

Participation in Japan

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Introduction

In 2000, the Shiga Prefectural Government drew up the “**Mother Lake 21 Plan**”, a comprehensive conservation plan for Lake Biwa of the 21st Century. To set this plan into action, thirteen environmental protection groups, named “**Basin Consociation**”, have been established so far at each basin of major rivers flowing into the lake by the prefectural government (see Figure 1). The consociations are, as described later, typical community based organizations (CBOs) consisting of local organizations and people, and have been striving for the comprehensive conservation of Lake Biwa through collective efforts and activities at each watershed. In addition, the “Lake Biwa Basin Network Committee”, which is a prefectural-wide network of Basin Consociations, was also inaugurated with the initiatives of the prefectural government in February 2004.

Building Basin Consociations can be viewed as a magnificent pilot program toward the creation of environmentally-sound society around Lake Biwa.

CBOs, such as Basin Consociations, as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are playing a central role in environment protection today in Japan. Those organizations are not only spokespersons or agents of people but also important partners of governments. Without collaboration with CBOs or NGOs, environmental administration cannot be carried out these days.

However, CBOs in Japan have unique and complicated institutional structure. With a special focus on Basin Consociations at Lake Biwa, the author will discuss in this paper how Japanese CBOs are taking an active and effective part in the conservation of water environment.

What is the community?

R.M. MacIver defines the “**community**” as that in which people live together in a specific **locality**, and **community sentiment** is consequently fostered and common features can be observed. Those features include 1) **social likeness**, 2) **common social idea**, 3) **common custom** and 4) **sense of belonging together**. His concept of community is counterparted with the one of “**association**”, which is organized to pursue a specific interest(s). The community

can be also considered as a complex involving numbers of associations in a specific area.

In Japan, community building activities are quite strong all over the nation nowadays. Those activities have been promoted by Ministry of Home Affairs since 1970, in which a lot of new CBOs have been established. The concept and term of “community” was introduced to Japan from Europe and the United States. Current community activities in Japan came under the direct influence of the same ones in the United States in the 1960s.

On the other hand, Japan has had another type of traditional community organization, which is called as “*Chonakai*”, “*Jichikai*”, or so forth, from the very start. Therefore there are two different kinds of community organization in a multi-layered today in Japan, one is western style and the other traditional Japanese style, developing an exceptional and complementary relationship in between.

Traditional community organizations in Japan

The history of traditional community organizations in Japan can be traced back to “*Goningumi* (quinternion)” in the Edo-era, several hundreds years ago, or even a neighborhood group system brought in Japan from Ancient China more than one thousand years ago. The “*Goningumi*” system was devised as a control mechanism to rule farmers, and was also a mutual assistance system of farmers at the same time.

The “*Goningumi*” system was once abolished by the Meiji Government in the 1870s, but those traditional community organizations quickly made a comeback. In 1940 they were officially incorporated in local instruments of municipal governments and played a crucial role in the conduct of the World War II. As a result, the traditional community organizations were again dismantled by the Occupation authorities right after the war, but they again rose from the dead substantially in 1952 when the peace treaty came into force. Today *Jichikai*'s can be found anyplace in Japan.

Main features of the traditional community organization, *Chonakai* or *Jichikai*, are as follows.

1. **Comprehensiveness of function:** it responds to any basic needs of local population;
2. **Compulsory participation:** all residents in a specific area must join the organization;
3. **Household membership:** a household is a unit of its membership;
4. **Government subcontractor:** it is always cooperative to governments and governments consign the organization with some administrative services; and
5. *Gemeinschaft* (of community).

A typical *Jichikai* is composed of a few hundreds of households - some are less than one hundred and others greater than one thousand - and it is operated by community members themselves and financially with membership fees and partly with subsidies from governments.

Why *Jichikai*'s could survive through the long history of Japan? In a ward, the *Jichikai* has been always needed as it is a fundamental organ for local society. It ensures local security, beautifies and protects neighbor environment, cultivates mutual friendship of neighbors, provides emotional relief, goes between governments and local people, and acts as an autonomous and resistance body in case of community's crisis.

