these relations. These dynamic relations and shifting boundaries between state and civil society can, for instance, be detected in the emerging forms of governance: the focus of the conceptualization of the civil society is changing from the relation of government and civil society to the relation of governance and civil society. The state or government is no longer seen as a single organization, governing all spheres of society, but as a complex system of multiple governing organizations and structures. Within these governing structures, different political opportunity structures can emerge.<sup>64</sup> The civil society organizations interpret this environment through framing processes and, as argued above, the frames are constructed in interaction with their audiences. In Japan for the pro-animal organizations, this is most visible in the diversity of prefectures' animal management governance practices and how the organizations react to it.

The same legal, fiscal and political regulations affect the institutionalized SMOs as the civil society organizations, thus making the introduction to this framework necessary in order to understand the frames constructed by the organizations. A great proportion of the literature discussing Japanese civil society one way or another concentrates on the ways the state influences and has shaped civil society.<sup>65</sup> Political and institutional factors have been regarded as having led to a strongly regulated civil society, in which the organizations do have members but are not engaged in active political advocacy. However, these structural factors ought not to be used as the only explanation of different forms of contention. Instead, they shape the protest and can be used as the reference point while a research of cultural and social context of the protest can give a more versatile view on contention.<sup>66</sup> In this research, I will not try to explain the forms of pro-animal activism with the political and legal regulations of Japanese civil society, but rather benefit from the scholarly discussion of it when exploring the aspects of civil society from the actors' perspective.

---

<sup>64</sup> Purdue 2007a, 3–4.

<sup>65</sup> For example Pekkanen 2006; Pekkanen 2003; Ogawa 2009; Avenell 2009, 2010b; Tsujinaka and Pekkanen 2007; Haddad 2010, 2007a, 2007b; Tsujinaka 2003; Hirata 2002; Pharr 2003b.

<sup>66</sup> Broadbent 2010, 25–26.



## 2.1 Regulating political environment and its influence

With a few exceptions, the regulations of Japanese civil society have been a dominating explanatory factor in previous research. Pekkanen, for instance, argues that “nothing is more central to the development of civil society than the framework of order provided by the state.”<sup>67</sup> Reimann, for example, stresses the importance of the domestic political structure when comparing the emergence and development of non-governmental organizations in addition to global factors; a top-down model concentrating on the influence of state and political structure in shaping and cultivating civic activism is needed to explain fully the blind spots of the theories emphasizing the growth of the activism from below.<sup>68</sup> Although Reimann focuses on global activism and NGOs<sup>69</sup>, the different political factors explaining state guidance are relevant to the understanding of the domestic NPOs as well. Three major shaping factors are legal and fiscal regulations of the non-profit sector, financial support provided by the state, and access to the policymaking process.<sup>70</sup> Japan has been considered as a showcase of discouraging or suppressing a domestic regulatory political environment.<sup>71</sup>

Legal and fiscal regulations refer to policies concerning legal status and tax benefits of the non-profit organizations. 1998 was considered an important watershed, since after the enactment of the new NPO law, officially called the new Special Nonprofit Activities Law, the number of non-profit organizations grew considerably. Before 1998, the civic organizations acted under strict regulations and supervision by the state under Civil Law<sup>72</sup>. According to the regulations in Civil Law, the state had the power to decide which civic organizations would be suitable to form and gain legal legitimacy. Incorporated association (社団法人, *shadan houjin*) is a form of public

---

<sup>67</sup> Pekkanen 2006, 6.

<sup>68</sup> Reimann 2010, 2.

<sup>69</sup> The concept of NGO, non-governmental organization, in Japan usually refers to organizations participating in international activities. NPO is used to refer to either all non-profit organizations or to domestic non-profit organizations. (Pekkanen 2000, 116) I use the term NPO to refer generally to Japanese non-profit organizations, regardless of their legal status. The incorporated NPOs are referred to as NPO *houjin*.

<sup>70</sup> Reimann 2010, 17.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. 54.

<sup>72</sup> The Civil Code of Japan, 民法 *minpou*, enacted in 1896.

interest corporations (公益法人, *koueki houjin*) and a legal status based on Civil Law. The requirements for this legal status were really strict.<sup>73</sup>

The aftermath of the great Hanshin Earthquake in 1995 also affected Japanese policies concerning non-governmental organizations; the government did not react efficiently with rescue efforts, mostly due to Japan's rigid bureaucracy. In contrast to the government's paralysis, masses of volunteers rushed to the site of the earthquake and organized rescue efforts. From this background, aided by demands from the public and media, the new NPO Law emerged, which was passed in 1998 after a political struggle between different legislative parties.<sup>74</sup>

The NPO law considerably facilitated the application of the legal status, reduced the bureaucratic procedures of the application process and made it easier for the organizations to be recognized as legal entities. A new legal status of specified non-profit activities corporation (特定非営利活動法人, *tokutei hieiri katsudou houjin*, hereinafter NPO *houjin*<sup>75</sup>) was created. Legal status increases the social legitimacy of the organizations and gives practical benefits, such as hiring staff, renting an office or establishing a permanent board of management. The law allows the organizations to act more freely in society, since the bureaucratic supervision of registered organizations is reduced.<sup>76</sup> The law resulted in the reconfiguration of the relations of state and civil society by legitimating a new kind of organizations as well as decreasing the bureaucratic supervision of the organizations and increasing the potential for a more autonomous civil society.<sup>77</sup> Stable and growing organizations enjoying the benefits of legal status can then address broader issues over a longer time period and possibly become more involved in politics on a local and national level in the future.<sup>78</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Avenell 2010a, 199; Pekkanen 2003, 113; Pekkanen 2006, 59.

<sup>74</sup> Pekkanen 2000, 120–136, 11; Pekkanen 2006, 133–155.

<sup>75</sup> NPO *houjin* (NPO 法人, NPO legal person) is a commonly used abbreviation of the term specified non-profit activities corporation.

<sup>76</sup> Pekkanen 2000, 111–12; Avenell 2010a, 246; Mouer and Sugimoto 2003, 221; Ogawa 2009, 3; Reimann 2010, 32–33, 38.

<sup>77</sup> Pekkanen 2000, 111–12; Avenell 2010a, 246; Mouer and Sugimoto 2003, 221.

<sup>78</sup> Hasegawa 2004, 62.

However, possibilities to get tax privileges still remain scarce for the NPO *houjin*.<sup>79</sup> The new NPO law was revised in 2001 and 2003 and a special status for NPO *houjin* was created, which allowed tax deductions granted for donors. Regardless of these preferential tax treatment possibilities, only a few NPO *houjin* were able to receive these benefits because of the strict qualification regulations.<sup>80</sup> After 2006, the old system of public interest corporations was replaced with the category of ‘general incorporated association’ or ‘foundation’. The organizations seeking to get preferential tax treatment must apply for the status of public interest incorporated association (公益社団法人, *koueki shadan houjin*, hereinafter PIIA *houjin*).<sup>81</sup> Despite the changes in the law since 1998 and its positive impact on the growth of the non-profit sector, Japan still has a relatively difficult environment in which independent NPOs can organize themselves and grow.<sup>82</sup> In fact, Tarrow argues that “the legitimation and institutionalization of collective action are often the most effective means of social control”<sup>83</sup>

State funding, which includes direct and indirect support such as subsidies, grants, mailing rates and material support, influence many aspects of organizations’ activities. Japan is regarded as one of the strictest countries in the funding of the non-profit sector.<sup>84</sup> Although the state is the biggest source of revenue for the non-profit sector, state funding is directed to welfare service-oriented organizations. State funding is gained usually at the expense of independence, since as a rule the funded organizations are supervised more strongly by the authorities. This has hampered the growth of independent advocacy groups.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, the lack of indirect support such as reduced mailing rates has set obstacles to the increase of the organizations’ membership and to communication with audiences.<sup>86</sup>

Access to the policymaking process and the institutional structure of the state i.e. the distinct political opportunity structures also shape the forms and effects of activism.

---

<sup>79</sup> Ogawa 2009, 3; Reimann 2010, 32–33; 38.

<sup>80</sup> Pekkanen 2006, 68.

<sup>81</sup> Reimann 2010, 32–33; 38.

<sup>82</sup> Reimann 2010, 38; Pekkanen 2006, 160.

<sup>83</sup> Tarrow 1994, 96.

<sup>84</sup> Reimann 2010, 41–43.

<sup>85</sup> Pekkanen 2006, 71.

<sup>86</sup> Pekkanen 2006, 22; Pekkanen 2003, 120.

The legal status might not be enough for the organizations to gain both political and social credibility:

“Formal participation in state bodies and institutions, access to state actors in various branches and levels of government, formal and informal ties to elites, media coverage and access to public information are types of political opportunity that allow NGOs to participate in the political process and provide them with the political legitimacy they need to be viable organizations.”

This also applies to NPOs. The lack of political opportunity and of access to policymaking especially complicates the success of advocacy NGOs and NPOs aiming at policy changes, which are relatively difficult to reach through protests and the sole use of non-institutional tactics. In Japan’s statist political system, interaction between NPOs and state authorities and access to policymaking were limited until the mid-1990s, especially for advocacy groups. Gradually, the opportunities for participation have improved; dialogue and collaboration between the state and civil society have increased, partly as a result of the growth of the non-profit sector and perceived mutual benefits of cooperation.<sup>87</sup>

According to scholars stressing the influence of the state, these factors are the main reasons behind the features of Japanese civil society. The regulations and policies (direct and indirect) have promoted the development of civil society, where there are many small unprofessional organizations and only a few large national professional advocacy organizations.<sup>88</sup> The state for its part has adjusted its policies to benefit a citizen-participation-style welfare society, where it supports beneficial forms of volunteer organizations that provide services and are not interested in protest or political participation. This pattern can be traced from the historical development of existing NPOs and also in the emerging new advocacy organizations that are influenced by a strong state vision and guidance towards an ideal of volunteering in state-sanctioned activities.<sup>89</sup> Avenell paints quite a gloomy picture of the strength and potential of Japanese civil society under state guidance:

---

<sup>87</sup> Reimann 2010, 48–49.

<sup>88</sup> Pekkanen 2006, 2, 184–187; Pekkanen 2003, 133.

<sup>89</sup> Avenell 2009; Avenell 2010b, 22–23.

“Though the state governance may have changed (or been forced to change) and become more sophisticated in the face of growing pressure from civic organizations, the outcomes may be similar: a domesticated and largely service-oriented civil society.”<sup>90</sup>

However, this development of state-supported and -directed civil society is not necessarily unique to Japan. For example, in Russia and Britain civic organizations have been integrated into state functions as service providers in the name of “social partnership” or organized according to state initiatives.<sup>91</sup>

Haddad defends Japanese civil society against accusations of weakness by arguing that the decentralization process and privatization in Japan has led to mutual interdependence between the state and NPOs providing welfare services: The NPOs need the funding provided by the government and the government is dependent on the NPOs to provide welfare services. Haddad argues that this development has strengthened and enlarged the influence of both the nonprofit sector and the state, if the services are delivered efficiently and at low cost.<sup>92</sup> This strengthening of both state and society might be applicable to the service-oriented NPOs, but simultaneously it is an example of state influence and the partial co-optation of these organizations.

Despite the scholarly debates on the size and influence of Japanese civil society, there seems to be general agreement that it will continue to strengthen and increase its influence.<sup>93</sup> The new emerging forms of contention, advocacy and cooperation between civil society and the state have pluralized Japanese civil society<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, it has been suggested that it is important to study how these manifold relations are created.<sup>95</sup> It is also necessary to bear in mind that not only one factor can be used to explain the complexity of civil society.<sup>96</sup>

---

<sup>90</sup> Avenell 2010a, 250.

<sup>91</sup> Salmenniemi 2007; Diamond 2007.

<sup>92</sup> Haddad 2010, 27–28, 41.

<sup>93</sup> Hirata 2002, 8.

<sup>94</sup> Hirata 2002, 5–6; Schwartz 2003a, 7; Tsujinaka 2003, 83–115.

<sup>95</sup> Hirata 2002, 5-6; Schwartz 2003a, 7.

<sup>96</sup> Hirata 2002, 9.

## 2.2 Constructing meanings of civil society

Although the current narrative of Japanese civil society has been to emphasize the role of the state, the active role of civil society itself in shaping the dynamic relations between state and society is acknowledged: “The state-civil society relationship cannot be perceived in simplistic oppositional terms; instead, we must view the relationship in its complexity. State and civil society act on each other and shape each other over time.”<sup>97</sup> Especially in the context of Asian studies, civil society is perceived as “*a project in process*”.<sup>98</sup> Hence, in addition to exploring the collective action frames of pro-animal organizations, this research analyzes what kind of roles the organizations construct for themselves as civil society actors. With these meanings they participate in the above-mentioned process of shaping state-civil society relations and constructing an image of civil society activism. Avenell has argued for the importance of the constructed meanings of activism and opportunities:

“To be sure, the creation of a new category of nonprofit corporations, or NPOs, in the Civil Code has afforded many thousands of previously informal voluntary organizations unheard-of social legitimacy, so the reality of fundamental institutional change cannot be denied. *But just as important will be the meanings and interpretations that activists, officials, and others bring to the law and the now-legitimate idea of civil society in Japan* [italics added].”<sup>99</sup>

On the other hand, framing also shapes the perception of the role of the state, as both “the *ideas* that citizens have of governmental and individual responsibility for dealing with social problems and the *practices* [italics added] of governmental and social institutions that support or inhibit volunteer organizations” are significant.<sup>100</sup> Hence, the meanings and interpretations are also central to the study of civil society: the civil society actors themselves have an important role in constructing the framework of citizen activism and, alongside the agency of the government, the imagination and narratives about citizen activism articulated by grass-roots activists and movement intellectuals shape civil society.

---

<sup>97</sup> Pekkanen 2006, 185.

<sup>98</sup> Schak and Hudson 2003, 1.

<sup>99</sup> Avenell 2010a, 245.

<sup>100</sup> Haddad 2007a, 11. Despite Haddad’s rather exaggerated emphasis on the role of civic duty as the main motivator behind citizen activism, the quoted premise of her research catches the importance of framing and constructed shared interpretations.

Tsujinaka and Pekkanen, for instance, have shown that civil society organizations in Japan perceive bureaucracy as the most influential aspect of policy-making, while bureaucracy is seen as the most powerful actor in deciding the policies regarding civil society. On the other hand, the organizations themselves do not see civil society actors as having much power in policy-making.<sup>101</sup> These kinds of views are not only factual statements, but also articulations of interpretations of the power and role of civil society organizations. Depending on these interpretations, the organizations shape their activities and try to overcome or even ignore the perceived weakness in policy-making process through different tactics, such as collaboration or apolitical activity.

Avenell provides an example of how the meanings attached to citizen activism evolve. This example also illustrates the interactive nature of state and civil society relations; the state initiatives and regulations were both a response to and condition for the evolution of citizen activism. Citizen activist organizations for their part responded to and were also shaped by the state's conducts. In the mid-1970s, new civic movements emerged in Japan, concentrating on social welfare, ecology, international communication, education, food and agriculture, in contrast to the protest movements before the 1970s. The protest movements, such as the citizens' protest against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty in 1959–1969 or antipollution movements had created contention between the state and civic movements.

Instead of opposition and confrontation, the new civic movements saw practical and professional engagement with the state, the market and society as good ways to build sustainable independent alternatives and successful social transformation from within the system. During this period, a shift towards constructive activism<sup>102</sup> can be detected and the movement intellectuals challenged the citizen organizations to think about their duties and responsibilities in society. Avenell calls these new forms of

---

<sup>101</sup> Tsujinaka and Pekkanen 2007, 435–437.

<sup>102</sup> Constructive activism, in contrast to contentious or protest activism, refers here to the locally organized civic organizations aiming to offer practical solutions, involved with community and social welfare activism. These organizations emphasized the self-help and independence of others in their activities, although they stressed the importance of acting in relation with, not in opposition to other actors in the society. (Avenell 2010, 3, 16)

citizen organizations born in the 1970s as parts of a Japanese form of new social movements.<sup>103</sup>

The discourse of constructive activism led in fact to the formation of relatively apolitical citizen organizations, which were gradually fostered by the officials as volunteer organizations building a Japanese-style welfare society and providing services. When constructive activism and social responsibility increased, the state awareness of the potential of welfare-oriented organizations increased accordingly. The national government started to promote and legalize the “correct development” of independent volunteerism from the 1970s onwards, focusing on welfare service-oriented activities. The state shaped civil society by guiding its development with its strict legal guidelines as was noted in the previous sub-chapter.<sup>104</sup> Thus, as the new citizen organizations became more attractive, “rather than evidencing how society has transcended the state, official involvement in volunteerism and civic activism from the 1970s onwards reveals how officials at all levels of government have moved to incorporate these new civic energies within their policy programs”.<sup>105</sup>

Similarly to the framing processes, the public and official rhetoric of community self-help volunteer activism and practical deeds regarding the creation of political opportunities shaped the response of the citizen organizations and the ideals of civil society. This also affected the self-understanding of the majority of the organizations for decades, although minor dissenting views also existed.<sup>106</sup> Movement intellectuals and the media had a big role in creating the discourse of these new civic movements: many high-profile “new citizens” were introducing their alternative activities and lifestyles such as recycling in the media and judging protest as a tactic. These models constructed the idea of what a citizen movement should be like and what citizens should do.<sup>107</sup> The old citizen protest movements were blamed for being based on accusation, struggle and criticism of the government, bureaucracy and

---

<sup>103</sup> Avenell 2010a, 3, 197–198, 229.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. 201–206.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid. 237.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid. 207.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid. 211–216. In his book, Avenell discusses in detail how the idea of 市民 (*shimin*, citizen) and civic activism developed from the protest and confrontation of the 1950s to self-responsible, participating citizenship in the 1990s. The most relevant aspect of his book for my approach is the notion of dynamic process and several actors, who all contribute to the construction of the idea of ‘citizen’.



corporations.<sup>108</sup> Furthermore, the new activities were constantly and intentionally contrasted with old unsuccessful protest movements.<sup>109</sup>

It seems important to pay attention to both faces of civil society: both the side that is embedded in state power and its governing organizations and the side that positions itself as an opposing force to state power. These sides do not exclude each other. Thus, the boundary between the state and civil society is not clear-cut and has different manifestations.<sup>110</sup> As the example of the construction of the perception of new citizen activism by rhetoric and practice shows, the legal environment and policies are not only factors influencing the form of civil society and the dynamic boundary between the state and civil society. I argue that on the citizen organizations' side, constant framing efforts shape the practical relations between the organizations and other actors as well as direct the measures that are taken. Both, the social construction of the situation and the practical political environment regarding civil society, are important to take into consideration when analyzing the dynamics and variety of state-civil society relations and the activities of citizen organizations.

---

<sup>108</sup> Avenell 2010a, 214, citing Bananabōto to Jikkō Iinkai, ed., *Inochi, Shizen, Kurashi*, 1986. *Banana Bōto: mōhitotsu no seikatsu o tsukuru nettowākāzu no funade*. Tokyo: Hon no Ki, 15.

<sup>109</sup> Avenell 2010a, 218, citing Tanpopo no Undō o Kiroku suru Kai, 1990, *Tanpopo no Undō 16 nen no Kiroku: Hana ni nare Kaze ni nare – Nettowākungu no Kiseki*. Nara: Zaidan Hōjin Tanpopo no Ie, 33.

<sup>110</sup> Purdue 2007b, 220–226.

### 3 Animal protection and management in Japan

When humans and animals met for the first time, the interpretation of animal-human relations also began. Animals have always been categorized, anthropomorphized, feared, worshipped and – most important of all – used as a metaphor for human life or as “the other” from which humanity and categories of human life are reflected. As Lévi-Strauss formulates it in his famous argument, “animals are good to think with”.<sup>111</sup> These deep-rooted cultural images of animals have an effect on how we perceive and treat animals and the influence of religious traditions, for example, cannot be completely ignored. However, for the purposes of this research, the animal management policies of the Meiji regime are a relevant starting point when discussing the development of contemporary animal protection and management in Japan. The history of policies concerning dogs also illustrates the might of representations about animals. This point of view is important because these policies have affected the development of modern animal welfare legislation and because the organizations studied in this research act in this same framework. Unfortunately, a comprehensive history of human-animal relations and animal protection and management in Japan is yet to be published in English.<sup>112</sup>

The first contemporary animal management policies and measures in Japan relate to dogs. Dogs were used as a metaphor for the colonialist superiority of the West. In the case of Japan, the Westerners characterized Japanese native dogs as filthy and wild – as enemies of civilization. Also, the emphasized superiority of English pedigree dogs in particular reflected colonial thought; the dogs were used as a symbol of the disparate levels of civilization between the colonized and the colonizers. This way of thinking was further reinforced when the language of hygienic science was introduced and it was claimed that the native dogs contracted rabies more easily. At the time, there had been rabies epidemics in Japan, but the exaggerated threat of it served as an excuse for the Meiji government to launch campaigns against the native dogs and wolves to “cleanse Japan of hydrophobia and to civilize its streets” in the 1870s. Because of their foreign superiority, the majority of foreigners’ pedigree dogs

---

<sup>111</sup> Lévi-Strauss 1966, 204–208.

<sup>112</sup> In Japanese, there are a few books about the history of humans and animals, some of them from the perspective of animal folklore, but regrettably my language skills are not sufficient to read them.

avoided this half-century long extermination of native dogs roaming the streets.<sup>113</sup> This example shows how social constructions based on hierarchical thinking were transformed into practical measures as policies and into unquestioned beliefs. The popularity of pedigree dogs and the juxtaposing of pedigree and mixed-breed dogs seem to be continuing.<sup>114</sup>

Ironically, the complaints from foreigners about the capability of the Japanese government to control rabies and eliminate the street dogs gradually turned to concerns of non-human animals. This thought first became popular in Europe and America in late 18<sup>th</sup> century, but later gained a foothold among Japan's foreign population. Primarily, the concerns were about pet dogs mistaken for strays, but later the discourse of general animal welfare became increasingly popular by the 1880s. However, animal welfare ideology did not spread widely outside the foreign community until the emergence of the Japanese middle class in the 1920s onwards, when pet keeping became more popular. During the nationalist period in the 1930s, the previously despised native dog became a national symbol as “the Japanese dog”, superior to both the Western dog and the native dogs of Japan's colonies. Later in the 1960s and 1970s the maturing of the middle class increased the acceptance of animal welfare and it also started to gain political relevance.<sup>115</sup>

The Rabies Prevention Law, enacted in 1950 and amended in 1999, has its origins in this kind of history. The law requires that all domestic dogs be registered and vaccinated against rabies. Local officials are designated as responsible for catching and taking into custody dogs that do not fulfill these requirements.<sup>116</sup> This law still affects the management of stray animals in Japan. The first law concerning animal protection in Japan, the Law on Protection and Management of Animals, was passed in the Diet in 1973. This law was revised in 1999 and in 2005 and the current law is called the Law for the Humane Treatment and Management of Animals (動物愛護管理法, *doubutsu aigo kanri hou*, (also called the Act on Animal Welfare and Management, henceforth referred to as animal welfare law). The most recent revision

---

<sup>113</sup> Skabelund 2005, 220–224.

<sup>114</sup> Examples of this are, for instance, the pedigree dogs advertised and sold in pet shops and television shows testing (and denigrating) the capabilities of mixed breed dogs described in Hattori 2006a.

<sup>115</sup> Skabelund 2005, 225–232.

<sup>116</sup> Takahashi-Omoe et al. 2008.

was enforced in 2006 and a new revision is currently ongoing and scheduled to be completed in 2012.

The law concerns all animals, but the category of the animal and its usage determines how detailed the regulations are. The law includes thorough regulations for proper handling and management of companion animals, for example in the pet industry.<sup>117</sup> In the restrictions and registration requirements concerning animal handlers, it is stated that the regulations mainly concern animal business i.e. “a person who intends to engage in a business that handles animals (such animals shall be limited to mammals, birds, and reptiles, and shall exclude those pertaining to livestock farming and those being cared for or kept in order to be provided for use in testing and research, use in manufacturing biological preparations or for other uses specified by Cabinet Order; hereinafter the same shall apply in this Section and the following Section)”.<sup>118</sup> Thus, for other animals, such as zoo and laboratory animals and livestock, the law provides only administrative guidance and the standards of animal welfare are left for the animal handlers to determine. For instance, no validation or permission for animal tests from outside the testing institution is required.<sup>119</sup>

The responsible ministry for animal protection issues is the Ministry of the Environment. However, in the animal welfare law the prefectural authorities are appointed as responsible entities in organizing animal welfare management and protection in practice. Each prefecture is required to formulate an animal welfare and promotion plan following the general guidelines set by the Ministry of the Environment.<sup>120</sup> The management system of homeless and stray animals in Japan consists of a centralized governmental network of health care centers (保健所, *hokensho*) that are located in every community.

The primary concern and responsibility of the *hokensho* is human health and its sub-department deals with animal control and management. *Hokenshos* are generally directed by a physician and the sub-departments of animal control by a veterinarian. Due to the centralized system of *hokenshos*, accurate records of animals killed and

---

<sup>117</sup> Shoji 2008, 180.

<sup>118</sup> Act on Welfare and Management of Animals 2006, chapter 3, section 2, article 10.

<sup>119</sup> Shoji 2008, 180.

<sup>120</sup> Act on Welfare and Management of Animals 2006, chapter 2, article 6.

adopted are kept.<sup>121</sup> Lately, new names have been created to refer to official animal pounds instead of *hokensho*, such as aigo center (動物愛護センター, *aigo sentaa*), animal protection center (動物の保護センター, *doubutsu no hogo sentaa*) or animal management center (動物の管理センター, *doubutsu no kanri sentaa*). These are only a few variations that indicate either a pound's transformation to a shelter (protection center) or the practice of killing the animals in custody after the required period (management center). As the *hokensho* is the common name for the public health center responsible for animal management and the organizations often used it also when English was spoken, I will also refer generally to official animal pounds and shelters as the *hokensho*.

Local governments are allowed to “take any other necessary measures concerning the care and keeping of animals, so as to maintain the health and safety of animals and to ensure that animals do not cause trouble to humans”.<sup>122</sup> The necessary measures to control especially the stray animal population and the handling of animals abandoned by their owners have thus far been for the most part killing at the *hokensho*.<sup>123</sup> Although the animal welfare law states that the method of destroying has to minimize pain and distress, the primary method of killing has been gassing by carbon dioxide.<sup>124</sup> ALIVE conducts a yearly national survey about animal officials and their practices. The survey result reports also include comprehensive data on animals killed at city and prefectural level. The total number of animals killed in 2008 at the *hokensho* was 286,492, of which 202,228 were cats and 84,264 were dogs. Compared to 2007, the total number of killed animals had decreased by 23,965.<sup>125</sup> The method and necessity of large-scale killing has been criticized by media, the public and animal welfare organizations.

What is an interesting development in national animal welfare and management from the perspective of this research is that the acknowledgement of the benefits of working with NPOs and the access of these organizations to the policy-making

<sup>121</sup> Hart et al 1998, 157–158.

<sup>122</sup> Act on Welfare and Management of Animals 2006, chapter 3, section 1, article 9.

<sup>123</sup> The mass-killing at the *hokensho* is generally called culling (殺処分, *satsushobun*). Euthanasia (安楽死, *anrakushi*), killing individual animals with injection, has been promoted lately as a more humane method.

<sup>124</sup> Act on Welfare and Management of Animals 2006, chapter 5, article 40; ALIVE 2010c, 28–29.

<sup>125</sup> ALIVE 2010c, 45.

process has improved. Of course, this access is permitted for only a few organizations, but it reflects changes in society and increased opportunities, similar to the ones described in the third chapter. An example of political opportunities has been participation in the investigative commission of animal protection and management (動物の愛護管理のあり方検討会, *doubutsu no aigo kanri no arikata kentoukai*)<sup>126</sup>, which consists of state authorities as well as private organizations working on issues concerning the forthcoming revision of the animal welfare law. Three of the organizations I interviewed (JAWS, JSPCA and ALIVE) have participated in the meetings of this commission as permanent and temporary members, together with representatives of universities, the Japanese society of veterinary science and other parties.

Under the authorization of the Ministry of the Environment, the investigation committee prepared a statement concerning cooperation with the NPOs<sup>127</sup> at their sixth meeting in 2004. The statement introduces benefits, guidelines, and problematic issues of cooperation between the government and NPOs that resemble the issues discussed in the previous chapter. According to the statement, despite the improvements and the acknowledgement of the importance of cooperation between administration and NPOs, there are still various problems in animal welfare. However, compared to the West, where NPOs play an important role in various fields, cooperation in Japan has not developed as harmoniously, for four reasons in particular. Firstly, because the efforts of the local administrations' course of action and implementation are not always explicitly stated, the common understanding of role division between NPOs and administration has not been cultivated. Secondly, because guaranteeing the balance between the respect of NPOs' independence and cooperation has been problematic. Moreover, there are certain limits to many cooperation activities with NPOs that have fragile financial or membership structures. Lastly, there are only a few precedents for cooperation projects that have originated like this. Furthermore, both the project field and the promotion policies have been ambiguous.

---

<sup>126</sup> Ministry of Environment n.d. 動物の愛護管理のあり方検討会

<sup>127</sup> In the statement, the term NGO is used. It can be interpreted to refer to domestic non-governmental organizations for which I have used the term NPO, thus I will use here the latter concept.

In future, as it is stated, it will be necessary to develop means of creating common understanding, maintain a system for cooperation project implementation as well as to distribute information in order to solve these problems. Animal protection week, animal relief aid at the time of catastrophes, area cat programs and promotion of the controlled breeding of cats living in the habitats of rare wild animals were introduced as successful ongoing examples of cooperation between NPOs and administration.<sup>128</sup> The statement of the investigative commission of the animal protection and management also included the results of a survey of the animal welfare organizations in Japan. These results are used as a reference in the following chapters in which I will introduce the research method, data and the pro-animal organizations.

---

<sup>128</sup> Investigative commission of the animal protection and management, 2004.

## **4 Data collection and research methods**

As the title of this thesis reveals to the reader, the geographical focus of this thesis is the pro-animal organizations in the Tokyo and Kansai areas, the latter including cities such as Kyoto, Kobe and Osaka. Since there is no previous literature about pro-animal organizations in Japan in English, the urban centers of Tokyo and Kansai seemed to be the most prominent places to begin the research, because of their dense population and allegedly higher level of awareness and activity. This turned out to be the case, especially in the case of Tokyo, where many organizations are located. Because this research concentrates on these urban centers, an additional study would be required to give a broader picture of pro-animal activities also in the rural areas.

The internet was the only possible tool to start the data collection project before the actual fieldwork. Studying the websites of the organizations also had certain benefits. Firstly, I assumed that the organizations updating their websites are active and, thus, relevant for the study of social movements and civil society. Through their pages, the organizations communicate with the public aiming at recruiting more members and at inspiring social change. Secondly, the pages gave me an overall view on the aims and tactics of the organizations. I will include the information from the web pages in the analysis, since the pages can be thought of as advertisements of the organizations, providing a compact and explicit set of their external frames. Thirdly, as practical benefits, the pages offered me a set of contact information, and links to other organizations. I also assumed that if there were influential organizations that did not have websites, I would be informed about these organizations while meeting representatives of the others.

At the beginning of the data collection process, I searched potential informants from the internet and created a list of pro-animal organizations in Japan. Prior to data collection, I had decided to exclude international NGOs and environment protection organizations, since my aim was to reach grassroots organizations being established in Japan and motivated by local or national issues especially in the field of animal welfare. I assumed that these organizations, though possibly drawing their



motivation from abroad, would respond to local circumstances and shape their framing according to the environment that had triggered their activities.

Internet searches with keywords such as 動物福祉 (*doubutsu fukushi*, animal welfare) and 動物愛護 (*doubutsu aigo*, animal love and protection) together with words such as 団体 (*dantai*, organization) and 協会 (*kyoukai*, association) and グループ (*guruupu*, group) resulted in a list of contact information from 109 websites. This list included organizations from both Tokyo and Kansai areas as well as elsewhere in Japan. Naturally, the method of internet searches could have affected the results of this research. Due to the still limited popularity of the internet and capability to create websites, not all the organizations had actively updated pages. However, as Tsujinaka has shown, only focusing for example on statistics provided by the government is not enough to map the active organizations in Japan.<sup>129</sup> Hence, the internet search directed the preliminary steps of the research, and active organizations with resources to use the internet and the will to spread their message in public were selected for further inquiries.

The next step in the data collection process was to approach all the organizations on the list by sending an internet questionnaire<sup>130</sup> to them using the Webropol service. The questionnaire included questions about the size, scope, funding, and budget of the organizations as well as questions about their main activities and cooperation with other organizations. The questionnaire was kindly translated by Kanako Kuramitsu. The purpose of the questionnaire was to collect background information and also to create the first contacts with the organizations. The response rate was only 17.4%; of the 109 groups to which I sent the questionnaire, only nineteen responded. In addition, I received answers on paper from ARK and JSPCA during my stay in Japan.

Due to the limitations of the fieldwork resources, the organizations outside Tokyo and Kansai area that responded the questionnaire were not interviewed. In Tokyo and Kansai, four organizations that had responded to the questionnaire did not reply to

---

<sup>129</sup> Tsujinaka 2003.

<sup>130</sup> Appendix 1.

my inquiries to interview them. Later during my fieldwork, I was able to interview the representatives of JAWS and JSPCA, from whom I did not receive full answers to the questionnaire. These two are included in the analysis because of their large influence, size and long history.<sup>131</sup> Thus, the scope of this research was narrowed down to twelve organizations. For the sake of clarity, I will include only the interviewed organizations' survey results in the analysis, since the interviews and publications are the primary data of this research.

I conducted the actual fieldwork in Japan from May to mid-July in 2010. In May, I volunteered for a week in ARK's animal shelter in Osaka. The volunteer work, consisting mainly of walking the dogs, playing with the cats and cleaning the facilities, gave me a good picture of how the shelter management requires resources, time and energy, thus possibly leaving fewer opportunities to actively engage in other activities. Other activities I took part in during my stay in Japan included volunteering for a day at the ANGELS' shelter in Kansai as well as participating in a demonstration against animal testing organized by JAVA, and ARK's cat adoption event in Tokyo.

Altogether I conducted fourteen interviews with organizations' representatives. I interviewed all the twelve organizations once, except ARK, where, instead of one interview with the representative of the organization, I was able to interview three persons that are in charge of different aspects of the organization's management. In some interviews, such as interviews with Lifeboat and JAVA, more than one person was present answering the questions. I consider this to be a benefit, offering diverse views on the same issue. The interviews with JAVA, JAWS, Tokyo ARK, PIIA Knots, ALIVE, JSPCA, and Lifeboat were recorded and transcribed. The handwritten notes on ARK and ARSF interviews were typed right after the interview. I also received answers to my follow-up questions from ARSF, JSPCA and ARC by e-mail. Since I felt that my spoken Japanese skills were not sufficient to conduct a detailed interview, I received help from Harumi Koseki, who kindly interpreted the

---

<sup>131</sup> Organizations such as JAWS, JSPCA, ALIVE and ARK were frequently mentioned in the links to relevant organizations in Japan on the internet and they are relatively large organizations on Japan's scale. Because for example JAWS and JSPCA are involved in the revision of the animal welfare law, I set out to interview them during my fieldwork, despite the lack of questionnaire data. I received ARK's answers in paper form while I was volunteering at their animal shelter and the representative of JSPCA replied partially to the questions during the interview.

interviews with JAVA and Lifeboat and from Maho Cavalier, who interpreted the interview with ALIVE. As I could understand most of the Japanese spoken during the interview, I consider both Koseki's and Cavalier's interpretations reliable. In the analysis chapter, the quotations from the interviews of JAVA, Lifeboat and ALIVE are quotations of the live translation by either Koseki or Cavalier. The rest of the information from the interviews is either from interviews done in English or in some cases (Angels and JSPCA) translated by me into English from a Japanese interview.

The information received from the representative of CAPIN consists of my visit to Tsukuba where I followed her in her daily routine. We constantly discussed relevant questions during the day we spent together. Although this case cannot necessarily be considered as an interview, I will still include the information in analysis, especially because it revealed some more detailed issues than a brief interview could have done. Similarly, the interviews with JSPCA and ARC can be treated with a certain degree of caution: both consist of my questions in Japanese to ARC members in a meeting with other activists and to the head of the secretariat Kou Yoshino at the JSPCA's office. Both interviews were afterwards continued by follow-up questions by e-mail. Furthermore, the interview with Angels could be described more like a lunch-time discussion in English and Japanese after a long morning spent cleaning dog kennels. All of these four organizations have very informative websites, which I will use to complement the deficiencies of the interviews.<sup>132</sup> In addition, JSPCA publishes a newsletter.

Regardless of these inconsistencies in interview situations, the data I managed to collect directly from the organizations offers more detailed and diverse information than could be collected using only internet sources. Data from multiple sources and different perspectives provides a more comprehensive understanding, as scholars of social movements have noted.<sup>133</sup> To complement the information in the interviews, I collected altogether 48 copies of newsletters in addition to other publications, such as

---

<sup>132</sup> This does not mean that the opinions presented in the interviews and in websites are always interchangeable. However, among the smaller organizations, such as ARC, CAPIN and Angels the people interviewed were the same people who were active in the group and updating the websites. JSPCA then again is the oldest animal welfare group in Japan and I assume has its dominant frames articulated in their comprehensive and detailed web pages as well as in their other publications.

<sup>133</sup> Zuo and Benford 1995, 133; Lindholm 2005, 27–30.

annual reports, statistics, leaflets and seminar reports.<sup>134</sup> As Snow points out, frames are not located only in the minds of individuals but can also be found in different publications and announcements of the collectives.<sup>135</sup> Thus, the newsletters and other publications can be regarded as public framing efforts, representing the whole group and not merely individual members' viewpoints. I will introduce in detail the type and amount of data collected from each group in the next chapter.

The number of newsletters received from each group differs because of the differences in availability of the newsletters at the time of my visit to organizations' offices. Not all organizations have their own newsletter, which is also an important indication of chosen tactics. For example, ARSF concentrates its resources solely on neutering local stray cats and hoping to achieve attitude change through its practical activities and not through publications. Therefore, leaving organizations that do not publish newsletters outside the study would have biased the analysis. In the analysis section, due to the difference between amounts of data collected from the organizations, the perceptions of the organizations, which have provided me with more data, will be slightly more dominant.

As I have noted before, the frame analysis is always to some extent a subjective interpretation; the prevailing components of framing tasks introduced in the analysis chapter are categorizations of the prevailing themes in the data done by me as a researcher. Thus, they do not provide an all-encompassing picture of the pro-animal organizations' frames throughout Japan, nor do they necessarily correspond to the opinions of individual members, the internal collective frames or the frame disputes among the members. A longer participatory fieldwork would be required in order to observe the frames in the making within the individual groups and between their audiences. Nevertheless, this research offers a case example of collective action framing efforts and their connection to context, and serves as a pioneer research of the pro-animal organizations and their activities in Japan.

---

<sup>134</sup> All except six newsletters from ARK (no.56, 59, 60, 62, 73, 75), which were accessed through the internet, were collected during the fieldwork.

<sup>135</sup> Snow 2004, 387.

## 5 Profiles of the pro-animal organizations

In this chapter, I introduce the pro-animal organizations studied in this research and the quantity and quality of the data<sup>136</sup> collected from them. The information consists primarily of survey results and is complemented with information from the organizations' homepages and interviews, making this chapter unfortunately rather list-like. However, it is important to introduce the basic features of the organizations to understand the variety of the activities. At the end of this chapter, I compare these features to the national survey of the pro-animal groups conducted by the investigative commission of the animal protection and management.

**ALIVE** (All Life in a Viable Environment, NPO法人 地球生物会議), established in 1996, has its headquarters in Tokyo and has local groups for example in Osaka, Fukushima, Fukui and Ibaraki. ALIVE became recognized as an NPO *houjin* in 2010. It has one employed staff member and the number of active volunteers is around 30, varying depending on the occasion. ALIVE did not provide exact membership numbers, but its mailing list has 400 members, indicating the distribution of their message. ALIVE receives all its income from membership fees for its yearly expenses of approximately 15 million yen<sup>137</sup>. Among the organizations studied in this research, ALIVE has one of the widest sets of goals, similar to ARC, ranging from pet owner education, abandonment prevention, attitude change and campaigns for changes in the law on equal rights for animals, wildlife and natural diversity protection, improvement of the living conditions of shelter, zoo and farm animals and the abolition of animal testing.

ALIVE is trying to achieve these aims mainly through internet activity, media attention, events, publications, cooperation with other organizations and official contacts with authorities and parties. Data collected from ALIVE includes an interview with the representative of ALIVE, Fusako Nogami, survey answers, six

---

<sup>136</sup> I mention here all the data that was collected, although not all of it is used in the analysis. The types of data collected from each organization indicate what kind of means they use to spread their message. For example, most organizations use handouts to inform the public about their activities. JAWS for example provided me with copies of animal protection information leaflets printed by the Ministry of Environment, suggesting that they are acting in mutual understanding with the authorities.

<sup>137</sup> Since ALIVE did not report their budget, this number is based on the expenses reported in the balance sheet of the fiscal year 2010. (ALIVE 2010d)

newsletters (2009–2010), a result report of the national animal official's questionnaire 2008, and information on ALIVE's homepage.