The community activities in Japan

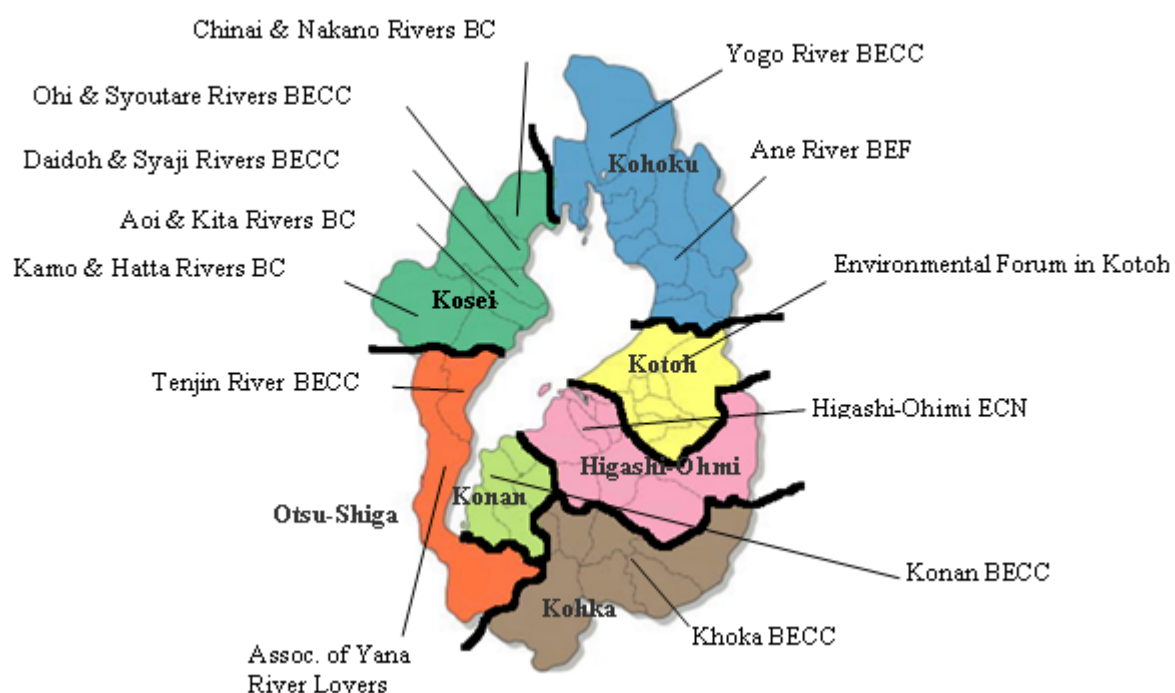
As mentioned above, community building activities started in Japan in 1970. At that time, a number of traditional

communities were on the brink of collapse due to concentration of the population into urban areas, urbanization of life style (individualism), and changes in family structure as a result of rapid industrialization. Some social problems emerged, such as juvenile delinquency and lessening local community's function of disaster prevention. People also needed some organ to tackle traffic and pollution problems and to meet their needs for higher quality of life. The community activities were thus proposed for filling a void of traditional communities.

A major goal of the above activities was to create new local societies instead of collapsed traditional ones through organizing local people to form new community organizations and running such organizations by conscious and voluntary "citizen"s in an open and democratic manner. As a result of the activities, a lot of new community organizations and convention facilities as the centers of community activities have been established by governments across the country.

One of the main features of the community activities is completeness of institutionalization. To organize the population in these activities, a CBO in a form of consociation is usually inaugurated, which is composed of all the major local organizations including *Jichikai*'s and PTA typically in a primary school district. The activities also try to meet local people's diverse and high level needs such as cultural needs and human services whereas *Jichikai*'s try to meet their basic needs. The goals of CBOs set up in the activities are very clear and stipulated as they are organized for specific purposes. In regard to this matter, such newly created CBOs resemble "association"s rather than communities.

Figure 1: Basin Consociations around Lake Biwa



However, those CBOs are typically composed of board members of local organizations. Because of this, leadership cannot be manifested or is not strong enough in comparison with *Jichikai*'s, and thus they cannot act a key role in case of community's crisis.