**Angels** (Dog Rescue Team Angels, NPO法人 動物愛護団体「エンジェルズ」) was established in 2005 and became recognized as an NPO *houjin* in 2010. Before that, the representative Toshihiko Hayashi started dog protection activities at his home. The activities expanded and finally Hayashi decided to go to work at ARK. They did not like some practices of ARK, so they decided to establish their own organization called Angels. Originally the organization was called ARK Angels, but ARK prosecuted Angels for using the name ARK illegally and Angels lost the court case. Angels has a dog shelter in Shiga prefecture's Takashima city and in Osaka city. They also have a foster home system for kittens. In 2010, Angels had three paid staff members and approximately 25 active volunteers, whose responsibility is to provide care for protected dogs. The main activity is to rescue animals, of which the majority are pedigree dogs from the *hokensho* and breeders, and to care and rehome them. In 2009, 42 dogs were accommodated at the Angels' shelter.<sup>138</sup> Angels did not provide accurate numbers about their members.

The main aims of Angels include education of pet owners, equal rights to animals, attitude change, the abolition of animal testing, improvement in the living conditions at *hokensho*, dog rescuing from breeders, preventing the killing and abandonment of animals, trapping and protecting abandoned animals and changes in the law. The tactics to achieve these goals and the ideal of peaceful co-existence between humans and animals include media attention, school visits, rehoming, pet owner education, official governmental contacts and internet activity. Angels' revenues consist of membership fees, private donations, fundraising and sales activities such as charity bazaars. The yearly budget is approximately 12 million yen. The biggest expenses are veterinary costs, rent, media costs, salaries for staff and utility costs, including

---

<sup>138</sup> Angels interview 23.5.2010. Hereinafter, I refer to the interviews with the name of the organization and the date of the interview. For the sake of clarity, I also use the word interview in each reference. Because there are three interviews with ARK Osaka, I identify each of them with the name of the interviewee (e.g. ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010). The detailed information of the interviews can be found in the list of unpublished references. References that include the name of the author or organization, year, name and number of the publication, and the page number refer to articles and other texts in printed data, such as newsletters and leaflets (e.g. Yamamoto 2007, JAVA News no. 79, 17). Internet page references include the name of the organization or author, date of publication and the title of the page referred (e.g. JAVA n.d. “JAVAとは?”).

animal food costs. Interview, survey results and websites constitute the data that was collected from Angels.

**ARC** (Animal Rights Center, NPO法人 アニマルライツセンター) was established in 1987 originally in Kanagawa, but now has its office in Tokyo. In 1999, ARC was registered as an NPO *houjin*. Although there are plans to hire a staff member, ARC is currently run by approximately twenty active volunteers and has 300 registered members. The yearly budget of ARC is 2,5 million yen and its income consists of membership fees and donations from private persons. The biggest expenses are office rent and media costs, because ARC publishes different handouts and a newsletter called ARC News. ARC is striving for its ideal of a society peacefully co-existing with animals by aiming at changing attitudes towards animals, trying to prevent abandonment of pets and end cruelty to animals, animal testing and fur production, campaigning for changes in the law and equal rights for animals, improving the living conditions in the shelters, farms and zoos, educating pet owners, and promoting vegetarianism. In order to achieve these aims, ARC organizes demonstrations and events, tries to create official and unofficial contacts with authorities and political parties, utilizes the internet and seeks media attention. The data gathered from ARC includes survey results, one newsletter published in 2010, information on ARC's homepage, and an interview in the ARC meeting supplemented by follow-up questions sent by e-mail.

**ARK** (Animal Refuge Kansai, NPO法人 アニマルレフュジ関西) and **ARK Tokyo** were both established by Elizabeth Oliver who is originally from Britain. Oliver worked as an English teacher and as a volunteer for JAWS. According to Oliver, JAWS's policy was that the Japanese were not ready to be pet owners so they usually killed all the animals that ended up in JAWS's shelter. She felt she had to do something and decided to establish ARK's animal shelter and rehoming organization. ARK was established in 1990 to rescue animals from suffering and was accepted as an international member of the RSPCA (The Royal Society for Preventing Cruelty to Animals). ARK was incorporated as an NPO *houjin* in 1999.<sup>139</sup> The Tokyo branch Tokyo ARK was established in 2005 and uses foster homes to accommodate the

---

<sup>139</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010; ARK n.d. “What is ARK?”

animals before finding them a permanent home. Both the Osaka and Tokyo ARK aim primarily at rehoming animals, educating pet owners and changing peoples' attitudes towards animals by running the shelter, organizing events and through media attention. ARK's animal shelter in Osaka employs thirty staff members responsible for general management, animal care, a veterinary clinic, and office duties.<sup>140</sup>

The staff is aided by ten regular volunteers who participate mainly in animal care and mostly at weekends.<sup>141</sup> The animal shelter has capacity for approximately 200 dogs and 160 cats and also has other animals such as rabbits. For example in 2009, 255 dogs and 172 cats were taken in and 252 dogs and 140 cats left the premises because of adoption or death.<sup>142</sup> ARK receives almost all animal food as donations from pet food companies or as other donors. The biggest proportion of yearly expenses of approximately 130 million yen consists of veterinary costs, media costs and salaries. These are covered mainly by membership fees, donations from private persons, and animal sponsorship fees. ARK also organizes fundraising events. Data collected includes interviews with the representative and founder of ARK, Elizabeth Oliver, office staff Sakae Kishida, ARK's veterinarian Marisa Miyamoto, and with the representative of ARK Tokyo, Briar Simpson. In addition to the interviews, I obtained 15 newsletters (2004-2010, of which six were retrieved from the internet) and statistics on animals at the shelter (dog and cat IN/OUT lists).

**ARSF** (Animal Rescue System Fund, アニマルレスキューシステム基金) was founded by Hiro Yamasaki. Yamasaki did not know about pet overpopulation in Kobe before the earthquake in 1995. In 1995, Yamasaki ran a shelter for six months and did animal rescue in the areas affected by the earthquake. Once he saw a veterinarian from Tokyo neutering cats all day long and realized the importance of the prevention of the first litter of stray cats in order to avoid the growth of the cat population. After that he decided to leave rescuing and shelter work and concentrate only on high-volume TNR<sup>143</sup>, utilizing fast low-cost early spay and neuter practices.

---

<sup>140</sup> ARK n.d. "Osaka ARK".

<sup>141</sup> ARK – Kishida interview 15.5.2010; ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>142</sup> ARK IN/OUT list Dog 2009; ARK IN/OUT list Cat 2009; ARK n.d. "Osaka ARK".

<sup>143</sup> TNR (trap-neuter-return) is an activity originating from USA, including trapping the cats in the area, neutering them and returning them to their original location, because most of them would not be



Now ARSF has its own animal clinic called No More Homeless Animals Clinic in Kobe, where it practises TNR with five salaried staff members, working towards the goal of their five-year project to reduce the number of kittens being killed in Kobe city by 50% compared to 2006. ARSF also educates veterinary students. 60% of ARSF's yearly budget of 18 million yen comes from TNR fees (5,000 yen per male and 3,000 yen per female cat) and 40% from donations. The biggest costs are veterinary costs, rent, media costs and salaries.<sup>144</sup> Because ARSF does not publish a newsletter, the data collected about it consists of an interview with the representative Hiro Yamasaki, follow-up questions sent by e-mail, the website, survey results and leaflets.

**CAPIN** (Citizens for Animal Protection, Ibaraki Network, NPO法人 動物愛護を考える茨城県民ネットワーク) was established in 2009 when the cat of the founder of CAPIN, Makomi Tsuruta, died and she started noticing the poor state of animal welfare. CAPIN does not have an office, but targets its activities on Southern Ibaraki prefecture (Tsukuba, Ushiku and Toride) from the private homes of the members. CAPIN was registered as an NPO *houjin* in 2011. In 2010, CAPIN had approximately 50 members of whom ten are active in protecting and rehoming cats and dogs, promoting activities by making documents, collecting signatures and participating in events as well as managing public relations and advocating CAPIN's cause to media and city officials.

CAPIN collects the money for its yearly budget of 30,000 yen through membership fees, donations from private persons and fundraising and sales activities. In addition to media costs, other big expenses are animal food and veterinary costs. In order to achieve its main aims of animal rescue and rehoming, attitude change in society, abandonment prevention, improvement of conditions in *hokensho*, equal rights for human and animals, education for children and promotion of vegetarianism, CAPIN utilizes many different tactics: media attention, publications, events, official and unofficial governmental contacts, contacts with political parties, pet owner education

---

suitable for adoption. Nowadays a concept TNRM has gained popularity: M stands for maintenance, since the cats are given shelter and food and regular health checks. Local citizens are increasingly activated to participate in similar "area cat" (地域猫, *chiiki neko*) activities to neuter and care for local stray cats.

<sup>144</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010; ARSF n.d. "ARSF Objectives".

and cooperation with other organizations. The data concerning CAPIN consists of an interview with the representative, Makomi Tsuruta, survey results and information on CAPIN's homepage.

**JAVA** (Japan Anti-Vivisection Association, NPO法人 動物実験の廃止求める会) was established in 1986 and registered as an NPO *houjin* in 2001. Having approximately 2,000 members, JAVA aims primarily at exposing the ethical and scientific problems of animal experiments, and at promoting alternative methods nationally in Japan that it hopes will eventually lead to the abolition of animal experiments. In addition to this, JAVA advocates animal rights and the value of all living creatures in many other fields as well, enforcing their activities with international cooperation. In addition to participation at international conferences, the main activities include demonstrations, media attention, various events, cooperation with other organizations and internet activity. In 2001, JAVA had two employed staff members working at the office in Tokyo and 12 active volunteers helping in management and activities. JAVA's income and the yearly budget of 12 million yen consist of membership fees and donations. On its website, JAVA specifies that it does not receive any financial aid from the state or business enterprises. The biggest expenses are media costs, rent and salaries for staff.<sup>145</sup> The data collected from JAVA includes survey answers, an interview with two JAVA's office staff members Miho Yamamoto and Satoko Wazaki, eight newsletters (2006-2010) and handouts.

**JAWS** (Japan Animal Welfare Society, 公益社団法人 日本動物福祉協会), one of the oldest animal welfare organizations in Japan, gained the legal status of incorporated association in 1956. In 2011, JAWS became recognized as a PIIA *houjin*. According to veterinarian inspector, Dr Yamaguchi, JAWS started its activities first by helping animals held in university laboratories, and it was originally a part of JSPCA. JAWS has approximately 3,000 members<sup>146</sup> and altogether nine branches around Japan (Hokkaido, Tochigi, Shin-Tokyo, Yokohama, Sagami,

---

<sup>145</sup> JAVA n.d. "JAVA とは？"; JAVA 14.6.2010

<sup>146</sup> Yamaguchi from JAWS noted that this is not a big number compared to the whole population of Japan. For comparison, the Finnish Federation for Animal Welfare Associations (Suomen Eläinsuojeluyhdistysten Liitto, SEY) had 10,055 members in 2009 (Suomen Eläinsuojeluyhdistysten liitto 2009). Another well known Finnish organization concentrating on animal rights, Animalia, has approximately 6,000 members. (Animalia n.d. "Mikä Animalia?")

Minami-Osaka, Hanshin and Tokushima branches and Mie liaison office), which are mostly ran by volunteers. Also the cooperation project with Kobe city animal welfare center called CC Kuro is conducted under JAWS's administration. All the income of JAWS comes from membership fees and donations and it does not receive subsidies from government.

In the majority of its activities, JAWS relies on volunteers. The main activities of JAWS are the following: “for the animals 1. Public education on animal welfare and activities for the prevention of cruelty 2. Subsidizing spay/neuter programs in order to prevent unwanted pets 3. Rehoming of abandoned and surrendered animals 4. Animal rescue during disasters 5. Public education concerning the Animal Welfare Law and cooperating with the government in reviewing the law 6. Operating a call center for animal issues and gathering animal-related information both domestically and internationally and for society 7. Sponsoring workshops, seminars, and symposia as well as an annual competition for schoolchildren writing about their animal experiences.”<sup>147</sup> Data about JAWS includes eight newsletters between 2007 and 2010, an interview with Dr Chizuko Yamaguchi, veterinarian inspector of JAWS in Tokyo, annual reports of 2007-2009, leaflets published by the Ministry of the Environment and writing competition essays.

**JSPCA** (Japan Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 財団法人 日本動物愛護協会) was established in 1948. JSPCA responded to growing interest in and positive feelings towards animals after World War II. JSPCA is the only interviewed group having the legal status of incorporated association, granted as far back as 1955. JSPCA aims at spreading information so that the animal protection law can be implemented everywhere. In order to do this, they are creating bonds between citizens and government and realizing the power of citizens.<sup>148</sup> JSPCA aims especially to change peoples' attitudes towards animals as well as rehome homeless animals, prevent abandonment and killing at the *hokensho*, campaign for changes in the law and educate pet owners. Their tactics include publications, events, school visits, animal rehoming, government contacts, cooperation with other organizations, internet activity and pet owner education. JSPCA's yearly budget is approximately

<sup>147</sup> JAWS n.d. “The Japan Animal Welfare Society JAWS”.

<sup>148</sup> JSPCA interview 22.6.2010; JSPCA n.d. “私たちの使命, 歴史”.

38 million yen and the revenues consist of membership fees, donations from private persons and fundraising activities. The main expenses are rent, salaries and media costs. In 2010, JSPCA had a membership of 711. Data about JSPCA includes an interview with the head of secretariat Kou Yoshino and four newsletters (2008-2010).

**PIIA Knots** (公益社団法人ノッツ) was established in 1999 after the Great Hanshin earthquake. Knots was registered as an NPO *houjin* in 2000 and later in 2010 as a PIIA *houjin*. In 2010, Knots had four paid staff members and fifteen active volunteers assisting the staff in the organization's management. Knots has many income sources such as membership fees, grants, sales activities, consulting fees and sometimes project-specific financial aid from local government. This income covers the yearly budget of 3,3 million yen, which includes the biggest expenses of rent, media costs, salaries and project costs. Knots targets its activities at both humans and animals, because “‘knots’ are the ‘ties that bind us’”. We aim to realize improve lifestyles for ‘all kinds of lives’ by tying ‘people to people’, and ‘people to animals’. With many such ties we want to create a ‘happy society for people and other animals’.”<sup>149</sup> In practice, tying these knots means aiming at attitude change, changes in the law, wildlife protection, natural diversity protection, improvement in the living conditions of livestock, zoo animals and animals in official shelters. The tactics to reach this include media attention, publications, cooperation with other organizations, pet owner education, internet activity and exchanges between experts. Data provided by Knots includes an interview with the representative Tominaga Kayoko, survey results, websites and seminar publications.

**Lifeboat** (NPO法人 犬猫ためのライフボート) was established in 1998 and registered as an NPO法人 in 2008, to offer a new change to animals saved from the *hokensho*. The shelters in United States and Australia inspired the founder of Lifeboat, which currently has an animal shelter in Kashiwa city, Chiba prefecture near Tokyo. The number of animals taken into care at the shelter in 2009 totaled 1,516 of which 1,273 were cats and 665 dogs. All the animals are abandoned animals retrieved from the nine *hokensho* with which Lifeboat has a cooperation agreement.

---

<sup>149</sup> Knots n.d. “About Knots”.

In 2010, Lifeboat had 19 paid staff members. The responsibilities of the staff consist of general management and daily care of the animals at the shelter. Approximately sixty active volunteers assist the paid staff. The main sources of funding for the yearly budget of 50 million yen consist of donations from private persons, grants from companies and foundations and transfer fees for dogs and cats. The biggest expenses are veterinary costs, rent, salaries for staff and animal food costs. Through rehoming, media attention and internet activity, Lifeboat aims to achieve its main goals of finding new homes for abandoned animals, educating pet owners and increasing the awareness of the pets' early-age sterilization.<sup>150</sup> The data collected for this research from Lifeboat consists of an interview with Vice Chairman Emi Kaneko and Vice Chairman Tomoharu Inaba, survey results and information retrieved from the group's website.

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, in 2004 the investigative commission of the animal protection and management conducted a survey of NPOs related to animal welfare, which was sent altogether to 222 animal protection organizations including some business associations doing animal welfare-related activities. The list of associations was created based on information on websites and in literature. The response rate was 78%.

The commission's survey revealed that more than 70% of the organizations were founded in 1990 or after and most of them are located in urban areas. The majority of the organizations concentrate on tackling local problems: up to 70% chose administrative divisions or cities as the scope of their activities, whereas 23.7% try to advocate animal welfare nationally and only 1.8% internationally. Johnson et al. have found a similar pattern in Japanese environmental organizations: local organizations are more common and older than the younger organizations acting on national level.<sup>151</sup> The organizations introduced above were mostly focused on local activities, naming the city or prefectural level as their main area of activities. ARK, JAVA and ALIVE were the only organizations explicitly naming the whole of Japan as their main area, in addition to their physical location in Osaka and Tokyo. Among the interviewed organizations, JAWS, JSPCA and ALIVE have a relatively direct

---

<sup>150</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010; Lifeboat n.d. “ライフボートについて”

<sup>151</sup> Johnson et al. 2009, 499–500.

possibility to advocate changes in national legislation, since they are members of the investigative commission of the animal protection and management.

In the commission's survey, the majority (48.5%) of the 171 organizations answering the question concerning legal personality were unincorporated associations (任意団体, *nin'i dantai*), whereas 18.7% were NPO *houjin*. Other categories were civil law legal corporations (民法法人, *minpou houjin* 32.2,%) that include incorporated associations and corporations, and "other legal personalities" (0.6%).

Of the twelve organizations studied in this research, ten have legal status. The organizations without legal status are ARSF and ARK Tokyo. However, ARK Tokyo is a branch group of ARK Osaka, which has the status of NPO *houjin*. At the time of replying to the questionnaire, three organizations were in the process of applying for legal status. These organizations were CAPIN, Angels and ALIVE. Since my fieldwork, the legal status of some of the organizations has changed: Angels and ALIVE were registered as NPO *houjin* in 2010 and CAPIN in 2011. NPO Knots became PIIA Knots in November 2010. Also JAWS, which was previously a corporation, was granted the status of PIIA *houjin* in 2011. As mentioned in the organizations' introduction, other organizations – ARC in 1999, ARK in 1999, JAVA in 2001, and Lifeboat in 2008 – are registered as NPO *houjin*, except JSPCA, which has had the legal status of a corporation since 1955.

In the commission's survey, the percentage of organizations having fewer than 50 members was approximately 30, but on the other hand over 20% of the organizations had over 500 members. Most organizations did not have full-time employees at all (58.1%) or had full-time volunteer staff (19.8%). The budgets of the organizations varied, but half of them had a yearly budget of under one million yen. Financially, the organizations relied mostly on membership fees, donations from individuals as well as other sources. 3% of the income was received from project funds entrusted by administration, but administrative subsidies constitute under 1% of the total income of the organizations. The sources of revenues of the twelve organizations in this research resemble this pattern. However, ten of the twelve interviewed organizations have paid staff, thus making the organizations more professionalized than

organizations in general. Also, the membership and budget of most of the groups is above average.

Cats and dogs were clearly the most popular targets of the activities for the organizations that answered the national survey, followed by other pets, wild animals, zoo animals, experiment animals and animal husbandry. The most popular activities nationally were the spread of suitable animal ownership, the spread of pet neutering and sterilization, consultation, increasing public awareness of animal ill-treatment, and rehoming animals. The least popular activities were livestock welfare, research, animal housing, and laboratory animal welfare. The activities of the organizations in the commission's survey were similarly divided into the activities of the organizations studied in this research. However, the relatively unpopular concerns, such as livestock and laboratory animal welfare are quite strongly present among the organizations studied in this research. Next I will turn to a detailed analysis of the grievances, tactics, mobilization practices and agency of the organizations i.e. the collective action frames and their substances.

## **6 Analysis: Pro-animal organizations' framing efforts**

In this chapter, I describe the different arguments, opinions, grievances and tactical choices expressed by the organizations and analyze them in relation to the three framing tasks, agency and civil society. Because the frames are collectively constructed, I write about the organizations in the singular when discussing the articulated opinions and statements. I describe each theme from multiple perspectives if there are, for example, contradicting opinions about the topic. This will give a more accurate description of the framing efforts, since there is not only one prevailing frame and the views between the organizations can differ considerably. Furthermore, the majority of the themes categorized here in their own sections, are usually interconnected. Thus, a certain amount of repetition can be used to illustrate this overlapping of the themes used in frames. For example, lack of knowledge is a factor that, according to many groups, explains several other problems in addition to being a grievance in itself.

In the analysis, the role of the researcher is also relatively important in the interpretation process: I do not intend to present these framing components as the only right ones, but rather to bring up relevant themes that arose from the data. Taking into account the dynamic nature of the framing process, the framing efforts analyzed here will most likely be re-evaluated and reformed in relation to the changes in the environment that the organizations are acting in as well as to the organizations' internal development. Although the newsletters and other written sources offer a glimpse of the organizations' framing efforts over a longer period, the analysis below is more or less a still-picture of a dynamic process, which could offer multiple possibilities for future research in a country where animal welfare and civil society are "still in the making", as many scholars and my informants have argued. These future prospects will be discussed more in the concluding chapter.

### **6.1 Name and self-definition as components of framing**

The first indicator of the organizations' interests and aims is the name they have chosen to describe their organization. Another factor that affects the first impression



of the given pro-animal organization is the specific ideological concept with which they describe themselves, such as animal rights or animal welfare. In fact, the connotations related to the name or the chosen concept to describe the organization can affect the image and credibility of the organization, at least according to some organizations interviewed. The Japanese organizations usually seem to choose to use one of the following terms to describe themselves: *aigo* (愛護, “love and protection”), *fukushi* (福祉, welfare) or *kenri* (権利, rights<sup>152</sup>). These are often used in the names of the organizations. *Aigo* is a concept that consists of words to love (愛す, *aisu*) and to protect (護る, *mamoru*). According to my informants, *aigo* is distinctly a Japanese concept. The animal protection and management law in Japanese is 動物愛護管理法 (*doubutsu aigo kanri hou*) and the word *aigo* is used elsewhere in administration as well. I will use the romanized Japanese names of each concept in order to emphasize the contextual meanings attached to them.

In the survey results, three (ARC, JAVA and CAPIN) of the twelve organizations studied here describe themselves as animal rights (*kenri*) organizations and none of the organizations use the definition “nature conservation” (自然保護, *shizen hogo*) group. *Fukushi* is the most popular concept: five organizations categorize themselves as promoting *fukushi* (ALIVE, ARK, ARK Tokyo<sup>153</sup>, ARSF, and JAWS<sup>154</sup>), whereas three organizations define themselves as promoting *aigo* (JSPCA, Lifeboat, and Angels).<sup>155</sup> Knots did not choose any of the available options of *kenri*, *aigo*, *fukushi* or *hogo* in the questionnaire, but describes its organization as being engaged in “activity aiming at the happiness of both humans and animals”. I will next focus on what kind of issues the organizations relate to each of these concepts. While doing

---

<sup>152</sup> In addition to the word *kenri*, ARC uses also the katakana word アニマルライツ, *animaru raitsu*, to refer to the concept of animal rights.

<sup>153</sup> Although ARK Tokyo did not answer the questionnaire, I will include it in these results because it is a branch office of ARK Osaka and in the interview it became apparent that ARK Tokyo also regards itself as a organizations promoting *fukushi*.

<sup>154</sup> JAWS is the other organization that did not answer the questionnaire, but in its name the concept of *fukushi* is used. During the interview, Dr Yamaguchi also defined JAWS as an organization advocating *fukushi*.

<sup>155</sup> It is noteworthy that the concept of *fukushi* may be over-presented among the organizations studied here: nine of the altogether nineteen organizations that answered my questionnaire chose the option of *aigo* to describe their activities and only four chose *fukushi* (JAWS and Tokyo ARK excluded). It seems that the term *aigo* is popular especially among the grassroots organizations doing small-scale rescue and rehoming. However, this trend should be further studied in order to prove the differences in activities, numbers and the level of institutionalization of the *fukushi*, *aigo* and *kenri* organizations.

this, it is necessary to keep in mind that the organizations have chosen their definitions according to their own interpretations of the concepts and these interpretations can differ from group to group.

*Kenri* is seen to be clearly different from *aigo* and *fukushi*, while the latter two are usually understood to advocate similar issues. The concept of *kenri* is considered as aiming at equality between human and animals or at creating a society, where humans do not interfere with animals' lives and do not use or kill them for any purposes.<sup>156</sup> For example JAVA aims at abolishing all experiments on animals and many of the ARC members are strict vegans and promote issues like veganism, abolition of the fur industry and generally all exploitation of animals. This includes companion animals:

“The animal rights are activist who don't accept the idea even of companion animals. They should be just animals, and shouldn't be kept by humans.”<sup>157</sup>

Since many of the organizations focus on the well-being of companion animals, the ideological foundation of *kenri* is considered problematic and sometimes causing suffering to animals held currently in bad conditions. For example JAWS sent paid volunteers to care for the test animals kept at Tokyo University, because the university staff was not willing to pay attention to their well-being. According to Yamaguchi from JAWS, some organizations such as JAVA interpreted their aid to the animals held in poor conditions at the university as acceptance of animal experiments. However, because of their love for animals, JAWS cannot leave the test animals to suffer in laboratories:

“They said no, no animal experiment. But no, we can't leave them just dying or something. We want to help.”<sup>158</sup>

---

<sup>156</sup> ARC n.d. “動物福祉との違いは”; Kakuma 2010, ALIVE News no.90, 10. The article in ALIVE News draws its conclusions from a survey answered by university students studying animal welfare theory (動物福祉論, *doubutsu fukushi ron*) by Kakuma Yoshie, who is a lecturer in animal science at Teikyo University. Henceforth, in addition to the name of the author, I also will use the name and number of the publication, e.g. “ALIVE News”, in the footnotes in order to make it easier for the reader to follow which organizations are presenting the arguments introduced.

<sup>157</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010; this perception also mentioned in Kakuma 2010, ALIVE News no.90, 10.

<sup>158</sup> JAWS interview 17.6.2010.

Organizations that label themselves as *fukushi* or *aigo* concentrate on gradual improvements, while the organizations that call themselves *kenri* are more oriented towards total change. Organizations promoting *kenri* are regarded as “fundamentalists” in contrast to the more moderate approach of *fukushi*.<sup>159</sup> There is a similar trend in Western animal rights and welfare discussion. Moral judgments from both sides can be made about whether the improvements are enough if the animals are still used, as in the case of debate on laboratory animals between JAWS and JAVA discussed above.<sup>160</sup> The word animal rights might also have negative connotations in Japan. For example ARK is careful not to use the concept of *kenri* because their sponsors might otherwise withdraw their support, because of the association of animal rights with radical activism or terrorism.<sup>161</sup>

“Even a demonstration, a peaceful walk is considered [radical], and is not acceptable by these corporations. So we [ARK] use animal welfare.”<sup>162</sup>

Furthermore, the Japanese people in general are regarded as disliking radical activism, such as demonstrations, which are often associated with *kenri*:

“Many Japanese, they hate aggressive movement. Like animal rights group doing parade wearing nothing, for example no-fur organizations.”<sup>163</sup>

However, although the ideal human-animal relation in society for animal rights would be a society where humans do not interfere with the animals’ lives, ARC for instance emphasizes the importance of valuing all living things. ARC highlights the fact that although they are aiming for equal rights for humans and animals and revealing the shocking conditions of the animals, they do not engage in illegal activities.<sup>164</sup> Their goal is to achieve peaceful co-existence between animals and humans. ARC is also aware of the fact that the concept of *kenri* is not known in

<sup>159</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>160</sup> in Regan 2001, 28–38; Garner 1998, 81–92; Ryder 1996, 166–168, 11; Jasper 1996, 134–136; Francione 1996, 42–60; Francione 1995, 6.

<sup>161</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010; ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>162</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>163</sup> JAWS interview 17.6.2010.

<sup>164</sup> ARC n.d. “順天堂大学から実験に使われる犬を盗み出したという事件があったと聞きました。真相を教”；ARC n.d. “過激な活動はしていませんか。”

Japanese society and often regarded as radical and dangerous.<sup>165</sup> Because of this reputation of the concept of *kenri* and the lack of knowledge, ARC has to often explain itself, its goals and the meaning of animal rights to its audiences.<sup>166</sup>

An exception of the connection between the name and presumed activities relating to the organizations' definitions is CAPIN, an organization which currently concentrates on advocating improvement of the facilities and policies of the local *hokensho*, rehoming a small number of cats and establishing a network of students for TNR in Tsukuba university area. They are trying to take small steps towards a society where there are equal rights for human and animals:

“We neutered 91 stray cats and rehomed 35 dog and cats from our foundation this year. We'd like to achieve laboratory and farm animal's rights in the future, but now we don't do that.”<sup>167</sup>

CAPIN uses *aigo* in their Japanese name, so the name of the organization and the ideals of their director are not necessarily always in line. In the case of CAPIN, animal welfare and rights are seen as a continuum.

Thus, the organizations make a distinction between the image *kenri* from *fukushi* and *aigo*, both of which usually concentrate on companion animals. However, there are two different views on the connection and differences of *fukushi* and *aigo*. Some organizations consider them to be basically the same, since usually the activities and aims of *fukushi* and *aigo* organizations are quite similar.<sup>168</sup> Furthermore, the name might not even matter in the end, if the results achieved are good and the Japanese understand the word *aigo* better.<sup>169</sup> However, sometimes the organizations defining themselves as *fukushi* think that the Japanese do not understand the concept, mainly because it is usually used in the context of human welfare or associated only with companion animal care and protection.<sup>170</sup> Nevertheless, according to JAWS, the concept of *fukushi* is becoming more widely known in Japan alongside the Five

---

<sup>165</sup> Kimura to author, e-mail 14.6.2010.

<sup>166</sup> ARC interview 10.6.2010; ARC n.d. “アニマルライツ(動物の権利)とは?”

<sup>167</sup> CAPIN interview 15.6.2010.

<sup>168</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010; ARSF interview 27.5.2010; JSPCA interview 22.6.2010.

<sup>169</sup> ARK – Kishida interview 15.5.2010.

<sup>170</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010; ARK – Kishida interview 15.5.2010; ALIVE interview 25.6.2010; Kakuma 2010, ALIVE News no.90, 10.

Freedoms<sup>171</sup> of animals.<sup>172</sup> The katakana version of *fukushi* (アニマルウェルフェア, *animaru werufea*) which is used by officials of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, can also be unfamiliar to the majority of stakeholders in agriculture, such as producers and customers.<sup>173</sup>

Even though *aigo* and *fukushi* have similarities, many organizations feel that *aigo* has several problems because of its love component. These problematic implications sometimes affect the general idea of animal welfare and its standards. Firstly, the biggest negative implication of *aigo* is that it is sometimes associated with “animal-crazy people” or “animal hoarding”.<sup>174</sup> Thus, according to the critics of the concept of *aigo*, it can either give a sentimental and non-rational reputation to a group or even inspire so-called rescue activities that do not fulfill the standards of animal welfare:

“Japanese people are like very affectionate. I know they like animals but they don’t care about animal welfare. Welfare means including euthanasia... many Japanese people, they don’t mind how many animals in small area, if only they are alive. They don’t mind their status. They’re only fed every three days or so... the people who are in charge, they don’t have not so much money so they can’t take them to vet and they say “I helped so many animals, I rescued so many animals, but I don’t have so much money, so please give me the money”.<sup>175</sup>

Secondly, the organizations that categorize themselves as *fukushi* seem more likely to include animals other than only companion animals in their scope of activities. For instance, ARC criticizes the concept of *aigo* since it is based on liking or disliking an

---

<sup>171</sup> **1. Freedom from Hunger and Thirst** - by ready access to fresh water and a diet to maintain full health and vigor.

**2. Freedom from Discomfort** - by providing an appropriate environment including shelter and a comfortable resting area.

**3. Freedom from Pain, Injury or Disease** - by prevention or rapid diagnosis and treatment.

**4. Freedom to Express Normal Behavior** - by providing sufficient space, proper facilities and company of the animal's own kind.

**5. Freedom from Fear and Distress** - by ensuring conditions and treatment, which avoid mental suffering.

These freedoms, originating from the 1960s, were first introduced by the Farm Animal Welfare Council in Britain. Later, they were accepted internationally as the basic standards of animal welfare. (Farm Animal Welfare Council 2009, “Five Freedoms”; JAWS, “動物福祉とは – 国際的動物福祉の基本5つの自由“)

<sup>172</sup> JAWS interview 17.6.2010.

<sup>173</sup> Nagamatsu 2010, ALIVE News no.91, 8.

<sup>174</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010; ARSF interview 27.5.2010; ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>175</sup> JAWS interview 17.6.2010.

animal, distracting the focus from the equality of all animals.<sup>176</sup> ALIVE on the other hand sees the *fukushi* as a compromise between *kenri* and *aigo*, since they are focusing widely on issues ranging from livestock and companion animals to biodiversity and wild animals.<sup>177</sup> The advocates of *fukushi* recognize the use of animals by humans and try to improve the well-being of animals from this viewpoint.<sup>178</sup> Hence, on one hand, the organizations perceive that the concept of *fukushi* implies a wider scope of interests in activities than *aigo*. On the other hand, it is used to make evaluative judgments: *Fukushi* represents a higher level of welfare and awareness superior to *aigo*, which is based on emotion.

The names of the organizations refer not only to practical matters of targets, interests and level of welfare, but also convey the ideal of human-animal relations. *Kenri* is seen to promote equal and non-interfering relations between human and animal. *Aigo* then again has an opposite ideal of human-animal relation, in which the humans are above animals as caretakers:

“In *doubutsu aigo*, people are above animals. This is the concept. Human are better and stronger. Welfare is, animal welfare is people take care of animals... And welfare is important because they are living things and we care about them and treat them equally... So, *aigo* is more like parent and children. So people are parent and animal are children.”<sup>179</sup>

Because the animal welfare law includes the concept of *aigo* in its name, ALIVE, for example, thinks that it is difficult to try to promote the idea of *fukushi*, in the sense that humans would be treating the animals equally while taking care of them. This is the reason why ALIVE advocates the term 動物保護法 (*doubutsu hogo hou*, animal protection law) in the next revision of the animal welfare and management law. 保護 (*hogo*, protection) is a common Japanese word that could serve as a relative value-free name for the revised law. In the previous law revisions, JSPCA advocated the name 動物愛護法 (*doubutsu aigo hou*, animal “love and protection” law) and JAWS promoted the use of the concept of *fukushi* instead of *aigo*.<sup>180</sup> The groups that are

<sup>176</sup> ARC n.d. “動物愛護との違いは？”

<sup>177</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>178</sup> Kakuma 2010, ALIVE News no.90, 10.

<sup>179</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>180</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

critical of official animal welfare management want to separate themselves from official animal management by using the concept of *fukushi*. They also criticize the renaming of the *hokensho* as ‘*aigo* center’, an improvement that some organizations regard merely as a façade, hiding the actual cruel conditions.

Besides the practical matters and ideological premises of *aigo* and *fukushi*, the public image of the group is also important. According to ARSF, some organizations try to improve their image by calling themselves only an NPO instead of an *aigo* organization in order to avoid being thought of as “animal crazy people”, although their activities do not differ from the *aigo* organizations. ARSF wants to avoid being associated with “sentimental” organizations and calls itself *fukushi*, just to be on a safe side.<sup>181</sup> Knots separates itself from this discussion of emotionality by defining its activities as educational activity. As discussed later, Knots also criticizes the sentimentality of pro-animal activities as a whole as lacking rational management.

Because of all these associations and even stereotyped prejudices connected to the concepts of *kenri*, *fukushi* and *aigo*, most organizations have the need to define themselves and use the proper name to describe both their ideology and activities. Although the chosen definition of the group does not predetermine the organizations’ frames, it gives some implications of how the organizations position themselves and construct their self-understanding in relation to the other organizations and actors in society.<sup>182</sup> Next, I will turn to the different framing tasks and discuss in detail how the organizations frame grievances, tactics and the solutions for the problems while also trying to gain support for their cause.

---

<sup>181</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010.

<sup>182</sup> Jessica Greenebaum (2008) has found similar processes in the self-definition of pedigree dog rescue movement, in which the people involved construct for themselves the identity of a volunteer. These volunteers actively distance themselves from the stereotypical definitions of an animal rights or welfare activist and creating a separate collective identity. According to Greenebaum, this shows how the identity construction is always done in relation to other collective identities and social movements.

## 6.2 Diagnostic framing

As the name of this first framing task suggests, “diagnostic framing involves identification of a problem and the attribution of blame or causality.”<sup>183</sup> The shared, rather abstract concern of all the organizations is the well-being of animals and the deficiencies of animal welfare and rights in Japan. However, a more detailed agreement on particular problems and factors to blame can be more difficult to achieve.<sup>184</sup> This is also the case with the organizations studied here. The often interrelated grievances are discussed here starting from legislation and lack of information that are both considered as major obstacles preventing the improvement of the animal welfare by all the organizations.

### *Law and its implementation*

The revision of the animal welfare law is scheduled to be completed in 2012. Currently, the law and the state of animal welfare are being evaluated and improvements suggested. All organizations agree that the revision is vital for future development of animal well-being. However, many of the organizations feel that the law is not a sufficient guarantee for improvement of animal welfare in Japan: although there has been and will be improvements in the law, the executive officials working at the *hokensho* and elsewhere in animal-related fields are in key positions to enforce the law in practice.

Some of the most critical problems in the current law are the vagueness of its concepts and that animals are classified as property or a thing (物, *mono*). There is no clear definition of terms used in the law, such as “cruelty” and “suitable conditions”. This has hampered the application of the law.<sup>185</sup> These issues are reflected in the grievances defined by the organizations. Before the revision of the law in 2005, ALIVE and JAWS, for example, demanded improvements to licensing and the control system of breeders, the definition of cruelty, the inspection system of animal

---

<sup>183</sup> Snow and Benford 1988, 200.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> JAWS Report 2008, no.57, 1; JAWS Report 2009d, no.60, 4; ARK – Kishida interview 15.5.2010. According to ALIVE, animals as “objects” are actually even worse off than other objects: for example umbrellas can be held for long time in lost-and-found compared to the time and resources needed to keep an animal at the shelter.



testing, and to the classification of animals included in the law.<sup>186</sup> These demands point out the most critical deficiencies of the law and similar requests have been repeated now that the next revision has become topical.

The vagueness of the definition of cruelty and the small sanctions for the violations of the law are particular factors in reducing the effectiveness of the law and diminishing the authority of officials.<sup>187</sup> Because of the unclear definitions of forms of ill-treatment, it is difficult to establish a case and the officials are unwilling to operate unless they have proof:

“The Act on Welfare and Management of Animals defines two types of abuse: The first one is intentional abuse, the second one is care neglect. Since care neglect is not defined, police and government officials do not become actively involved. In the video, a dog dies because his leg got stuck in the cage and he could not move. It is obviously a case of neglect, however it is very difficult to prove it unless a veterinarian verifies it.”<sup>188</sup>

The categorization of the animals protected by the law is considered insufficient because the animal welfare law does not include laboratory animals and there is no inspection system for animal experiments in Japan.<sup>189</sup> This lack of regulations is regarded differently depending on the organizations’ views on animal experiments. Dr Yamaguchi from JAWS argues that the lack of inspection system, which should also include a third-party accreditation procedure, strongly affects the welfare of the laboratory animals.<sup>190</sup> Also ALIVE, for example, has promoted regulations to animal testing and sees total instant abolition of experiments as unrealistic. They put their hopes in the assumption that if there are regulations, somebody will do something. JAVA then again dismisses the third-party accreditation system as a system facilitating experiments and benefiting researchers, since “the scientists think that

---

<sup>186</sup> Yamaguchi 2003, JAWS Report no.43, 1; ALIVE n.d “Signature Campaign for Revising the "Law concerning the protection and control of animals"by ALIVE in 2000–2004”

<sup>187</sup> JAWS interview 17.6.2010; ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010; ARK – Kishida interview 15.5.2010; JAWS 2008, JAWS Report no.57, 1.

<sup>188</sup> Original text ALIVE 2009b, ALIVE News no. 89, 4; Translation in ALIVE 2009 “News Japan”, Fuji Television Revealed The Reality of Pet Industry” Henceforth the direct quotations from printed Japanese language sources are either translated by the author or translated by the author and confirmed from English version of the text if there is one available, which is the case with a few of ALIVE’s articles. The ARK newsletter is bilingual and the English version is also used in the list of references (the page numbers in the references point to both English and Japanese text). Other written sources are in Japanese, excluding the English summaries of JAVA newsletter mentioned below.

<sup>189</sup> JAWS interview 17.6.2010; JAVA interview 14.6.2010.

<sup>190</sup> JAWS interview 17.6.2010.

they can perform their experiments openly without any protest from others when they have an official guarantee.”<sup>191</sup>

As mentioned above, the deficiencies in the animal welfare law are commonly agreed as one of the most problematic issues. However, despite the revisions of the law, doubt about whether local officials will actually implement the law and change their practices remains strong. For example ARK frequently comments on the practices, inefficiency and failures of the *hokenshos*, aigo centers, and law revisions:

“However, the problem is not in any shortcomings in the law but how can this law be implemented and who will do this? .... Will the local authorities employ specially trained inspectors to go around and inspect? I think not.”<sup>192</sup>

“While ARK applauds this development, there is still the question of how aggressively customs officials will enforce these rules. A conservative estimate of the worth of the pet trade in Japan is 2 billion yen. With that kind of money at stake, the incentive to break these rules is great. We hope that customs officers will be trained check that documents and animals are in compliance”<sup>193</sup>

Other organizations also gave pessimistic evaluations of the willingness or efficiency of officials to act in cases of animal abuse or violation of animal welfare law. For example, when reporting about improper animal handling to authorities, a JAWS’s member pessimistically stated that “the leadership of Machida *hokensho* was requested, but it seems that solution will take time.”<sup>194</sup> Some officials are even reported as acting against the regulations of animal welfare law, such as in cases of the use and promotion of leg traps. This kind of example of officials is considered to be worrying, since it spreads false information.<sup>195</sup> Another crucial point is whether the officials are willing to use tax money to improve animal welfare beyond the minimum requirements of the law.<sup>196</sup> This reflects the differences between the

---

<sup>191</sup> Kamekura 2008a, JAVA News 2008 no. 81, 4; Kamekura 2008b, JAVA News no. 82. The extracts from JAVA News are quoted from English summaries of the articles published in the newsletter in order to provide the organization’s own translation. The quotations correspond to the original Japanese text.

<sup>192</sup> ARK 2007a, A Voice For Animals no. 66, 2–3.

<sup>193</sup> ARK 2004, A Voice For Animals no. 56, 3.

<sup>194</sup> Shirai JAWS Report 1993 no.43, 6.

<sup>195</sup> Nogami 2010d, ALVIE News no. 92, 7.

<sup>196</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010.

prefectures and cities since they are considered to be relatively free to decide about their budget and prioritize issues on a local level.

An example of the problems of efficient enforcement of the law is the official animal breeder registration and inspection system. Firstly, inspections are announced before the actual visit, giving the breeders time to clean up their facilities. After the inspection they return to their old practices.<sup>197</sup> Secondly, the standards and regulations protecting the customer as well as the animals are so vague that they do not give practical means for the officials to intervene in the breeding business. Thirdly, though it is illegal to practise unregistered breeding and the registers are open to the public according to information disclosure law, the unwillingness of local officials to take action or to be cooperative in cases of inquiries from the public, is considered as an obstacle to the enforcement of the registration policies.<sup>198</sup>

Although there is skepticism and distrust between organizations and officials, there are not only negative attitudes towards officials and their practices: Knots sees the key to change in establishing an effective cooperation system between authorities and organizations and has an optimistic view of the developments already made at the *hokensho*. Knots argues that the actual animal welfare law in Japan only started to be formed in 2000, when officials decided to gradually change the pounds to shelters. Now, it is currently lacking an efficient system to fully implement the changes.<sup>199</sup>

### ***Lack of knowledge and information***

There are many different aspects of this grievance, which is expressed by all the organizations studied in this research. Because of this agreement, this section concentrates primarily on the organizations' perceptions of the causes of this grievance and attribution of blame. The problems and their causes identified by the organizations range from peoples' low awareness of the reality of animal welfare in Japan to insufficient or obstructed flow of information. I will refer to the former as

---

<sup>197</sup> Nogami 2009b, ALIVE News no. 88, 3; Nogami 2009c, ALIVE News no. 88, 4–5; ARK 2007b, A Voice for Animals no.66, 6.

<sup>198</sup> Nogami 2009c, ALIVE News no. 88, 3, 4–5.

<sup>199</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010.

lack of knowledge and to the latter as lack of information. These problems enforce each other. In both these aspects, the role of the actors is perceived as central: citizens are portrayed as unwilling to increase their knowledge or awareness and media and business are blamed for concealing the information.

In the case of Japan, cruelty to animals is not necessary as visible as it can be in China and Korea. Thus, according to Oliver from ARK, it is not paid as much attention as it should be. Therefore, it can be difficult to raise an issue about animal welfare in Japan because of lack of knowledge and invisibility. Based on her experiences in communicating with foreign animal welfare organizations, Oliver has gained the impression that Japan is regarded as a developed country. The general prevailing idea is that because Japan is technologically and economically developed, it is assumed also to have a well-developed welfare system.<sup>200</sup> This decreases the possibilities of finding international sponsors.<sup>201</sup>

Despite the general lack of knowledge in Japan, there are differences between the areas. Knowledge of pet-related problems, especially those of dogs, is increasing in urban areas. Especially in Tokyo, a huge city with a big international population of both foreigners and Japanese who travel, awareness is higher compared to rest of the Japan. The further one goes from Tokyo, the more gruesome the situation of animals is considered to get. Many animal welfare organizations are also active in the Tokyo area. According to Simpson from ARK Tokyo, the increasing number of organizations is also forcing officials to keep up with public opinion. Therefore, Simpson believes that the change will come from Tokyo.<sup>202</sup> However, the other side of the coin is that, if awareness remains low, a big change is difficult to achieve: as long as it is possible to hear people shouting “*kawaii*”<sup>203</sup> in pet shops and zoos, without understanding that the animals are kept in poor conditions or that they are suffering, there will be problems. According to ALIVE, animal welfare can be built only on the correct understanding of animals.<sup>204</sup>

---

<sup>200</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010; JAVA interview 14.6.2010.

<sup>201</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>202</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>203</sup> Meaning cute, adorable or pretty.

<sup>204</sup> Nogami 2009d, ALIVE News 89, 2; Nogami 2009e, ALIVE News 89, 5.

Lack of knowledge creates prejudices, further enforced by the pet industry that is discussed in the next section. According to the organizations, people still associate animal shelters with vicious or sick animals and assume that buying an expensive animal from pet shop will guarantee that everything will go smoothly with the new pet. However, as Simpson from ARK Tokyo thinks, the pet is most probably a sick one, creating problems and expenses for the owners, increasing misunderstanding about pet care, and further lowering awareness.<sup>205</sup> Many groups believe that this situation can be overcome with the right measures and education. Having a slightly more pessimistic view than the groups that assume that, by spreading the right information change will eventually be realized, Yamasaki from ARSF thinks that “Japanese are sitting on the fence”: The lack of knowledge is explained by the tendency of Japanese not to want to know about the cruel reality of animal management and not to take sides.<sup>206</sup> The perceived ignorance of the Japanese public is further discussed later.

JAVA too has faced problems caused by low awareness and the lack of available information, but attributes the blame somewhat differently. Concentrating on banning animal experiments first in cosmetics, JAVA has directed its efforts against Shiseido, the biggest cosmetic company in Japan. JAVA’s problem has been that the customers do not know about animal experiments done to test cosmetics. One reason behind this is the media, which is not willing to discuss these issues and conceals information, partly because of its connections to companies and their financial sponsorship of, for example, newspapers. Accessing information concerning animal experiments is difficult and JAVA has to rely on the internet and other alternative channels:

“Media, it wants to hide these issues... So if you read [the newspapers] normally, like in daily life, we never see the reality. So if you are curious, if you are interested in, and if you research, you can find the information, but you have to get into it, so you have to get curious. And if you are not, you can’t get information. It’s difficult to get information. The experiments are done by the companies for cosmetic products and they support media financially, so it’s kind of difficult to produce photos.”<sup>207</sup>

---

<sup>205</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>206</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010.

<sup>207</sup> JAVA interview 14.6.2010.

JAWS has its origins in caring for laboratory animals kept in bad conditions. According to Yamaguchi, the management of laboratories was different before the business became aware of the global animal welfare movement. When JAWS started its activities, the animal-holding facilities of the laboratories were visible to the public. After public awareness grew, the secrecy of the experiments grew accordingly and nowadays the animal facilities and testing are both managed behind “closed doors”.<sup>208</sup> The effect of low awareness and concealed information is also recognized by ALIVE and Kishida from ARK, who has studied livestock animal welfare issues at university, although he is currently working for an organization concentrating on companion animals. Even the physical location of the farms and laboratories makes it difficult for the organizations to promote their agenda among urbanized Japanese:

“Farm animal life is so remote from peoples everyday life. There’s no, you know, chicken or cow just close to houses. And there’s no cow farm, no pig farm. So people hear something but they don’t see the actual pigs in a farm. So I can’t blame people not thinking about... But it is a matter of the closeness to their life whether they can really care for the animal. Dogs and cats are so close to their life so... Even if we release more information about farm animals, if we try to show the reality of the farm animals, maybe more people will pay more attention. But this moment, information is very small and the animals are very remote from everyday life. That’s one problem.”<sup>209</sup>

“On the other hand, the people don’t really see the reality of livestock that kills so many pigs and cows and chickens. They don’t see that. In Japan it is hidden or cannot be seen... The consumption rate in Japan, cows, pigs, and chickens is growing, getting bigger and bigger. Before 1960, there was much less. So the number is growing bigger and bigger, but these constructions or [facilities] where they are kept are not seen by general public. So all of the sudden, they build these sites to mountain or countryside, so that people cannot see.”<sup>210</sup>

In short, the problem lies in the combination of lack of knowledge, and business wishing to preserve this status quo. As awareness grows, enterprises wish to move their meat production to remote areas, where people cannot see the reality of the farms and be shocked about it. This effect is also seen in the case of animal experiments: as awareness of the animals’ conditions grew, so did the seclusion of

---

<sup>208</sup> JAWS interview 17.6.2010.

<sup>209</sup> ARK – Kishida interview 15.5.2010.

<sup>210</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

the business. Thus the increase in citizen activity and awareness did not result in improvements but in greater secrecy and in avoidance of resistance, at least in the eyes of activist organizations. A somewhat similar trend can be detected from Daniel P. Aldrich's research on the government's choices of sites for public projects such as nuclear plants. The strength of civil society, for example in the form of anti-nuclear activism, greatly affects the selection of the location of nuclear plants to places that are not necessarily the safest but where local resistance is low.<sup>211</sup>

There have been attempts to educate people in the value of life and to understand animals in schools and other public institutions. However, some of these practices are regarded as problematic as those practices they are trying to tackle, and actually increasing the misconceptions of animals. One of these problematic issues is the dissection of small animals in biology classes. It is still practiced in some schools as part of teaching about anatomy and the value of life, although there are no mentions about it in course guidelines. It is argued that dissection or other kinds of killing of animals shown to children does not teach the value of the life and may indeed adversely influence the children's ethics and morals.<sup>212</sup> "We believe we should respect every life on the earth. Every experiment, which kills little lives should be abolished from the field of education." This comment was sent by JAVA to Iwate University, teaching children participating in a summer event about water pollution by killing fish by adding detergent to the water in order to show the effects of pollution.<sup>213</sup> Another example of similar "educative killing" was reported first by a JAVA member, who in the end committed suicide because she could not cope with the practices of the veterinary school of Rakuno Gakuen University. The university was described as performing a massacre by killing approximately 500 cows annually in order to educate the students. The university was using killing methods that violate the animal welfare law.<sup>214</sup>

---

<sup>211</sup> Aldrich 2008, 8.

<sup>212</sup> JAVA 2008a, News no. 81, 6–7.

<sup>213</sup> JAVA 2006b, News no. 78, 8.

<sup>214</sup> Wazaki 2009, JAVA News no. 83, 3–7.

### *Animals and business*

The pet industry, including pet sales, products, food and variety of services for pets, was already a “trillion-yen market” in 2005 and was still growing. According to the newsletter of the Japan external trade organization (JETRO), the pet market, which did not suffer much from recession, even has the potential to rebuild Japan’s economy.<sup>215</sup> According to many organizations, one major cause of problems in animal welfare and rights in Japan is the animal business structure. For organizations concerned primarily with companion animal welfare, the most serious problems are seen as the pet breeder, pet auctions and pet shop systems. Yakuza, the Japanese mafia, is also understood to be involved in the pet industry such as the dog trade.<sup>216</sup>

Insufficient regulations are one of the most acute issues concerning the pet industry. According to Simpson from ARK, the pets sold in pet shops are produced by breeders, whose activities are not regulated properly. The breeder takes the puppies and kittens to an auction, where they are usually sold too young. If they are not sold, “you can imagine they are not going back to a nice life with the breeder. That’s probably the end of their life”, as Simpson notes. She summarizes the problematic situation of the animal business, when asked what is the most serious problem in animal welfare in Japan:

“Pet shops, pet auctions, the underground pet business... it’s not regulated. It creates sick animals that are abandoned or cost people huge amounts of money and they will never want to have another pet. And it creates this huge number of animals and low sense of their value.... So it is just very irresponsible, people making a lot of money. And it is not the general public, lots of it is the Yakuza or irresponsible business people.”<sup>217</sup>

Large-scale breeding is also blamed for being connected to the high number of animals killed at the *hokensho*. Although the number of animals accepted from

---

<sup>215</sup> Japan external trade organization 2005, 8–12.

<sup>216</sup> September 2010 in personal communication with an activist from ARC, I was updated on their research on the welfare of horses in Japan. The initiative for this investigation came from a picture I took of a really thin horse during a visit to a riding club in Kyoto. After the first inquiries about the situation of racing horses, they had already received threats from “underground people” not to continue their investigations. Most probably “underground people” refer to Yakuza, involved also in horse racing, where lots of money is at stake in gambling.

<sup>217</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.



private persons by official facilities has declined, irresponsible breeders hand in large numbers of animals to local *hokenshos* where they are killed. This prevents measures against killing in public shelters from becoming as effective as they could be.<sup>218</sup> In case the authorities do not accept the dog, bad breeders will abandon it or starve it to death by neglecting it.<sup>219</sup> These irresponsible breeders arouse strong feelings and Hayashi from Angels “could just shoot them” for treating the animals badly.<sup>220</sup>

Another unregulated issue that is seen as further worsening the situation is the opening hours of pet shops:

“The standards and practices in Act on Welfare and Management of Animals says, “depending on the situation, animals should not be exhibited or displayed for long hours and appropriate exhibiting schedules should be set in order to reduce stress on animals.” "Depending on the situation" is a very vague expression and makes it difficult to enforce the regulation.”<sup>221</sup>

Although the business structure, especially internet auctions, breeders and pet shops are causing problems, the organizations state that the owners are also responsible for the handling and care of the animal. For example, owners who are buying their first animal can be ignorant or uninformed of the pitfalls of pet purchase. They should actively find out all the information concerning the background and the care of the animal when purchasing one and not trust all the advertisements with cute animals.<sup>222</sup> Thus, if the customers do not understand the need for better treatment of the animals, it is unlikely that the breeders or pet shops will change their practices.

As the popularity of pets increases, so does the accessory business alongside the pet shops that sell fashionable pedigree puppies and kittens. The awareness of the owners is improving gradually, but the pet boom is still said to be growing and many problems remain, such as discrimination against mixed-breed dogs:

---

<sup>218</sup> Nogami 2010b, ALIVE News no. 90, 4.

<sup>219</sup> ALIVE 2009b, ALIVE News no. 89, 4; ALIVE “News Japan”, Fuji Television Revealed The Reality of Pet Industry”.

<sup>220</sup> Angels 23.5.2010.

<sup>221</sup> ALIVE 2009b, ALIVE News no. 89, 4; ALIVE 2009 “News Japan”, Fuji Television Revealed The Reality of Pet Industry”.

<sup>222</sup> JAWS Report 2009, no. 60, 3.

“Though dogs are increasingly regarded as family members, the breeding is still problematic. Mix-breed is like garbage here.”<sup>223</sup>

Relating to animal welfare and lack of knowledge, the animal business system in Japan both benefits from the current situation and further worsens it. There are people that are buying a fashionable pedigree pet dog from a pet shop and do not have the basic knowledge of pet care. Moreover, it is argued that the animal business produces mostly sick animals, which are sold at too young an age and are often abandoned because of their illness or behavioral problems caused originally by their breeders. As animal welfare organizations have relatively limited visibility in public, people are not usually aware of the possibility to adopt a pet from an animal shelter.<sup>224</sup> Because of this vicious circle, Simpson from ARK Tokyo feels that information on the topic needs to be spread by the organizations.<sup>225</sup>

Despite the negative effect of the animal business on the general state of animal welfare in Japan, the business does not necessarily always have to be a negative actor in society. JSPCA is introducing a campaign by the national pet retailer association against the mobile pet business, such as auctions and selling on the internet.<sup>226</sup> Although other organizations, such as ARK and ALIVE, argue that selling pets in pet shops should be banned, there are no similar statements in the JSPCA newsletter. Instead, JSPCA seems to be concentrating on the positive aspects and developments without judgments.

There are differences in management of the pet industry and livestock management: since agriculture is subsidized by the government, the herder can always replace the livestock that is sick and unproductive due to bad living conditions. If a pet business goes bankrupt, the animals are abandoned, given to *hokensho* or neglected so that animal welfare organizations have to clean up the situation.<sup>227</sup> This makes the problems of the pet industry more visible, and opportunities for publicity open when the organizations rescue the animals. On the other hand, the government subsidies

---

<sup>223</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010.

<sup>224</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>225</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>226</sup> Yoshino JSPCA Doubtusutachi 2008 vol. 141, 8–9.

<sup>227</sup> Nogami 2009a, Alive news no. 88, 2.

and other support make it difficult for the organizations to gain access to the agriculture or meat production industry and to act as a whistleblower.

Other business-related problems mentioned are gambling and the fur and cosmetic industries. JAWS wants to stop dog and cock fighting and is also concerned about bull fighting in Japan. Dog fighting especially is connected with the underground world: JAWS has tried to investigate the problem, but has already been threatened by so called “underground people” such as the mafia. ARC is actively campaigning to increase awareness of the fur industry and JAVA is concentrating on abolishing animal testing from the cosmetics business.

### *Veterinary education and veterinarians’ attitudes*

An issue that was mentioned as one of the most problematic in the Japanese animal welfare system, especially by ARK and ARSF, and also noted by Angels is the veterinary education and attitudes of veterinarians. The grievances surrounding this theme relate to high veterinary costs, underdeveloped education and connections with administration, as well as to negative or non-cooperative attitudes. As the veterinarians are responsible for the care of peoples’ pets as experts, their competence and attitudes are reflected inevitably in the general public. The objection to euthanasia for instance is regarded as being reinforced by the veterinarians’ unwillingness to do it.

Veterinarians are trained at university level, but the system of education has several weaknesses. Marisa Miyamoto, ARK’s veterinarian who works full-time at the Osaka shelter, has first-hand experience of Japanese veterinary school. Miyamoto has a degree in veterinary medicine from Britain and has worked there for several years. In order to get a license in Japan, she had to pass the final exam in Japanese veterinary school. She felt like the whole system is in desperate need of reform, because the students are mostly only motivated to study for the exam and not to develop themselves as professional veterinarians. Usually when students graduate, they start working for the state, because most of the posts are offered and regulated by the state. Another option for graduate veterinarians is to start their own practice

without any practical knowledge and, according to Miyamoto, “some become obsessed with machinery and such”.<sup>228</sup>

Relating to the education system, Yamasaki from ARSF also points out that one serious deficiency in the education system is that the students are not allowed to perform any operations during their education. As a result of these regulations, the students are under-skilled when they graduate and have no actual competence to do surgery. Most of the graduate veterinarians end up working in animal hospitals, where the majority of operations are performed by more experienced veterinarians because of the seniority system. This incompetence affects the quality of the care of clients’ pets:

“People take their pets to veterinarians; trust them, though actually they do not know anything.”<sup>229</sup>

The insufficient education also increases lack of knowledge among veterinarians and creates prejudices and negative attitudes towards, for example, neutering and euthanasia. This makes it more difficult for NPOs to promote neutering and acceptance of euthanasia.<sup>230</sup>

The costs of especially private veterinarian clinics are really high. This discourages people from taking their animals to a veterinarian and decreases the number of sterilizations, which are especially expensive. Usually, veterinarians who are willing to cooperate with NPOs to do, for example, TNR are difficult to find. CAPIN has some cooperative veterinarian clinics, but the location of the clinics is inconvenient and sometimes they have to travel a long distance to see a veterinarian.<sup>231</sup>

ARSF has also encountered the same problem. The attitudes of private clinics and also the veterinarian association are non-cooperative, thus it is difficult for NPOs to employ veterinarians. ARSF has solved the problem of cost by establishing its own TNR clinic, but it has difficulties with local veterinarians: according to Yamasaki, veterinarians hate ARSF activities in Kobe. The reason behind this is that they

---

<sup>228</sup> ARK – Miyamoto interview 18.5.2010.

<sup>229</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010.

<sup>230</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>231</sup> CAPIN interview 15.6.2010.

provide low-cost neutering and at the same time create competition.<sup>232</sup> The high cost of neutering is considered to be one big problem in the animal welfare system, creating a burden on clients.<sup>233</sup>

### *Low morals*

The organizations running animal shelters in particular attribute blame for the bad state of animal welfare to immoral pet owners who abandon their animals at local *hokensho*, on the streets or in the mountains. These organizations seem to be more likely to make pessimistic evaluations of the level of morals among Japanese pet owners, perhaps because in their everyday work with abandoned or rescued animals they encounter cruel cases of animal abuse and neglect. Although I will discuss later other characteristics of Japanese culture that may hinder the development of animal welfare and rights, low morals was clearly identified as a separate causal factor.

Low morals are regarded as one major reason behind the abandoning and killing pets at the *hokensho*:

“So the moral of Japanese people should make improvement. Like a water tap, we just use water freely. It is like the situation with the dogs and cats. So like we, because, we have to close the water first to make it happen.”<sup>234</sup>

As long as the Japanese do not make an effort to improve their morals and stop abandoning their pets (“closing the water tap” mentioned in the quote), reducing the killing at the *hokensho* system will be difficult.

Angels also argues that the biggest problem of the situation of animals in Japan is the low morals of the people. As the nuclear family is becoming more popular, the ties between family members are becoming thinner and selfishness is growing. Children lack good manners and respect. This reflects in society and human-animal relations, since Japanese people no longer respect animals as living things. Animals can be easily bought from pet shops and abandoned as easily. One aspect of this problem is

---

<sup>232</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010.

<sup>233</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010; Angels interview 32.5.2010.

<sup>234</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010; Makomi Tsuruta from CAPIN used also the same “closing the water tap” metaphor to describe the necessity of solving the problem of large-scale abandonment of animals by irresponsible and immoral pet owners.

that dogs are not necessarily kept in the house as a family member, but are either kept outside or regarded as some kind of toy or doll.<sup>235</sup>

Moreover, low morals can be regarded as a self-caused lack of knowledge, such as when people are buying cute and fashionable puppies and kittens and not understanding the responsibility of a pet owner or the needs of an adult pet. As Oliver from ARK sees it: “It is just sheer ignorance!”<sup>236</sup> Stories that condemn immoral pet ownership and warn about it often appear in ARK’s newsletter.

In addition to attributing blame to the low morals of Japanese people as the cause of cruelty to animals, some organizations are constantly worried about practices that can further lower the level of morals. For example, JAVA frequently mentions cases that can eventually lead to lack of respect of life in its newsletter articles. It commented, for example, on Kitakyushu city’s prohibition of stray animals that it “means negativism to kindness to animals and eventually will lead people to lack morals or ethics.”<sup>237</sup> JAVA’s active self-imposed role as the organization that keeps an eye on and reacts to possible improper activity in society is closely connected in the framing of the roles in civil society: JAVA presents itself both as a reactive and proactive watchdog, as I will illustrate later.

### ***Sentimentality of animal protection activities***

This grievance also appeared in the section discussing the meanings associated with the name *aigo*, which is criticized, because in addition to protection, it also refers to love. According to some groups, this implication of love and affection can reduce the credibility of the organization that uses it and hamper the advancement of animal welfare. However, sometimes aspects other than just the name of the organization are accused of sentimentality and of hampering the rational and well-managed growth of proper animal management.

---

<sup>235</sup> Angels interview 23.5.2010; Hayashi 2006, 活動趣旨「小さな命を救う」.

<sup>236</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>237</sup> Wazaki 2006a, JAVA no. 77, 5.

According to JAWS's definition of animal welfare, being affectionate is not necessarily the same thing as considering animal well-being. Aiming to please one's own affectionate feelings does not fulfill the requirements of animal welfare, which is based on animals' "full emotional and physical health, happiness and harmony with the environment".<sup>238</sup> Yamaguchi regrets that keeping animals in a small space without caring for their condition and feeling that they have done a good deed for the animals that they love so much is unfortunately characteristic of animal-related activities in Japan.<sup>239</sup>

People involved in this kind of activity are considered lacking ability in human-human relations. This complicates the growth of major organized activity and cooperation. For example, Lifeboat has faced these difficulties and is cautious: "People sometimes very emotional about animal aigo activities movement, so we are sometimes careful with associations with other organizations." Because of the sentimental attitudes, Lifeboat has found that it is difficult to establish common standards and rules for cooperation.<sup>240</sup>

For example, ARK portrays itself as a rational actor capable of providing care for shelter animals and limiting the intake of animals in order to do so. ARK warns about shelters established by organizations or private persons who base their activity on emotions and are not able to provide care and protection that meets the requirements of animal welfare standards. These shelters eventually end up being "hell-holes" when the number of animals taken in is not limited and the resources and the quality of care decrease. Thus, rational thinking is necessary also in animal welfare<sup>241</sup>:

"While animal welfare has been around for some years in Japan, most of the established organizations were pioneered by foreigners. Nowadays more and more Japanese-run organizations are emerging and many are thinking of starting shelters. This is all good news but starting and running a shelter is an enormous undertaking, which should not be taken lightly. *Just loving animals is not enough we have to be realistic rather than sentimental* [italics added]. We have to consider what we can handle in

---

<sup>238</sup> JAWS n.d. "動物福祉とは".

<sup>239</sup> JAWS interview 17.6.2010.

<sup>240</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010.

<sup>241</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

terms of our space, our time, our manpower and of course our money. Animal welfare is not about making money but without it we can't achieve anything.”<sup>242</sup>

Knots also agrees that it is necessary “to separate the feeling in order to manage the activities well”.<sup>243</sup>

Animal shelter activity can also be seen as a form of sentimentality towards animals because of its limited effect and focus on individual animals. For instance, although Yamasaki from ARSF appreciates the hard work that Elizabeth Oliver has done at ARK, he does not want anybody to follow her footsteps, because sheltering is not enough to solve the problem. Yamasaki argues that the problem with the Japanese is that if somebody does something then others follow. For example, the popularity of small dogs and the pet boom is mostly caused by TV and TV stars promoting small dogs. In Yamasaki’s opinion, this is also the case with Oliver who is a pioneer of animal sheltering in Japan and others have followed her example.

ARSF criticizes the animal shelters for not being efficient enough to tackle the origins of the pet overpopulation problem. ARSF, on the other hand, presents itself as offering a systematic and professional approach. The tactic of TNR is also presented as a humane solution.<sup>244</sup>

“But they [shelters] act everyday with no serving-area policy, which is the only thing that I suppose that it is very unplanned. Acting with no serving-area policy under the current situation in Japan has been prevailing extremely sentimental spirit of amateurism and got successors caught up in illusion that sheltering animals is approaching the better world for animals. Will they prevent the next [stray cat] litter? No, I guess in most cases they don’t have that kind of idea to work with based on important factors such as animal territory or breeding cycle of animals.”<sup>245</sup>

These differences of opinion about what is sentimental can be directly seen in the prognostic framing of these groups and how they respond to the perceived problems by using different tactics.

---

<sup>242</sup> ARK 2006, A Voice for Animals no. 60, 4.

<sup>243</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010.

<sup>244</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010; ARSF n.d. 2; 3.

<sup>245</sup> Yamasaki to author, e-mail 5.6.2010.



### *Lagging behind*

Concerns for animal welfare increased and the animal rights movement was born first in Europe and North America. This section shows how Japan is portrayed as being on the lower level of development than these pioneers when it comes to pro-animal activities and general awareness. As I will illustrate in the chapter discussing prognostic framing, Japanese organizations consider countries such as Britain and the USA as models for their activities. The estimations of Japan's level of development and evaluations of its future vary from pessimistic to optimistic, as Japan is also portrayed as catching up and learning.

Elizabeth Oliver argues that “any kind of welfare is two hundred years behind in Japan”.<sup>246</sup> This opinion is shared by Briar Simpson, according to whom Japan lags behind not only in animal welfare issues, but also in women's and children's welfare.<sup>247</sup> Hence, the society as whole is regarded as neglecting its responsibilities to care for its weakest members. Because the economic and technologic development of Japan distracts the foreign audience, the knowledge of the true state of Japan's welfare system is low.<sup>248</sup> Tominaga from Knots explain that the reason for the slow development of animal welfare is the history of anti-rabies campaigns described in the fourth chapter:

“before we had so many, many dogs we had to put down, but now the figure had come down. You know, we take more humane way now. The important thing is that before we had rabies; we had a system to defeat rabies, but now it is changing to animal welfare law.”<sup>249</sup>

What Japan is thought to be missing now, are the major well-managed organizations. In other words, Japan is lagging behind on the level of institutionalization of the pro-animal movement. There are only a few large organizations and many small groups that will be eventually exhausted, if they do not institutionalize.<sup>250</sup>

“Because it was ran by a private individual, who was just trying to help animals, with no organization. And I couldn't and I can't, I don't

<sup>246</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>247</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>248</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>249</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010.

<sup>250</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010; ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

recommend that, if you want to help animals you have to have some kind of organization and you have to have staff.”<sup>251</sup>

Despite the problems, the situation is not hopeless and change is coming: “compared to the West, general awareness relating to animals is still weak, but it is said that now it is the turning point for animal welfare.”<sup>252</sup> Therefore, the situation is not so gloomy because progress is being made.

In addition to the rhetoric of lagging behind, Japan is also considered as having regressed from its morally superior past. It is argued that the modernization of society has caused the Japanese to lose their respect for life. In Japan’s history, there have been periods with stricter regulations relating to animals. In addition, according to ALIVE, the Buddhist tradition of vegetarianism for instance has been lost while meat eating has increased.<sup>253</sup> Also proper respect for social relations has deteriorated because of the increase of individualism.<sup>254</sup> Thus, as Japan lags behind Western countries, from a historical perspective Japanese society is seen to be drifting further away from the ideal.

### ***To kill or not to kill?***

This section paints a picture of Japanese society and culture, where completely opposite opinions and practices about humans’ right to interfere with nature’s course exist. Firstly, negative attitudes towards neutering and euthanasia were seen as problematic and sometimes the reason behind mass killing at the *hokensho*. Secondly, it was argued that the practices in so-called no-kill animal shelters<sup>255</sup> were

---

<sup>251</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>252</sup> JSPCA 2008b, *Doubutsutatchi* vol. 141, 11.

<sup>253</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>254</sup> Angels interview 23.5.2010.

<sup>255</sup> Unfortunately I was not able to interview any organizations running a no-kill animal shelter. No-kill refers to the ideology of forbidding euthanasia. I did participate in an introduction tour at one no-kill shelter near ARK, run by Japan Animal Trust, also called The Happy House. Their policy is to accept all the animals – and there were lots of them – and not to carry out euthanasia. I managed to ask a staff member about their no-kill policy and what differentiates them from the other groups and the answer was: “it is simple, we do not kill”. They argue that they cannot know when the animal wants to die. Therefore they do not accept euthanasia and care for the animal until it dies. (Happy House staff member, personal communication) Some groups cautioned me about the dishonesty of Happy House and similar organizations and their activities. Studying no-kill ideology would have been interesting, although it was also a shock to see the state of the animals that were kept alive at the shelter. The no-kill ideology is strikingly different from the prevailing perceptions in at least Britain

examples of improper animal welfare activities and further complicated the promotion of correct measures and ways of thinking. The unwillingness to kill or neuter an animal was explained by cultural factors, such as Buddhist disapproval of killing, or by the personal characteristics of the authorities or the Japanese in general, such as ignorance. The latter is discussed more in the section concerning the traits of Japanese people in chapter 6.4.

Killing of an animal seems to be portrayed as taboo in Japanese culture. It is argued that this discourse of killing functions both as an explanation and as a pretext. For instance, the abandonment of pets, the pet overpopulation problem and large-scale killing at the *hokensho* is sometimes explained through negative attitudes towards euthanasia and neutering that are caused by the Japanese ideal of not interfering with nature's course.<sup>256</sup> It is also argued that the Japanese object to euthanasia because they emphasize the importance of being and living regardless of the condition of the living thing. Thus, veterinarians or owners do not want to take the responsibility for killing that can lead to abandonment:

“Lot of people feel wrong about killing animals. A lot of people. So they don't want to kill. Even though animals suffer, they can't kill, because this kind of a catch 22 for Japanese people. So what they will do? So they will abandon dogs and cats or leave them in a shelter.”<sup>257</sup>

Although I am not concentrating on the frames constructed by the authorities, in personal communication with the leader of the Hyogo prefecture *aigo* center, the cultural interpretation of killing was enforced. The authorities at the *hokensho* were portrayed as taking from the citizens the responsibility for causing death. It is argued that from the Buddhist perspective, killing creates bad karma and the officials take that burden away from the citizens. Miyamoto notes that there might be more mundane reasons behind the veterinarians' unwillingness to do euthanasia rather than religious ones; their avoidance may be caused by their insufficient education and capability to perform surgical operations.<sup>258</sup>

---

and Finland of the *duty* of veterinarians to conduct and owners to ask for euthanasia if the condition of the animal in question requires it. This duty is also stressed in veterinarian education in Britain and Finland (ARK – Miyamoto 18.5.2010; Personal communication with Finnish veterinarian Heidi Öjst)

<sup>256</sup> ARK – Kishida interview 15.5.2010.

<sup>257</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>258</sup> ARK – Miyamoto interview 18.5.2010.

These perceptions of killing and human-oriented thinking are seen as problematic. The *hokensho* system is perceived as supporting and even causing the degradation of animal welfare in Japan. ARK often reports about its visits to different *hokenshos* and with a few positive exceptions, the evaluation of practices and facilities at the *hokensho* is usually harsh, using the same descriptive vocabulary in every report: animals in hell-hole conditions concealed from the public, Disneyland exteriors for visitors and Auschwitz interiors for the animals on death row, unused “state of the art” veterinary facilities and indifferent veterinarians pushing papers around the desk. If there is a possibility to adopt a pet, the new owners are not interviewed and the pets are not neutered. This image is further enforced by horror stories about the treatment of animals before they are gassed to death: kittens kept in plastic bags waiting for it to be filled to avoid the expensive use of the gas chamber for a small number of animals and dogs that have lost their will to live, lying on wet concrete floors. Furthermore, the *hokenshos* are viewed as a waste of tax money, if there is no will to realize the potential of the facilities as shelters.<sup>259</sup> However, there is light at the end of the tunnel, because some *hokenshos* and *aigo* centers are changing for the better due to the enthusiasm of the leaders of the facility. The Hello Animal *aigo* center in Kumamoto is referred as “beacon of hope” although it still needs to develop to achieve its standards of quality management.<sup>260</sup>

ARK is not the only group attributing the blame for the killings in *hokensho* as a system supporting the abandonment of the pets by irresponsible owner or breeders. Virtually all the organizations recognize the problem and want the killing to be reduced to zero. Nevertheless, the knowledge and expectations of the situation vary among the organizations. For example, Tsuruta from CAPIN, told about boxes where the owners can leave their animals to be taken to *hokensho* or weekly animal disposal days arranged by officials. Tsuruta herself had been active in resisting the former.<sup>261</sup> JAWS then again claims to have succeeded in abolishing the use of the pet discarding boxes long ago.<sup>262</sup> Contrary to the demonization of the official animal management system as a bureaucratic mass destruction institution, Knots argues that

---

<sup>259</sup> ARK 2008a, A Voice For Animals no. 70, 2-3; Oliver 2008b, A Voice For Animals no. 71, 14; Oliver 2010a, A Voice For Animals no. 77, 2-3; Oliver 2010b, A Voice For Animals no. 78, 2-3.

<sup>260</sup> Oliver 2010b, A Voice For Animals no. 78, 2-3.

<sup>261</sup> CAPIN interview 15.6.2010.

<sup>262</sup> JAWS interview 17.6.2010.

many improvements are being made. As an example, they proudly introduced to me the *Hyogo prefecture Aigo Sentaa*'s veterinarian, educational and adoption facilities, and also the cells where dogs were waiting for their owners or to be automatically sent to gas chambers after the required period that differs depending on the local authorities.<sup>263</sup>

Originating from the same conceptions of killing are the no-kill animal shelters in Japan that do not approve euthanasia. Although the concept of no-kill is also used in for example British shelters, there it does not unconditionally exclude euthanasia. According to Miyamoto from ARK, "no-kill has just gone over" in Japan.<sup>264</sup> No-kill is associated not only with idealistic visions of the treatment of animals but also with the intentional benefiting from the prevailing perceptions. According to ARSF, no-kill shelters are their own "utopia": The people want to take as many animals in as possible and keep them alive. However, there are also people thinking about making money through peoples' opposition to euthanasia, for example by collecting donations.<sup>265</sup> No-kill is good business that makes it easier for the shelters to get sponsors and for people to leave their animals at the shelter, but they end up being hell-holes, as Oliver from ARK argues. The veterinarians' objection to euthanasia is also associated with their will to make more money if the animal is kept alive.<sup>266</sup>

Acceptance of euthanasia sometimes causes problems for the organizations when they are accused of mercilessly killing the animals taken to their shelter. According to Oliver from ARK, there is currently no halfway solution in Japanese welfare; it is either no-kill or kill all. ARK presents itself as "probably the only organization in Japan that does some euthanasia". This approval of euthanasia has given ARK a "kill-kill-kill" -status among other organizations: "Bring your pet to ARK and it will be killed" is an example of the perceived attitudes towards ARK.<sup>267</sup>

JAWS has also received similar feedback, because it also considers euthanasia as a requirement for animal welfare. They have received mails accusing them of killing

---

<sup>263</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010.

<sup>264</sup> ARK – Miyamoto interview 18.5.2010.

<sup>265</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010.

<sup>266</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>267</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

animals: “you are killing animals”, “you are not an animal welfare society”, or “you call yourself as animal welfare society but you kill so many animals”. There have been similar accusations between ARK and JAWS: ARK blamed JAWS for killing animals, but Yamaguchi from JAWS notes that “now they understand”, because they are receiving similar accusations from Happy House. According to Yamaguchi’s experiences of participating in Asian animal protection conventions, negative attitudes towards euthanasia are similar everywhere in Asia.<sup>268</sup>

### **6.3 Prognostic framing**

The second framing task, prognostic framing suggests “solutions to the problem but also identify strategies, tactics and targets. What is to be done is thereby specified.” Usually, suggested prognostic framing corresponds to diagnostic framing, although that is not always the case.<sup>269</sup> In this chapter, I will discuss in detail the tactics used and solutions suggested by the organizations.

According to the survey results presented in Figure 1, the most popular goals of the organizations are to change peoples’ attitudes towards animals, pet owner education and changes in the law. This reflects the diagnostic framing in which both law and education were seen as insufficient or inadequate by most of the organizations. By aiming for these improvements together with other goals supporting their cause, the organizations are striving to respond to the grievances defined in their diagnostic framing process.

---

<sup>268</sup> JAWS interview 17.6.2010.

<sup>269</sup> Snow & Benford 1988, 201.

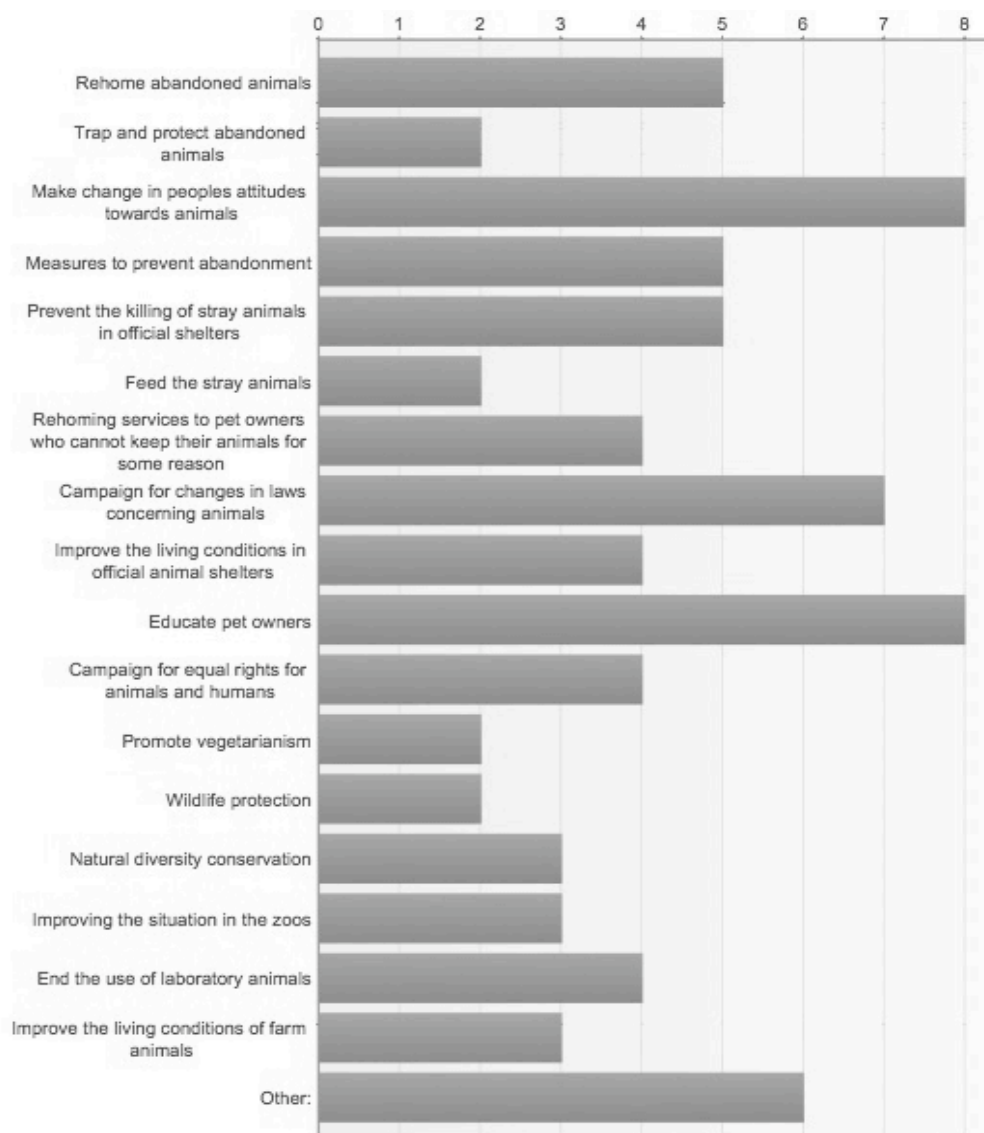


Figure 1. What are the main aims of your group? (You can choose more than one), ten respondents. Based on the analysis of their interviews, ARK Tokyo and JAWS would most probably choose the three most popular aims. Other: Education and technical assistance for Japanese veterinarians, rescue animals after breeders' collapse, abolish fur usage, prevent animal cruelty, spread of early age sterilization, TNR, promotion of animal welfare among children, promoting social harmony and happiness for both humans and animals.