Depending on the degree of *Jichikai*'s involvement in the organization, CBOs established in the community activities can be classified into the following three types.

1. (J)*jichikai*-Type CBOs are comprised of mainly *Jichikai*'s;
2. (C)onsociation-Type of various local organizations including *Jichikai*'s; and
3. (N)etwork-Type of voluntary individuals and organizations independent of *Jichikai*'s.

Basin Consociations of Lake Biwa

Building Basin Consociations mentioned previously can be viewed as the community activities of Shiga's people for the conservation of Lake Biwa. Although the geographical area of activities by each consociation is larger than a primary school district, it is confined to a specific locality, the watershed of respective major river. The consociation is composed of local people and organizations in the watershed, and open to any local residents and being operated in a transparent and democratic manner.

Activities and constituent members of Basin Consociations are miscellaneous as shown in Table 2. Some of the activities, such water survey and cleanup of rivers, are directly relevant to the protection of river environment, but a lot of them are not. Those include waste reduction and recycling, local production for local consumption, and traditional

arts. Environmental issues are quite diverse and demanding today. Basin Consociations have been making an effort to meet needs of local people who ask for higher quality of environment.

The method of setting up a Basin Consociation is quite different from one consociation to another since it was left to the local office of the prefectural government at each region for adapting to the circumstances. The forms of organizations are thus fairly diverse. Basin Consociations can be also classified into the aforementioned three types of CBOs depending on the degree of *Jichikai*'s involvement in the organization.

Out of the thirteen Basin Consociations, the number of *Jichikai*-Type is two, Consociation-Type seven, and Network-Type four. For example, the Tenjin River Basin Environmental Conservation Consociation and Association of Yana River Lovers are both based on the southwest shore of Lake Biwa, which are typical *Jichikai*-Type CBOs and made up with only several *Jichikai*'s.

Four Basin Consociations in Konan, Khoka, Higashi-Ohmi and Kotoh Areas are all Network-Type CBOs. The Higashi-Ohmi Environmental Conservation Network in Higashi-Ohmi Area is a typical Network-Type CBO consisting of eleven environmental preservation groups that have been very active in the area. Seven Basin Consociations in Kohoku and Kosei Areas are all Consociation-Type CBOs composed of a wide range of organizations including not only *Jichikai*'s but also other local associations in the areas.

Those areas with four Network-Type CBOs are situated in the south to west shores of Lake Biwa, where it is densely populated and there are a lot of residents moved in from

Table 1: Thirteen Basin Consociations at Lake Biwa

Area	Name of consociation	Type of CBO	Date of Foundation
Otsu-Shiga	- Tenjin River Basin Environmental Conservation Consociation	J	2002/03/10
	- Association of Yana River Lovers	J	1984
Konan (South Shore)	- Konan Basin Environmental Conservation Consociation	N	2001/08/30
Khoka	- Khoka Basin Environmental Conservation Consociation	N	2001/04/22
Higashi-Ohmi (East Shiga)	- Higashi-Ohmi Environmental Conservation Network	N	2000/07/05
Kotoh (East Shore)	- Environmental Forum in Kotoh	N	2001/05/24/
Kohoku (North Shore)	- Yogo River Basin Environmental Conservation Consociation	C	2001/05/20
	- Ane River Basin Environment Forum	C	2002/08/07
Kosei (West Shore)	- Kamo and Hatta Rivers Basin Consociation	C	2001/06/29
	- Chinai and Nakano Rivers Basin Consociation	C	2001/09/24
	- Ohi and Syoutare Rivers Basin Environmental Conservation Consociation	C	2002/10/03
	- Aoi and Kita Rivers Basin Consociation	C	2003/09/08
	- Daidoh and Syaji Rivers Basin Environmental Conservation Consociation	C	2003/12/04

J: *Jichikai*-Type, C: Consociation-Type, and N: Network-Type

outside of Shiga. On the contrary, those areas where there are *Jichikai* and Consociation-Type CBOs are sparsely populated and most of people have lived since their birth. People in the latter areas tend to be more conservative than ones in the former areas.