The practical means to achieve these aims are listed in Figure 2. The three most popular tactics were media attention, events and internet activity. These tactics aim at spreading the organizations' message and at publicity, both of which can be assumed to serve the aims of attitude change and education. This awareness-building can result in, for example, reducing the number of animals abandoned, killed or needing to be rehomed, or in demands to abolish animal testing. However, using different political contacts are among the least popular tactics. Therefore, in the light of these results, it seems that most organizations lack political channels to advocate their

cause directly to the authorities. Thus, the changes in the law are likely to be promoted through campaigns addressing the public and mobilizing them to act instead of direct interaction with the authorities. There are certain exceptions, such as petition campaigns at the local level and the membership of JAWS, JSPCA and ALIVE in the investigative commission of the animal protection and management section of the Ministry of Environment.

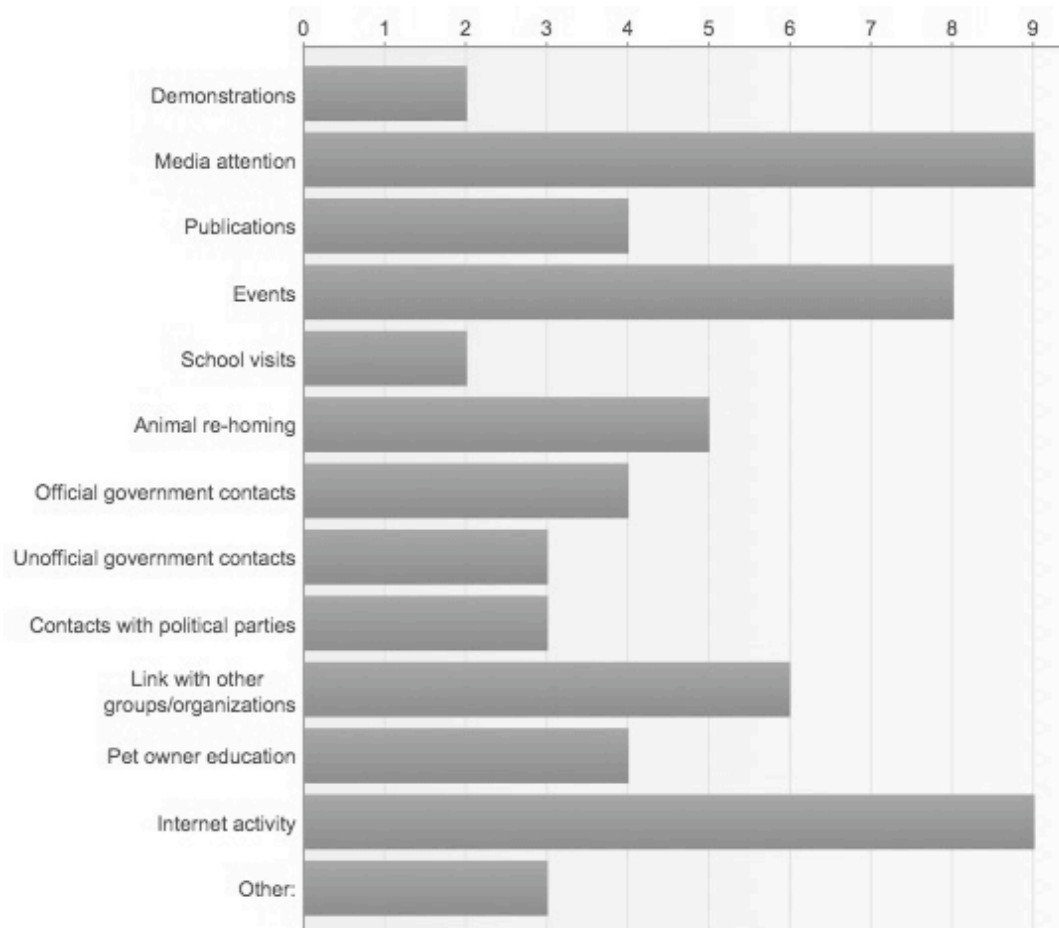


Figure 2. What are your group's tactics to reach its aims? (You can choose more than one), ten respondents. As with Figure 2, ARK Tokyo and JAWS also use the three most popular tactics. Other: Local TNR-programs, participating in international conferences, exchange between experts.

### ***Law, regulations, standards and their enforcement***

Despite the rather centralized and rigid structure of Japanese policymaking and its limited openness to citizen organizations' influence, some organizations are actively engaged in political activism and lobbying. An example of this is the revision of the animal welfare law and the pressure that the organizations create in form of petitions and other campaigns. However, these campaigns do not necessarily imply that,



excluding the few exemptions mentioned before, the pro-animal organizations have access to the policymaking process: petitions, citizen comments and public campaigns are legitimate citizen activism and the organizations use these means to influence from outside and not within the system. Furthermore, although practically all organizations consider the inadequate animal welfare law as one of the biggest obstacles hindering the triumph of animal welfare and rights, in fact only a few organizations are actively engaged in promoting changes in the law in practice.

Tsuruta from CAPIN stresses the importance of the law revisions, since “the ultimate solution will be in the improvement of national law.”<sup>270</sup> CAPIN has been active on a local level in negotiating with the local officials and in petitioning for improvements in local animal welfare policies. On a national level, ALIVE for example has been advocating improvements in law and in policies concerning animal management. ALIVE demands the monitoring of improvements in their lobbying agenda: clearer and stricter regulations for the animal business and animal handlers and enforcement of those regulations. The penalties for animal cruelty should be increased. Also the number of dogs and cats killed at the *hokensho* should be as close to zero as possible and the killing facilities must be turned into shelters. Also livestock welfare standards should be raised to an international level and the standards of Five Freedoms should be applied. In addition to this, in order to abolish animal testing it is necessary to enforce the 3R principles – reduction, refinement, and replacement – that are already recognized in the law.<sup>271</sup> These principal improvements are also promoted by JAWS and JSPCA, which are the other two actors with access to national-level policymaking. JAVA has especially been concentrating on advocating 3R to the relevant actors such as business and research institutions. The points of revision themselves reflect the issues that are considered to be the most serious deficiencies in the law.

In addition to being a member of the investigative commission of the animal protection and management, JAWS has also been promoting revisions in the law as a part of the Japanese Coalition for Animal Welfare (動物と共生を考える連絡会, *doubutsu to kyousei wo kangaeru renrakukai*). Revision is the most urgent issue to

---

<sup>270</sup> CAPIN interview 15.6. 2010.

<sup>271</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6. 2010; Nogami 2010c, ALIVE no.91, 4.

be addressed and the coalition has produced its own draft of the revision, which is based on the five freedoms of animals<sup>272</sup>:

“Yes, and we are the board member, our society, of that committee. And we already held a symposium for revising of animal welfare act with the professionals of the veterinary medicine, or the lawyer, and the animal welfare societies together... We are going to Osaka, Nagoya, Fukuoka, Niigata and we are going to hold the symposium for revising animal welfare act. And also we already have [formulated] the revising point. We wrote down the revising point and we already submitted it to the Ministry of Environment and also to the MPs [members of parliament]. They have also compiled the basic guidelines for animal welfare in the form of Five Freedoms.<sup>273</sup>

The above-mentioned Five Freedoms and 3R are promoted as unified standards to guide animal welfare and as creating a more solid basis and direction for improvement.

Besides participation in different committees, petitions have been another practical means to influence policymaking and the current revision of law. People are encouraged to send their opinions via official channels, such as the public comment service of the Ministry of the Environment. ALIVE thinks that especially the animal handling business is in desperate need of strict regulations, and sending public comments to the ministry would help in this. They have organized an event to explain the details of the required changes and the most efficient way to convey the message to the ministry.<sup>274</sup>

“Citizens organizations often act as if the quantity of comments was more important than their contents. So on occasion, many people sometimes send letters that contain the same content. Actually, the same content will tend to be counted as a single opinion, so the quantity should not be the first priority. In Japan, the public comment system was established in June 2005. It is still a new system but in terms of involving the public in lawmaking, it represents a highly significant advance.”<sup>275</sup>

---

<sup>272</sup> JAWS 2008, JAWS Report no. 57, 1.

<sup>273</sup> JAWS interview 25.6. 2010.

<sup>274</sup> ALIVE 2011, “動物取扱業の適正化について意見を出しましょう！環境省のパブリックコメント始まる”

<sup>275</sup> Nogami 2011, “How did the Act on Welfare and Management of Animals Come About?”

Thus, the debatable influence of petitions and public comments in the policymaking process is acknowledged, but nevertheless active citizen participation may open new opportunities.

In addition to the revision, “we need to consider how to end animal cruelty. We have a system, the law, but we have to realize it”, as Tominaga from Knots argues.<sup>276</sup> Therefore different measures to enforce the law are also being proposed by the organizations. For example, reducing the vagueness of the law by defining the used concepts more precisely would also increase the power of officials to intervene in practices that violate the law.<sup>277</sup> In ALIVE’s signature petition requesting the enforcement of measures against animal abuse, it is stated that if there are not enough capable persons among the officials and citizens, the strengthened law cannot be properly implemented. Thus, in addition to the revision of law, it is necessary to establish a system to increase animal welfare education of for example veterinarians and volunteers in organizations that can cooperate with officials.<sup>278</sup> Also Knots considers a volunteer system as vital for the development of animal welfare.<sup>279</sup>

Organizations can also prosecute animal welfare law violations. For instance, ARK successfully prosecuted a couple that had violated the law by causing the starvation of 29 dogs.<sup>280</sup> The results of these prosecutions can function as precedents, which further clarify the law: the premises on which the violator of the animal welfare law is judged can increase the effectiveness of the law by widening the understanding of what cruelty is. For example, the case against a horse owner who was eventually ordered to pay fines for “owning in unsanitary facilities and keeping in poor health status” was included in the definitions of cruelty.<sup>281</sup> Nevertheless, as stated before, collecting proof in order to file a case or get officials to take measures can be difficult because of the vague definition of ill-treatment, and investigations done by private persons or organizations can, in the worst case, result in charges of trespassing.<sup>282</sup>

---

<sup>276</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010.

<sup>277</sup> JAWS 2009d, JAWS Report no. 60, 4.

<sup>278</sup> ALIVE n.d. “動物虐待への対策強化を求める請願署名の詳細説明”

<sup>279</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010.

<sup>280</sup> ARK 2005, A Voice for Animals no. 60, 12.

<sup>281</sup> Yamaguchi 2003, JAWS Report no. 43, 1.

<sup>282</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

A suggested solution for the improvement of the law is connected to other themes. Firstly, JAWS argues that the authority of the law can be used as an educational tool because if “in our law they say that we prohibit doing this, then the children can understand.”<sup>283</sup> Secondly, the strengthened regulations for the animal business and breeding would eventually force breeders and pet shops that benefit from the possibility to produce pets without taking their quality of their life into consideration to close down:

“If we can regulate the pet industry so that the life of the animal is included or the quality of life and care is included until it gets to pet shop. Then basically it won’t be profitable for the people that are doing it at the moment. And once it’s not profitable, they will stop.”<sup>284</sup>

An additional means to pressure breeders and at the same time reduce the number of animals killed at the *hokensho* is to increase drastically the acceptance fee of the *hokensho*: currently euthanasia costs 10,000 yen and leaving a dog to the authorities 2,000 yen.<sup>285</sup> Strengthened regulations and clarified standards would increase the authority of the inspectors. Japan is in desperate need of “standards that we can actually close down bad pet shops or breeders.”<sup>286</sup> In order to tackle problems caused by the pet industry, there might be no other alternative than to ban large-scale breeding.<sup>287</sup> The regulation of the pet industry would also change attitudes. If the pets could not be bought so easily, the problem would diminish.<sup>288</sup>

The animal welfare law is the main concern of the organizations, thus in this research I will concentrate on it. However, it is worth noting that ALIVE especially has actively followed the developments of other laws concerning animals and nature, such as the biodiversity law and wildlife protection law.

---

<sup>283</sup> JAWS interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>284</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>285</sup> Nogami 2010b, ALIVE News no. 90, 4.

<sup>286</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>287</sup> ALIVE 2009b, ALIVE News no. 89, 4.

<sup>288</sup> Angels interview 23.5.2010.

### *Education, information and research*

In this section, I discuss the solutions and tactics that the organizations propose when seeking to address the perceived problem of the low level of knowledge and information among the public. By increasing awareness using different educational and informative means, the organizations hope to reach their aims. Practical means utilized to do this vary greatly; ARK Tokyo sees the future in children and education and arranges school visits. For example JAVA, ALIVE and ARC are trying to increase people's awareness by holding panel exhibitions showing shocking pictures of the reality of animal experiments, living conditions of livestock as well as the practices at the *hokensho*. Other organizations, such as JAWS, Knots and JSPCA are increasing awareness by holding seminars and other educational events and ARSF organizes excursions to USA for veterinary students. The education campaigns are not limited only to the public since some of them are also directed at increasing the knowledge of government officials and other actors working in different fields of animal management.

JAWS, JSPCA and CAPIN all publish, for example, leaflets with general information relating to such matters as proper animal care, the importance of neutering, signs of cruelty and duties of owners. Their vision is that by offering this information, they will raise the awareness level of individual owners that will lead to a heightened level of animal welfare and hopefully to wider concern about animals. In this scheme, the role of children is regarded as important. While Osaka ARK concentrates mostly on shelter work, Tokyo ARK sees education and school visits as one of its most effective ways to influencing future public opinion:

“Well, I think that definitely the law will help, but I think it [the change] is much about education; showing the children what a healthy animal looks like, showing children what a dog and a cat needs to be happy.”<sup>289</sup>

JSPCA also organizes school visits, teaching for example how to behave in the company of a dog and why.<sup>290</sup> JSPCA has included a section called “parent and child

---

<sup>289</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>290</sup> JSPCA 2008a, *Doubutsutachi* vol. 141, 10; JSPCA interview 22.6.2010. At the time of interview JSPCA had organized three school visits.

corner – animal wonders”<sup>291</sup> in every one of its newsletters, encouraging parents and children to study animal issues together. According to Simpson from ARK, because “the future is in the children”, Tokyo ARK does school visits to educate children. The benefits of the visits are as follows:

“So by going, they A) learn the name ARK. Kids don’t care if the animals come from pet shop or from shelter. So they can learn about ARK. B) if they leave with more information it can make them think more when they come to own an animal, that’s great. And I think that you just set up many lines of communication and if they are interested they contact ARK. And you sort of a plant a seed and [proceed] from there.”<sup>292</sup>

Likewise, JAWS has produced specialized educational materials targeted especially at children. In all their newsletters, there is a short cartoon about different animal-related issues, ranging from dog clothing to the right habitat for monkeys. The same collection of cartoons on topics that have puzzled children has also been published under the name どうぶつたちのきもち (*doubutsutatchi no kimochi*, Animals’ Feelings) to increase awareness and to build a better society.<sup>293</sup> In addition, JAWS arranges an annual essay contest about animal welfare for primary school and junior high school students.

As a rather controversial means to educate children to understand animals better, in a report in its newsletter JSPCA introduces the benefits of having animals in schools. This practice is popular especially in Japanese elementary schools. Usually schools have rabbits or other similar small animals, but the JSPCA newsletter introduces a school with two deer. According to the article, despite the worries in the neighborhood, the school has managed to keep the deer well, and coming in contact with the animals has taught the children to appreciate life.<sup>294</sup> The article follows the positive style of reporting also used in the other newsletters of JSPCA and conveys a message that if the animals are kept well in schools they are beneficial for education. There are also sharply contrasting views on the topic of the educational value of school animals: problems and cruelty usually relating to school animals, such as neglect in holiday care, veterinarian inspections, breeding control and general care

<sup>291</sup> おやこコーナー どうぶつのふしぎ, *oyako koonaa doubutsu no fushigi*.

<sup>292</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>293</sup> JAWS 2009b, JAWS Report no. 60, 1.

<sup>294</sup> Ine 2009, JSPCA Doubutsutachi 2009 vol.147, 3–4.

practices that all cause more suffering than benefits. The school environment is not seen as suitable for animals because of all these problems. In fact, according to ALIVE's school animal survey results, the situation of animals kept in school has not improved at all despite the revisions of the law.<sup>295</sup>

ALIVE argues that people need to be educated, but instead of relying on elementary information on animal care, it has decided to provide comprehensive and detailed research information and statistics for example on animals killed at the *hokensho* or on the meat consumption rate. ALIVE considers that because of this it has a reputation as a reliable organization. In its newsletter, it often refers to research or surveys they have conducted and create a sense of expertise. Other organizations also benefit from this information. To ALIVE, another important way to increase knowledge on relevant issues is to work with people from different areas, not just animal welfare activists.<sup>296</sup> Knots shares the same vision of information-sharing through cooperation between experts from different fields. Their most visible effort to realize this is the yearly Live Love Animals international conference on animal care in Kobe.<sup>297</sup>

Education has several functions as a tactic: it increases not only the quality of pet care but also awareness, which can trigger changes by activating people to notice deficiencies in animal welfare. For example, in the case of pet shops where the animals are usually kept in small glass boxes in bright light day and night, it is argued that knowledge helps to decrease the number of pet shops or improves their quality since people would know what to ask for. In addition to cats and dogs – pedigrees of course – the shops sell animals ranging from monkeys to goats:

“If they know that a cat can't be in a cage that big, and those people go into a pet shop and go “oh my god, this is disgusting” and they turn around.... and then the problem is solved. You get so many people coming from other countries, going up to the pet shops here and ringing up and complaining. This we want. If you go in now, you'll see ten, fifteen people going “*oh, kawaii*”. And not knowing that the little baby goat shouldn't be

---

<sup>295</sup> ALIVE 2009a, ALIVE News no.88, 9; ALIVE 2009c, ALIVE News no.89, 8–10.

<sup>296</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>297</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010.

in a pen this big showing of in a bright light. And they don't know, they think it's *kawaii!* And it's a goat! In a shop!"<sup>298</sup>

Even though buying a pet from a pet shop is not regarded as a good solution compared to, for example, pet adoption from the *hokensho* or animal welfare organizations, the increased awareness among the customers should lead to increased attention to the quality of pet breeders and their facilities. According to ALIVE, customers should visit the breeder before purchasing a pet and choose a shop where relevant information and expertise on animal care and raising is provided.<sup>299</sup>

One way to combine education and to encourage people to act is practical and detailed lifestyle advice and "inspection lists". For example, ALIVE provides lists of things that should be observed and can be done when visiting zoos, buying an animal or when suspecting that a breeder is illegal.<sup>300</sup> This kind of information relates closely to mobilization, trying to assure the public that "you can do it", as Simpson from Tokyo ARK who wants to convince people to believe that "yes, they can rescue an animal and yes, animal welfare organizations will help them".<sup>301</sup> The former form of advice, lifestyle articles, can be found in every ALIVE Newsletter and they report practical know-how tips for lifestyle, such as "eco-friendly living: bicycling" and offer recipes on for example vegetarian cooking.<sup>302</sup> JSPCA has provided tips on how to increase general acceptance and awareness of animals when an owner faces objections to having an animal in his/her apartment. By skillfully including animals in different gatherings such as beautification days and neighborhood watches, approval can be achieved and people in the neighborhood can change their attitude to dogs.<sup>303</sup>

As noted before, education not only targets ordinary citizens. For example, JAWS organizes seminars and education for officials. Because the pro-animal organizations do not have any authority, they aim to teach the standards of animal welfare to local officials who can impose them in practice:

---

<sup>298</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>299</sup> Nogami 2009c, ALIVE News no.88, 5.

<sup>300</sup> Nogami 2009e, Alive News no.89, 5; Nogami 2009b, ALIVE News no.88, 3; Nogami 2009c, ALIVE News no.88, 5.

<sup>301</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>302</sup> Yamaho 2010 ALIVE News no. 90, 14 ; Kobayashi 2010, ALIVE News no.92, 13.

<sup>303</sup> Honda 2010, JSPCA Doubutsutachi vol.148, 5.



“...we started RSPCA and animal welfare short course in Great Britain, three times in three years. And then we invite them to Japan because going out to UK costs so much money... They have four days at RSPCA and have lectures. And for two days they go out to many animal shelters. Some belong to RSPCA and others belong to other societies. Next year we are going [to UK] the second time, and two years ago we had the third RSPCA animal welfare course in Japan. We have it for three days, but people who attended this course said you need four or five days for all the contents. So, maybe next year we do four days or something. Because this is for the local government, mainly for the local government officials ... We want to educate the local government officials. When they inspect the animal status, what things you have to see, and how to inspect, what is good animal welfare. We want to educate the local government. They have to inspect the animal pet shops and the breeders. *So they have power, we don't have power, so we want to educate the local government officials.*”

Because the level of knowledge among animal welfare officials varies greatly from excellent to non-existent, JAWS aims at generating at least an average level of animal welfare knowledge for all officials.<sup>304</sup>

Although the organizations have many concerns about the competence and attitudes of veterinarians, not all have responded to the problem with their activities. One attempt to change the situation has been ARSF's excursions to USA and Europe. Because the director of ARSF feels that it is difficult to influence graduated veterinarians, he takes veterinary students on excursions where they can learn about neutering and euthanasia and see how things can be done in practice. Yamasaki wants to show them that they can work differently, increase their competence and in that way promote animal welfare.<sup>305</sup>

Organizations running an animal shelter also acknowledge the importance of education. Although running a shelter consumes the majority of the energy and resources of these groups, Oliver from ARK for instance feels “that education should be an intrinsic part of our activities together with the rescue and care of the animals”. On a grassroots level, this is realized by using the rehomed animal as an “education package”. ARK instructs the new owner on how to take care of their new pet and

---

<sup>304</sup> JAWS interview 25.6.2010. I have added italics to emphasize central points of the interview quotations.

<sup>305</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010.

thus spreads information and awareness.<sup>306</sup> Angels is doing public awareness activities for example by spreading leaflets and stickers and feels that it is necessary to make people learn the reality of killings at the *hokensho* in addition to rescuing and taking care of dogs.<sup>307</sup>

Lifeboat would like to do education campaigns, but now have their hands full of shelter work. Even though they will gradually start to do education activities, they feel that an education program alone is not enough: “Some organizations do only education, but that is not enough to see the real situation.” Moreover, if they do both there will be a lack of staff and knowledge and they will be too busy. According to lifeboat, education does not solve the present situation or help the animals now in the *hokensho*:

“I think the education is difficult to talk about. To be honest, now education is not much on stage. The official shelter was a killing place, it was no shelter. So we entered the [official] system and we took part of it. So we added minor changes to protect the animals. We are on that stage.”<sup>308</sup>

Thus, currently Lifeboat perceives education as topical on a higher level of organizational development and currently aims at using its resources to help the animals within the *hokensho* system.

Some organizations use the tactics of revealing hidden issues in order to affect public opinion, increase awareness and, for example, change consumer preferences. For instance, ALIVE considers the living conditions of livestock in Japan to be hidden, concealed in a “black box”. The image conveyed to consumers in advertisements is false and the true state of affairs should be exposed to the people.<sup>309</sup> Likewise, because it is difficult to get information about animal experiments, JAVA feels that it has the responsibility to “tell them all”.<sup>310</sup> In order to achieve this, organizations such as JAVA, ALIVE and ARC have published handouts and videos alongside their newsletter and use the internet to campaign for their cause. These organizations also frequently hold panel exhibitions (Picture 1) at events or on the street to reveal the

<sup>306</sup> ARK 2008e, A Voice For Animals no.71, 12.

<sup>307</sup> Hayashi 2006, 活動趣旨「小さな命を救う」.

<sup>308</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010.

<sup>309</sup> ALIVE 2008, “ブラックボックスの中の日本の畜産”

<sup>310</sup> JAVA interview 14.6.2010.

reality to the people. For instance, ARC aims at creating a shock effect that will help to mobilize bystanders to join their cause. Many of the current activists started their activities in this way.<sup>311</sup>



**Picture 1.** ALIVE's outdoor panel exhibition in Saitama, in front of Oomiya station on 19.7.2010. Trying to get the attention of passers-by, the exhibition included rather shocking pictures of animal testing, dissections done in schools and killing in official shelters. The Anti-vivisection Association, AVA-net, collaborates closely with ALIVE and was established by Fusako Nogami. AVA shares the same office with ALIVE and they will be unified as one organization in the near future. Photo taken by the author.

All organizations are inevitably contacted for advice from time to time, but some of them include consulting as a separate tactic to spread information. Consultation is targeted especially at helping citizens to increase their knowledge, but it also serves officials. ALIVE, JSPCA and JAWS receive phone calls from concerned citizens and advise people on how to act if they witnessing or suspect animal abuse.<sup>312</sup> Knots provides consulting services and conducts related research into businesses, schools and other interested parties.<sup>313</sup> They are all also consulted by officials, which gives them an acknowledged role as an expert.

<sup>311</sup> ARC interview 6.6.2010

<sup>312</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010; JSPCA interview 22.6.2010; JAWS interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>313</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010.

### *Media attention and publications*

The organizations generally regarded media attention as one of the best ways to influence the public and increase awareness of animal well-being in Japan. All organizations said in the survey that seeking for and using media attention is one of their most important tactics. However, media is itself an influential actor in the shaping of public discourse: The messages conveyed by it and its influence are both beyond the control of any individual movement actor.<sup>314</sup> Nevertheless, media attention can to a certain extent limit open opportunities for the organizations to create critical discussion and offer information on animal issues.<sup>315</sup> The mainstream media, such as newspapers and television programs, have lately been covering issues relating to animal welfare by concentrating mostly on *hokensho* and animal business. This tendency of media to select and shape the topics discussed in public is also acknowledged by the organizations. Because of this strong influence, some organizations are also actively monitoring media to prevent the spread of adverse information about animal issues.

In general, publicity has proven to have a positive impact. For example, every time there is something written about animals or about ARK's activities in the newspaper, people contact ARK from Japan and elsewhere. Publicity influences also tactics; according to Oliver from ARK, the more famous an organization becomes, the more difficult it is to use non-institutional tactics disapproved of by the public.<sup>316</sup> One way to gain more publicity is to enjoy the benefit of a celebrity advertising the group. For example, singer and songwriter Koji Date visited ARK and wrote a song to help the animals.<sup>317</sup>

Other examples of similar activities are ARK's mailing list posting, photo exhibitions, book publishing and a weekly article about a rehomed animal in the Japan Times. According to Simpson from ARK Tokyo, it is fun for people to see the happy animals with their new owners in the newspaper. Nevertheless, it is not easy to

---

<sup>314</sup> Gamson 1992, 71.

<sup>315</sup> Press coverage has had similar benefits for organizations advocating better immigrant treatment in Japan. See Tegtmeyer Pak 2000, 73.

<sup>316</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>317</sup> ARK 2008b, A Voice For Animals no.70, 10.

get publicity in news media. ARK has connections with a reporter in the English language newspaper Japan Times, which has a limited audience in Japan. Getting publicity in Japanese newspapers would be significant for the organizations, but the media is not willing to take sides and support the cause of any particular group:

“We only got this because of Barbara Bare, who used to be the editor here. And again, this is an English language newspaper. We should be in Japanese newspaper. But the mentality [of Japanese newspapers] is that if we do this for you, we have to do it for other organizations. So we’re not going to do it for any organizations. And I just see that is the coward’s choice. You cannot do it for every group but you have to make standards. You do it only for the organizations that has registered or that is certified NPO. There are lots of things you can do for... That is, once we can get to Japanese newspapers, then it will be [significant].”<sup>318</sup>

Media attention is providing opportunities for some organizations, because media’s interest is currently focusing on *hokensho* and pet issues. This focus has been beneficial for Lifeboat, “because law protects the killing done by the authority and rehoming animals and getting new owners has gained media attention. Another point for media has been early sterilization.”<sup>319</sup>

Nogami from ALIVE is often interviewed as a specialist by different media in television programs such as “Pets Are Crying” on NHK, “Scene of Mortal Life Crime” on Fuji TV and ALIVE has provided data for programs such as “Save Pets’ Lives” on TV Japan. The influence of the media is great in Japan.<sup>320</sup> However, the approach of media is usually considered to be very shallow and reporters do not research their topics well. Hence, it is considered important for organizations to constantly broadcast their message.<sup>321</sup> Because of reports for example about breeders violating the animal welfare law and abusing animals, the image of the entire animal industry has already been damaged. Nevertheless, issues such as animal tests and livestock are kept hidden.<sup>322</sup>

JAVA produces information for the public and also the media. However, often the media does not use JAVA’s material, such as photographs, in the rare cases when

<sup>318</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>319</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010.

<sup>320</sup> ALIVE 2010a, ALIVE News no.91, 15; ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>321</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>322</sup> Nogami 2010e, ALIVE News no.93, 3.

they are reporting about their activities such as demonstrations. According to JAVA, it is common to attach a picture of cute animals even to a report on an anti-fur demonstration. JAVA's members feel that media should discuss these issues more, because the opinion presented in media and in public has a big influence on Japanese people.<sup>323</sup> JAVA thinks that “the most important thing in abolishing animal testing is to change people's awareness. In order to do so, cooperation with media is essential”.<sup>324</sup> However, because mass media does not usually cooperate with organizations, JAVA relies mostly on alternative media, such as the internet. One reason behind the media's unwillingness to report controversial issues is presumed to be its connections with business. For example Shiseido produces lots of revenues for media in the form of advertisements.<sup>325</sup>

Media sometimes creates an image of some advocacy organizations being radical. For example, Greenpeace is occasionally labeled as a terrorist group, which affects the public opinion and popularity of the organization. Likewise, ARC is sometimes portrayed as a radical advocacy group. Some supporters of ARK, for example companies, have called and told that ARK should not be in contact with ARC, otherwise they will withdraw their support.<sup>326</sup>

In addition to spreading information on problematic issues, media attention can also be used as a leverage to achieve specific goals. In the case against a dog breeder who was violating animal welfare law regulations, JAVA wanted to push the local authorities to act by using publicity:

“JAVA thought the best way was that we would not only work on directly to the city authorities but also put pressure on the authorities by making public opinion louder. So we asked a TV station to cover the situation. Later the miserable state was telecasted as a special program in many parts of Japan. After the broadcast, a lot of protests poured in and the officials finally decided to tackle the problem”.<sup>327</sup>

Despite the benefits of media attention, media itself cuts both ways: It has the potential to raise awareness, but at the same time it can spread harmful messages.

---

<sup>323</sup> JAVA interview 14.6.2010.

<sup>324</sup> JAVA 2007, JAVA News no.79, 9.

<sup>325</sup> JAVA interview 14.6.2010.

<sup>326</sup> ARK – Kishida interview 15.5.2010.

<sup>327</sup> Wazaki 2006d, JAVA News no.78, 10–11.

Thus, as noted elsewhere, organizations such as JAVA have taken an active role in supervising and commenting on broadcasts and publications. They often order the broadcaster to stop programs encouraging cruelty to animals or lowering viewers' morals.<sup>328</sup>

“We must always keep our eyes on TV programs or TV commercials... When we find something wrong with them, we should protest immediately against it and ask for its improvement”.<sup>329</sup>

### ***Reframing<sup>330</sup> the problem***

As noted before, the primary target of pro-animal organizations is the well-being of the animals. However, in order to achieve their short- or long-term goals, the organizations do not rely on the hope that all Japanese will come to share their perception of the value of animals immediately. To make changes, the organizations are learning to push the right buttons to make their claims more effective and attractive by reframing their cause. The practice of reframing is utilized both in prognostic and in mobilizing framing. Firstly, as will be illustrated below, it functions as a practical tactic to achieve results in activities. The organizations formulate their arguments according to their targets, as in the cases of referring to complaints from neighbors in order to make the local officials react. Secondly, reframing mobilizes bystanders by offering more rationales for action and by seeking frame resonance. This latter reframing corresponds to the frame alignment processes, especially frame extension and transformation, discussed by Snow et al. in connection with micromobilization and movement participation and to which I will return in connection to motivational framing.<sup>331</sup>

The pro-animal organizations do not have the authority to take any measures, such as taking animals into custody. In case of animal welfare violation, their only option is

---

<sup>328</sup> See for example Wazaki 2008a JAVA News no.81, 8; JAVA 2008b, JAVA News no.81, 10–11; JAVA 2007, JAVA News, no.79, 8–7; Hattori 2006a, JAVA News no.77,

<sup>329</sup> JAVA 2008b, JAVA News no.81, 11.

<sup>330</sup> To avoid confusion, the use of the term reframing here differs from the micromobilizing reframing suggested by Gamson (1992, 73), because of its partly practical nature as a tactic here. Gamson argues that the reframing done in order to make the injustice frame adoptable for audiences “takes time and is rarely compressed into a single encounter.” Here I concentrate on short-term adjustments of arguments.

<sup>331</sup> Snow et al. 1986.

to contact the authorities i.e. the police or local *hokensho*, and wait for them to take action. These authorities are generally considered to be unwilling to interfere with animal abuse cases, partly because of the vagueness of the law and partly because of their presumed ignorance. The organizations have to have photos in order to prosecute. According to ARK, the best way to get the authorities motivated is to reframe animal abuse as a nuisance to people by saying that there have been “reports from neighbors of smell or noises”.<sup>332</sup> ALIVE also recognizes this problem when encouraging their members to monitor breeders in the neighborhood: “If there are no complaints from residents, the officials do not act.”<sup>333</sup>

On the other hand, according to Simpson from ARK, reframing ought also to be used by officials. She argues that the unwillingness of officials to use tax money to help the animals is dependent on motivation, because all activities relating to animals also help people:

“Everything we do at ARK helps people, everything. Nine of ten cases of my job are with people. So all you have to do is to convince people that you are doing it for them. And that’s not so hard. All the children, when it comes to peoples’ children, the neighborhoods’ children, there are many ways that you just turn it around. This could be helping your elderly mother, when she passes on... you can say that there are young children in the area and it’s dangerous. They hear, and the smell...”<sup>334</sup>

A tactic of changing the arguments from the moral injustice of animal experiments to economic, health and other human-related reasons was intentionally used in JAVA’s successful campaign against a breeding facility for laboratory marmosets in Kin town:

“JAVA thought that it would be impossible to make the town give up the plan by telling them the actual conditions and cruelty of animal testing. So we changed the tactics into showing the data that there was less demand for marmosets than the town expected, and the economic effect would be much smaller.”

---

<sup>332</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>333</sup> Nogami 2010c, ALIVE News no.91, 4.

<sup>334</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.



In addition to the economic risks of the facility, JAVA pointed out several other deficiencies of the plan, such as the risk of environmental pollution, the negative image of the town, and growing global opposition to animal experiments.<sup>335</sup>

As noted before, the means to an end or the rhetoric of animal rights might not be necessarily regarded as the most important thing, if the results of reframed activity improve the overall situation of the animals. Compared to TRN of stray cats or the adoption of homeless animals, in the case of livestock, there are not so many possibilities for direct action that can immediately affect the well-being of the animals. One viable channel is to increase awareness of the customers and frame the products from farms with high standards of animal welfare as healthier and cleaner.<sup>336</sup> Another effective way to reframe the original problem is to use the customers' point of view. Although most organizations object to pet shops, partial improvements can be made by pointing out that the vagueness of the law can hamper the protection of customers' rights.<sup>337</sup> ARC, trying to promote veganism and changes in the conditions of livestock in Japan, argues against meat-eating by stating that it is bad for the environment because of the carbon dioxide gases emitted as byproducts. As greenhouse gas emissions are a hot topic in the world, the argument claiming that 51% of the world's greenhouse gases originate from livestock addresses a wider audience and makes the ARC's cause more relevant for example in policymaking.<sup>338</sup>

The difference between reframing and frame transformation is difficult or impossible to separate if it is not stated explicitly. Reframing targeting one audience can become a more permanent adjustment of a frame or can remain used as temporary tactics to convince their audiences. Despite the few examples of the explicit use of reframing tactics in order to trigger changes in their targets' behavior, it is not necessarily possible to detect the fine line between the "original"<sup>339</sup> frame and its extensions.

---

<sup>335</sup> Wazaki 2008b, JAVA News no.82, 3–5.

<sup>336</sup> Kishida 15.5.2010; Abe 2010, ALIVE News no.91, 11.

<sup>337</sup> Nogami 2009c, ALIVE News no.88, 5.

<sup>338</sup> Okada 2010, ARC News, 12–13.

<sup>339</sup> In this research I am analyzing the components of the pro-animal organizations' frames. However, it does not mean, as emphasized before, that there is one static original frame to be found. Because of this, I use quotation marks to illustrate the relativity of the concept of reframing. Reframing could imply that there is an original frame from which new interpretations depart, but here I use the term only to describe the conscious tactical efforts to make a discursive shift from animal rights/welfare rhetoric to assure opponents or bystanders, in order to reach a specific goal.

This is due to the dynamic and interactive nature of the framing process in which the organizations construct new meanings or alter or modify their arguments according to their opponents. As both Esacove and Einwohner have shown, the dialogic interaction between proponents and opponents is essential in understanding the dynamics of social movements, since the organizations always construct their meanings “in response to something else, whether the efforts of a countermovement or the conditions that motivated the action in the first place”.<sup>340</sup> Later, these can be developed to be central interpretations for the organizations, partly depending on what kind of audiences they are mostly dealing with.

An example of this kind of frame usage is how JAVA extends its arguments of the dangers of low morals and animal abuse to apply to the whole of society and not only the animals, in order to convince the Ministry of Defense to revise its educative cartoon for children. In this cartoon a girl is hitting and kicking a bear that expresses different opinions about defense issues. Since the authorities can be presumed to be worried about unrest in Japanese society, JAVA relates the animal abuse to society’s problems, elaborating on its diagnosis of low morals and its effects:

“Lately, there have been a lot of cases of bloodshed in Japan. It has become clear that many criminals mistreat animals before committing crimes and the close relationship between cruelty to animals and cruel crimes has become widely recognized. Despite such present conditions, the Ministry of Defense, which is one of the government agencies, carries scenes of cruelty to animals in its publication... We think cultivating our kind hearts to animals which are in the weakest situations is very important in order to solve the problems Japanese society today has.”<sup>341</sup>

After this report, the bad influence of animal cruelty on Japanese youth and society as a whole was mentioned in several other reports. This implies that this way of framing the problem was becoming a popular extension of the argument on the problems of low morals in the group’s repertoire and a meaning assimilated to the collective action frame.

---

<sup>340</sup> Einwohner 2002a on constructing animal rights activists’ identity in interaction; Esacove 2004 on dialogic framing process, quotation from page 95.

<sup>341</sup> Hattori 2006b, JAVA News no.78, 15.

### *Internationality and ideals from abroad*

Tanikuchi has argued that the Japanese who have contacts with foreigners volunteer more. Also for pro-animal organizations, internationality functions as inspiration. As the title suggests, the tactics and solutions discussed in this section relate closely to the setting in which Japan is seen to be lagging behind and needs to learn from the Western model of animal welfare. Many of the organizations studied in this research were either founded by a foreigner or inspired by animal welfare or rights activism in Northern Europe, especially in Britain and America. There seem to be general agreement that Japan still has to learn from these countries and that participating in international discussion is one viable option to realize that. The introduction of international standards such as Five Freedoms and 3R is also seen as improving the level of animal welfare in international comparison.

The founding of the oldest of the organizations in this research, JSPCA, was influenced strongly by Lady Gascoigne, wife of the British ambassador. JSPCA still aims to follow the standards of the British animal welfare system.<sup>342</sup> Lifeboat had the USA's and Australia's shelters as their inspiration when they founded their organization. In Lifeboat's opinion, Japanese shelters ought to imitate the sheltering system in order to achieve continuity in their activities.<sup>343</sup> JAVA's founding members also visited Europe and saw big improvements achieved in animal testing, so they decided to start their own activities in Japan aiming at similar results.<sup>344</sup>

ARK was established by Elizabeth Oliver who was born in England and moved to Japan to teach English. ARK naturally has the strongest connections to English animal welfare organizations and considers for example the RSPCA to be a model for their activities. The state of animal welfare as well as the general appreciation of animals in Britain is often contrasted with Japan. A Voice for Animals, number 59 published in 2005 is dedicated to reports of the trip to Britain. These reports all conclude that Japan has a lot to learn from animal welfare and management as well as human-animal relations in British society. This image is further enforced by

---

<sup>342</sup> JSPCA interview 22.6.2010.

<sup>343</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010.

<sup>344</sup> JAVA interview 14.6.2010.

reports by foreign experts visiting Japan and criticizing the current situation and especially the *hokensho*.

ARSF also thinks that, in the future, the animal welfare system in Japan should follow the Western animal welfare system. But that requires acceptance of euthanasia and the promotion of neutering. In order to do that, it is necessary to ensure that the vets get trained properly.<sup>345</sup> Knots uses the Hawaiian Kawai Humane Center's animal shelter as an ideal of a well-functioning cooperation program between volunteer citizens and authorities. Knots state that "Kawai is our hope". According to Tominaga's positive assessment, if Kawai can create this kind of system, so can the Japanese. JAWS also seeks to find role models for the Japanese system from abroad; in a report about the Oregon Humane Center, it was noted that "it is time to enrich the volunteer education also in Japan", thus making a comparison between Japan and more advanced volunteering culture.<sup>346</sup> Furthermore, in its practical activities, JAWS uses international contacts when organizing short animal welfare courses in Britain and Japan in cooperation with the RSPCA.<sup>347</sup>

By introducing international developments and ways to influence, the Japanese organizations can receive inspiration for their tactics and learn from the success of the activities of foreign organizations. For instance, the efforts in animal welfare in the EU were reported as having been strengthened in recent years. In addition to the law revisions, customer choices of, for example, food have had a great impact on animal welfare.<sup>348</sup> According to Knots, Japanese organizations' budget is very limited and their concrete influence very limited. The organizations in Japan have really small shelters and no management or business skills. In order to overcome these problems it is necessary to learn from countries with professional animal welfare organizations because their problems are the same, but they know how to fight them.<sup>349</sup> In spite of the dominant perception that Japan has a lot to learn from

---

<sup>345</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010.

<sup>346</sup> Yamaguchi 2008b, JAWS Report, no.58, 5.

<sup>347</sup> See for example JAWS 2009a, JAWS Report no.59, 1-3 for reports of a short course in Japan.

<sup>348</sup> Nagamatsu 2010, ALIVE News no.91, 6.

<sup>349</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010.

Britain and other frontrunners in animal welfare, it is acknowledged that they have their faults and problems as well.<sup>350</sup>

International conferences and courses offer the possibility to participate in global discussion about animal welfare and rights, build and enforce cooperation, and learn from other countries. As Kishida commented in an ARK newsletter after having participated in The Dog Trust international training program in London:

“Because in Japan we live on remote isles in the Far East, I feel we need to “go out” once in a while. There’s no point in hiding in a small corner of a locality such as Japan. We should step outside our isolation, and should take a more active part in multinational dialogue.”<sup>351</sup>

JAVA is a member of ICAPO (International Council of Animal Protection in OECD Programs) as the only representative from Asia. JAVA has been participating in its events actively and is aiming at enforcing this international cooperation further.<sup>352</sup> For example, the chance to attend the World Congress on Alternatives and Animal Use in the Life Sciences as a member of ICAPO was labeled “an ideal chance to appeal to scientists all around the world”. Thus, participating actively in internationally acknowledged events is regarded as creating more opportunities. JAVA aimed to “make the best use of this opportunity to exchange information and intensify cooperation”.<sup>353</sup> In addition to opportunities, international cooperation is considered to enforce the determination and motivation of the group.<sup>354</sup> Furthermore, international contacts can be beneficial in domestic issues as well. For example, in serious animal protection violation cases, JAVA sends information to organizations abroad to gain support for its campaigns in the form of written protests or expert adherents.<sup>355</sup>

Not all organizations are currently aiming at creating international contacts. Similarly with their perception of education as a task for more developed animal welfare organizations, international contacts will be topical later in Lifeboat’s opinion. The

<sup>350</sup> Oliver 2008c, *A Voice For Animals* no.72, 2; Yamamoto 2003, *JAWS Report* no.43, 4–5; ARK 2009b, *A Voice For Animals* no.76, 2–3.

<sup>351</sup> Kishida 2010, *A Voice For Animals* no.77, 10.

<sup>352</sup> Wazaki 2007a, *JAVA News* no.79, 3; JAVA n.d. “JAVAとは?”.

<sup>353</sup> Wazaki 2007a, *JAVA News* no.79, 3.

<sup>354</sup> Wazaki 2007c *JAVA News* no. 80, 9.

<sup>355</sup> See for example JAVA 2009, *JAVA News* no.83, 10.

representatives of Lifeboat consider that they are too young to have international cooperation, arguing that “we are not on that stage yet”.<sup>356</sup>

### *Confronting business*

Angels, JAWS, ALIVE and JAVA are organizations that deal with the business sector of society. Angels do this by rescuing dogs from breeders after gaining the breeders’ permission to do so. JAWS has an animal welfare inspector, a veterinarian who inspects for example pet shops, reports about them to officials and suggests improvements. ALIVE is also taking a reformative stance and researching animal business issues that need changes.

JAVA and ARC are the only groups that concentrate on strictly opposing business practices, especially animal experiments and fur production. JAVA in particular has focused on the abolition of animal experiments. After companies gained relative autonomy to decide about animal experiments without any outside authorization or certification, JAVA changed its target to companies. Currently JAVA concentrates its resources on the biggest cosmetic company, Shiseido:

“At beginning we did to the official ministry as well, we did that. But the legal process, the producers, it’s up to the producers of the products. So we have to make them finish the experiments. So, we have to advertise on biggest company, so we have to do the biggest company. Other like, other companies are also doing the same thing, but we have to concentrate on the biggest company, so that our power can be concentrated in this way, so now this time the Shiseido, we are doing.”<sup>357</sup>

The campaign against Shiseido was launched in 2009 and continued in the form of for example signature collection in coalition with other organizations, leaflet distribution, demonstrations and protest letters as well as a dedicated website.<sup>358</sup> Hence, the autonomy of companies and the possibility to shift the target from authorities to these companies is seen as an opportunity: Although the companies have the freedom to increase animal experiments, they are also free to adjust their

---

<sup>356</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010.

<sup>357</sup> JAVA interview 14.6.2010.

<sup>358</sup> Kamekura 2009, JAVA News no.83, 17–23; Yamamoto 2010, JAVA News no.84, 8–9; JAVA n.d. “ウサギを救え”.

policies and apply alternative methods of experimenting in cosmetics. This illustrates how the organizations adjust their tactics according to changes in their environment.

By advocating regulating laws and policies, the organizations are targeting animal business indirectly via official institutionalized channels. If the organizations participating in the revision manage successfully to promote stricter regulations and standards for animal business, the law would act as leverage for further improvements in animal welfare. Stricter standards and clear definitions of animal abuse would also give more indirect power to the organizations, because they would be able to mobilize the authorities to intervene in violations in the pet industry on the grounds of legislation. The organizations can also have an indirect impact on the animal industry by increasing customer awareness: since large-scale trade is one major reason causing large-scale killing at the *hokensho*, customers are supporting the business by purchasing a product. When they learn the real situation, they can choose not to buy from pet shops.<sup>359</sup>

### ***Cooperation with officials***

The diversity of state-civil society relations has already been discussed in the third chapter concerning civil society. Here I present examples of how cooperation can be seen as a tactic chosen by the organizations in order to achieve their aims. Knots most values its cooperative relations with local officials. It argues that other organizations do not share the same information about the government's development. This information of positive development could lead to acceptance of collaboration. Thus NPOs and government should start a dialogue following Knots' example, because they share the same goal. However, animal welfare organizations should also make attitude change, because they have old-fashioned thoughts of government's policies based on the anti-rabies law. It is necessary for organizations to take the initiative and approach the authorities:

“But the situation is really difficult, because of our history. Now they [government officials] have changed, but before they needed to put down the animals. They need time to decide. That is a character of our government. But history is history and now it's changed. *So they [the*

---

<sup>359</sup> ALIVE 2009b, ALIVE News no.89, 4.

*other organizations] need to change their mind [italics added]. It is very difficult, because they are too busy and in very difficult situation to help the animals, the small organizations. Their situation is very bad and the conditions also bad.”*

Cooperation between organizations and officials requires “throwing away emotion” and thinking more about management. Knots also consults local officials and has good personal relations with them: “We are friends!” Knots point out that because the people already pay taxes, instead of supporting many small organizations, official resources should be cultivated to establish a cooperation system to help the animals, although the system will take time to develop because of bureaucracy:

“It is characteristic to Japanese government that first they think about a decision for a long time, but when they decide, they do it perfectly.”<sup>360</sup>

ALIVE, an organization with membership within the national-level animal welfare commission, has lots of supporters in congress and in municipal governments. However, ALIVE is also ready to critically comment on government policies.<sup>361</sup> CAPIN sees contacts with political parties as one of the most efficient tactics. According to Tsuruta from CAPIN, the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) has presented itself as an advocate for improvements in animal welfare, and some DPJ members in the city council are supporting CAPIN’s cause. CAPIN is seeking to increase communication between local government and citizen groups while maintaining a critical stance.<sup>362</sup>

A JSPCA newsletter notes that Japan has reached a turning point in animal protection, currently lagging behind the West in general awareness of animals: following the example of pioneers in the West, it is time for officials and citizens to come together and save as many animals as possible.<sup>363</sup> JSPCA has already created cooperative relations with officials, especially with the Ministry of Environment. They organize activities together, discuss animal issues and have made publications together. The officials also consult JSPCA on problematic issues. But, as the head of

---

<sup>360</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010.

<sup>361</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>362</sup> CAPIN interview 15.6.2010.

<sup>363</sup> JSPCA 2008b, *Doubutsutachi* vol.141, 11.



the secretariat Yoshino concluded laughing, they do not receiving any money from the government.<sup>364</sup>

As the NPOs do not have any power to interfere with the animal handling business or private animal owners' practices, JAWS's strategy is to consult and supervise: "We advise or ask to them to change the care of animals and sometimes we talk to the local government to investigate and instruct them." JAWS has also organized a cooperation project called CC Kuro at the Kobe city *ai-go* center that unfortunately has limited facilities for the animals awaiting adoption:

"At Kobe city center we send three people, we pay for the staff to care the animals for rehoming. Still they have to euthanize, still so many people abandon or wild dogs come into the center. During the one week they check if the dog can be rehomed, or if it is too wild or too aggressive, so it can't be. And the end of the week, Friday, they check with the behaviorist [if the dog behaves well], and our staff and veterinarian at the city center check with using a magic hand<sup>365</sup> and videotaping and decide to euthanize or not. And if the dog goes to rehoming, we put them to very small place ... nice one, put in the small place to keep them, to care them for rehoming. We spend money on that. And we care these dogs. We do want to do this for cats, but the space is so small... *This is one model for local government and private sector together* [italics added]."<sup>366</sup>

Lifeboat has also established relations with local officials and the *hokensho*, but currently the relation is unequal. Being at the early stage of changing the official system, they are now at the mercy of the local authorities' good will, because "the cooperation with the officials is basically like they are *letting us* [Lifeboat, italics added] protect the animals, cats and dogs, only."<sup>367</sup>

Simpson from Tokyo ARK would like to have cooperation, but since many animals come to Tokyo ARK before they go to the *hokensho*, they have not had the possibility or the time to establish good relations. However, Simpson sees cooperation with the officials as a way to make progress faster. The attitudes of authorities have been improving in recent years:

---

<sup>364</sup> JSPCA interview 22.6.2010.

<sup>365</sup> An artificial hand for testing how a dog reacts to touch.

<sup>366</sup> JAWS interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>367</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010.

“Being here four years, and even these four years the attitude has changed. Before you bring up that there is a stray cat problem in this area and the officials would just shut off, shut you down. And now they say, all right okay, we do TNR and there is a volunteer in this and I will give you his number. And it just has become much more open. And I think that is the key, I think is the key here for things to become more open.”<sup>368</sup>

However, According to Oliver, ARK Osaka has not received a positive response from officials: “Basically ARK has no communication with the officials, but when something is communicated, the officials are neither cooperative nor happy about it.”<sup>369</sup> ARSF has also encountered difficulties when attempting to communicate or cooperate with the officials in Kobe. Yamasaki, explains that this is because the city officials have close connections with the local veterinary association that does not want ARSF to continue its activities.<sup>370</sup>

Although the organizations think that at least in principle there is potential for fruitful cooperation between the citizen organizations and officials, there are still many issues that hinder its realization. Similarly as Pak has found out in her research on citizen organizations improving the situation of immigrants in Japan, the sides’ approaches to the problem are different. Pak argues that the government has the tendency to deal with issues from a statistical or systematic point of view, whereas NPOs may be more straightforward and pessimistic in their opinions and tend to treat the problem on the basis of individual cases. For example, the wish of animal welfare activists to save “each and every animal” contrasts with officials’ broader perspective to take necessary measures to control pet overpopulation. Furthermore, the officials are bound by legal restrictions, such as guidelines for using tax money, and Pak describes NPOs as ““principled activists” engaging in moralistic campaigns”.<sup>371</sup> These arguments are also reflected in the situation of the pro-animal organizations and government cooperation in Japan. However, there are also different perspectives on government-NPO collaboration discussed above that show the importance of framing in determining what meanings, values and practical measures are connected to cooperation. For example, Knots presents positive assessments of the cooperation and wishes that other organizations would change their attitude toward government

---

<sup>368</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>369</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>370</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010.

<sup>371</sup> Tegtmeier Pak 2000, 52, 60.

activities and follow their example. At the other end of the spectrum, ARK for example frequently comments on the endemic inefficiency and ignorance of the officials and these claims make them drift further away from cooperation.

A case example of the different approaches is provided by the leader of Hyogo Prefecture *Aigo* Center, who argues that although their goal is similar to that of pro-animal organizations to help the animals, the idealistic aim of NPOs (especially ARK was mentioned) to save every animal makes it impossible to cooperate them, because officials are using tax money to reduce the nuisance caused by stray animals and managing the problem in larger scale.<sup>372</sup> The Hyogo prefecture then again was criticized by ALIVE, since it was the other of the two prefectures (with Ehime) that did not agree to enforce a plan to reduce the number of dogs and cats killed in *hokensho*, and it was claimed that some officials there were actively promoting killing instead of adoption.<sup>373</sup> As was already discussed, Knots sees the same officials as cooperation partners and as a channel to make improvements in animal welfare. Since this research is focusing on the perceptions constructed by pro-animal citizen organizations, this reference to the Hyogo prefecture does not represent any generalizable results of the officials' viewpoint. Nevertheless, these kind of fractures between officials and NPOs actually exist, but they are not similar everywhere.

Also the small size, financial resources and dependence on volunteers reduces both the number of potential partners for government in civil society and the visibility of organizations in society.<sup>374</sup> As the few examples of cooperation between pro-animal organizations and officials suggest, “the possibility for cooperation exists. It is discussed independently by the NGOs (NPOs) and local governments themselves and encouraged by intellectuals with ties to both communities”, as Tegtmeier Pak puts it.<sup>375</sup> Moreover, in order to work with the state and avoid losing independence, the NPOs need to balance between the benefits of cooperation and the threats of co-

---

<sup>372</sup> Personal communication 28.5.2010

<sup>373</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2011

<sup>374</sup> Tegtmeier Pak 2000, 53; In 動物の愛護管理のあり方検討会 (2004) report on cooperation between NGOs and the government, similar challenges to the three factors discussed here, are mentioned.

<sup>375</sup> Tegtmeier Pak 2000, 59. Steinhoff (2000) has studied the different patterns of relations between *kan* and *min*, the bureaucrats and the people, that are sometimes paralleled in central-local government relations. Relations are constructed in interaction and can change from dominating to representative.

option.<sup>376</sup> These features, hopes, and fears are closely connected to the discussion in the chapter concerning the framing of civil society.

### *Cooperation with other actors*

Cinalli has argued that organizations that have established horizontal ties and networks with other organizations on the same issue-field have a fast and efficient flow of information. In addition, there is stronger solidarity among these organizations and more opportunities to access, develop and exchange resources. These ties enable more flexible and responsive action and create efficient division of responsibilities among the organizations.<sup>377</sup> The majority of the pro-animal organizations seem to lack this kind of efficient networks and cooperation partners, resulting in scattered small groups and pro-animal activities. Some organizations are either actively seeking to increase cooperation in practice while others are portraying cooperation as a positive vision. However, the frame disputes can hinder the communication between the organizations.

Knots emphasizes the importance of interaction between the different actors in society. On their homepage they summarize their activities: “Knots creates *places* that are effective for helping to realize a better society for human and animal coexistence”. These places, such as seminars and symposiums as well as everyday activity, are creating possibilities for direct communication and creation of consensus. Knots and some of the groups have already established bilateral cooperation relations. For example, JAWS has managed the projects of Humane Center Japan together with Knots.<sup>378</sup> JSPCA is another cooperation partner of JAWS and they sometimes organize events together.<sup>379</sup> ALIVE and ARK cooperate by changing information and by promoting the official dogs’ ID-tag that was established by ALIVE.<sup>380</sup>

Oliver from ARK sees the future of animal welfare in cooperation because small organizations cannot do everything. Following the model from Britain, Oliver argues

---

<sup>376</sup> Hirata 2002, 47; Pekkanen 2006, 71.

<sup>377</sup> Cinalli 2007, 92-93.

<sup>378</sup> Knots n.d. “Outline of organization”.

<sup>379</sup> JSPCA interview 22.6.2010.

<sup>380</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

that success requires that organizations, officials, and vets come together as a one group.<sup>381</sup> This importance of communication between different actors and experts came up earlier. Thus, cooperation between different fields is important and enables the flow of ideas and advancement of activities. One person cannot do everything and everyone has different areas of expertise.<sup>382</sup>

### *Activities involving animals*

Thus far I have discussed tactics that aim to improve the well-being of animals either through legislation or increasing organizations' ability to influence peoples' attitudes towards the animals. In this section I will turn to tactics and activities that target directly animals and are seen as viable solutions or at least improvements in the current situation. These activities include TNR, animal rescue, animal shelters and rehoming. Angels, ARK and Lifeboat run an animal shelter, ARSF focuses on TNR and CAPIN is doing small-scale rehoming. JAWS and JSPCA are also rehoming homeless animals. By caring, rescuing, rehoming and neutering homeless animals, the organizations are objecting primarily to large-scale killing at the *hokensho* and aiming to reduce it to zero.

#### *TNR: Trap-Neuter-Return*

Currently in Japan the appreciation of dogs has increased and consequently the number of stray dogs and dogs killed at the *hokensho* has been reduced. JAWS suggests that by stopping over-breeding it would be possible to reduce the number of pets being born in a cruel environment.<sup>383</sup> However, there is still a cat overpopulation problem and the number of kittens is a particularly difficult question:

“The number of dogs has declined by 20 000, but cats are the problem... 80 percent of the cats are kittens. Most of them are strays.”<sup>384</sup>

According to ALIVE, in order to reduce the number of animals killed in official shelters, it is necessary to “narrow down the entrance and widen the exit” of government facilities. Practically this would mean increasing sterilization practices,

---

<sup>381</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>382</sup> Nakano 2010, ALIVE News no. 92, 9.

<sup>383</sup> JAWS interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>384</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

especially for cats since the majority of animals killed in *hokensho* are kittens. In addition, the practices of identification of owners after a dog is captured and the rules for accepting animals from owners should be made more thorough and consistent. Finding new owners for the animals that are in shelters will also reduce the killing rate.<sup>385</sup>

“So when [sterilized] stray cats stop reducing the kittens, the problem would be reduced to almost half. So just rescuing cats from shelter is endless job and it’s more realistic to work on TNR. So the number of cats destroyed is higher in urban areas, not countryside. If we can come up with the solution to reduce the number of strays in the urban areas, probably the number would decline.”

TNR is used as a response to this cat overpopulation problem. ARSF in particular has specialized in fast low-cost early-age neutering for trapped stray cats in order to prevent the birth of the first litter of mature stray cats. Even one cat litter will eventually multiply exponentially and worsen the overpopulation problem. CAPIN does also small-scale TNR, especially on the area surrounding Tsukuba University where there are lots of cats abandoned by students. ARSF argues that TNR is the only humane and effective way in Japan; in this context the ‘humane way’ means that people do not have to kill. When applied, this approach should include consistency in early neutering and TNR activities when doing rehoming. Educating new veterinarians specialized to work in an NPO is also vital, in the opinion of ARSF’s representative Yamasaki. TNR also reduces citizens’ complaints about problems caused by stray cats by reducing the number of feral cats.

According to Yamasaki, ARSF is the only organization in Japan concentrating only on TNR and having its own clinic. The fact that the clinic has its own veterinarian makes it possible to offer fast low-cost neutering. ARSF is focusing on a limited service area in Kobe city and aims at reducing the number of cats killed at the local *hokensho* by 50%. In order to do that, ARSF’s goal is to neuter 80% of Kobe’s cat population. In 2010 at the time of the interview, there were still two more years left for the project in Kobe. When the Kobe project is completed, Yamasaki will probably go to a middle-sized city and do more intensive TNR with a good quality of life. Local residents can also participate by trapping. People can borrow cat traps for

---

<sup>385</sup> Nogami 2010a, ALIVE News no.90, 3; Nogami 2010d, ALIVE News no.91, 3.

free then bring the cats to a surgery. ARSF charges a reduced sterilization fee and even if people do not want to pay, they will still do the surgery. With the reduced fee for usually expensive neutering or sterilization, ARSF is also trying to activate people to bring their own cats to be treated. The fees have created competition and angered local veterinarians.<sup>386</sup>

One way to do TNR is for local citizens, NPOs and officials to work together in so-called “area cat activities” (地域猫活動, *chiiki neko katsudou*):

“It means that when people feed cat, they have to spay and neuter and clean up the areas, feed, and communicate to the local people, that this is already spayed and neutered. ... So they, in the local area, people watch the cat and feed them and they care them in the community. But sometimes we have trouble with the feeders or between feeders and local people because feeder is sometimes only feeding them without spaying and neutering and so cats multiply.”<sup>387</sup>

Area cat programs work well in urban areas and Shibya in Tokyo is a successful example of it.<sup>388</sup> Because the management of an area’s cat health care is an essential part of management in addition to feeding, JAWS notes that the concept should be changed to TNRM: trap, neuter, return and manage. In addition to supporting TNR, JAWS is promoting neutering by giving subsidies to private persons to spay and neuter their pets: 10,000 yen for females and 5,000 yen for males. JAWS also gives these subsidies to their branches that are organizing campaigns to increase neutering. Private persons can apply for this financial support.<sup>389</sup>

#### *Rescue and transfer activities*

Rescue is often associated with activities that are aimed at moving an animal in poor condition or in a bad situation to better facilities to be cared for. Usually, the animals that are rescued will be cared for at the organization’s animal shelter or in a foster home until a new home is found for them. Rescue can refer to for example saving stray animals from streets, receiving animals from bankrupt or convicted breeders, or transfer activities such as receiving animals from *hokensho*.

---

<sup>386</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010.

<sup>387</sup> JAWS interview 14.6.2010.

<sup>388</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>389</sup> JAWS interview 14.6.2010.

Because animals are classified as property, it is not possible for the organizations to simply take the ill-treated animals into their custody. That would be stealing and the offender can also be accused of trespassing.<sup>390</sup> In order to rescue the dogs from breeders, Angels have to get signed permission from the breeder. They show the permission to the officials. Sometimes the breeder does not want to sign the permission and they have to negotiate.<sup>391</sup> Similarly Lifeboat and other organizations such as ARK that occasionally save animals from the officials cannot go to *hokensho* and simply rescue animals. They also have to make efforts to negotiate and create cooperative system with the officials:

“We ask then [the *hokensho*] to listen to us. So, we persuade them... They won't give animals to us very much based on our history and system. We should talk to them and tell about our activities.”

According to Lifeboat, officials are hesitant to give up the animals because they are careful about giving the responsibility of the animals and rehoming to the organizations. Knots explains that adoption straight from the *hokensho* is not practiced widely, because the officials have strict standards in order to prevent complaints from people who are not satisfied with their new pet.<sup>392</sup> Lifeboat mostly chooses kittens and puppies from the *hokensho* and usually does not accept animals directly from pet owners. In some cases, animals are abandoned outside their shelter.<sup>393</sup>

Yamaguchi questions the whole concept of rescue, because it is always based on negotiation. In the worst case, rescue can lead to animal hoarding if there are no standards: “What is rescue? Is it to save as many animals as possible from for example *hokensho* and neglect their care?”<sup>394</sup>

#### *Animal shelters and foster homes*

Shelters and foster homes are the primary holding places for rescued animals. As it became evident when the no-kill ideology was discussed, there are disputes on the correct ways to run a shelter, euthanasia being one debated topic. According to

---

<sup>390</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010; Angels interview 23.5.2010.

<sup>391</sup> Angels interview 23.5.2010.

<sup>392</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010.

<sup>393</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010.

<sup>394</sup> JAWS interview 25.6.2010.



JAWS and ARK in particular, in order to succeed properly and to maintain good quality of care, shelters have to choose the animals they take in. When running a shelter the organizations first encounter the dilemma of how to choose the animals accepted in. If they take them all, they will get, for example, very aggressive or sick animals. There have been cases in which an animal welfare society has rehomed an aggressive dog that then had to be put down because it bit the owner.<sup>395</sup> ARK explains that it selects the animals taken in to guarantee quality of treatment for adoptable animals. Because of this, they do not accept, for example, feral cats. Oliver argues that this has made it possible to offer quality care.<sup>396</sup>

“We have maintained our standards of animal welfare based on northern European or British lines, that limit the number of animals we can adequately care for in terms of space, manpower, and money. If we do not limit ourselves in terms of resources, the organization descends into a hell-hole or warehousing existence where the animals suffer.”<sup>397</sup>

ARK distinguishes itself as the only organization accepting euthanasia. In addition to selecting animals taken in, euthanasia is performed for justified reasons and not because of space limitations. The accepted reasons are the animal’s health, injury, quality of life and behavior that are all assessed on case-by-case basis, because it is noted that “all in all, animals have their dignity.”<sup>398</sup>

Lifeboat sees sheltering as the first step to improving the situation. Later they can proceed to make changes within the *hokensho* system:

“First, it’s like operation, we should make improvement. So like *we are taking care of the heavy pains first* [italics added]. So now we aim for that, and then later we can change the inner system. We are now changing the outfits, the heavier parts of it. [It’s] our rulebook and we should do what we can do first. And we are protecting 1500, so we can make a small system and then make it bigger. First we’ll do it ourselves and then take part in the authority [system] and make difference.”

Thus for Lifeboat, as for other shelter organizations, saving individual lives is a priority. According to Lifeboat, it is easy to blame irresponsible owners or cruel people for the problem, but that does not help the animals that will be killed; even if

---

<sup>395</sup> JAWS interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>396</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>397</sup> ARK 2008c, A Voice For Animals no.71, 2.

<sup>398</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

it is hard, one must act to save even one life.<sup>399</sup> Lifeboat provides health care, vaccinations and sterilization for animals at the shelter using the services of their related animal hospital. The sheltering is not only about accommodating the animals that have avoided being killed, but also a learning experience for staff working with different animals. This will improve the adoption process and increase the appreciation of animals' life.<sup>400</sup> However, it is “problematic to decide when to stop rescuing.”<sup>401</sup>

Saving the life of an individual dog is also the most important task for Angels. They consider that the time that the animal is taken care of properly is more important than the number of animals that can be saved. However, it is difficult for them to decide why just that one animal is important to protect. Angels does not promote euthanasia, but sometimes it is considered to be the right solution if it is based on the owner's decision not to let the animal suffer.<sup>402</sup>

JAWS used to have a shelter in the Kansai area, but they closed it. A shelter is considered to be a very stressful environment for animals, because there are so many of them. Because of this, it is important to pay attention to the quality of care and not to try taking care of as many animals as possible. In spite of these challenges, JAWS plans to have a small shelter facility for educating people:

“But still we would like to have our own animal shelter in Kanto area. We are working on that. Because we don't want to have the big one – 300 dogs and cats – because it is very stressful for the dogs and cats. So more small number and we want to use such kind of center for education. We will teach what is shelter work and how to care animals. ... And still we want to, of course, we rehome, teach how to rehome, what kind of thing we have to check or how to instruct to the animals' new owners. So we are thinking this, our hope is that number of animals come into the center is that... we want to reduce them. In the end, our hope is that there is no need for animal welfare societies.”<sup>403</sup>

Tokyo ARK and CAPIN do not have a shelter. Instead, they use services provided by volunteers who are willing to take care of the pet in their own house until it finds an

<sup>399</sup> Lifeboat staff 2011, “活動ポリシー”.

<sup>400</sup> Lifeboat 2008, “アニマルシェルター”.

<sup>401</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010.

<sup>402</sup> Angels interview 23.5.2010.

<sup>403</sup> JAWS interview 25.6.2010.

adopter. According to ARK Tokyo, this foster home system guarantees a higher standard of care, which will lead to higher adoption rates.<sup>404</sup> Tsuruta from CAPIN and CAPIN's other members accommodate cats that are waiting for rehoming.<sup>405</sup> JAWS too does small-scale rehoming in the Tokyo area with the cooperation of some local veterinarians. They do not actively seek abandoned animals, partly because the situation is different in Tokyo compared to the situation in Kansai: according to Yamaguchi, it is difficult to abandon dogs and people have to keep their dogs inside their premises. If there are dogs wandering in the Tokyo area, the local government catches them based on the Rabies Act. In Kansai area, there are more stray dogs.<sup>406</sup>

### *Rehoming the animals*

The final step in the rescue process is to find new homes for the rescued animals. Most organizations publish lists of the animals that are ready for adoption. People interested in adopting an animal are interviewed and instructed before adoption. The adopters are usually charged an adoption fee both to ensure that they are seriously committed to adoption and to cover the expenses such as neutering. For example, ARK considers that it is highly important that all the animals that are adopted are neutered. Stories about happy homes illustrate how the individual animal has received a loving home. This is an efficient way to enforce the commitment of the members of the society and to appeal for more support.

### *Expressing objection*

Among the twelve organizations interviewed for this research, only ARC and JAVA choose to use demonstrations as their tactics. By organizing demonstrations that often use expressive means to get attention, the organizations aim at increasing awareness and expressing their opinions in public. For example, in JAVA's demonstration against animal testing in which I participated on 5 June 2010, the protesters were wearing bunny ears, carrying placards, shouting and beating drums. As the parade stopped the traffic, people gathered on the sidewalks to see what was happening. Towards the end of the parade, the slogans demanding abolition of

---

<sup>404</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>405</sup> CAPIN interview 15.6.2010.

<sup>406</sup> JAWS interview 25.6.2010.

animal experiments changed from polite form “*yametekudasai*” (please stop) to imperative “*yamerou!*” (stop!).



**Pictures 2 and 3.** JAVA’s demonstration against animal experiments in Tokyo 5.6.2010. Picture 2 shows the demonstrators marching in the streets of Ginza, wearing bunny ears, and holding placards objecting to animal testing. Picture 3 is an example of placards showing pictures of mutilated animals and a bloody logo of Shiseido. While they walked on the

streets, the demonstrators shouted “*Shiseido doubutsu jikken hantai!*” (“Oppose Shiseido’s animal tests”) and “*doubutsu jikken yamerou!*” (“Stop animal testing!”) Similar stylistic devices such as expressions, costumes (or nakedness) and slogans are also used in anti-fur demonstrations organized by both JAVA and ARC. Photos taken by author.

Usually, anti-fur and anti-animal testing demonstrations organized by ARC and JAVA have approximately 600 participants. Although only 220 people participated in the demonstration in 2010, it is nevertheless a rather chaotic interruption in the harmony of normality. The concept of animal rights, *doubutsu no kenri*, was already said to be associated with radical activism in Japan and complicating the general acceptance of the *kenri* organizations because of the negative connotations. This suggests that, because of their disruptiveness, demonstrations are also avoided as a tactics. Another reason might be the lack of resources that organizing a demonstration requires.

Although the Japanese are considered to dislike disruptive activities, there are other ways to express dissent. Many organizations actively follow the media, politics and

other aspects of society and respond to negative developments in the field of animal welfare. JAVA for example has taken the role of watchdog: JAVA frequently sends written comments and requests to institutes, organizations, companies or government organs treating animals immorally or even violating animal welfare law and demands changes in their policies. JAVA's members often support these demands by sending letters, and the progress of the cases are followed and reported in newsletters.

Some organizations, such as JAVA and ALIVE, request members to send their opinion or comment to targets in their newsletters. This is a subtler and less disruptive way of conveying opinions. This tactic often includes the direct contact information of the target and even sample letters to inspire the readers, such as in cases of preventing the extermination plans of raccoon dogs or monkeys, protesting against the situation of captivity of killer whales and many other things.<sup>407</sup> The trade and captivity of killer whales in Nagoya city is strongly criticized and the protest took place at the same time as the Convention on Biological Diversity. The use of this opportunity enforced the strength of criticism and the usage of tax money was reframed as an additional argument against the whale trade:

“Let's send an opinion about killer whale trade to Nagoya city! ... In October 2010, the international meeting of the Convention on Biological Diversity, COP10 (Conference of the Parties) is scheduled to be held in Nagoya. The city of Nagoya has invited a lot of organizations advocating for environment and wild life conservation. Trading Nami [the killer whale] is not only bad for Nami, but will also hurt the reputation of the city. The city will be criticized for the trade and for wasting tax money.”<sup>408</sup>

Another form of influencing by writing, the collection of petitions, has been one of the most popular means of political activism since the early 1970s in Japan, because it does not necessarily involve strong commitment in ideology or activities.<sup>409</sup> The petitions address specific grievances and are used to express a detailed opinion of it. JAVA and CAPIN in particular use signature collection as a tactic in their campaigns.

---

<sup>407</sup> See for example Ogawa 2008, JAVA News no.81, 9; ALIVE 2010b, ALIVE News no.92, 8.

<sup>408</sup> ALIVE 2010b, ALIVE News no.92, 8

<sup>409</sup> Vosse 1999, 39.

“And the signature, they [the Japanese] do not speak lot, but they write. They just write down the names. For Shiseido, the signatures was 46 000 within four month. So, it’s like more signature than the demonstration.”<sup>410</sup>

Letter writing tactics relate closely to mobilization: the organizations describe the problematic situation, creating the need to influence and making an opportunity to act easier by offering direct contact information and sample letters. From another perspective, it can be regarded as a form of civil activism. The groups as the actors in civil society are channeling public opinion.

### *Humans included*

Animal-related activities always in one way or another relate to humans: animals are abused, killed, rescued and cared for by humans. Especially pets, such as cats and dogs, cannot survive in nature and if they reproduce without being controlled, they will cause nuisance to humans. Taking this into consideration, Knots sees that working with animals is ultimately like working with human-human relations and argue that it is necessary to work for the well-being of both human and animals. To do this, Knots is creating a system for better communication and realization of the well-being of both. This includes bringing together people from various fields to deepen the understanding of human-human and animal-human relations. In short, “Knots’s mission is to make knots to contribute in solving problems.” One of the main means of Knots to realize this goal is to organize the already mentioned yearly *Live Love Animals* international symposium on animal care in Kobe.<sup>411</sup>

In the opinion of Nakagawa, the Chairman of JSPCA, in animal welfare activities remembering the importance of owners’ “heart care” (こころのケア, *kokoro no kea*) is essential, because the bond between pets and humans is strong. For example, loss of a pet will leave deep sadness in the owner’s heart.<sup>412</sup> The philosophy behind the logo



Picture 4. The Knottie

<sup>410</sup> JAVA interview 14.6.2010.

<sup>411</sup> Tominaga to author 22.9.2010; Tominaga 2002, 25; Tominaga 2003, 9.

<sup>412</sup> Nakagawa 2009, JSPCA Doubutsutachi, vol.147, 5.

of JSPCA, “The Knottie”, resembles Knots’s mission: the logo is a picture of a dog formed of strings made from paper. It symbolizes the bonds or knots between animals and humans that JSPCA is trying to create.<sup>413</sup>

Miyamoto, the ARK’s veterinarian, has worked for The People's Dispensary for Sick Animals (PDSA) in Britain. The PDSA provides veterinary services to the pets of people who cannot otherwise afford to take their animals to an ordinary veterinarian. From her experience, she has understood that “getting mad is not working, it is only getting people more defensive.” More important is to understand the problems of the owners and the reasons behind their actions.<sup>414</sup>

### *Scope of activities*

Even a choice of the scope of activities can be an explicit or implicit tactic or solution that either limits or widens potentially efficient activities. Especially for Yamasaki, systematic selection and definition of service area are vital for the successful control of cat overpopulation. Limiting activities for a geographically specified area does not prevent Yamasaki from considering the problem on a higher level. His motto is “think globally, act locally”. This principal is realized in the usage of international relations and in Yamasaki’s quest to find a durable solution to the problem of veterinarian education and cat overpopulation.<sup>415</sup>

The organizations running a shelter especially concentrate on individual animals and operate on the principle “we do what we can do”. Wild animals are seen as requiring specific skills and pet dogs and cats seem to them to be in urgent need of help.<sup>416</sup> They adjust their tactics to fit this framework in which the value of each individual is the most precious thing that is violated, and the *hokensho* and bad breeders violate it. For the most part, this has meant choosing to rescue animals and finding the best way to manage their shelter, thus making them successful in their own scope of activities constructed by their framing.

---

<sup>413</sup> JSPCA n.d. “ログマークについて”.

<sup>414</sup> ARK – Miyamoto interview 18.5.2010.

<sup>415</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010.

<sup>416</sup> ARK – Oliver 16.5.2010.

Some organizations, such as ALIVE, ARC, and JAVA that are concerned about a wider variety of animal species, think that animal welfare or rights are not only for companion animals. Although these organizations approach the problems from different point of views, they express the will to improve or change the situation for the outcasts of animal protection legislation, such as livestock, laboratory, zoo and wild animals. Because these parts of the animal industry are usually concealed from the public, widening their scope of activities also to target these animals will most probably lead to the selection of tactics that reveals the reality, such as publishing, media activity and education and their manifestations discussed in previous sections.

The scope of activities can also refer to the level of administration the organizations are targeting. JAWS, ALIVE and JSPCA are examples of organizations aiming at changing national animal welfare law. CAPIN, on the other hand, has concentrated on local political efforts. However, the influence of the organizations cannot be straightforwardly derived from the geographical scope of their activities, especially regarding policy changes. As for example the reform of information disclosure legislation has shown, policy and law innovations in Japan can originate from localities and push reforms in central government as well as in local government. In addition, ensuing changes in central government can trigger more developments at local level.<sup>417</sup> Despite the potential of local citizen or government initiatives, big advocacy organizations in Tokyo have better access and possibilities to affect national government and usually citizen group activities are focused on local level.<sup>418</sup> This also seems to be the case in animal welfare issues.

#### **6.4 Us and Them: audiences, agency, and identity**

As I have argued, the perceptions of audiences relate closely to diagnostic framing that is connected to prognostic framing. Moreover, while defining “the others”, the strengthened feeling of “us” can increase motivation within the organizations. The organizations articulate their views on the different audiences that they are addressing in their everyday life. In this section, I introduce concepts of Japanese people (cultural descriptions), perceptions of other pro-animal activists (inter-group

---

<sup>417</sup> Maclachlan 2000, 29.

<sup>418</sup> Vosse 1999, 38.



differences), and the perceived uniqueness of the organizations. These themes were the most dominant in the organizations' accounts. I have already discussed the dual role of media and the role of government and officials will be addressed later relating to civil society. From the organizations' accounts, it is possible to detect descriptions of potential adherents and antagonists – or ignorant bystanders, like many of the descriptions seem to claim.

The descriptions of cultural factors behind the behavior of Japanese people especially draw on existing narratives of the stereotypical cultural traits of Japanese people. These narratives are primarily used to portray the audience's deficiencies. Frequently, stereotypes include negative characteristics that can be hard to change. Thus, blaming these traits can be both a way to identify problems that need to be solved and also a way to explain why the organizations' efforts have not been successful.

### *Cultural descriptions*

The constructed image of Japanese people as collectivists avoiding conflicts seems to use elements of widespread national stereotypes, thus showing that framing is based on the cultural stock of existing discourses, interpretations and meanings. These stereotypes are either reinforced or reformulated according to the experiences of the organizations. The Japanese are described as money-minded, group-minded, unwilling to interfere, unwilling to take responsibility for other people's mistakes, and as acting by a principle of mutual reciprocity i.e. "favor for favor. Because the Japanese are understood to concentrate only on in-group, ARK for instance feels that it is difficult to establish cooperation.<sup>419</sup> Although these assessments are articulated by Oliver from ARK who is not a native Japanese, Japanese have also presented similar views especially on the unwillingness to interfere. ARK also presents the strongest characterizations of their main audience, the pet owners.