Even a Network-Type Basin Consociation may include other types of CBOs in the organization, which might be composed of *Jichikai*'s. For instance, the "Akanoi-Biwako Environmental Citizens' Initiative" founded in 1996 is a member of the Konan Basin Environmental Conservation Consociation, and the most leading environmental protection group at Lake Biwa. The group has been working very hard for restoring municipal rivers in Moriyama City and downstream Akanoi Bay to original state. The present number of membership is more than four hundreds including almost all *Jichikai*'s in the city, a farmer union, women's associations, and individual members.

While it is a typical Consociation-Type CBO, it has been, under the strong leadership of board members, developing remarkable activities such as clean up activities of municipal rivers, cultivation of fire flies, making city maps of water quality and fire flies with a GIS system, and information dissemination through the Internet. Another feature of this CBO is active exchanges with overseas' lakes and activists. It convened two international sessions at the World Lake Conference in 2001 and the 3rd World Water Forum in 2003. When environmental activists come to Lake Biwa from abroad, most of them visit this organization. Energetic PR activities to the world and international exchanges are

strategies for them to raise members and to bring together the organization as well as tools to appeal their activities.

While it is promoting activities with advanced IT technologies or international exchanges, it still emphasizes down-to-earth activities of *Jichikai*'s in the organization. Those *Jichikai*'s have been also very active in the environmental conservation of each area, such activities which collectively back up the sustainability of this CBO's entire activities.

Citizen's basin organizations in Japan

Hereinafter, branding ones at Yahagi and Shimanto Rivers as distinguished examples of citizen's basin organization in the other part of Japan, main features of those organizations will be outlined through following the history of activities at each river.

Partnership in Yahagi River Basin

Yahagi River is a medium-sized and class-A river with a total length of 122 kilometers. It has origin at the southern tip of the Japan Alps in Nagano Prefecture, and runs through Toyota City and Mikawa Plain, finally pouring into Mikawa Bay. Its watershed is 1,830 square kilometers, including twenty seven municipalities in three prefectures, Aichi, Gifu, and Nagano.

The watershed is located in Nagoya Urban Area; industrialization and urbanization has been remarkable since the high-growth era particularly in the downstream area. The area is not only a large industrial center, which is densely populated, but also a huge agricultural zone.

Table 2: Activities of Basin Consociations and their constituent members

Constituent Members	Activities
Basin Consociation	symposium, study meeting, environmental education, transmission of information, waste reduction & recycling, local production for local consumption, headstream exploration, water quality conservation, cleanup activity, eco-tour, environmental research (aquatic life, water quality, bird)
Local office of the prefectural government and municipality	Symposium
<i>Jichikai</i>	cleanup activity, beautification campaign
Parent-Teacher Association	environmental education, cleanup activity
Junior Association	cleanup activity
Consumer group	use-of-soap promotion, local production for local consumption
<i>Mizusumashi</i> (Farmer's) Consociation	agriculture of environmental conservation type
Basin organization	waste reduction & recycling, local production for local consumption, environmentally-sound fishery, headstream exploration, forest conservation, making bamboo charcoal, photograph exhibition, water quality conservation, cleanup activity, tree planting, transmission of information, organic farming, traditional arts, eco-village, eco-tour, environmental education, clipping reed, environmental research
School official	environmental education
Individual (forest instructor, bio-environment adviser, environmental initiative promoter, environmental conservation counselor)	environmental education, environmental research

The history of environmental protection movements at Yahagi River is summarized in Table 3.

In Yahagi River, murky waters problem took place due to rapid urbanization and industrialization in the downstream area during the high-growth era. To protect river water quality, a citizen's movement started with the initiatives of suffered farmers and fisher folks in 1962. The river water pollution hit the peak in 1966, when the Yahagi Riverside Water Quality Conservation Consociation (YRWQCC) was established. The consociation was composed of eighteen organizations in total, including five irrigation associations, one agricultural cooperative, seven fishermen's unions at the river mouth, and five municipalities in which the river water was used for drinking water. Since no *Jichikai* participate in YRWQCC, it can be clarified into Network-Type CBO.