Three main types of typical Japanese pet owners are categorized in ARK's newsletter. Loving owners are responsible caretakers who are usually mentioned in

---

<sup>419</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

individual stories telling about new happy homes or in reports of responsible rescue, care or adoption activity. These people understand the needs of animals and usually the loving relationship between the human and the animal is stressed:

“A family came to ARK the other day; their beloved dog which they had adopted from ARK as a puppy, had recently passed away aged 18 plus. They clutched albums of photographs of her; as a puppy, asleep in the garden, at play, on holiday with them, at special family events and celebrations and in old age sleeping in bed with their granddaughter. She had never had an illness or suffered at all and had finally died in her sleep. This is truly a happy story with a peaceful end.”<sup>420</sup>

Another type of person among the public is the “heartless violator”, usually a stereotyped character of an ignorant person who does not care about the animal, thinks that it is a nuisance, and does not try to understand it. These people are usually accused of being irresponsible owners who take animals to the *hokensho* to be killed when they cause trouble that is usually caused by mistreatment. This type appears in warning and morally-judgmental stories, for example about a girl leaving her dog in a deposit box while on holiday, or relatives of a dead or sick pet owner:

“Often if that person has to be hospitalized or dies, cold-hearted relatives think nothing of sending that much loved dog or cat to be killed in *hokensho* gas chambers. Think of the horror and stress that poor animal goes through in the days prior to death.”<sup>421</sup>

The last type can be called a “pampering owner”, considered to be increasingly popular in Japan. This includes people who are characterized as thinking of their pets as fashion accessories or cute toys. The animals are treated better than by the so-called heartless violator, but the pampering owner also goes extremes and does not treat animals according to their needs. Although some people might think about the responsibility of getting a pet at an initial stage, impulsive buying from a pet shop is common:

“but all such thoughts fly out the window when they see a cute little ball of fluff in front of them. Of course many of these little dogs are well-treated, we can say pampered; bought expensive designer clothes, fed special diets that resemble the food their owners eat...”<sup>422</sup>

---

<sup>420</sup> ARK 2009a, A Voice For Animals no.75, 3.

<sup>421</sup> ARK 2007c, A Voice For Animals no.66, 13; ARK 2008d, A Voice For Animals no.71, 7.

<sup>422</sup> Oliver 2009, A Voice For Animals no.73, 2.

These assessments of the pet owners and experiences create mistrust, especially among the organizations that give animals indiscriminately for adoption, because it is difficult to identify “a perfect owner”:

*“From our experience, people seldom keep to promises [italics added], which is why here at ARK we make sure every animal leaving there has already been neutered.”*<sup>423</sup>

*“...but however much you explain things to people they often fail to listen properly or fail to take in what you have said or perhaps just think you are being over-cautious.”*<sup>424</sup>

The characterizations of Japanese people based on culture not only influence individual adoption processes, but are used to explain lack of participation. The unwillingness to take the responsibility for others’ mistakes is used to portray the public more as an ignorant bystander than a potential adherent:

*“One of the reasons I discovered, in Japan, people are very responsible, as you’ve probably seen. They got a high, very developed sense of responsibility and not to disturb other people. And they got really high level of education, and its all about looking right and doing the right thing and marrying a right person and going on the right path. So, and your average salary, and they spend hours in the train, and they should be given a medal for what they are doing and they live in small houses and everything... *They basically don’t want to take responsibility for other peoples’ mistakes: So, they see a stray dog or a stray cat as, not as an animal who needs help, but they would see the person behind the animal and think why would I donate to help someone who is not being a responsible person [italics added].* So, they see an animal shelter as an organization, of course they see it helping animals, but more like an organization picking up the pieces of someone who hasn’t been responsible. Someone who just bought a dog, couldn't look after it and just threw it away and they think why should my hard earned money should go to bail out these irresponsible people. Whereas I see it, there are irresponsible people all around the world and you have to have a safety net for weaker. Animals, children or, you need this safety net. And that is what creates a good society.”*<sup>425</sup>

ARSF also feels that Japanese people are ignorant and favor only their “expensive dogs bought from pet shops.” Even though ARSF washes cat traps every day in front

<sup>423</sup> ARK 2007d, A Voice For Animals no.67, 2.

<sup>424</sup> ARK 2007e, A Voice For Animals no. 67, 13.

<sup>425</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

of the clinic and shows the numbers of kittens, “people just pass by everyday with their small dogs without paying attention”. This is also considered to be a community problem, because people do not care or see the situation and nobody asks or is interested. Yamasaki, the director of ARSF, attributes this to the Japanese being too scared to see reality. With TNR it is possible to prevent the reality that the Japanese do not want to see and improve animals’ quality of life. However, ARSF itself does large-scale TNR, because the capabilities of the citizens are not trusted:

“It is not possible to leave all to the citizens, because, you know the Japanese mentality, that if they do it they will do it very slowly, one cat at a time, and then the TNR would be too late.”<sup>426</sup>

According to JSPCA, in addition to ignorance, the tendency to prioritize financial benefits is also especially problematic for animal welfare. In the animal business, the main interest is to save money and be more efficient, which has led to problems. Also in the current economical situation, many companies have gone bankrupt and employees have had to sell their houses. They have abandoned their pets, since their own life and economy is the priority.<sup>427</sup>

The short history of the idea of volunteering and charity in Japan is also used to explain the lack of participation. However, occasionally the idea of charity is seen as not being supported by Japanese cultural and social values. JAVA argues that the Japanese do not have a positive opinion about volunteering in general, that participating in charity activities is not natural for Japanese people and therefore there are no charities as in America or Europe. JAVA is always looking for members in order to increase its recourses and influence, but it regrets that perhaps its “activities are not proper for atmosphere of Japanese people.”<sup>428</sup> This makes it difficult for organizations to act and for Japan to grow into a “big society”.<sup>429</sup> Furthermore, animal welfare activities are considered to have a negative image. Simpson from ARK Tokyo is originally from New Zealand and has felt that if you are “working for animal shelter there, you are automatically a good person.”<sup>430</sup>

---

<sup>426</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010.

<sup>427</sup> Yoshino to author, e-mail 23.6.2010.

<sup>428</sup> JAVA interview 14.6.2010.

<sup>429</sup> JSPCA interview 22.6.2010.

<sup>430</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

CAPIN argues that sometimes the maintenance of a stainless image in Japan is more important than admitting to a problem and solving it. The members of CAPIN have had conflict with Tsukuba University that first allowed the TNR program on their grounds. Later, when a member of CAPIN had written about the program on the internet, the university decided to forbid the activities and threatened to kill the cats if CAPIN continued. According to CAPIN, this was an example of how NPO activities were considered to be an embarrassment to the university and they wanted to avoid losing face.<sup>431</sup>

Many of the pro-animal organizations are either established or run by foreigners and this is sometimes regarded as an advantage when it comes to cultural stereotypes. Being a foreigner occasionally gives relative freedom to act differently from the native population, because cultural expectations are not similar. Westerners do not face the same attitudes and prejudice as the Japanese when engaging in advocacy. The only problems may arise inside the group, for example in relation to management practices.<sup>432</sup> According to Oliver from ARK, being a foreigner can increase positive curiosity about “what that crazy English lady is doing.”<sup>433</sup>

### *Inter-group differences*

In addition to the assessments of the general public, the organizations also construct perceptions of other pro-animal actors. Although cooperation is regarded as a positive future scenario, there are also dividing opinions and stereotypes about other organizations and animal activities. Lifeboat explains the differences with the different targets of their activities:

“In Japan, for example we work on officials to protect the animals. But some do [activities dealing] with the owners and the breeders, so we are different. So, the Angels with breeders, ARK with owners. We are animal shelters but we are different.”<sup>434</sup>

---

<sup>431</sup> CAPIN interview 15.6.2010.

<sup>432</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>433</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>434</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010.

For example, ARK considers the acceptance of euthanasia as the biggest obstacle and dividing factor; as was mentioned before, ARK's shelter is said to be the only shelter accepting euthanasia and providing quality care.<sup>435</sup> Despite the disputes or different policies regarding euthanasia, Simpson from ARK Tokyo thinks that it would be beneficial for the organizations to be able to discuss with each other, because the organizations do work that helps other organizations as well. However, "it seems that one has to be strong-minded to start animal activity and two strong-minded people do not always get along with each other."<sup>436</sup>

Disagreements have escalated into lawsuits. ARK prosecuted Angels for illegally using the name ARK Angels in its fund raising campaigns. On its homepage, ARK states that it does not have any connection to the Angels that lost the court case. The Angels, who were even called "gangsters", think that other organizations are jealous about money.<sup>437</sup> Obviously, these are extreme examples of disagreements and generally the organizations seem to co-exist peacefully, although the organizations actually handling the animals are constantly evaluating each other's practices.

The social skills of animal activists are also questioned. For example, the so-called "crazy cat lady" is still a stereotype for individual animal lovers, usually older ladies creeping around the neighborhood and feeding the cats.<sup>438</sup> In JAWS's opinion, these people cause more harm than good by damaging the social relations between rational pro-animal actors and the public:

"So they ["cat ladies"] say "you shouldn't complain about that, we should feed them". So, they sometimes quarrel. So, the animal lovers don't care about humans and such things affect the cats and dogs. Not good. That pushes people to hate animals."

This similar division of rational advocates and sentimental animal lovers are reflected in the representations of *aigo* and *fukushi*. Yamaguchi from JAWS argues that the animal activists should also learn to negotiate with people. The Japanese animal welfare organizations also tend to have quarrels and split into smaller units that regard themselves as "the first and the only":

---

<sup>435</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>436</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>437</sup> Angels interview 23.5.2010.

<sup>438</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

“So they always split the groups out because they can’t get along with other people. So they do activities alone or with two or three people or something.... Because they love animals, but they can’t get along with people.”<sup>439</sup>

There are different arguments that the organizations use to emphasize their uniqueness. ARK’s emphasis on euthanasia was noted before. JAWS differentiates itself from the others by emphasizing its persistent everyday work to improve animal welfare. Because many of the organizations concentrate on companion animals, ALIVE and JAVA use their wider scope of activities or tactics to emphasize the exceptionality of their organization:

“There’s no such organization like ALIVE in Japan, this is very unique. The reason is that ALIVE works to change the situation of companion animals as well as wild life and biodiversity. And we are against genetic modification, product modification. So because we have variety of activities, we are different from other organizations.”<sup>440</sup>

“Japanese organizations work alone. Or they doesn’t have office... And most of them are *aigo dantai* [organization], and are only focused on protecting and adoption. So, not on the legal issues. *But for example in JAVA, we don’t have animals inside the office. So, we are focused on system to bring on the change.* So, if the system is bad we do the trials and things, but other organizations, they don’t do such activities in Japan. Normally they volunteer at *hokensho*, rescuing activities, so that’s why they cannot go to trial. So people see the situation and they report to JAVA and so that we can work on trials.”<sup>441</sup>

The organizations must face the challenge of framing the public both as potential adherents and as sources of problems. Hence, the organizations have to constantly draw the line between the villains to blame, who can be portrayed as the incurable nemesis of animal welfare, and the bystanders who may be ignorant but can be enlightened. On one hand, this division has created mistrust and pessimism. On the other hand, some organizations have more positive ideas about the public’s potential to convert to supporting their cause. As it is endemic to the framing process, to identify the guilty actors in society, this role of a scapegoat can be constructed, for example, for the public, the state authorities and the bureaucrats, media or for the

---

<sup>439</sup> JAWS interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>440</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>441</sup> JAVA interview 14.6.2010.

faceless business enterprises, creating an idea of “us” fighting “them” together. These constructions strengthened by the claims of uniqueness creating a sense of duty, can be used in motivational framing to, for example, enforce the determination and cohesion of the organization.

### **6.5 Motivational framing**

The last framing task, motivational framing, offers a rationale for action. Its role is important in bringing about collective action, because the consensus achieved by diagnostic and prognostic framing is not necessarily sufficient to trigger action. Motivational framing is not used only to motivate outsiders to participate but also for sustaining and increasing the motivation within the SMO.<sup>442</sup> I have already mentioned motivational aspects of some themes discussed before, such as uniqueness and reframing. In this chapter, I briefly return to these two before introducing other aspects of motivational framings constructed by the organizations.

The construction of agency and claims of uniqueness can positively affect mobilization. This is especially relevant for organizations that are aiming at revealing the concealed truth, for example about the reality of farming, animal testing or fur production. Because the organizations possess the information about these hidden issues, they may feel morally obliged to spread it. On the one hand, this increases the motivation among the organizations’ members and, on the other hand, it is an efficient way to emotionally appeal to bystanders’ consciences.

As was discussed before in connection prognostic framing, it is possible for the organizations to reframe their cause and use reframing as a practical tactic or align their frames with their audiences in order to gain support. Snow et al. define four frame alignment processes: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation, which all are processes affecting mobilization.<sup>443</sup> What is common to all of these is that the frames are adjusted to attract possible adherents. An example of this is reframing efforts of anti-nuclear movements in Japan.

---

<sup>442</sup> Einwohner 2002b.

<sup>443</sup> Snow et al. 1986.



Hasegawa has studied the anti-nuclear movements' campaigns in Japan and found that the reframing of oppositional campaigns has increased the influence and support of the movements. Opposition, as Hasegawa puts it, "tends to be a zero-sum game, its success and political efficacy measured in terms of all or nothing – either the project is stopped or it goes ahead. Opponents and proponents are intractably opposed, each casting the other as enemy with no middle ground for negotiation." When negative slogans such as "No nukes!" were reframed to be more positive and encouraging, such as "Let's green electricity!", the movements were able to increase its appeal to the public, media and government. Hence, the movements changed their approach from opposing to offering solutions.<sup>444</sup> The slogans shouted in the demonstration against animal testing, "stop animal testing!" demanding total abolition of animal experiments, resemble the original slogans of the anti-nuclear movement. However, by also using slogans such as "save the rabbit" (ウサギを救え, *usagi wo sukue*) in the name of the campaign against Shiseido, JAVA is emphasizing the animal that needs to be saved, appealing to peoples' ability to empathize and directing focus away from the oppositional setting. Both these slogans are used side by side in the campaigns.

Although detailed analysis of frame alignment is not in the scope of this research, it must be noted that it is also an important part of the mobilizing efforts of the organizations. Appealing for issues such as justice, environmental protection, social unrests and health are all themes that can be regarded as means to attract wider audiences than the primary animal-centered frame can. Hence, in addition to practical benefits, explicit or implicit reframing tactics help to mobilize people to participate in the activities, because it increases the rationales offered for action.

### ***The origins of the activities***

The reasons behind the establishment of the organizations can give first hints about the persuasive articulation used to convince people to take action for the organizations' cause. If these original justifications resonate with the perceived grievances of the possible adherents, it is possible that they will take part in the

---

<sup>444</sup> Hasegawa 2004, 185–186.

action. A few examples of the grievances that motivated the organizations when they started their activities are briefly introduced below. Because the organizations are rather small in size and young, these same themes can still be offered as a reason to participate. Also the above-mentioned duty to tell about and start activities is mentioned in the quotes.

The injustice in contemporary Japanese society was the primary reason behind the establishment of ALIVE's activities. Thus, by helping animals that are in the weakest position in society, it is possible to transform the whole of society and defeat the arrogance caused by modernization and individualism:

“We wanted to do something good, bring justice to the society... Because of humans' arrogance and violence. And we try to change the society that it is not just human-centered. Animal protection is important because it goes beyond the selfishness. At the time of establishment in 1996, there were no other organizations to promote animal welfare and rights.”<sup>445</sup>

For those whom the current situation of animals is causing emotional distress, working for the animal welfare is a way to achieve change. This is what motivated Yamaguchi to participate in the activities:

“I have worked for this [animal welfare] for 29 years here. I nearly cried or got angry, so I never forget that feeling. So, I want to revise animal welfare act to improve the situation for animals.”<sup>446</sup>

Angels argues that animals are like family and it is necessary to increase everybody's awareness of the importance of protecting small lives. Angels calls like-minded people to join together with them, because “if individuals unite, they will have great strength and the unhappy dogs are rescued.”<sup>447</sup> Also for Knots, the responsibility of mankind is as important as the value of animals' lives. The starting point for their activities was the earthquake in Kobe:

“One of the lessons learned through the tragic experience of the Great Hanshin Awaji Earthquake of 1995 was the ‘responsibility that human

---

<sup>445</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>446</sup> JAWS interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>447</sup> Hayashi 2006, 活動趣旨「小さな命を救う」.

beings' have over the 'lives' of animals. That is why we in Kobe feel an acute obligation to spread a message to change the world!"<sup>448</sup>

### *Schedule for change*

Robert D. Benford has studied how nuclear disarmament movement actors construct vocabularies of motives that function as building blocks for the rationales for action i.e. motivational framing. Urgency was identified as one generic theme that was used to convince bystanders to take action.<sup>449</sup> The pro-animal organizations in Japan, however, do not seem to stress the urgency of change. On the contrary, they generate a vocabulary that emphasizes persistent everyday work. Only Yamasaki from ARSF argues that "we should do something about the situation and the world should change dramatically. The serious overpopulation problem has to be solved and only then the shelter work can be meaningful. Otherwise shelters are endless work." Nevertheless, Yamasaki also highlights the importance of consistent TNR that implies appreciation for and the necessity of persistent work.

JAVA is trying firstly to abolish animal experimentation in business and later move on to other fields of animal rights, to end animal testing for cosmetics, medicines and for research and educational purposes. They hope to achieve their short-term goals concerning experimentation in the cosmetics industry in the very near future. Despite these demands for rapid change, JAVA notes that results can be achieved through systematic and consistent activity: "In order to break through present conditions, each of us must continue our steady movement for abolishing animal testing".<sup>450</sup> This principle of consistency is applied to JAVA's other activities as well. For instance, in the case of extermination plans concerning the monkeys living in the Hiei Mountain near Otsu city, JAVA consistently followed the case, reported developments and encouraged members to continue pressuring officials when results were not achieved after the first complaint.<sup>451</sup>

---

<sup>448</sup> Knots 2009, "International Conference on Animal Care in Kobe 2009".

<sup>449</sup> Benford 1993.

<sup>450</sup> Wazaki 2007d, JAVA News 2007 no.80, 11.

<sup>451</sup> Wazaki 2006c JAVA News no.77, 20–21; Wazaki 2007b JAVA News no.79, 6–7; Wazaki 2008a, JAVA News no.81, 12.

Persistence and continuation seem to dominate the organizations' visions of efficient work:

"Everyday's work and continue. Continuation is very important I think. If the group shouts out loudly, but only one time, they can't change the societies. To continue not shout out, but to continue to persuade people, gradually, gradually, that is a steady movement I think."<sup>452</sup>

"So in Japan, what is the most efficient tactics, is to be consistent, don't give up. To be patient and persistent."<sup>453</sup>

Many organizations argue that the changes will take time, which is hardly an instantly rewarding and mobilizing vision. However, the organizations see positive aspects and emphasize all outcomes, no matter how small they are. For example, the increase of sanctions for animal welfare law violators is regarded as a gradual but significant change. Einwohner has identified similar fortifying strategies of emphasizing even the smallest positive outcomes from the motivational frames of the American animal rights movement.<sup>454</sup>

"Nogami-san has been working for revising the act for twenty years, more than twenty years. During these twenty years, there have been two revisions. And we work on the third one. *But it is really gradual and going slowly, but is getting better, that's for sure.* Compared with twenty years ago, there is a big change... It's been ten years since the revision was made, but the first law was only if you abuse an animal, the penalty was only 30 000 yen. And no imprisoning or anything. But the first amendment was, the penalty was 100000 yen and prison one year. So which means, the value of animals was improved, it was recognized. And second amendment was animal handling business, they had to be registered. And also registration was implemented, that is a big change. For example, there can be inspectors in local government, they can check pet shops for example. *So, when you think about, there was nothing at the beginning, there is gradually, but there is a big change.*"<sup>455</sup>

This sustains and increases the motivation within the group and can be used as proof to assure the audience of the organization's efficiency. It is believed that the Japanese people will gradually take responsibility for owning life and satisfactory

---

<sup>452</sup> JAWS interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>453</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>454</sup> Einwohner 2002b, 516–519.

<sup>455</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

understanding will be achieved.<sup>456</sup> The organizations also argue that, because the history of the animal welfare activism is so short in Japan, the improvements in animal welfare similar to Europe and America will happen eventually but will take time. Lifeboat even warns other organizations not to hurry and exhaust themselves in their desire for rapid change:

“Like in other countries, there will be a good system, but it takes decades and decades. But within these decades the animal killings can be stopped, so we need early change. But if we do various things at the same time, it will be tough. So, we should do it early but be careful not to do too much.”<sup>457</sup>

Tominaga from Knots uses a metaphor: “If you keep poking small holes more and more, maybe some day it will burst out to be a big one.”<sup>458</sup> Similarly, Simpson from Tokyo ARK considers animal activities still very young and that major organizations will be formed the future. Currently, animal welfare activities consist of many small organizations, but “when some organizations will grow big, the movement will really take off, because there are already many responsible people doing good work.”<sup>459</sup> Thus, these are all arguments that are used to convince the organizations’ members as well as the audiences that their work is meaningful and necessary in order to achieve greater change in the future.

### ***Efficiency, credibility, and commensurability***

In addition to its internal features and coherence, the mobilizing potential of a frame also relates to its relevance to the life of the potential adherents. In principle, the better the frame resonates with public perceptions, the better is the mobilizing potency of the collective action frame. In addition to narrative fidelity, i.e. the internal coherence of the frame, empirical credibility and experiential commensurability are important factors creating frame resonance. Empirical credibility refers to how much the frame fits the empirical world of the potential adherents, and the experimental commensurability to the closeness of the frame to

---

<sup>456</sup> JSPCA interview 22.6.2010.

<sup>457</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010.

<sup>458</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010.

<sup>459</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

the everyday life of the audiences.<sup>460</sup> One way to increase the empirical credibility of the frame is to give proof of its necessity and efficacy. As Benford for example has pointed out, shared beliefs about the efficiency of the frame are essential for successful mobilization.<sup>461</sup> This section illustrates how the organizations are trying to increase the empirical credibility and the experiential commensurability of their frames. To do this, they strive to make their cause known to the public and argue for their efficiency by using both rational and emotional means.

ARSF is perhaps the most evident example of the use of rational means in order to prove the efficiency of activities. The director of ARSF applies the so-called Fibonacci 70% rule to their TNR activities: the mass-sterilization of at least 70% of stray cats will eventually reduce the population dramatically. However, because TNR is not a dramatic and visible activity, Yamasaki provides numbers to prove the rapid influence of TNR:

“ARSF plans the clinic operation as a limited project for about five years, and strongly aims to numerically prove the effectiveness of spay and neuter programs and TNR method introduced from the USA.”<sup>462</sup>

Some have said that the director Yamasaki is obsessed with numbers, but by checking every month the number of kittens destroyed in different areas of Kobe, he feels that he is able to demonstrate the effectiveness of ARSF’s activities. Yamasaki is, for example, posting the numbers in front of his clinic and has collected detailed statistics from *hokensho* on the numbers of kittens destroyed in the Kobe area.<sup>463</sup> Yamasaki believes that “whether they love animals or not, when they see a better result than doing nothing, not soon but in a decade, an approach to cats with limited poor funds will be appreciated.”<sup>464</sup>

---

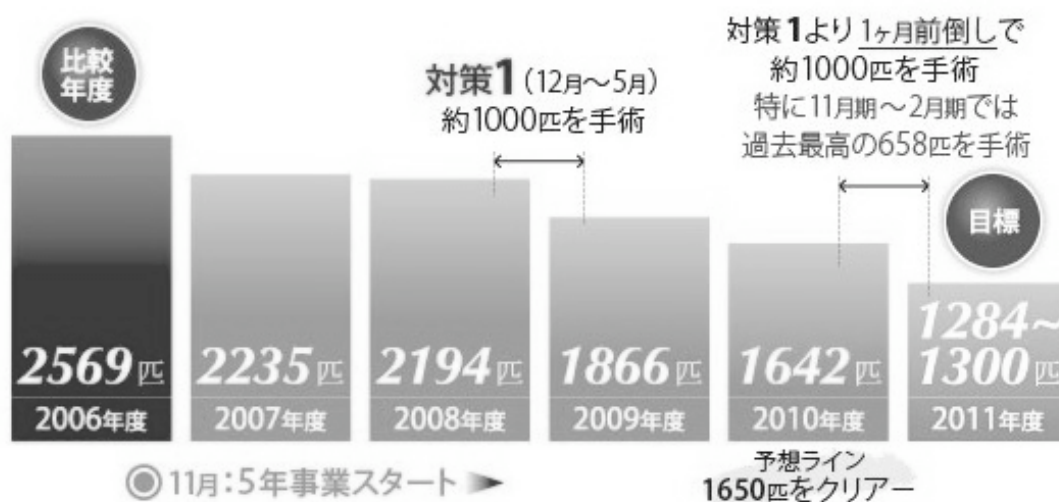
<sup>460</sup> Snow and Benford 1988, 205; 207–209. I will not discuss the narrative fidelity here, since the use of rational and emotional means of increasing the mobilizing effect of the frame were the most frequently used.

<sup>461</sup> Benford 1993, 204–205.

<sup>462</sup> ARSF n.d. “Our policy”.

<sup>463</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010.

<sup>464</sup> Yamasaki to author, e-mail 3.6.2010.



Picture 5: An example of the numerical illustration of the impact of early-age large-scale sterilization during ARSF’s five-year project in Kobe. The diagram shows how the number of kittens in Kobe city *hokensho* has been reduced by 50% from 2,569 to approximately 1,300 compared to the reference year 2006. The numbers above the graph indicate the intensive periods of high-volume neutering. (ARSF 2011, “4年間の成果”)

Lifeboat also provides graphics of their achievements on their websites. These illustrations include both the numbers of animals transferred to Lifeboat from *hokensho* and adopted by new owners as well as the numbers of animals killed at *hokensho*.<sup>465</sup> The number of animals that died at their shelter is also included in the statistics in order to make them more reliable.<sup>466</sup> Thus, by comparing the data of rescued and adopted animals to the decreased number of animals killed at *hokensho*, Lifeboat offers a rationale for its rescue activities.

However, the number of animals brought to the *hokensho* in some cases remains the same or is even increasing. Moreover, simultaneously with the decrease of animals killed at *hokensho*, the intake of animals to animal shelters such as that of Lifeboat has increased. For example, the oldest cooperation partner of Lifeboat dating from 2001 is the Gifu city *hokensho*. In Gifu, Lifeboat has only transferred cats. In this case, the yearly decline in the number of animals killed has been smaller than the number of animals transferred.<sup>467</sup> However, the main rationale for Lifeboat’s

<sup>465</sup> Lifeboat n.d. “ライフボートの救命実績“; Lifeboat n.d. “ライフボートが参加する自治体の譲渡実績“.

<sup>466</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010.

<sup>467</sup> Lifeboat n.d. “ライフボートが参加する自治体の譲渡実績”.

activities seems to be the value of individual life; in this framework, showing that they are in fact able to save animals will serve as evidence for their cause. The more they save, the more convincing they can present themselves to be, despite the possibly increased flow of animals to the *hokensho*.

Referral to experts or to research data supporting the claims of the organizations has been used to make the frame more plausible. This is effective especially when the support comes from an outside source that is objective. The use of international reference points is not only done in prognostic framing: it is also utilized to enforce the credibility of the frame provided by the organizations. ARK publishes many reports from animal welfare actors who have visited Japan. These testimonials of the state of animal welfare in Japan support the dominant view presented in ARK newsletters. Most criticism is targeted at the *hokensho* system. JAVA ARC, and ALIVE have been active in publishing their own research as well as researcher statements and reports from both foreign and domestic experts. JAVA, for example, usually uses research data on alternative methods for animal testing. ARC states that it does not have the resources for extensive research and has to sometimes rely on information from major foreign animal rights organizations, such as PETA (People for the Ethical treatment of the Animals).<sup>468</sup>

Mobilization does not always aim at making people act concretely. Instead, it can target people in order to trigger them to support their activities with donations. Like all the other organizations, ARSF is constantly seeking supporters to donate money for its projects. The public is persuaded to donate by contrasting TNR activities to animal shelters and portraying it as a more professional and efficient solution within the larger framework of the pet overpopulation problem in Japan. ARSF is presented as more systematic and efficient and the public is encouraged to support its activities financially.<sup>469</sup> The request for donations can be personified so that it will give the impression that every yen counts: “Your donation will help prevent the first litter & animal cruelty in your community.”<sup>470</sup> The shelters especially need funds to be able to continue their efforts. As a reminder that love and affection are not enough to run

---

<sup>468</sup> Kimura to author, e-mail 17.6.2010.

<sup>469</sup> ARSF, n.d. 2.

<sup>470</sup> ARSF n.d. 11.



a shelter, ARK points out that in reality there are many expenses; pet food is not the biggest cost because of donations from pet food companies, suppliers and veterinary hospitals. But because pets need care, staff need salaries and there are other hidden costs like rubbish-collection, repair and housing in addition to high postal charges, people are requested to support them financially.<sup>471</sup>



Picture 6. ARK publishes in every number of its newsletter *A Voice for Animals* stories of animals that have found a new loving home and are living their life happily. In order to personify the individual animal more, their names are used and they are usually referred to as he or she. (*A Voice for Animals* no. 78, 8-9)

Emotional means include both happiness and shock; the former is primarily used to prove the efficiency and the latter to make grievances more known and relevant for the audience's lives. Groups that are rehoming animals are especially attempting to increase their support by publishing stories of "happy homes", either on their homepage or in their newsletter. ARK has the benefit of publishing a weekly story in the Japan Times, as was mentioned before. Picture 6 is an example of the stories and pictures sent by the new owners praising their new pets. In addition to these Happy Homes stories, ARK also publishes reports of individual animals, rescued from dreadful conditions and now living happily ever after in their new home after being

<sup>471</sup> ARK 2004, ARK Voice For Animals 56, 3.

“reborn” as a wonderful pet in the care of ARK. The reports of horrors of the *hokensho* or puppy-mills are enforcing this effect of transformation. Sometimes anthropomorphism is used as means to personalize the animal and create an image that animals also think and feel. Dogs ‘write letters’ or telling their life stories from their own perspective, usually being grateful to their rescuers and new owners.<sup>472</sup> These stories invite the reader to participate in creating this happiness by helping the organizations that rehome animals. Furthermore, they provide empirical evidence of both the miserable conditions of the animals and of how the activities can change this.

Jasper and Poulsen have found that visual and verbal moral shocks were one of the major motives for recruitment in animal rights groups during the growth of the animal rights movement in the USA.<sup>473</sup> ALIVE, JAVA, and ARC also utilize shock tactics to disturb people and mobilize them to seek more information and participate in their activities. It is assumed that by knowing the reality, a moral duty to act will be created. Furthermore, by pointing out the ordinary commodities such as food, clothes and cosmetics for which animals have had to suffer, the organizations increase the commensurability of the grievances.

JAVA’s staff member whom I interviewed was originally mobilized and convinced about the necessity of change having seen shocking photographs. She describes that the motivation is also about liking the animals and being able to empathize. Likewise, many ARC activists started to work for animal rights after they had seen shocking evidence of ill-treatment of animals.<sup>474</sup> On its websites, ARC uses very disturbing imagery including, for example, the forced feeding of geese in order to produce *pâté de foie gras*, dead or injured animals in fur farms and in laboratories. As one of ARC’s means of mobilization is to reveal the shocking state of affairs, it faces the dilemma of from where to acquire the information without being accused of using illegal tactics: “If we do undercover investigations, public opinion would never stand on our side.”<sup>475</sup>

---

<sup>472</sup> See for example ARK 2005, A Voice For Animals no. 59, 9–10; ARK 2008f, A Voice For Animals no.72, 13.

<sup>473</sup> Jasper and Poulsen 1995.

<sup>474</sup> ARC interview 10.6.2010.

<sup>475</sup> Kimura to author, e-mail 17.6.2010.

JAVA and ARC have both received feedback on its tactics such as panel exhibitions being too shocking, especially for children. Based on the effectiveness of the shocking information and the fact that their opponents would benefit from filtering the pictures, both organizations have decided to continue exposing the cruel true conditions of animals.<sup>476</sup>

***Anata no dekiru koto – Things you can do***

Shock effect and visions of creating happiness are usually accompanied by instructions on how to participate. The organizations often include a section of “あなたのできること” (*anata no dekiru koto*, things you can do) or – emphasizing collectivity – “私たちのできること” (*watashitachi no dekirukoto*, things we can do) in their campaigns, publications and homepages offering practical guidance on how people can engage in activities. This can be considered as efficient, especially after the shock that has created a need to act.

One example is JAVA’s cosmetic guide that, after having exposed the reality of animal testing, offers concrete instructions on how to make a difference through daily choices. This approach is also used in publications such as newsletters after an article including either shocking information or otherwise pointing out deficiencies in the system of animal welfare management or practices. For example, JAVA’s newsletter often includes contact addresses for the involved parties to facilitate participation. As was mentioned in connection with education, ALIVE provides information on how to inspect a zoo or pet shop and inform local officials about deficiencies.<sup>477</sup>

The “things you can do” mobilization is also related to a sense of peer support. As the previous examples show, it encourages peoples to act. Simpson from ARK Tokyo hopes to trigger a change in society by supporting and increasing the confidence of citizens to take action in animal welfare-related issues.<sup>478</sup> By providing

---

<sup>476</sup> Yamamoto 2007, JAVA News no.79, 17; ARC n.d. “映像が過激すぎるのではないのでしょうか?”

<sup>477</sup> Nogami 2010c, News no.91, 4; Nogami 2009e, ALIVE News 89, 5.

<sup>478</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

information on successful campaigns, the organizations are able to raise confidence in the influence of citizen activism. For instance, JAWS reported about a campaign against a lottery of mix-bred dogs in a local pet shop that was stopped at the last moment. By using this as a successful example, JAWS makes an appeal:

“Simultaneously to raising the society’s awareness relating to living beings, the law also requires maintenance. The revision of animal welfare and management is approaching in two years. Everyone’s voice will be certainly helpful. We ask for help for making a law that would really protect animals.”<sup>479</sup>

The request after a report of a successful campaign serves as positive encouragement emphasizing the importance of every effort and their combined strength, and signaling, “yes we can do it”. The importance of “raising one’s voice” is also stressed elsewhere.<sup>480</sup>

### ***Celebrating success and claiming credit***

This last aspect of motivational framing especially relates to motivation within the organizations, but it can also be used as proof to convince audiences. Therefore, it parallels with the aspects of efficiency, credibility and commensurability discussed before. Celebrating success and claiming credit are also two fortifying tactics introduced by Einwohner. They are used to maintain the perceived efficiency of the collective. The first refers to sharing and celebrating perceived success publicly and the latter to shared belief in a success or change caused by the collective.<sup>481</sup> Similar motivational interrelated tools, especially claiming credit, were also used by the pro-animal organizations in this research.

JAVA states that they succeeded in stopping the transportation animals from *hokensho* to laboratories, first in Tokyo. Later other prefectures enforced the abolition of the system by March 2006. The campaign triggered a great deal of citizen activism.<sup>482</sup> JAVA also succeeded in stopping dissection in some schools, sometimes in cooperation with students and parents. JAVA News frequently

<sup>479</sup> JAWS 2009e, JAWS Report no.61, 3.

<sup>480</sup> JAWS 2010, JAWS Report no.62, 3.

<sup>481</sup> Einwohner 2002b, 519–522.

<sup>482</sup> Wasaki 2006b, JAVA News no.77, 12.

publishes reports on successful campaigns. These successful demands are usually used in the reports as encouragement for future campaigns.<sup>483</sup>

ALIVE has campaigned against genetically modified products and claims credit for having succeeded in banning them in Japan.<sup>484</sup> It has also collected signatures for petitions demanding animal welfare law revision. By publishing the numbers of signatures collected for petitions, they show the general interest to the issue. In 2005, 150,000 signatures were collected. In 2009, 100,000 people signed a petition requesting enforcement of measures against animal abuse.<sup>485</sup> These examples encourage people to continue activities that are trying to tackle problems and give motivation to campaigns and signature collection aiming at influencing the forthcoming law revision in 2012.

The action reports from JAVA members, published in every newsletter, similarly function as supportive motivation tools to encourage people to start or to continue their activities. In these accounts, the members share their successful activity. Furthermore, these testimonials from members who are actively pursuing abolishing the use of fur or animal experiments or other related goals, give examples of how to contribute to the movement. Usually in these reports, an individual or small group of JAVA members describe their activities. Reports range from educating miniature models of the fate of abandoned animals all the way to putting out posters or participating in speech events with speeches opposing animal testing. In every report, the active members emphasize how they are determined to pursue the organization's goals.<sup>486</sup> Also in a get-together after the JAVA's anti-animal testing demonstration, many speakers shared the success of their campaigns, and the outcomes and popularity of the letter-writing campaign against Shiseido were especially praised.

## 6.6 Framing civil society

All pro-animal organizations act in the same political and institutional environment. As was already discussed in the second chapter, the influence of political, legal and

---

<sup>483</sup> See for example JAVA 2007, JAVA News no.79, 12.

<sup>484</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>485</sup> Nogami 2010e, ALIVE News no.93, 3.

<sup>486</sup> E.g. JAVA 2006a, JAVA News no. 77, 26–27.

fiscal restrictions is frequently stressed in literature discussing the features and development of civil society in Japan. The state and civil society, however, are not locked into an antagonistic, zero-sum struggle.<sup>487</sup> There is a great variety of citizen organizations in Japanese civil society; some of them are active in contentious activities and advocacy, some are more service-oriented, and others are everywhere in between. What seems to be nearly forgotten in the discussion about civil society in Japan concentrating on structures, is the role of citizen organizations as active actors constructing their role in society. Avenell has addressed this theme from the perspective of the concept of citizen (市民, *shimin*) and how the citizens themselves have participated in the construction of it by interpreting its meanings.<sup>488</sup> This does not suggest that the organizations' interpretations alone determine the features of civil society: similarly as the context affects the framing, so do the framing efforts and meanings shape the idea of what kind of activism is promoted or accepted in society. Furthermore, it is also important to keep in mind, as Gamson and Meyer argue, that the organizations' framing efforts greatly affect how restrictive or facilitating its environment and opportunities are perceived to be.<sup>489</sup>

In this section, I demonstrate how the groups perceive their relations with one of their main audiences, the state and its officials, both at national and local level. The organizations construct roles and ideas about citizens' activism in society by interpreting the meanings of their legal status, portraying the tasks and characteristics of the officials on different levels of administration, and associating varying responsibilities with the actors in society. These aspects of the framing of civil society were the most frequently used by the organizations and thus, they serve as examples of this complex process that is embedded in the collective action frame construction.

### ***Legal status***

The new NPO law facilitated the registration of the organizations and created a new legal status of NPO *houjin*. This was regarded as an offset of the growth of civil

---

<sup>487</sup> Hirata 2002, 47.

<sup>488</sup> Avenell 2010.

<sup>489</sup> Gamson and Meyer 1996.

society in Japan. In general, the organizations consider having a legal status beneficial when interacting with the public, the market and the state. NPO *houjins* must give detailed explanations of their financial activities. According to ARK, that might increase the credibility in the eyes of the public, because then the donors can be sure that their money does not go into the activists' own pockets. Legal status also enables gaining credit and support from companies. Companies might be hesitant to give financial support to organizations that do not produce information on financial matters. This applies to ARK as well, since originally ARK applied for NPO *houjin* status for tax benefits and in order to “make its activities legal”.<sup>490</sup> However, tax privileges for NPO *houjin* are limited compared to the status of PIIA *houjin* that enables tax deductions for contributors.<sup>491</sup> Hence, these special benefits may make PIIA *houjin* organizations more attractive to contributions than the ones without tax privileges.

In addition to the expected financial benefits, the NPO *houjin* status is seen as increasing organization's social credibility. Firstly, legal status gives credibility in the eyes of the officials. According to ALIVE, “it's better to have that status when you work with government.”<sup>492</sup> Angels also applied for NPO *houjin* status because the group is required to have legal status in order to be able to retrieve animals from the *hokensho*.<sup>493</sup> Similarly Knots needed the legal status in order to get appointed for government- and business-commissioned projects.<sup>494</sup> The trustworthiness associated with a legal status does not limit interaction with the officials: CAPIN, JSPCA, Lifeboat and ARC applied for legal status originally in order to achieve social credit and trust, not only in the eyes of officials but also of the public.

Originally, the NPO law was created to respond to demands to improve the legal and political situation for organizations after the Great Hanshin earthquake. The recognized legal entities can have many practical rights such as signing contracts or employing staff. The practical value of legal status is further enforced among those organizations that wish to interact with the authorities, since it is taken as a given that

---

<sup>490</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>491</sup> Reimann 2010, 33; 38.

<sup>492</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>493</sup> Angels interview 23.5.2010.