YRWQCC was at first conducting mainly protest activities for preserving river water quality. Triggered by a development plan of golf courses upstream in the mid-1970s, it realized, however, that both the downstream and upstream should understand each other and work together. As a

result, YRWQCC shifted the direction of activities to environmental conservation with dialogue and collaboration.

YRWQCC continued to expand, and came to consist of fifty two local organizations including three irrigation associations, one agricultural cooperative, twenty fishermen's unions, twenty seven riparian municipalities, and one agency of the prefectural government in 1982.

The citizen's movement initiated by farmers and fisher folks in Yahagi River Basin has successfully motivated and involved local administrations and other organizations, generating people's consciousness that they must not discharge impure waters.

In addition to YRWQCC, there are two other major watershed organizations today in Yahagi River Basin. Environmental movements being carried out by those organizations are shown in Table 4.

Main features of environmental activities in Yahagi River Basin, particularly ones of YRWQCC, are as follows:

Table 3: The history of environmental activities and partnerships in Yahagi River Basin

Period	Major Issues	Description
(Meiji Era to pre-WWII)	Flooding and murky waters	Meiji Irrigation Canal became operational in 1881. Frequent occurrence of flooding, murky waters, and soil erosion due to the devastation of mountain villages. » Afforestation of water source forests for Meiji Irrigation Canal began. (Restoration of denuded land by erosion and flood control projects in the prewar period)
High-growth era (early 1960s - mid-70s) Period of confrontation	Deterioration of water quality	Urbanization and industrialization of catchment area - development of building lots and industrial parks. Muddy water from barrow pits, polluted water from factories. » Water clarification movement by suffered farmers, fisher folks and the Yahagi Riverside Water Quality Conservation Consociation. » Amelioration of industrial water pollution problems and river water quality by Water Pollution Control Law.
(Mid-1970s - early 80s) Period of cooperation	Conservation of water quality	Murky waters due to the development of golf courses in the upstream forest area. » Energetic exchanges between upstream and downstream people seeking for clean development, and water calcification movement by downstream communities. » Growth of "Yahagi River Method," a citizen's initiative, for the protection and purification of water quality.
(Early 1980s - end of 90s) Setup of watershed management systems	Securement of water quality and quantity	Establishment of "Yahagi River Method" and the Yahagi River Basin Development Exchange Organization. Deepening of upstream and downstream exchanges. Fledgling of "one-watershed, common-destiny" feeling. » Increase in water demand due to urbanization and industrialization. » Promoting forestation of water source forests by profit-sharing method.
(Since 2000) Toward new up- and downstream collaboration	High level security of water quality and quantity	Tokai Rainstorm: flood wood and sediment discharge in upstream areas, record flooding in mid and downstream areas. » High demand for water security in entire watershed.

1. Aiming at the regeneration of clean Yahagi River, activities for improving water quality have been promoted.
2. A citizen's movement started downstream has grown and gradually involved the upstream.
3. A movement initiated by farmers and fisher folks has gradually involved a wide range of actors and sectors including other local organizations, enterprises, and administrations upstream and downstream.

In summary, environmental protection activities in Yahagi River Basin, which was started with the initiatives of local people in a specific area, has successfully involved a wide range of actors and sectors both upstream and downstream. It can serve as a useful reference for developing a citizen's watershed organization. However, the range of citizen's activities in the basin is not wide when compared with ones of Basin Consociations in Shiga, being confined in a slim line along Yahagi River and focused only on water quality protection. This is because the movement began as a protest one by suffered farm and fishing people with a definite goal to protect river water quality, and as a result involved no *Jichikai* that is typically conservative and retains a wide variety of needs.

Watershed conservation of Shimanto River

Another notable case for citizen's watershed organizations in Japan is ones of Shimanto River. The river originates at Mt. Irazu in Kochi Prefecture and is a relatively large river with a total length of 196 kilometers. The total catchment area is 2,270 square kilometers, of which 391 square kilometers are situated in Ehime Prefecture and 1,879 square kilometers of eight municipalities in Kochi. The river runs through rural districts in the mountains; there is no large city or industrial center in the watershed. It is a clean river with a gentle slope, richly endowed with nature, and called as "the last clean river in Japan". Its basin is sparsely populated, in which the total population is only seventy thousands. This region has fallen behind large-scale

development except for some dam constructions. Eighty eight percentage of the catchment area is covered with forests. Vast area of artificial forests has been, however, left as it is due to featureless market of forestry in Japan. Major challenges in this area are to sustain industries and livelihood of residents in mountain villages, who take on maintaining forests and preserving nature in the basin.

The history of environmental movements for Shimanto River is summarized in Table 4.

Conservation activities in Shimanto River Basin started as a protest movement by local people against dam construction plans in the high-growth era, followed by dam removal movements in the 1980s. However, the activities changed in the mid-1990s, and the conservation and development of entire watershed is being promoted with the initiatives of local governments today.

In March 1996, the "Clean Shimanto River Comprehensive Plan 21" was set forth by the prefectural government. The plan, as a guideline for the prefectural government and municipalities and enterprises in the catchment area, aims to develop entire basin in harmony with nature through the conservation and restoration of watershed. Although countermeasures to control water pollution had been conducted under Kochi Clean River Protection Ordinance of 1989, those were confined to water quality and not comprehensive enough to protect entire basin environment. Departments and agencies of local governments had carried out respective projects without coordination, or a common understanding or basic policy for Shimanto River. Salvaging the situation, the prefectural government established the Shimanto River Countermeasures Headquarter in 1995, and has conducted a comprehensive policy for the conservation and development of entire watershed.

Recognizing irreplaceable value of Shimanto River and necessity of collaboration, the Shimanto River Basin Citizen Network was inaugurated in 2002 under a philosophy of

Table 4: Major watershed organizations and their activities in Yahagi River Basin

Organization	Date of foundation	Description
Yahagi Riverside Water Quality Conservation Consociation (YRWQCC)	1969	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Citizen patrols to identify pollutant sources - Lobbying for legal actions of the central government to protect river water quality - Protest activities again large-scale developments - Up and downstream exchanges - Water survey - Boycott campaign against artificial detergents - Cleanup of rivers
Yahagi River Riverhead Foundation	1978	Founded by Aichi Prefectural Government and relevant 20 municipalities, it aims at the development of entire watershed through improving water source forests by erosion control and water resources management.
Yahagi River Basin Development Exchange Organization	1991	It was inaugurated by Meiji Irrigation Canal Association and 28 municipalities in Aichi, Gifu and Nagano for the development of entire watershed through implementing projects to foster mutual understanding and exchanges between up- and downstream.

“a river not as a point but a line; a river basin not as a line but a plane”. It consists of ten municipalities out of twelve riparian ones, twenty local organizations, and thirty five hundreds individual members (as of the end of 2002), and sets forth action goals in an effort to protect the watershed with a common idea. The network put up as slogans “horizontal collaboration between public and private”, “vertical collaboration between upstream and downstream” and “three-dimensional collaboration in time-line”, and has given first priority to cultivating new generation of leaders.

Today exchange-type projects for regional development are quite strong at Shimanto River. Concretely speaking, the projects set up “Shimanto School”, which maintains forests, organizes work studies, and develop tourist centers and local specialties, and “Shimanto Drama”, which does PR activities and direct delivery of the specialties from producing area. These efforts attract nation-wide attention as a new methodology to resolve the challenges that are to sustain industries and livelihood of residents in the basin while preserving rich river environment.

Main features of watershed conservation activities in Shimanto River Basin can be summarized as follows:

Table 5: The history of regional development and environmental protection in Shimanto River Basin