<sup>494</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010.

those organizations are required to have a legitimized position in society. This is not surprising, yet the main reason for applying for legal status was, for many organizations, perceived public social credibility and trust. Thus, despite the deficiencies of the law with only a few financial benefits, most of the organizations regard legal status as an important symbol of legality when dealing with the public. This is especially relevant with the NPO *houjin* that have not yet established a stable position in society and in relation to the authorities. This excludes organizations such as JAWS, JSPCA and Knots that are either old organizations or already working in cooperation with the officials or both. Thus, the state has provided a framework of opportunities, inside which the organizations can frame themselves as legitimate actors in society by using the possibility to register as NPO *houjin*.

Only a few dissenting opinions about legal status policy and practice were articulated. According to ARK, having NPO *houjin* status does not actually have any clear benefits and might be too easy to get. The status has lost its value because there are no regulations or watchdog system and many illegal activities have increased under the façade of NPO *houjin* status.<sup>495</sup> Because the tax benefits of the NPO *houjin* status are nonexistent, ARSF has not registered as a legal NPO. Instead of following other's example of applying for NPO *houjin* status in order to gain social credibility, ARSF is trying intentionally to increase its social credibility through the content and proven efficiency of its activities.

In principle, the policies and benefits concerning the legal status of the organizations can change by creating influential activity outside the legal framework, as happened after the "volunteer boom" caused by the Great Hanshin earthquake. For this to happen, interplay between the state and civil society is required. The state can also orchestrate these changes. Nevertheless, the meanings given to the legal status by the organizations as well as by media and the public can at least trigger revisions regarding legal status policies and further refine state-civil society relations.

---

<sup>495</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010; ARK 2004, A Voice for animals no.56, 2–3.



### *Differences between local civil societies*

Tarrow has pointed out that “social movements are multidimensional actors, just like the state is a multidimensional target.” The state responds differently to different challenges, and Tarrow argues that, in a decentralized state, the localism of the political process tends to create NIMBY-movements (Not In My Backyard movements).<sup>496</sup> Pro-animal organizations are both responding to local problems and addressing the national policies concerning animal protection. However, organizations acting locally have especially encountered difficulties in establishing relations with local officials. This is due to the relative autonomy of the localities, and the circulation of officials leads to the creation of local civil societies; in each locality, the pro-animal organizations have to construct their relations with the state’s local governing organ differently. Thus the boundaries and the division of duties between government and civil society vary depending on the policies of the locality. Pro-animal organizations have frequently attributed this difference to the personal motivation of the official currently in charge of animal welfare and management.

Hart et al. argue that the centralized governmental system of *hokenshos* has created more standardized and systemized policies and practices.<sup>497</sup> However, many organizations feel that the vague animal protection and management law has resulted in different practices between localities, leaving relative freedom for localities to interpret and enforce it differently.<sup>498</sup> Local government is responsible for implementing the law. The national animal welfare law defines the minimum measures to be taken in localities, but enables local government also to make stricter regulations. Despite this possibility, many local governments are said to keep to the minimum standards. According to JAWS, the economy of local governments is one important factor affecting the enforcement and improvement of the management of the animals in localities.<sup>499</sup> There are great variations on how the animal welfare law is implemented:

---

<sup>496</sup> Tarrow 1994, 92.

<sup>497</sup> Hart et al 1998, 158.

<sup>498</sup> The vague policies and national law are found also to affect intergovernmental relations that further pluralize governance practices: “Intergovernmental relations in policy areas that have not been clearly defined by national law can be interdependent, dynamic, and unpredictable.” (Maclachlan 2000, 29)

<sup>499</sup> JAWS interview 25.6.2010.

“When local governments conducted onsite inspections, only 11 local of them used any type of check form. The inspection criteria varied from local government to local government. Even if there was a check form, the questions were only focused on the safety of humans, and there was no consideration of animal welfare. The criteria for care of primates must be established and inspections should be done based on the criteria.”<sup>500</sup>

Local officials in charge and their personal interest in animal welfare are perceived to have a great effect on management practices and local governments’ interests in cooperating with organizations.

*“It’s up to the authority. Some other are rich and others are not so, and some are motivated and some are not. So there is diversity ... Like if officials, it’s at the official. Like some are really helpful but others are not. ... Attitudes are different from prefecture to cities, it’s always different. Probably it’s up to the persons [and] how the person [in charge] is engaged in the movements involving dogs and cats in reality, like actually. It is up to the local government how to implement the law: there has been good changes where there are good persons in charge.”*<sup>501</sup>

“Actually particularly the Hyougo-ken, there is a person who promotes, really kind of actively promotes that euthanasia is better than adoption. That idea is implemented, so they try to rather destroy the animals than adopt... There’s actually a plan that is set by forty-seven prefectures, as a standard plan. The project is to reduce the amount of dogs and cats killed in five years. Only prefectures that are not participating are Ehime and Hyougo.”<sup>502</sup>

Other organizations have expressed similar opinions about the differences between local authorities and the importance of their personal motivation. ARK faced the problems of bureaucratic regulation while rehoming dogs rescued from Osaka prefecture’s *hokensho* in Kyoto, Kobe and Tokyo. This was not accepted by the Osaka prefecture, and ARK concluded the report of the case by assessing the situation:

“There has been a lot of talk recently about reducing the killing numbers and certainly some prefectures are making efforts towards this. I does seem to depend on the person in charge, whether they really want to work positively towards this or whether they are just bureaucratic robots

---

<sup>500</sup> ALIVE 2009 “ALIVE Research: Captive conditions of Japanese Macaques”.

<sup>501</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010.

<sup>502</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

treating animals like garbage to be disposed of inhumanely and easily so that they can complete their desk work.”<sup>503</sup>

Prefectures and the cities are considered to be closed in their administration, which makes it difficult to establish relations with the authorities. The administrative officials, whose personal motivation has a great effect on local policies, get transferred after a two-year period in order to increase their expertise and experience in their field, such as animal management. This further complicates relations:

“Yes, and for example [authorities] relationships with NPO. It is sometimes good and sometimes bad. *Sometimes good if the person in charge is interested in the issues and trying to do a good job... If the person in charge does not care about the animals so the situation will be difficult. But also the bad person will change place.* The reason for the transfer is to avoid certain officials and certain organizations to establish any close relations. They [officials] can always step aside and see, their role is to oversee those organizations and the society so they shouldn't be so friendly to particular organizations... So, principally there is no influence, because government officials or the administrative staff, they have to be equal to everybody, who ever they have to deal with.”<sup>504</sup>

As became apparent in the diagnostic framing, a skeptical opinion on the efficiency of the authorities prevails. Bureaucracy is regarded as slow and local Japanese officials are portrayed as lazy and avoiding responsibility, especially by ARK:

“There is a well-known story about a corpse lying in a river, which is running between two prefectures in Japan. The police of prefecture A see the corpse floating towards their bank but instead of lifting it out, they push it with a bamboo pole out into mid-stream where it floats towards the bank of a prefecture B. Prefecture B police discover the corpse near their bank but again instead of lifting it out, they use a pole to push it out once more into mid-stream where it floats again towards Prefecture A. This action is repeated again and again. *However, this story illustrates clearly the attitude of bureaucracy in this country and the reluctance of authorities or the police to take action which will give themselves extra work [italics added].*”<sup>505</sup>

As I will discuss in detail in the next section, the differences between the localities seem to be a partial reason for why some organizations do not actively seek to gain political influence. They “do what they can do” and accept a role of a charity, trying to carry the burden before criticized government practices and policies change and

<sup>503</sup> Oliver 2008a, A Voice For Animals no.71, 10.

<sup>504</sup> ALIVE interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>505</sup> ARK 2010, A Voice For Animals, 13.

the officials fulfill their duties of proper animal protection. Other groups then again have chosen to promote citizen activism locally and some aim at establishing acknowledged cooperation on a national level.

### *Constructing roles in civil society*

The interpretations of the context where the organizations act have affected their choices of tactics and representations of the meaning and power of citizen activism. As I discussed in the second chapter, many scholars argue that the prevailing form of activism in Japanese civil society has been service-oriented constructive activism instead of protesting advocacy activism. Avenell explained this to be a product of dynamic and interactive meaning construction between the citizen organizations and the government about activism and different roles and tasks in society.<sup>506</sup> In this section, I discuss three rough-edged categories of the role and possibilities of citizen activism and their relations to the other actors in society. By constructing these roles themselves, the organizations are constructing their model of citizen activism through their own activities. Because these categories are named only for analytical purposes to illustrate the most dominant perceptions that are constantly reconstructed in interaction, one organization may have presented views that relate to many categories.

### *Substituting for inefficient officials*

This way of portraying an organization's activities is the most apolitical and is characterized as mistrust or disappointment in the authorities. For these organizations, the ideal would be that, firstly, the authorities would provide the necessary animal protection services.<sup>507</sup> Secondly, the human-animal relations would be so good that there would not be a need for animal protection organizations.<sup>508</sup> While this situation is not yet possible, the organizations are doing what they can for the animals that are currently suffering and "taking care of the heavy pain" first.<sup>509</sup>

---

<sup>506</sup> Avenell interview 2010.

<sup>507</sup> JAWS interview 25.6.2010; ARK – Kishida interview 15.5.2010.

<sup>508</sup> JAWS interview 25.6.2010.

<sup>509</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010; ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010. Also Angels are strongly criticizing the pet industry, but in their activities they concentrate on saving individual animals.

This approach seems to suggest that, although they are attributing the blame to ignorant authorities or to an unregulated pet industry, they are accepting a relatively passive role in society. The value of an individual life gives a rationale and justification for their activities, and these organizations find their motivation in helping defenseless animals even when facing ingratitude. Thus, officials are considered to be the responsible actors in animal protection issues; the organizations are taking the role of the government's altruistic helper, substituting for missing services for the time being, because the officials are currently "failing to live up to their responsibilities".<sup>510</sup> However, officials are expected to change their approach later.<sup>511</sup>

As became evident in the previous section, ARK is perhaps the most direct in its criticism of officials, especially the *hokensho*. There are doubts whether officials will actually improve their practices, even if the law is improved. Also the *hokensho* system is portrayed as undeveloped in animal handling compared to ARK's activities:

"Basically authorities in Japan have no background knowledge on animal welfare, and the vets employed by the *hokensho* have a license but that is all, they are better suited to pushing papers around a desk than handling animals. Many of the ordinary unlicensed employees working at the *hokensho* are more familiar with animals than the vets."

Despite this frequently mentioned stereotype of the authorities, it is noted that positive improvements in some *hokenshos* show that "the authorities can act efficiently if the will is there".<sup>512</sup>

Simpson from ARK Tokyo considers their activities free from restrictions that bind the officials to follow politically-correct procedures, thus enabling services and activities aiming only at the welfare of animals.<sup>513</sup> However, these organizations lack dialogue with authorities and the political channels to advocate their cause; their contacts with officials are mostly limited either to disagreements or to authorized rescue of the animals from the *hokensho*. Primarily, they are communicating with the

---

<sup>510</sup> ARK – Oliver interview 16.5.2010.

<sup>511</sup> Lifeboat interview 23.6.2010.

<sup>512</sup> ARK 2007a, A Voice for animals no.66, 2.

<sup>513</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

general public and hoping to change the attitudes of individual pet owners. As a combination of these aspects, these organizations offer a model citizen activity in which the state is seen as the authority above the organizations that target mainly individual animals and people on an apolitical grassroots level. However, in this model, the state's authority does not guarantee the animal management expertise of the officials. In this respect, the pro-animal organizations present themselves as superior to the government officials and policies that are expected to realize the correct animal management already promoted by the organizations.

### *Cooperative visions and equality*

The second model more actively aims at establishing a more equal system of interaction between the civil society organizations and government officials. At least CAPIN, JAWS, ALIVE, Knots, and JSPCA are actively seeking to create a dialogue with the officials. CAPIN and Knots interact mostly with local officials. Knots emphasizes that by creating “knots between humans” a better society can be achieved.

In this vision, the officials are taking the lead in animal welfare improvement and are aided by the organizations as their equal partners that possess expert knowledge. Knots presents itself as a pioneer that has already established this kind of relations that include not only activities such as symposiums, but also consultation, education, and government-commissioned projects such as animal festivals.<sup>514</sup> In principal, Knots does not receive financial support from government, but for some projects a governmental subvention is provided for them.<sup>515</sup> A new system for the usage of tax money would benefit the realization of this kind of cooperation and, in Knots's vision, Japan could act as an example of animal protection and management to other Asian countries as well.

However, there are problems in creating communication between the different actors in society, firstly, because of the history of animal control in Japan, which has been based on destroying rabies. Secondly, not all the organizations accept the official

---

<sup>514</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010; Knots n.d. “Knotsの事業”.

<sup>515</sup> Tominaga to author, e-mail 22.9.2010.

policies of killing animals at *hokenshos* in order to control their number, but want merely to save individual animals, and that in principle hinders the dialogue.

“So we need to discuss more or research more, because our big goal is to save a life, that is the same.”<sup>516</sup>

Other organizations, such as JAWS, JSPCA, ALIVE, ARSF, and CAPIN are also in favor of such cooperation, but are not as active in promoting it as Knots is. According to ARSF, “Japan needs a systematic structure, that people in general, whether we love animals or not, could get a benefit of non-profit [animal welfare activity or shelter] run by NPOs and local government.”<sup>517</sup> The cooperative visions also include contact with the citizens. Thus, the cooperative NPOs would mediate between the state and citizens:

“Citizen organizations as bridge builders between owners and animals are important. Because many organizations are doing voluntary activities, *supportive structure of the society* [italics added] is also needed. Mutually this way, we are able to make good society for humans and animals.”<sup>518</sup>

According to CAPIN, lack of citizens’ rights and the officials’ lack of understanding of animal rights are major obstacles to their success. In response to these problems, the group has been presenting petitions to local government and demanding among other improvements a more open system of mutual information sharing and interaction between the local officials and citizen organizations, in order to improve animal welfare management.<sup>519</sup> Hence, they seek to gain a legitimate and acknowledged role as a citizen group, both at city- and prefectural level. However, independence from the state also seems to be valued. Financial independence from government is sometimes particularly emphasized, perhaps because subsidies will give the organization an image of a government subcontractor. For example JAVA and JAWS mention explicitly in their homepages that they do not receive any financial support from the state.

ALIVE, JAWS and JSPCA are the few exceptions that have gained acknowledged access to the policymaking process, partly through their membership in the

<sup>516</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010.

<sup>517</sup> ARSF interview 27.5.2010.

<sup>518</sup> Nogami 2009c, ALIVE News no.88, 5.

<sup>519</sup> CAPIN n.d. “行政関連活動, 請願内容: 活動日誌/行政関連活動”.

investigative commission of animal protection and management. The organizations are also acknowledged as specialists on animal welfare since they are consulted as experts by media and officials. Furthermore, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government has officially recognized JAWS and JSPCA as “promoters of animal protection”.<sup>520</sup>

In this model of citizen activism in civil society, the role of the NPOs is more equal in both the policymaking process and in practical animal welfare management. Cooperation is seen as a future prospect, aiming at combining state resources and knowledge of civil society organizations. Compared to the previous model, this participatory vision of state-civil society could be more equal, although the independence of the organizations might be threatened.

#### *Learning the role of a watchdog*

In this perception of the role of civil society organizations, independence from the state and the mission to monitor society, the state and the media is emphasized. Of the three categories of visions, in some occasions this one presents most clearly the civil society organizations as being above other actors as an expert supervisor. However, the direct protest is not a popular tactic and this vision of civil society activities also emphasizes gradual steps towards change and persistent activity.

The first condition for pro-animal activities to grow is seen as institutionalized and organized activity. In order to do promote animal welfare efficiently, it is necessary to have a well-managed organization and wide support is a benefit.<sup>521</sup>

“It [animal welfare organization] was ran by a private individual, who was just trying to help animals, with no organization. And I couldn’t, and I can’t, I don’t recommend that, if you want to help animals you have to have some kind of organization and you have to have staff.”<sup>522</sup>

“NPOs are somehow new in Japanese society, so it’s not only animal issues but the NPO system has [developed] within ten years history, so it is not a long history. So, for these activities they didn’t gain power like in other countries. So, from now on, they [NPOs] might be powerful like other countries, it’s valued more and more, but nowadays the participants are increasing but it’s not a mainstream social association. So if JAVA is,

<sup>520</sup> Tokyo Metropolitan Government n.d. “東京都動物愛護推進員”

<sup>521</sup> Knots interview 28.5.2010; ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.

<sup>522</sup> ARK – Simpson interview 15.7.2010.



*if we have huge number of membership it can be powerful for the government and for the society as well.*<sup>523</sup>

Secondly, the organizations need to maintain their own principles and continuously supervise society and the state in case of violations against animals. JAVA is the most prominent example of a group that is defining itself in a watchdog position in society. The role of JAVA is occasionally to work in cooperation with the authorities in cases requiring intervention in animal abuse, and later they monitor improvements. However, JAVA often states that it is necessary to constantly keep an eye on all actors in society, including citizens, businesses, officials and media. In practice, this means that JAVA launches countermeasures in the form of complaints, written requests and sometimes prosecutions when it encounters cases that harm the well-being of animals or that could lead to harming it.

“JAVA canalizes its energies into watching TV programs or news which include cruelty to animals or make viewers indifferent to animal protection... We think viewers can evaluate producers’ awareness of animal protection only by keeping them under surveillance. One cannot laugh at this kind of programs!”<sup>524</sup>

The different actors require supervision because if they are allowed to work freely, they can establish harmful practices that affect the well-being of animals. For instance, the third party accreditation of animal experiments by Japan Health Sciences Foundation (HS Foundation) is accused of maintaining the *amakudari*<sup>525</sup> system, which is seen as hampering the objectivity of the foundation. Furthermore, the possibility to admit validation in exchange for high membership fees from pharmaceutical companies is pointed out.<sup>526</sup> Since JAVA presents itself as an advocate of animal rights talking on behalf of mute animals, it is JAVA’s duty to act if officials do not react to violations of animal welfare law. By prosecuting violators of the law in local governments, business or by the general public, they are also emphasizing the importance of acting as an example:

---

<sup>523</sup> JAVA interview 14.6.2010.

<sup>524</sup> Hattori 2006a, JAVA News no.77, 14–15.

<sup>525</sup> According to Asano and Eto (2005, 335), *Amakudari* (天下り), literally translated as “transcended from heaven”, refers to practice of employing retired state officials to senior positions to private enterprises, organizations, and foundations. It can also refer to these retired officials themselves.

<sup>526</sup> Kamekura 2008b, JAVA News no.82, 6–7.

“Besides, it [the lawsuit] has an effect of letting police, indifferent to cruelty to animals, realize that cruelty is a kind of crime and that should be severely investigated.”<sup>527</sup>

ALIVE has also been actively following the developments of law revisions and their implementation. It has, for example, submitted a commentary about each animal welfare promotion plan drafted by the prefecture.<sup>528</sup> Although these are only a few examples, they show that there is potential in pro-animal organizations to understand their watchdog role in society. Although these kind of organizations are very few in number, the pro-animal organizations are gradually learning to position themselves as relatively independent experts. They are not afraid of commenting on policies or actively questioning policies and animal management practices in interaction with the authorities. However, the tendency to avoid direct confrontation or conflict can hinder the realization of this vision of citizen organization activism. Moreover, the emphasis on persistence and small improvements suggest that the organizations want to separate themselves from momentary protest movements and a conflict-oriented approach.

---

<sup>527</sup> Wazaki 2006d ,JAVA News 2006 no. 78, 10.

<sup>528</sup> ALIVE n.d. “都道府県動物愛護管理推進計画についての ALIVEの提出意見“.

## Conclusion

In this research I have explored the diversity of the activities of twelve pro-animal organizations acting in the Kansai and Tokyo areas. In order to systematically analyze the ways these groups interpret the reasons for their activities, their environment, role as an activist and their future prospects, I have combined the frame analysis approach from social movement studies with a civil society studies approach. The three core framing tasks of diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing have served as the analytical tools in data analysis, alongside the frameworks of us and them, and the framing of civil society. As I stated in the introduction, my aspirations for this research were two-fold: first, to provide detailed information on the pro-animal organizations that had not previously been studied. Secondly, through frame analysis and by considering civil society as the context of the framing process, to illustrate how the framing processes and the organizations' perception of their role in civil society are interconnected. Moreover, the framing processes create not only a self-image for the group and a way of interpreting the other actors, but also simultaneously construct the concept of collective citizen activism. The organizations' interpretations and practical activities also shape the environment they are acting in.

In order to improve the well-being of animals, the common task for these pro-animal organizations – in addition to other social movement actors in any field – is to influence the collective beliefs that direct peoples' actions. Collective beliefs are of social origin and, as shared representations, they eventually become parts of social reality. The beliefs are created not only deliberately by advocacy actors, but also in all kind of social interaction. New events and information are filtered through interpretation, gradually changing or enforcing the beliefs. Since the collective beliefs are relatively stable and hard to alter quickly and radically, there are many obstacles preventing movements from achieving their ultimate goal of changing the mentality of Japanese people. Nevertheless, the collective beliefs are always contested, between or within the organizations, and events or controversial issues trigger debates, reinterpretations and opportunities for organizations.<sup>529</sup>

---

<sup>529</sup> Gamson 1992, 83–85.

As a response to this great challenge for the social movements, the pro-animal organizations have articulated many interconnected grievances that should be overcome in order to achieve change in collective beliefs concerning animals. Of these grievances, in particular the law and its implementation as well as lack of knowledge and information among the public were seen as the most pressing. Other grievances are partly or fully caused by these two. Prognostic framing outlines specific tactics and solutions that could help the organizations achieve their aims. Corresponding to the diagnostic framing, the organizations most frequently use media attention and publications to educate and inform the people. Because most of the organizations lack the channels to participate in policymaking, they hope for changes in the law to be achieved for instance through public education. Achievement of these goals could help to solve other grievances, such as problems caused by the pet industry.

In the process of frame construction, the organizations also create images of “the others” as stereotypically ignorant and group-minded Japanese, and of themselves as different from the others. These views have sometimes led to inter-organizational disputes, but they also create a sense of uniqueness. This uniqueness can create a sense of duty to act, especially among those organizations that think they possess information about concealed truths. Hence, I have also analyzed these conceptualizations as parts of motivational framing. Other aspects of motivational framing efforts, used to increase mobilization and to enforce the motivation within the group, are frame alignment in the form of the reframing and persistence of activities, including emphasizing positivity and even the smallest steps towards change. Furthermore, the organizations increase the commensurability and credibility of their frame using both emotional and rational frames to either convince or appeal to the audiences. By doing this, they are also aiming to prove that their activities are efficient.

By interpreting the environment they are acting in and the meaning of the other actors they are interacting with, the organizations are also framing civil society. As the analysis shows, there is a great variety in how these groups define their relations to officials, the media and the Japanese people and construct the roles of all of these actors, themselves included. In the last analysis chapter, I referred to local civil

societies. This means that there are differences between localities in state-civil society relations. This is a case example on how relations between the state and civil society are not similar, even within a single nation state's governing structure. These relations between the (local) governing structure and civil society organizations are constructed on a case-by-case basis and are shaped by the framing efforts of both sides. Hence, the perceptions of the officials and their characteristics and practices can guide the formation of these different relations or even prevent the organizations from actively seeking to establish any relations with the authorities. For instance, ARK, ARK Tokyo, Lifeboat and Angels are either rather skeptical of or disappointed in the inconsistency of both local and national policies or otherwise see the change coming later in the future. These organizations have chosen to direct their activities at individual animals by reacting to their desperate situation and offering protection that officials do not provide. Hence, I call these kinds of activities reactive animal-loving activities; although these organizations also criticize the concept of *aigo* as too sentimental, their activities are based on empathy and affection towards individual animals that are mostly cats and dogs.

Other organizations, such as JAWS, Knots, JSPCA, CAPIN, and to some extent also ALIVE, have chosen a path that does not entirely exclude political activism. These organizations are more oriented towards proactive activities, such as education and awareness-building. They also seek to cooperate with officials and create a more equal dialogue with them. However, these groups have to strike a balance between cooptation and independency. These organizations especially stress the importance of steady and persistent activities instead of protest and conflict. By establishing these cooperative relations without confrontation between the different actors in society, they aim to prevent cruelty to animals. Hence, the role they have constructed for themselves is a proactive bridge-builder.

I consider the last type of activities being corrective. By positioning themselves as independent actors that can also take a critical viewpoint of society, organizations such as JAVA, ARC and ALIVE create a more active advocacy role for themselves. These organizations seek to present themselves as legitimate and respected actors, who are experts in the field of animal welfare and rights, and they frequently comment on and demand corrections to different issues. As a means to represent

itself as the alternative power in society, JAVA for example often refers to itself as the representative of public opinion or as a loudspeaker of the citizens' voice (市民の声, *shimin no koe*) through which effective measures can be taken. Hence, these organizations construct a role of supervising watchdog for themselves. The watchdog organizations are both responsible for and able to demand corrections of deficiencies. Furthermore, all the organizations are actively enforcing their role by choosing their tactics accordingly and explicitly framing themselves according to these constructed perceptions.

Because the interpretations of the changing legal, political and social environments in which the organizations move influence the framing process, the organizations are constantly reforming their frames. In addition to gradual developments, dramatic changes can mobilize, cause reframing and create new opportunities. Firstly, the forthcoming revision of the animal welfare law and increasing cooperation in animal welfare management will challenge the organizations to refine their position. Secondly, as a more devastating example, the so-called triple catastrophe of May 3<sup>rd</sup> struck Japan. I conducted my fieldwork in the summer of 2010 and little over six months after that, the Great East Japan Earthquake, also known as The Kanto Earthquake hit Japan followed by a tsunami and nuclear crisis. This has proven to be a massive challenge not only for human welfare NPOs but also for pro-animal organizations. They have gathered their resources, and started to collaborate and communicate with the government in order to save the animals affected by the disaster and those that were left behind in the 20km evacuation zone around the Fukushima nuclear plant. These changes in society are only the most visible examples that trigger reframing and offer multiple prospects for follow-up research.

The prospects for further research are not limited only to the pro-animal organizations in Japan. Instead of debating what kind of civil society – weak or strong, existent or non-existent – there is in Japan, perhaps a more fruitful approach could be achieved if the focus shifted to studying the nature of relations between civil society and the state's governing actors. It is not enough merely to use the regulatory environment of Japanese society as the only major factor explaining the structure of civil society, nor can the number of neighborhood associations be used

directly to prove the level of activity of civil society. As Avenell states, the organizations themselves also shape the idea of citizen activism. Thus, the citizen organizations that exist in this regulatory environment are also significant actors shaping their own role in society through their concrete activities and framing efforts.

Obviously, these organizations are *influenced* and sometimes *restricted* by the institutional regulations and previous conceptions and ideals of citizen activities. However, through their concrete activities and socially constructed framing efforts, the organizations are also engaging in reshaping the positions which the regulations set them as well as trying to increase their support and influence, for example by seeking allies, testing new tactics or sometimes even doing nothing. As the diversity of the pro-animal organizations in Japan show, there is a great variety in the frames concerning the organizations' position, mission and tactics in society, that also reflect the varying ideals of organizations' role in civil society. From the perspective of this study, civil society can be regarded as a diverse and dynamic system in which there is a great variety of definitions of relations constructed between citizens and officials, the *min* and the *kan*.

Based on the results of the analysis of the collective action frames of pro-animal organizations and their perceptions of citizen activism and having been encouraged by the growing body of literature discussing the connections between different aspects of social movements, civil society, I have emphasized the active role of "civil society social movement organizations" in the construction of activism and civil society. I conclude this thesis by suggesting that studies about *how* and *why* SMOs (i.e. citizen organizations) actively construct the frames concerning their own activism in interactive relation to other actors in society would contribute greatly both to the discussion of social movements and civil society, not only in Japan but also elsewhere in Asia. And yes, last time I checked in 2011, the Shibuya pet shop was still there and as popular as ever.

## REFERENCES

### Published references

- Aldrich, Daniel P. 2008. *Site Fights: Divisive Facilities and Civil Society in Japan and the West*. Itacha: Cornell University Press.
- Abe, Miki. 2010. “アジアでも 家畜福祉が実現するか?”(Would the livestock welfare idea be established in Asia too?) *ALIVE News*, no. 91, 10–11. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- ALIVE. 2008. “ブラックボックスの中の日本の畜産” (Japanese livestock in black box) Accessed 23.8.2010. [<http://www.alive-net.net/animalfactory/fact/blackbox1.htm>]
- 2009a. “学校で虐待飼育教育が行われているのでは?” (Is there abuse education going in schools?!) *ALIVE News*, no. 88, 9. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2009b. “フジテレビ ニュースジャパン: 「命の現場」の報道” (Fuji Television News Japan: The scene of crime of life report). *ALIVE News*, no. 89, 4. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2009c. “ウサギは学校飼育に適さない” (Rabbit is not suitable to being raised in school). *ALIVE News*, no. 89, 8–11. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2009. “News Japan”, Fuji Television Revealed The Reality of Pet Industry” *ALIVE News*, no. 89. Accessed 10.7.2011. [<http://www.alive-net.net/english/en-companion/animaldealer2009.htm>.]
- 2009. “ALIVE Research: Captive conditions of Japanese Macaques” *ALIVE News*, no. 86. Accessed 17.8.2010. [[http://www.alive-net.net/english/en-wildlife/monkey/mon\\_report2009.html](http://www.alive-net.net/english/en-wildlife/monkey/mon_report2009.html)]
- 2010a. “事務所の主な活動” (Main activities of the office) *ALIVE News*, no. 91, 15. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2010b. “水族館のシャチの購入に異議あり!” (Objection to purchase of an aquarium orca) *ALIVE News*, no. 92, 8. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2010c. 平成20(2008)年度版全国動物行政アンケート結果報告書: 犬猫殺処分と動物行政の現状 (Result report of the national animal officials questionnaire 2008: The present state of dog and cat culling and animal officials) Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2010d. “平成22年度 特定非営利活動に係る事業 会計収支計算書” (Heisei 22 fiscal year specified non-profit activities related business fiscal balance sheet) Accessed 16.8.2010. [<http://www.alive-net.net/aboutus/jigyohoukoku/H22kaikei.pdf>]
- 2011, “動物取扱業の適正化について意見を出しましょう! 環境省のパブリックコメント始まる” (Let’s give comment on the fairness of the animal business. Ministry of Environment begins public comment collection) Accessed 24.8.2011. [[http://www.alive-net.net/law/kaisei2012/pubcome\\_iken\\_201108.htm](http://www.alive-net.net/law/kaisei2012/pubcome_iken_201108.htm)]
- n.d. “都道府県動物愛護管理推進計画についての ALIVEの提出意見” (ALIVE submitted comments of animal protection and management promotion plan) Accessed 23.8.2011. [<http://www.alive-net.net/companion-animal/locallaw/aigo-keikaku-alive-iken.html>]



- n.d. “動物虐待への対策強化を求める請願署名の詳細説明“ (Signature petition demanding a detailed description of strengthening measures against animal cruelty) Accessed 23.8.2011.  
[<http://www.alive-net.net/law/seigan2/2007seigan2.html>]
- n.d. “Signature Campaign for Revising the "Law concerning the protection and control of animals" by ALIVE in 2000–2004” Accessed 25.9.2010.  
[<http://www.alive-net.net/english/en-law/L2-petition.html>]
- ARC. n.d. 動物福祉との違いは？ (How it differs from animal welfare). Accessed 3.6.2010. [<http://www.arcj.info/faq/detail/id=6>]
- n.d. “順天堂大学から実験に使われる犬を盗み出したという事件があったと聞きました。真相を教えてください。” (I heard there was a case of stolen dogs to be used in the experiments of Juntendo University. Please tell me the truth.) Accessed 3.6.2010. [<http://www.arcj.info/faq/detail/id=29>]
- n.d. “過激な活動はしていませんか。” (Are you not doing radical activities?) Accessed 3.6.2010. [<http://www.arcj.info/faq/detail/id=25>]
- n.d. “アニマルライツ(動物の権利)とは？” (What are animal rights?) Accessed 3.6.2010. [<http://www.arcj.info/faq/detail/id=1>]
- n.d. “動物愛護との違いは？” (How it differs from *aigo*?) Accessed 3.6.2010. [<http://www.arcj.info/faq/detail/id=4>]
- n.d. “映像が過激すぎるのではないのでしょうか？” (You think the video is not too radical?) Accessed 3.6.2010. [<http://www.arcj.info/faq/detail/id=17>]
- ARK 2004 “Where your money goes” *ARK – A Voice for animals*, no. 56, 2–3. Osaka: ARK. Accessed 12.5.2011.  
[[http://shop.arkbark.net/sites/default/files/nl56\\_2.pdf](http://shop.arkbark.net/sites/default/files/nl56_2.pdf)]
- 2005 “Letter from Malta” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no. 59, 9–10. Osaka: ARK. Accessed 12.5.2011.  
[[http://shop.arkbark.net/sites/default/files/nl59\\_0.pdf](http://shop.arkbark.net/sites/default/files/nl59_0.pdf)]
- 2006. “It is not enough just to love animals” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no. 60, 4-5. Osaka: ARK. Accessed 12.5.2011.  
[[http://shop.arkbark.net/sites/default/files/nl60\\_0.pdf](http://shop.arkbark.net/sites/default/files/nl60_0.pdf)]
- 2007a “Giving the authorities more teeth, but will they use them?” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no. 66, 2–3. Osaka: ARK.
- 2007b “Update on Saga 7<sup>th</sup> April 2007” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no. 66, 6. Osaka: ARK.
- 2007c “Letter from Badger” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no. 66, 13. Osaka: ARK.
- 2007d ”Aiming for no-kill” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no. 67, 2. Osaka: ARK.
- 2007e “Letter from Badger” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no. 67, 13. Osaka: ARK.
- 2008a “Money down the drain” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no. 70, 2–3. Osaka: ARK.
- 2008b “Koji Date visits ARK” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no. 70, 10. Osaka: ARK.
- 2008c “A dream for homeless animals” *ARK – A Voice For Animals* no. 71, 2–3. Osaka: ARK.
- 2008d “Kakogawa rescue” *ARK – A Voice For Animals* no. 71, 6–7. Osaka: ARK.

- 2008e “Report form ARK” ARK – A Voice For Animals no. 71, 12. Osaka: ARK.
- 2008f “Rolex letter” ARK – A Voice For Animals no. 72, 13. Osaka: ARK.
- 2009a “Perfect owner?” ARK – A Voice For Animals no. 75, 2–3. Osaka: ARK. Accessed 12.5.2011.  
[[http://shop.arkbark.net/sites/default/files/NEWSLETTER\\_82.pdf](http://shop.arkbark.net/sites/default/files/NEWSLETTER_82.pdf)]
- 2009b “Nation of animal lovers?” ARK – A Voice For Animals no. 76, 2–3. Osaka: ARK.
- 2010 “Letter from Badger” ARK – A Voice For Animals no. 77, 13. Osaka: ARK.
- n.d. “What is ARK?” Accessed 15.4.2010.  
[<http://www.arkbark.net/?q=en/node/1>]
- n.d. “Osaka ARK” Accessed 15.4.2010.  
[<http://www.arkbark.net/?q=en/node/78>]
- ARSF 2011, “4年間の成果”. (Results of the four years) Accessed 18.8.2011.  
[[http://www.animalrescue-sf.org/4year\\_seika/4year\\_seika.html](http://www.animalrescue-sf.org/4year_seika/4year_seika.html).]
- n.d. *ARSF - Animal Rescue System Fund*. Leaflet. Kobe: Animal Rescue System Fund.
- n.d. “Our policy”. Accessed 3.5.2010.  
[[http://www.animalrescue-sf.org/english\\_area/e\\_pol/e\\_pol.html](http://www.animalrescue-sf.org/english_area/e_pol/e_pol.html)]
- n.d. “ARSF Objectives” Accessed 3.5.2010. [[http://www.animalrescue-sf.org/english\\_area/e\\_obj/e\\_obj.html](http://www.animalrescue-sf.org/english_area/e_obj/e_obj.html)]
- Asano, Akihoto and Takaharu Eto. 2005. “*Amakudari* as a signal: possible malfunctioning of the *amakudari* practice under the limited deposit insurance system.” *Japan Forum*, vol. 17, issue 13, 335–345. Accessed through EBSCOhost 28.9.2011.
- Avenell, Simon A. 2009. “Civil Society and the New Civic Movements in Contemporary Japan: Convergence, Collaboration, and Transformation.” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2, 247–283. Accessed through EBSCOhost 10.11.2009.
- 2010a. *Making Japanese Citizens: Civil Society and the Mythology of the Shimin in Postwar Japan*. Berkley: University of California Press.
- 2010b. “Facilitating Spontaneity: The State and Independent Volunteering in Contemporary Japan.” *Social Science Japan Journal*, vol. 13, no. 1, 69–93. Accessed 8.9.2009.  
[<http://courses.nus.edu.sg/course/jpssaa/Article%20SSJJ%202010.pdf>]
- Bananabōto to Jikkō Iinkai, ed., 1986, *Inochi, Shizen, Kurashi, Banana Bōto: mōhitotsu no seikatsu o tsukuru nettowākāzu no funade*. Tokyo: Hon no Ki.
- Benford, Robert D. 1993a. “Frame disputes within the nuclear disarmament movement.” *Social Forces*, vol. 71, issue 3, 677–701. Accessed through JSTOR 27.4.2010.
- 1993b. ““You could be the hundredth monkey”: Collective action frames and vocabularies of motive within the nuclear disarmament movement.” *The Sociological Quarterly* vol. 34, issue 2, 195–216. Accessed through Wiley online library 12.4.2010.
- 1997. “An insider's critique of the social movement framing perspective.” *Sociological inquiry*, vol. 67, no. 4, 409–430. Accessed through EBSCOhost 12.4.2010.