Period	Main theme	Description
1st Phase Before and during the war	Small-scale dam constructions (Energy measures)	- Ieji River Dam (1937) - Tuga Dam (1940)
2nd Phase (1950s - high growth era)	Large-scale dam construction plans under Act for Comprehensive Development of the National Land (1950) and Act for Promotion of Electric Power Development (1952)	- National projects for three large-scale dams and water sharing were proposed. - The construction plans was abandoned because of fierce protest movements by village people at the dam sites.
3rd Phase (1980s - 90s)	A boom of “clean Shimanto River” starts and its protection movement begins	- Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) featured Shimanto River (1983) » Played up frequently by mass media since then, and the river grew popular nationwide. - The Water Town & City National Conference at Shimanto River (1983), in which its major environmental issues (lessening function of forests, gravel extraction, water pollution) were identified. - Renewal of irrigation right on Tuga Dam (1989) » Activation of dam removal movement. - Enactment of Kochi Clean River Protection Ordinance (1989) » Implementing measures for water pollution control. - Nature Conservation Society of Japan pointed out progress in deterioration of the river environment (1990).
4th Phase (1990s —)	Full-fledged tourist boom comes to Shimanto River	- Outdoor amusement became common » canoeing, playing in the water, camping, nature games - Construction of tourist facilities (hotel, B&B, auto-camping site)
	Promotion of watershed development and environmental conservation with the initiatives of governments	- Riparian municipalities were appointed as priority area for domestic wastewater measures (1991). - Setup of Shimanto River Nature Environment Conservation Promoting Workshop by the prefectural government (1993). - Riparian eight municipalities inaugurated the Shimanto River Comprehensive Conservation Organization (1994). - Establishment of Shimanto River Countermeasures Headquarter by the prefectural government (1995). - The Clean Shimanto River Comprehensive Plan 21 set forth by the prefectural government (1996). - Launch of “Shimanto River Model Forest” study (1997-2006). - New plan made to preserve sagging bridges in the basin (1988). - Start of “forest certification system” by the prefectural government (1999). - Establishment of Shimanto River Foundation (2000) - Inauguration of the Academy of Shimanto River Basin (2001). - The prefectural government proclaimed “Basic Ordinance for the Conservation and Basin Development of Shimanto River” (2001).
	Growth of Ieji River Dam Removal Movement	A dam removal movement promoted by fisher folks, local people and municipalities.

1. The activities aim at regional development in harmony with nature through the nature conservation and restoration of watershed.
2. Citizen's movements against dam constructions and for dam removal have built up in people a sense of protecting clean river.
3. The activities shifted from water quality control to comprehensive watershed conservation when local governments took active part in.

In summary, environmental protection movements in Shimanto River Basin started with a point one against dam constructions, gradually grew and involved riparian municipalities, and came to be a line one along the river from upstream to downstream, fostering a common idea of local people in the basin. Today most of efforts are put into the development of entire catchment area, as a plane, for forest conservation and welfare of the population in the basin. In order to meet various needs of local people, the range of activities are quite wide, and, in this regard, they have a lot of commons with the ones of Basin Consociations at Lake Biwa.

Citizen participation and community initiative

Citizen participation or public involvement is considered to deepen stepwise from (i) **information sharing** to (ii) **consultation**, (iii) **collaboration**, and (iv) **empowerment**. It should be noted, however, that "participation" or "involvement" is a term to express forms of citizen's engagement viewed from the side of governments.

The traditional community organization, *Jichikai*, in Japan has been an autonomous and implementation body for environmental protection in each area. Members of *Jichikai*, namely local people, have protected vicinal environment over the ages by themselves. On the other hand, "**citizen**" is defined as "free, equal and autonomous individual", which concept and term were also adapted to Japan from Europe and the United States. In that sense, "citizen participation" is not a proper term for *Jichikai*'s activities; it should be called "community initiative" instead. Its activities are usually conservative, but very continuous and sustainable at the same time.

As a matter of course, the *Jichikai* is not almighty. What it can do by itself is very restricted due to its human and financial resources. Furthermore, it is functional and effective only for issues of neighborliness. Those CBOs established in the community activities have the same drawbacks. To address environmental issues related to wider areas, the roles of secondary stakeholders including NGOs come to be important. In most of the cases of successful environmental movements in Japan, local CBOs or NGOs first raised voices against an issue, and then the information of such issue was widely disseminated through a network of NGOs in cooperation with local CBOs. As a result

the issue became a nation-wide agenda, and finally came to be resolved in favor of local NGOs and CBOs that were backed by national opinion.

Summary & Conclusions

Although the community activities in Japan were adapted from the United States, CBOs established in the activities have traditional community organizations involved, and evolved flexibly in a purely Japanese manner. The same thing can be said for Basin Consociations. Basin Consociation-Type CBOs are very potential as pragmatic movement bodies since they combine advantages of both western and traditional Japanese-style community organizations.