- Benford, Robert D. & Snow, David A. 2000. "Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment." *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 26, issue 1, 611–39. Accessed through EBSCOhost 12.4.2010.
- Broadbent, Jeffrey. 2011. "Introduction: East Asian social movements." In *East Asian Social Movements: Power, Protest, and Change in a Dynamic Region*, 1–29. New York, London: Springer.
- Burstein, Paul, Rachel L. Einwohner and Jocelyn A. Hollander. 1995. "The success of political movement: A bargaining perspective." In *The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspective on States and Social Movements*, 135–144. London: UCL Press.
- CAPIN n.d. "活動日誌/行政関連活動: 行政関連活動, 請願内容" (Activity blog magazine/officials related activities: Activities relating to officials, the contents of petition) Accessed 8.10.2010. [<http://www.capinnew.jp/>]
- Cinalli, Manlio. 2007. "Between the horizontal bridging and vertical governance: pro-beneficiary movements in New Labor Britain." In *Civil Societies and Social Movements: Potentials and problems*, 88–108. New York: Routledge.
- Diamond, John. 2007. "Civic organizations and local governance: learning from the experience of community networks." In *Civil Societies and Social Movements: Potentials and problems*, 53–67. New York: Routledge.
- Einwohner, Rachel L. 2002a. "Bringing the outsiders in: Opponents' claims and the construction of animal rights activists' identity" *Mobilization: An international Journal* vol. 7, no. 3, 253–268.
- 2002b "Motivational framing and efficacy maintenance: Animal rights activist use of four fortifying strategies." *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 43, no. 4, 509–526. Accessed through EBSCOhost 16.6.2011.
- Eläinsuojeluliitto Animalia (A Federation for the Protection of Animals), Mikä Animalia? (What is Animalia) Accessed 5.11.2011. [<http://www.animalia.fi/mikä-animalia>]
- Entman, Robert M. 1993. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication*, vol. 43, no. 4, 51–58. Accessed 13.8.2010. [[http://www.unc.edu/~fbaum/teaching/POLI891\\_Sp11/articles/J-Communication-1993-Entman.pdf](http://www.unc.edu/~fbaum/teaching/POLI891_Sp11/articles/J-Communication-1993-Entman.pdf)]
- Esacove, Anne W. 2004. "Dialogic Framing: The Framing/Counterframing of "Partial-Birth" Abortion." *Sociological Inquiry*, vol. 74, issue 1, 70–101. Accessed through EBSCOhost 13.5.2010.
- Farm Animal Welfare Council 2009. "Five Freedoms." Accessed 28.8.2011 [<http://www.fawc.org.uk/freedoms.htm>]
- Francione, Gary L. 1995. *Animals, Property, and the Law*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- 1996. "Animal Rights: An Incremental Argument." In *Animal Rights: The Changing Debate*, 42–60. New York: New York University Press.
- Gamson, William A. 1992. "The Social Psychology of Collective Action." In *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, 53–76. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.
- 1995. "Constructing Social Protest." In *Social Movements and Culture*, 85–106. London: UCL Press.
- Gamson, William A. and David S. Meyer. 1996. "Framing political opportunity." In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, 275–290. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Garner, Robert. 1998. *Political Animals: Animal Protection Politics in Britain and the United States*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Garon, Sheldon. 2003. "From Meiji to Heisei: The state and civil society in Japan." In *The State of Civil Society in Japan*, 42–62. New York: University Press.
- Gillian, Kevin. 2008. "Understanding Meaning in Movements: A Hermeneutic Approach to Frames and Ideologies." *Social Movement Studies*, vol. 7, issue 3, 247–263. Accessed through EBSCO host 27.9.2010.
- Goffman, Erving. 1974. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Greenebaum, Jessica. 2008. "I'm Just a Volunteer: Animal Rights vs. Animal Welfare in the Purebred Dog Rescue Movement." Conference paper presented at *American Sociological Association Annual Meeting*, Sheraton Boston and the Boston Marriott Copley Place, Boston, 31.7.2008. Accessed 23.3.2010. [[http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p242068\\_index.html](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p242068_index.html)]
- Habermas, Jürgen. 1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Haddad, Mary A. 2007a. *Politics and volunteering in Japan*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 2007b. "Transformation of Japan's Civil Society Landscape." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 7, 413–437. Accessed 23.11.2009. [[http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p42690\\_index.html](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p42690_index.html)]
- 2010. "A State-in-Society Approach to the Nonprofit Sector: Welfare Services in Japan" *Voluntas*, vol. 22, no. 1, 26–47. Accessed through SpringerLink 3.2.2011.
- Hart, Lynette A., Tomoko Takayanagi, and Chizuko Yamaguchi. 1998. "Dogs and cats in animals shelters in Japan." *Anthrozoös*, vol. 3 no. 11, 157–163. Accessed through Ingentaconnect 11.7.2011.
- Hasegawa, Koichi. 2004. *Constructing Civil Society in Japan: Voices of Environmental Movements*. Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press.
- 2010. "A comparative study of social movements for a post-nuclear energy era in Japan and the USA." In *East Asian Social Movements: Power, Protest, and Change in a Dynamic Region*, 63–80. New York, London: Springer.
- Hattori, Fumie 2006a "マスメディア対策プロジェクト活動報告：雑種犬は純血犬よりも能力が劣る？！フジテレビ「トリビアの泉～雑種犬の能力検証企画」" (Mass media countermeasure project activity report: The abilities of mixed breed dogs are inferior to pure-bred dog?! "The inspection plan of mixed breed dog ability" of Fuji Television's program Fountain of Trivia) *JAVA News*, no. 77, 14–15. Tokyo: JAVA.
- 2006b "「まんがで読む防衛白書」動物への暴力シーンについて" (About the scenes of violence towards animals in cartoon version of defensive white paper) *JAVA News*, no. 78, 15. Tokyo: JAVA.
- Hayashi, Toshihiko. 2006. "活動趣旨「小さな命を救う」" (Aim of the activities "protect small lives) Accessed 21.5.2010. [<http://angels2005.org/group01.html>]
- He, Lichao. 2010. "Social Movement Tradition and the Role of Civil Society in Japan and South Korea East." *Asia: An International Quarterly*, vol. 27, issue 3, 267–287. Accessed through SpringerLink 17.11.2010.
- Hirata, Keiko. 2002. *Civil Society in Japan: The Growing Role of NGOs in Tokyo's Aid Development Policy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Honda, Mioko. 2010. “集合住宅における動物飼育を考える” (Thinking about owning a dog in apartment building). *Doubutsutachi*, vol. 17, 3–5. Tokyo: JSPCA.
- Hudson, Wayne. 2003. “Problematizing European Theories of Civil Society.” In *Civil Society in Asia*, 9–19. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Hunt, Scott A., Robert D. Benford, and David A. Snow. 1994. “Identity Fields: Framing Processes and the Social Construction of Movement Identities.” In *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*, 185–208. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Hy-Sop, Lim. 2000. “Historical development of civil social movements in Korea: trajectories and issues.” *Korean Journal*, vol. 40, no. 3, 7. Accessed 13.3.2011 through [<http://www.ekoreajournal.net/main/index.htm>].
- Ine, Komichi. 2009. “学校飼育動物を考える。学校で動物を飼育する効果って？” (Thinking about school animals. The effectiveness of the raising animals at school) *Doubutsutachi*, vol.147, 3-4. Tokyo: JSPCA.
- Investigative commission of the animal protection and management (動物の愛護管理のあり方検討会). 2004. “NGO等との連携” (cooperation with NGOs), Material for the 6<sup>th</sup> meeting. Accessed 14.4.2011. [[http://www.env.go.jp/nature/dobutsu/aigo/2\\_data/arikata/h16\\_06/mat04.pdf](http://www.env.go.jp/nature/dobutsu/aigo/2_data/arikata/h16_06/mat04.pdf)]
- Japan External Trade Organization. 2005. “Japan’s Pet Industry: Unique market trends creates lush potential.” *Invest Japan*, no. 8, 8–12. Accessed 7.7.2011. [[http://www.jetro.go.jp/en/invest/reports/newsletter/pdf/ij\\_08.pdf](http://www.jetro.go.jp/en/invest/reports/newsletter/pdf/ij_08.pdf)]
- Jasper, J. M. & Poulsen, J. D. 1995. “Recruiting strangers and friends: moral shocks and social networks in animal rights and anti-nuclear protests.” *Social Problems*, vol. 42, no. 4, 493–512. Accessed through JSTOR.
- Jasper, James M. 1996. “The American Animal Rights Movement.” In *Animal Rights: The Changing Debate*, 129–142. New York: New York University Press.
- JAVA. 2006a. “国全からのアクションレポート” (National Action member’s report). *JAVA News*, no. 77, 26–27. Tokyo: JAVA.
- 2006b. “洗剤の悪影響を調べるため、メダカで実験” (A Cruel experiment on putting detergent into a beaker where killfish swim) *JAVA News*, no. 78, 7–8. Tokyo: JAVA.
- 2007. “マスメディア対策プロジェクト活動報告：JAVAがねつ造を告発した理由「トリビアの泉～雑種犬の能力検証」にはやらせがあった！” (Mass media countermeasure project activity report: Reason for JAVA making a complaint of forgery is that in Fountain of Trivia’s inspection of mixed for ability there is a faked situation!) *JAVA News*, no. 79, 8–9. Tokyo: JAVA.
- 2008a. “教育プロジェクト：いまだ続ける学校での解剖～JAVAの問題指摘を受け入れ、3校が中止決定” (Educational project: Dissection still continues in schools – three schools decided to stop dissection after JAVA pointed out the problems.) *JAVA News*, no. 81, 6–7. Tokyo: JAVA
- 2008b. “マスメディア対策プロジェクト活動報告：動物を使ったテレビ番組やCMを監視しましょう” (Let’s inspect the TV programs and commercials) *JAVA News*, no. 81, 10–11. Tokyo: JAVA.
- n.d. “JAVAとは？” (What is JAVA) Accessed 15.4.2010 [<http://www.java-animal.org/>]

- n.d. “ウサギを救え” (Save the rabbit) Accessed 28.5.2010.  
[<http://www.usagi-o-sukue.org/index.html>]
- JAWS. 2008. “より良い動物愛護法をめざして” (Aiming at better animal welfare law). *JAWS Report*, no. 57, 1. Tokyo: JAWS.
- 2009a. “第一RSPCA動物福祉短期研修会を開催” (The first RSPCA short course starts) *JAWS Report*, no.59, 1-3. Tokyo: JAWS.
- 2009b. “「どうぶつたちのきもち」刊行” (“Animals’ feelings” publication). *JAWS Report*, no.60, 1. Tokyo: JAWS.
- 2009c. “ネットオークションで犬を100円で購入” (Purchase of a dog in net auction for 100 yen). *JAWS Report*, no. 60, 3. Tokyo: JAWS.
- 2009d. “変わらぬペットショップでの飼養、管理!?” (Unchanged pet shop breeding and management?!). *JAWS Report*, no. 60, 4. Tokyo: JAWS.
- 2009e. “地域の力でミックス犬プレゼント企画を阻止” (Mix breed dog present plan was prevented with area efforts) *JAWS Report*, no. 61. 3. Tokyo: JAWS.
- 2010. “UFOキャッチャーの景品エビ” (Gift shrimp in UFO catcher) *JAWS Report*, no. 62, 3. Tokyo: JAWS.
- n.d. “動物福祉とは” (What is animal welfare) Accessed 14.6.2010.  
[<http://www.jaws.or.jp/welfare/welfare.html>]
- n.d. “動物福祉とは – 国際的動物福祉の基本5つの自由” (What is animal welfare – International animal welfare standards Five Freedoms) Accessed 28.8.2011. [<http://www.jaws.or.jp/welfare/welfare.html>]
- n.d. “The Japan Animal Welfare Society JAWS”. Accessed 8.4.2010.  
[<http://www.jaws.or.jp/aboutUs/EnglishPage.html>]
- Johnson, Erik W., Yoshitaka Saito, and Makoto Nishikido. 2009. “The organizational demography of Japanese environmentalism.” *Sociological Inquiry*, vol. 79, no. 4, 481-504. Accessed through Wiley online library 7.10.10.
- Johnston, Hank. 1995 “A Methodology for Frame Analysis: From Discourse to Cognitive Schemata.” In *Social Movements and Culture*, 217-246. London: UCL Press.
- JSPCA. 2008a. “動物愛護親子教室始めました” (Parent-child animal protection classroom started). *Doubutsutachi*, vol. 141, 10. Tokyo: JSPCA.
- 2008b. “世界視点: ニューヨーク犬事情” (World point of view: Circumstances of New York dogs) *Doubutsutachi*, vol. 141. 11. Tokyo: JSPCA.
- n.d. “ログマークについて” (About logo) Accessed 29.8.2011.  
[<http://www.jspca.or.jp/hp2/mission/organization>]
- n.d. “私たちの使命, 歴史” Accessed 29.8.2011.  
[<http://www.jspca.or.jp/hp2/mission>]
- Kakuma, Yoshie. 2010. “動物福祉についての正しい理解” (Understanding animal welfare accurately) *ALIVE News*, no. 90, 10-11. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- Kamekura, Hiromi 2008a. “「第三者認証制度は動物を救えない」JAVAが警鐘: WC6フォローアップシンポジウム」 (JAVA warns that the third-party accreditation system cannot save animals) *JAVA News*, no. 81, 3-5. Tokyo: JAVA.

- 2008b. “「第三者認証制度は動物を救えない」HS財団の動物実験三者評価制度を検証する” (The third-party accreditation system cannot save the animals: HS Foundation’s system of third-party evaluation system is examined) *JAVA News*, no. 82, 6–7. Tokyo: JAVA.
- 2009. “日本でも化粧品動物実験を廃止させよう！ウサギを救え！化粧品の動物実験反対キャンペーン始動” (Let’s abolish the animal testing for cosmetics in Japan also! “Save Rabbits!” JAVA has started a campaign against animal testing for cosmetics) *JAVA News*, no. 83, 17–23. Tokyo: JAVA.
- Kishida, Sakae 2010. “The Dogs Trust international training programme” *ARK – A Voice For Animals* no. 77, 10. Osaka: ARK.
- Knots. 2009. “International Conference on Animal Care in Kobe 2009”. Accessed 19.5.2010. [[http://www.knots.or.jp/animalcare/english/animalcare\\_top\\_e.htm](http://www.knots.or.jp/animalcare/english/animalcare_top_e.htm)]
- n.d. “Outline of organization”. Accessed in 3.5.2010. [[http://www.knots.or.jp/english/about/about\\_knots\\_e.htm](http://www.knots.or.jp/english/about/about_knots_e.htm)]
- n.d. “Knotsの事業” (Knots’ project) Accessed 15.5.2010. [<http://www.knots.or.jp/corporation/project/>]
- n.d. “About Knots” Accessed 15.5.2010. [<http://www.knots.or.jp/corporation/2011/03/about-knots/>]
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1966. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lifeboat. 2008 “アニマルシェルター” (Animal shelter) Accessed 25.5.2010. [<http://www.lifeboatjapan.org/shelter/>]
- n.d. “ライフボートの救命実績!” (Lifeboat life saving achievements) Accessed 25.5.2010. [<http://www.lifeboatjapan.org/lbj/rescued.htm>]
- n.d. “ライフボートが参加する自治体の譲渡実績” (The transfer achievements of the municipalities cooperating with Lifeboat) Accessed 25.5.2010. [[http://www.lifeboatjapan.org/lbj/sanka\\_jititai.htm](http://www.lifeboatjapan.org/lbj/sanka_jititai.htm)]
- n.d. “ライフボートについて” (About Lifeboat) Accessed 25.5.2010. [<http://www.lifeboatjapan.org/lbj/?topmenu>]
- Lifeboat staff. 2011. “活動ポリシー” (Activities policy) Accessed 25.5.2010. [<http://www.lifeboatjapan.org/lbj/policy.htm>]
- Lindholm, Arto. 2005. *Maailman Parantajat: Globalisaatiokriittinen liike Suomessa*. Helsinki: Gaudeamus.
- Maclachlan, Patricia L. 2000. “Information Disclosure and the Center-Local Relationship in Japan.” In *Local Voices, National Issues: The Impact of Local Initiative in Japanese Policy-Making*, 9–50. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan.
- McAdam, Doug. 1996. “The framing function of movement tactics: Strategic dramaturgy in the American civil rights movement.” In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, 338–357. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1999. *Political process and the development of Black insurgency, 1930–1970*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McAdam, Doug, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald. 1996. “Introduction: Opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing processes – toward a synthetic, comparative perspective on social movements.” In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, 1–20. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Ministry of Environment. n.d. “動物の愛護管理のあり方検討会“ (The Investigative commission of the animal protection and management) Accessed 17.8.2011. [[http://www.env.go.jp/nature/dobutsu/aigo/2\\_data/arikata.html](http://www.env.go.jp/nature/dobutsu/aigo/2_data/arikata.html)]
- 2006. “Act on Welfare and Management of animals.” Official English version. Accessed 14.1.2010. [[http://www.env.go.jp/en/laws/nature/act\\_wm\\_animals.pdf](http://www.env.go.jp/en/laws/nature/act_wm_animals.pdf)]
- 2006. “動物の愛護及び管理に関する法律” Official Japanese version. Accessed 14.1.2010. [<http://law.e-gov.go.jp/htmldata/S48/S48HO105.html>]
- Mouer, Ross E. & Yoshio Sugimoto. 2003. “Civil society in Japan.” In *Civil Society in Asia*, 209–224. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Nakano, Makiko. 2010. “リンク&アクション” (Link & Action) *ALIVE News*, no. 92, 9. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- Nagamatsu, Miki. 2010. “家畜福祉: ヨーロッパにおける動物福祉の広がり” (Livestock welfare: Spread of animal welfare in Europe) *ALIVE News*, no. 91, 6–8. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- Nakagawa, Shirou. 2009a. “動物達との心の絆” (Heart ties with animals) *JSPCA Doubutsutachi*, vol. 147, 5. Tokyo: JSPCA.
- Nogami, Fusako. 2009a. “「ペット」の受難” (Pet’s suffering) *ALIVE News*, no. 88, 2. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2009b. “悪質な動物取扱業者をなくすために” (For getting rid of bad breeders) *ALIVE News*, no. 88, 3. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2009c. “「ペットは泣いている」—犬の繁殖規制が必要” (Pets are crying – Dog breeder regulations are necessary). *ALIVE News*, no. 88, 4–5. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2009d. “動物への理解教育を” (Animal understanding education) *ALIVE News*, no. 89, 2. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2009e. “動物園は何のためにあるのか” (Why there are zoos?) *ALIVE News*, no. 89, 5–7. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2010a. “「真に動物を守る法律を！」シンポジウム” (Symposium on “Law that really protects animals”) *ALIVE News*, no. 90, 3. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2010b. “業者からの引取りで重大量の犬を殺処分” (Killing of large quantity of dogs received from trader) *ALIVE News*, no. 90, 4. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2010c. “動物取扱業者の規制強化に向けて” (Aiming at enforcement of regulations for breeders) *ALIVE News*, no. 91, 4. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2010d. “「共に生きる」動物愛護管理推進計画の実効性を高めるには” (“Symbiosis” To raise the effectiveness of animal protection and management promotion plan) *ALIVE News*, no. 91, 3. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2010e. “トキを守るためにトラバサミ!?” (Leg traps for protecting ibis?!). *ALIVE News*, no. 92, 7. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2010e. “2012年動物愛護法の改正に向けて検討が始まる” (Investigation aiming for the animal welfare law revision in 2012 has began) *ALIVE News*, no. 93, 3. Tokyo: ALIVE.
- 2011. “How did the Act on Welfare and Management of Animals Come About?” Accessed 24.8.2011. [<http://www.alive-net.net/english/en-law/law-enactment-method.htm>]
- Ogawa, Akihiro. 2009. *The Failure of Civil Society? The Third Sector and the State in Contemporary Japan*. Albany: State University of New York press.



- Ogawa, Akiko. 2008. “知夫里島のタヌキ大規模駆除中止” (The large-scale plan extermination of raccoon dogs of Chiburi-island stopped) *JAVA News*, no.81, 9. Tokyo: JAVA.
- Okada, Chihiro. 2010. “肉食が一番環境に悪い！” (Meat eating is the worst thing to the environment) *ARC News*, spring, 12–13. Tokyo: ARC.
- Oliver, Elizabeth. 2008a. “Bureaucracy gone mad” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no. 71, 10. Osaka: ARK.
- 2008b. “Opportunity lost” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no.71, 14–15. Osaka: ARK.
- 2008c. “Dogs falling apart” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no. 72, 2–3. Osaka: ARK.
- 2009. “Seniors to Seniors” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no.73, 2. Osaka: ARK. Accessed 12.5.2011. [[http://shop.arkbark.net/sites/default/files/n173\\_0.pdf](http://shop.arkbark.net/sites/default/files/n173_0.pdf)]
- 2010a. “Still looking for the aigo” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no.77, 2–3. Osaka: ARK.
- 2010b. “Beacon of hope” *ARK – A Voice For Animals*, no.78. 2–3. Osaka: ARK.
- Pekkanen, Robert. 2000. “Japan's New Politics: The Case of the NPO Law”. *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1, 111–148. Accessed through JSTOR 17.8.2010.
- 2003. “Molding Japanese civil society: State-structured incentives and the patterning of civil society.” In *The State of Civil Society in Japan*, 116–134. New York: University Press.
- 2006. *Japan's Dual Civil Society: Members without advocates*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Pharr, Susan. 2003a. “Preface.” In *The State of Civil Society in Japan*, xiii–xviii. New York: University Press.
- “Conclusion: Targeting by an activist state: Japan as a civil society model.” In *The State of Civil Society in Japan*, 316–336. New York: University Press.
- Polletta, Francesca and James M. Jasper. 2001. “Collective identity and social movements.” *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 27, 283–305. Accessed through EBSCOhost 15.10.2009.
- Purdue, Derrick. 2007a. “Introduction: Dimensions of civil society.” In *Civil Societies and Social Movements: Potentials and problems*, 1–16. London, New York: Routledge.
- 2007b. “Conclusion: civil society, governance, social movements and social capital.” In *Civil Societies and Social Movements: Potentials and problems*, 220–227. New York: Routledge.
- Regan, Tom. 2001. *Defending Animal Rights*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Reimann, Kim D. 2010. *The Rise of Japanese NGOs: Activism from above*. New York, London: Routledge.
- Ryder, Richard D. 1996. “Putting animals into politics.” In *Animal Rights: The Changing Debate*, 166–193. New York: New York University Press.
- Salmenniemi, Suvi. 2007. “Civic organizations and the state in Putin's Russia: cooperation, co-optation, confrontation.” In *Civil Societies and Social Movements: Potentials and problems*, 19–34. New York: Routledge.
- Schak, David C. and Wayne Hudson. 2003. “Civil society in Asia.” In *Civil Society in Asia*, 1–8. Aldershot: Ashgate.

- Schwartz, Frank. 2003a. "Introduction: Recognizing civil society in Japan." In *The State of Civil Society in Japan*, 1–22. New York: University Press.
- 2003b "What is civil society." In *The State of Civil Society in Japan*, 23–42. New York: University Press.
- Shirai, Yuri. 2003. "先進国から何を学ぶべきか: ペットと暮らす街" *JAWS Report*, no. 43, 6. Tokyo: JAWS.
- Shoji, Katsuhiko. 2008. "Japanese concept and government policy on animal welfare and animal experiments." *Alternatives to Animal Testing and Experimentation* vol. 14, 179–181. Accessed online 27.9.2011. [<http://altweb.jhsph.edu/bin/u/z/paper179.pdf>]
- Silver, Ira. 1997. "Constructing social change through philanthropy: boundary framing and the articulation of vocabularies of motives for social movement participation." *Sociological Inquiry*, vol. 67, issue 4, 488–503. Accessed through EBSCOhost 27.8.2010.
- Skabelund, Aaron. 2005. "Can the subaltern bark? Imperialism, civilization, and canine cultures in nineteenth-century Japan." In *JAPANimals: History and Culture in Japan's Animal Life, 195–244*. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan.
- Snow, David A. 2004. "Framing processes, ideology, and discursive fields." In *The Blackwell companion to social movements*, 380–412. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Snow, David A., and Benford, Robert D. 1988. "Ideology, frame resonance, and participant mobilization." *International Social Movement Research*, vol. 1, 197–217.
- Snow, David A., Sarah H. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi 2004. "Mapping the terrain." In *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, 3–16. Malden: Blackwell.
- Snow, David et al. 1986. "Frame alignment processes, micromobilization, and movement participation." *American Sociological Review*, vol. 51, issue 4, 464–481. Accessed through JSTOR 4.3.2010.
- Steinberg, Marc W. 1998. "Tilting the frame: considerations on collective action framing from discursive turn." *Theory and Society*, no. 27, 845–872. Accessed through EBSCOhost 14.3.2010.
- Steinhoff, Patricia. 2000. "Kan-Min relations in local government." In *Local Voices, National Issues: The Impact of Local Initiative in Japanese Policy-making*, 116–129. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Suomen Eläinsuojeluyhdistysten Liitto SEY (The Finnish Federation for Animal Welfare Associations) 2009. Annual report. Accessed 5.11.2011. [[http://www.sey.fi/files/3119/EY\\_vuosikert.-09.pdf](http://www.sey.fi/files/3119/EY_vuosikert.-09.pdf)]
- Takahashi-Omoe, Hiromi, Katsuhiko Omoe, and Nobihiko Okabe. 2008. "Regulatory systems for prevention and control of rabies in Japan." *Emerging Infectious Diseases*, vol. 14, no. 9. Serial in the Internet accessed 27.9.2011. [[http://wwwnc.cdc.gov/eid/article/14/9/07-0845\\_article.htm](http://wwwnc.cdc.gov/eid/article/14/9/07-0845_article.htm)]
- Tanikuchi, Hiromi. 2010. "Who are volunteers in Japan?" *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 39, no. 1, 161–179. Accessed through Sage journals online 23.10.2009.
- Tanpopo no Undō o Kiroku suru Kai. 1990. *Tanpopo no Undō 16 nen no Kiroku: Hana ni nare Kaze ni nare: Nettowākungu no Kiseki*. Nara: Zaidan Hōjin Tanpopo no Ie.
- Tarrow, Sidney. 1994. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Tegtmeyer Pak, Katherine. 2000. "Living in harmony: Prospects for cooperative local responses to foreign migrants." In *Local Voices, National Issues: The Impact of Local Initiative in Japanese Policy-Making*, 51–74. Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan.
- Tokyo Metropolitan Government n.d. "東京都動物愛護推進員" (Tokyo Metropolitan area animal protection promoters). Accessed 17.8.2011. [<http://www.fukushihoken.metro.tokyo.jp/kankyo/aigo/suishinin/suishinin/index.html>]
- Tominaga, Kayoko. 2002. "謝辞" (Thanks) *Live Love Animals: An Interational Symposium "The Influence of Animals on Children: from both Physiological and Psychological Perspectives"*, 25. Kobe: Knots.
- 2003. "謝辞" (Thanks) *2003 Live Love Animals: An International Symposium "A Joyful Life for Older People with Animals"*, 9. Kobe: Knots
- Tsujinaka, Yutaka. 2003. "From developmentalism to maturity: Japan's civil society organizations in comparative perspective." In *The State of Civil Society in Japan*, 83–115. New York: University Press.
- Tsujinaka Yutaka and Robert Pekkanen. 2007. "Civil society and interest organizations in contemporary japan." *Pacific affairs* vol. 80, no. 3, 419–437. Accessed through EBSCOhost 25.10.2009.
- Vosse, Wilhelm. 1999. "The emergence of a civil society in Japan." *Japan Studien*, no. 11, 31–53. Accessed 24.3.2010. [[http://www.contemporary-japan.org/japanstudien/japanstudien\\_11\\_japan\\_im\\_21\\_jahrhundert/dij-jb\\_11-vosse.pdf](http://www.contemporary-japan.org/japanstudien/japanstudien_11_japan_im_21_jahrhundert/dij-jb_11-vosse.pdf)]
- Watanabe, Hiroyuki. 2009. *Japan's Whaling: The Politics of Culture in Historical Perspective*. Melbourne, Vic. : Trans Pacific Press.
- Wazaki, Satoko. 2006a. "野良犬猫のエサやりが禁止される？モラルを低下させる「モラル条例」案を改善させよう！" (Feeding the stray cats and dogs may be prohibited? Let's improve the "moral ordinance"-plan lowering the moral) *JAVA News*, no. 77, 5. Tokyo: JAVA.
- 2006b. "「殺処分された動物の死体の実験用払い下げ」に反対せざるを得ない理由" (JAVA objects to the idea of giving animals' dead bodies killed at the pounds owned by the Japanese government over to laboratories) *JAVA News*, no. 77, 12–13. Tokyo: JAVA.
- 2006c. "比叡山のサル駆除計画続： 全国からの声を受け、「殺したくない」 大津市長しかし、駆除計画は続行" (Follow up report of Mt. Hiei monkey extermination plan: Despite the objection of people all over Japan and the mayor of Otsu city, the extermination plan is continuing) *JAVA News*, no. 77, 20–21. Tokyo: JAVA.
- 2006d. "2件の告発事件 「犬の劣悪多頭飼育」「ツバメの雛虐殺」" (Two prosecution cases: inferior large scale breeding and massive killing of swallow chicks) *JAVA News*, no. 78, 10–13. Tokyo: JAVA.
- 2007a. "第6回国際動物実験代替法会議8月に東京で開催！！ 動物実験廃止を世界各国の研究者にアピールする絶好チャンス" (The sixth World Congress on Alternatives and Animal Use in Life Science will be held in Tokyo in August!! An ideal change to appeal the researchers all around the world) *JAVA News*, no. 79, 3. Tokyo: JAVA.

- 2007b. “滋賀県大津し：捕獲された比叡山のサルたちの悲惨な現状 ～ 彼らを山で暮らせるために“ (Ootsu city of Shika prefecture: The miserable conditions of captured monkeys of Mt. Hiei. Once more for letting them live in the mountain) *JAVA News*, no. 79, 13. Tokyo: JAVA.
  - 2007c. “第6回国際動物実験代替法会議：動物実験廃止を目指して一代替法の進歩” (The sixth World Congress on Alternatives and Animal Use in Life Science: Aiming at abolition of animal experiments – the progress of alternative methods) *JAVA News*, no. 80, 3–9. Tokyo: JAVA.
  - 2007d. “第6回国際動物実験代替法会議：〈市民公開講座〉 実験動物のためにできること～研究の現場から” (The sixth World Congress on Alternatives and Animal Use in Life Science: <Open symposium> What can we do for the laboratory animals ~ from the stand point of the researchers in the field) *JAVA News*, no. 80, 10–11. Tokyo: JAVA.
  - 2008a. “さらに29頭が捕獲され状況一層悪化” (29 monkeys are captured, the circumstances are much more worse) *JAVA News*, no. 81, 12. Tokyo: JAVA.
  - 2008b. “世界最大の実験用マーマセットの繁殖施設 JAVA, 建設計画を撤回させる！” (JAVA made the building plan of the world’s largest laboratory marmoset breeding facility to be given up) *JAVA News*, no. 82, 3–5. Tokyo: JAVA.
  - 2009. “獣医学科における牛の虐殺：「酪農学園大学」を動物愛護法違反で刑事告発” (Massacre of cows for veterinary medicine: A criminal complain of Rakuno Gakuen University of veterinary medicine violating animal welfare law) *JAVA News*, no. 83, 3–7. Tokyo: JAVA.
- Yamamoto, Miho. 2007. “考えてみよう！「JAVAのパネルは残酷すぎる？」” (Let’s think: Are the panels of JAVA too cruel?) *JAVA News*, no. 79, 17. Tokyo: JAVA.
- 2010. “ウサギを救え！私たちの苦しみの叫びも、私たちの胸が張り裂ける思いも、資生堂には聞こえないのか？！私たちは決してあきらめない！！ (Save Rabbits! The outcry of our suffering, the emotions bursting out from our chests, can not they hear in Shiseido?! We will never give up!!) *JAVA News*, no. 84, 8–10. Tokyo: JAVA.
- Yamaguchi, Chizuko. 2003. “馬の虐待事件に判決” (Judgment in the case of the horse) *JAWS Report*, no. 43, 1. Tokyo: JAWS.
- 2008a. “まもれますか？ペットの健康と安全” (Can it protect? Pet’s health condition and safety) *JAWS Report*, no. 58, 1. Tokyo: JAWS.
  - 2008b. “オレゴンヒューメインソセイエティー& キャットアドプションチーム” (Oregon Humane Society and cat adoption theme). *JAWS Report*, no. 58, 4–5. Tokyo: JAWS.
- Yamamoto, Nakako. 2003. “ペットと暮らす街” (Town getting along with pets) *JAWS Report* no. 43, 4–5. Tokyo: JAWS.
- Yoshino, Kou. 2008. “全国ペット小売業協会の目線” (From the perspective of national pet retail association). *Doubutsutachi*, vol.141, 8–9. Tokyo: JSPCA.
- Zald, Mayer N. 1996. “Culture, ideology, and strategic framing.” In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, 261–274. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Zuo, Jiping and Benford, Robert D. 1995. "Mobilization processes and the 1989 Chinese democracy movement." *The Sociological Quarterly*. Vol. 36, no. 1, 131–156. Accessed through JSTOR 8.7.2011.

### **Unpublished references**

ARK *IN/OUT list dog 1991–2010*. Dataset, provided to the author by Sakae Kishida in 17.5.2010.

ARK *IN/OUT list cat 1991–2010*. Dataset, provided to the author by Sakae Kishida 17.5.2010.

Kimura, Makiko "Answering your questions" Email to author 14.6.2010.

Kimura, Makiko "The rest questions / thin horse" Email to author 17.6.2010.

Tominaga, Kayoko "Re: Greetings from Finland" Email to author 22.9.2010.

Yamasaki, Hiro "ARSF" E-mail to author 5.6.2010.

Yamasaki, Hiro "ARSF" Email to author 3.6.2010.

Yoshino, Kou "Re: 質問" Email to author 23.6.2010.

### **Interviews**

ALIVE, director Fusako Nogami 25.6.2010, ALIVE office, Tokyo. Interpreted by Maho Cavalier.

Angels, representative Toshihiko Hayashi, 23.5.2010, Angels dog shelter, Shiga prefecture, Takashima city.

ARC, director Chihiro Okada, present also Mayuko Narui and Makiko Kimura and 11 other ARC members, 6.6.2010, ARC office, Tokyo.

ARK – Kishida, office worker of Osaka ARK Sakae Kishida 15.5.2010, ARK shelter Osaka, Noma Ohara.

ARK – Miyamoto, veterinarian of ARK Marisa Miyamoto, 18.5.2010, ARK dormitory Osaka, Noma Ohara.

ARK – Oliver, director Elizabeth Oliver, 16.5.2010, ARK shelter Osaka, Noma Ohara.

ARK – Simpson, representative of ARK Tokyo office Briar Simpson, 15.7.2010, ARK Tokyo office, Tokyo.

ARSF, managing director Hiro Yamasaki 27.5.2010, ARSF office, Kobe.

CAPIN, chair of the board Makomi Tsuruta Sakamoto 15.6.2010, Ibaraki, Tsukuba city.

JAVA, office staff Miho Yamamoto and office staff Satoko Wazaki 14.6.2010, JAVA office, Tokyo. Interpreted by Harumi Koseki.

JAWS, veterinary inspector Chizuko Yamaguchi 25.6.2010, JAWS office, Tokyo.

JSPCA, head of secretariat Kou Yoshino, 22.6.2010, JSPCA office, Tokyo.

Knots, chairperson of PIIA Knots , Kayoko Tominaga 28.5.2010, PIIA Knots office, Kobe.

Lifeboat, vice chairman Emi Kaneko and vice chairman Tomoharu Inaba, 23.6.2010. Lifeboat shelter Chiba, Kashiwa city. Interpreted by Harumi Koseki.

## Appendix 1: Questionnaire

### 日本における動物福祉・権利・愛護団体 Animal protection groups in Japan

- 1) 団体名 Name of the group
- 2) 団体名の由来および意味 Why was this particular name chosen and what does it signify?
- 3) 設立年 Year of Foundation
- 4) 活動の拠点とされている都市/地域 Main city/area of activities
- 5) 連絡先 Contact information
  - ご住所 address
  - E-メールアドレス e-mail address
  - お電話番号 phone number
- 6) ご回答者の団体における役割・肩書 Respondent's position in the group  
貴団体の定期的な参加メンバー数 Number of participants in the group
- 7) メールングリスト参加人数 How many people are there on your mailing list?
  - 人数 In total:
  - 女性 Women:
  - 男性 Men:
- 8) 定期的なミーティング参加人数または定期的に事務所・動物保護施設の運営に携わっているメンバー数 How many people come to regular meetings and/or help at the office/shelter?
  - 人数 In total:
  - 女性 Women:
  - 男性 Men:
  
  - 30才未満 Under 30 years:
  - 60才未満 Under 60 years:
  - 60才以上 Over 60 years:
- 9) 貴団体がイベントを開催する際の通常参加人数 If you organize an event, approximately how many people would you expect to attend?

法人格 Legal status

10) 法人格の有無 Does your group have a legal status?

- 取得済 Yes
- 未取得 No
- 取得中 In the process of applying

11) 1 または 3 の場合 If Yes/In the process of applying:

- 法人格の種類 Type of legal status:
- 取得年 Year of registration:
- 取得理由および取得したことによって得られる 利点 Name the benefits of legal status and reasons to register:

12) 2 の場合 If No:

未取得の理由 Name the reasons why your group has not registered/applied for legal status:

有給スタッフ, ボランティア, 資金源 Staff, volunteers and funding

13) 有給スタッフの有無 Professional and paid staff members

- 有 Yes
- 無 No

14) 1 の場合 If Yes

- 有給スタッフの人数 Number of paid staff:
- 女性 Women:
- 男性 Men:
- 有給スタッフの主な責任 What are the main responsibilities of paid staff member(s)?

15) 2 の場合: 無の理由 If no: Why?

16) 定期的ボランティアまたは無給スタッフの (推定) 人数 The estimated number of regular volunteers and/or unpaid staff working for your group:

- 人数 In total:
- 女性 Women:
- 男性 Men:
- ボランティアまたは無給スタッフの主な責任・仕事 What are the main responsibilities/jobs of volunteer/unpaid staff?



17) 主な資金源（※複数回答可） Main source of funding (you can choose more than one)

- 政府助成金 governmental support
- 会費 membership fees
- 個人寄付金 donations (from private persons)
- 企業・財団からの補助金 grants (from companies and foundations)
- その他団体からの補助金 grants (from other organisations)
- 募金活動 fundraising activities
- 販売活動 sales activities
- その他 Other:

18) 年間予算 Budget for year

19) 主な支出（※複数回答可） The main expenses (you can choose more than one)

- 動物の治療費 Veterinary costs
- 賃貸料 Rent
- ニュースレター、チラシ、広告などの広報費用 Media costs (such as newsletter, flyers, advertisements etc.)
- スタッフに支払う給料 Salaries for staff
- 動物のえさ代 Animal food costs
- その他 Other:

20) 貴団体の（紙面またはインターネット上における）出版物・公表文献の有無 Does your group have publication (in virtual or paper form)?

- 有 Yes
- 無 No

21) 1 の場合： 出版物・公表文献の名前: If Yes: The name of publication

22) 1 の場合： 閲覧方法および閲覧可能な場所 How the publication can be accessed?

目的や活動 Aims and activities

23) 貴団体の位置づけ（※ひとつだけお選びください。） How would you define your group (please choose only one)

- 動物福祉団体 Animal welfare group/association/organisation
- 動物の権利団体 Animal rights group/association/organisation
- 動物愛護団体 Animal protection group/association/organization
- 自然保護団体 Nature conservation group/association/organization
- その他 Other:

24) 上記回答に対する理由をお聞かせください Why?

25) 社会における「動物—人間」間の理想的な関係についてのお考えを簡単にお書きください。 How would you briefly describe the ideal relation between animals and humans in the society?

26) 貴団体の目的（※複数回答可） What are the main aims of your group (you can choose more than one)?

- 捨てられた犬・猫・その他の動物の里親探し Rehome abandoned animals
- 捨てられた犬・猫・その他の動物の捕獲・保護 Trap and protect abandoned animals
- 人々の動物に対する考え方・意識の変化を促す Make change in peoples attitudes towards animals
- 飼育放棄の防止対策 Measures to prevent abandonment
- 保護施設における動物の殺処分の防止 Prevent the killing of stray animals in official shelters
- 捨てられた犬・猫・その他の動物への餌やり Feed the stray animals
- 何らかの理由で犬・猫・その他の動物を飼えなくなった飼い主に代わっての里親探し Rehoming services to pet owners who cannot keep their animals for some reason
- 動物愛護管理法等、法律改正に向けた活動 Campaign for changes in laws concerning animals
- 収容施設における収容環境改善 Improve the living conditions in official animal shelters
- ペットの飼い主に対する教育 Educate pet owners
- 動物の人間と平等な権利を求める活動 Campaign for equal rights for animals and humans
- 菜食主義を推し進める活動 Promote vegetarianism
- 野生動物の保護 Wildlife protection
- 自然多様性保護 Natural diversity conservation
- 動物園における動物飼育環境の改善 Improving the situation in the zoos
- 動物実験の廃止 End the use of laboratory animals
- 家畜の飼育環境の改善 Improve the living conditions of farm animals
- その他 Other:

27) 今まで上記目的を達成されてきましたか Has your group succeeded to reach some of its aims?

- はい Yes
- いいえ No

28) 1 の場合：どのように達成されてきましたか If yes: How?

29) 目的達成の過程における主な障害 What are the main obstacles to success?

30) 貴団体における目的達成に向けた戦略（※複数回答可） What are your group's tactics to reach its aims (you can choose more than one)

- デモ行進 Demonstrations
- メディアの利用 Media attention
- 出版物・公表文献 Publications
- イベント Events
- 学校訪問 School visits
- 里親探し Animal re-homing
- 公式な政府への働きかけ Official government contacts
- 非公式な政府への働きかけ Unofficial government contacts
- 政党への働きかけ Contacts with political parties
- 他団体との交流 Link with other groups/organizations
- ペットの飼い主に対する教育 Pet owner education
- インターネット上の活動 Internet activity
- その他 Other:

31) 上記戦略を選ばれている理由 Why are these tactics chosen?

32) もっとも効果がある戦略を三つお書きください List three most efficient tactics:

33) 日本の動物福祉システムにおいて最も深刻な問題は何だと思われませんか。貴団体の考えをお聞かせください。それはなぜですか What does your group consider the most serious problem in Japanese animal welfare system and why?

34) 貴団体は捨てられた犬・猫・その他動物の里親探しをされていますか Does your group rehome found animals?

- はい Yes
- いいえ No

35) 1の場合：里親探しの工程をお書きください。 If Yes: Describe the rehoming process:

36) 貴団体は捨てられた犬・猫・その他動物のための保護施設を所有されていますか Does your group have animal shelter?

- はい Yes
- いいえ No

37) 1の場合（2009年度）年間保護数 If Yes: The number of different animals taken care per year (2009)

- 数 In total:
- 猫 Cats:
- 犬 Dogs:
- その他（動物の種類） Other (what):

38) 貴団体において捨てられた犬・猫・その他動物の保護をされている場合、主にどのような経緯で引き取られたか  
お答えください。（保護されている数もお書きください。） If your group takes care of abandoned/stray animals, what are the main origins of rescued animals for your group (please estimate the number after the source)

- 捨てられた犬・猫・その他動物 Stray animals from streets
- 飼い主の依頼 Animals given by pet owners
- ペットショップなどからの救出 Rescued from e.g. petshops
- その他 Other relevant origins and animal numbers:

39) 今後2年間における貴団体の主な目標、または重要なプロジェクトを教えてください。 What is your group's main goal or important project and your group's other future plans for the next two years?

40) 貴団体は他の団体と協力関係にありますか。 Has your group co-operated with other groups?

- はい Yes
- いいえ No

41) 1 の場合：協力関係にある団体名を（可能な場合連絡先も）お書きください。 If Yes: List the groups that you are cooperating with. Add also contact information if possible.

42) 2 の場合：理由をお聞かせください If no: Why not?

43) 貴団体の目的・戦略を共有する他団体名を（可能な場合連絡先も）お書きください。 What groups in Japan have similar targets or tactics as your group? Add also contact information if possible.

44) 直接お会いして、さらに詳しく貴団体のご意見をインタビューさせていただくことは可能でしょうか。 Could your group be interested in meeting me and for example participating in interviews to provide more detailed description of its opinions and views?

45) 上記アンケートに関するご意見・ご感想 Please add comments and feel free to give feedback about the questionnaire.