The worst weakness of Basin Consociations is that they are financially dependent of the Shiga Prefectural Government, but we can see a silver lining today. The "Akanoi-Biwako Environmental Citizens' Initiative", which was initiated with 100% financial support of governments, became an independent incorporated nonprofit organization and stood on its feet in October 2004.

Community-based activities are essential particularly for the environmental conservation of lakes, rivers and wetlands. Local water should be protected by communities in that area. Basin Consociation-Type CBOs would play more and more important role in the conservation of water environment in Japan.

Any country must have own traditional community organizations. To promote the conservation of water environment with community initiative, it should be highly effective to restructure and revitalize such original community organizations in context of modern society and with adapting goodness of western-style community organizations. The Basin Consociation at Lake Biwa could be a good model for such endeavors.

Appendix: Lake Biwa Soap Movement

Even though it was not taken up in the main text, the past history of citizen's activities at Lake Biwa cannot be described without referring to **the "Soap Movement"**. The movement originated in the beginning of 1970s with a Use-Soap campaign by homemakers who were concerned about babies' diaper rash and housewives' eczema caused by synthetic detergents. In 1977, it changed, however, its direction with outbreak of red tide in the lake, shifting to a boycott campaign of phosphate-containing synthetic detergents for the conservation of lake water quality as people came to know through mass media that synthetic detergents might cause eutrophication (red tide). With the participation of a wide range of organizations, the movement, which started by women's consumer groups, spread out all over the prefecture rapidly, and established **the "Citizen Forum for Conservation of the Aquatic Environment in Lake Biwa (Biwa-ko Forum)"** in 1978.

Meantime, Shiga Prefectural Government, who had also intended to regulate the use of phosphate-containing synthetic detergents to control eutrophication of Lake Biwa, supported the Soap Movement in full scale, starting deliberation about making an ordinance for that purpose. Detergent manufacturers responded strongly against this movement of the prefectural government, and deployed extensively an anti-campaign against the regulation of synthetic detergents. Ironically, this anti-campaign made more people in Shiga know the issue of phosphate-containing synthetic detergents.

Backed by strong public support, the prefectural government enacted **the Eutrophication Control Ordinance**, the very first act for eutrophication control in Japan, in 1979. The ordinance prohibits the use, sale, and gift of synthetic detergents containing phosphate; sets nitrogen and phosphorus standards for industrial effluent; and formulates guidelines for appropriate use of artificial fertilizers and management of irrigation water in agriculture and for appropriate treatment of livestock wastes and gray waters from domestic.

The Soap Movement born in the watershed of Lake Biwa expanded to become a nationwide movement to purge synthetic detergents. Within three years, most of prefectural governments in Japan had initiated some actions for the detergent issue. The Eutrophication Control Ordinance of Shiga Prefecture then had a tremendous influence on the water quality control of lakes and environmental movements in Japan.

The detergent manufacturers, who had strongly opposed the enactment of the ordinance, changed their production processes to start making synthetic detergents containing no phosphate shortly after the enactment. Today no detergents containing phosphate are produced or sold in Japan.

The Soap Movement is highly appreciated because it was led by women; raised the issue that we were responsible for the degradation of lake water quality; made the local government enact the ordinance; and finally changed national policy on water quality management. It is known and described as the first and most successful case of citizens' environmental movement in Japan. With the movement, women's participation in society was also promoted considerably in Shiga, where people were very conservative then. It produced a lot of women activists, who have led environmental movements in Shiga from then on.

The movement was an association-type activity, rather than a community-type one, with a plain goal to oust phosphate-containing synthetic detergents. Because of this attribute, it grew quickly and became a nation-wide movement although it began at Lake Biwa. However, owing to the same attribute, it lost its goal and impetus shortly after the advent of synthetic detergents containing no phosphate. The percentage of people who do not use synthetic detergents but soaps is less than 30% in Shiga today, even though it marked the highest, 70%, in 1980.

With complexity of environmental issues and diversified values of people these days, Biwa-ko Forum has been searching for an alternative goal to the Soap Movement, but not yet successful.