

**MOBILIZING THE DONOR PUBLIC:
DYNAMICS OF DEVELOPMENT NGOS' MESSAGE FRAMING**

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In industrialized, donor societies, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) engaged in international development are one of the few sources of information through which the public learns about poverty in Third World countries. With limited knowledge and familiarity with the cause, the donor public builds their understanding and opinions through NGOs' explanations of the problems, potential solutions, and rationales for getting involved.

Highlighting development NGOs' role as discourse makers, this dissertation applies framing theory to present NGOs as strategic framing agents, with the power and the ability to decide what information to present in what manner. I conduct framing analysis to examine dynamics of message framing in print documents that NGOs in Japan use to mobilize the people towards international development.

The study finds the tendency of development NGOs in Japan to emphasize *actionability* of international development, representing global poverty as an issue that can be solved through organizational and individual actions, rather than describing the nature and complexity of the problem. At the organizational level, NGOs' emphasize their experience, accomplishments, and credibility. At the individual level, NGOs incentivize the audience by emphasizing their ability to contribute to eradicating poverty without much difficulty. NGOs decide to present such

message framings through interpretation of external and internal contexts in which they operate, taking into account audience receptivity, organizational characteristics, and ethical soundness.

This study makes its primary contribution to the study of development NGOs in three ways. First, by introducing the perspectives of strategic communication and social marketing, I expand the scope of NGOs' message framing from a focus on how NGOs represent problems and interventions made in developing countries, to a focus on how they motivate the donor public to join the cause. I find that development NGOs in Japan are distancing themselves from their role of describing the complexity of global poverty and international development. Second, by applying framing theory, the study sheds light on decision making processes that take place as NGOs frame communication messages. Third, the study provides an empirical study of development NGOs' strategic communication practices in Japan, adding a case of underexplored non-Western contexts.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Nonprofit organizations perform key roles in contemporary society. Coined the “global associational revolution,” these “self-governing private organizations, not dedicated to distributing profits to shareholders or directors, pursuing public purposes outside the formal apparatus of the state” continue to rise to prominence today around the world (Salamon, 1994, p.109).

Nonprofits play diverse roles. These organizations provide services that are left unfilled by the government or the market. They reach out to populations that have been forgotten or marginalized by the public and the private sector. Nonprofits become the voice for particular perspectives, in some cases advocating for policy change.

Among key functions that nonprofits perform, this study highlights their role as discourse makers. Nonprofits sometimes advance causes that are new, unfamiliar, or simply distant from the people. In such cases, the information nonprofits present often become one of the few sources of knowledge that guide the public in interpreting particular issues. Bob (2005, 2002), for example, argued that issues that nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) pay attention to become the news that Western media broadcast, reaching those living in wealthy, industrialized countries. These issues may not necessarily be the most the most deserving global injustice; they

are simply what NGOs shed light to. Nonprofit organizations thus play the role of bringing to the table situations that are considered problematic, explain why interventions are necessary, and provide an argument for why people should be concerned. Nonprofits influence how people understand and perceive a particular issue through information that they present to society.

Global poverty and international development is one of the fields where nonprofits play a key role as discourse makers, particularly in industrialized, donor societies. In everyday lives of the people living in countries like the United States, United Kingdom, and Japan, information on the suffering of people living in African countries, for example, is limited. What nonprofit organizations working to tackle global poverty in the Third World countries present through their communication to the people living in the donor societies becomes one of the few information sources through which the donor public builds their understanding and opinions about global poverty and international development.

This dissertation examines how nonprofit organizations engaged in international development communicate strategically to the people living in industrialized, donor societies. I explore how these organizations select information and logic to present the problem, potential solutions, and rationales for individuals to get involved in the cause.

1.1.1 Building Public Support for International Development

More than sixty some years have passed since the international community began to make significant investments to reduce poverty around the world, but recent statistics show that the world still has a long way to go. In 2011, 6.9 million children died before reaching his or her fifth birthday – that’s 13 children dying every minute (UN-IGME, 2012). In 2010, 62 million

children of primary school age were not able to study in schools, and 122 million people between age 15 and 24 were unable to read and write a short, simple statement about their everyday life (UN, 2012). International development, the global effort to improve the lives of people suffering from poverty, continues to be a challenge.

The work of international development focuses on economic, political, and social change in the so-called Third World countries. However, it is important to recognize that part of these efforts rely heavily on resources from industrialized countries. Donor countries provide various forms of assistance through bilateral and multilateral aid, including financial support as well as experts and technical assistance. Voluntary groups most prominently represented by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are also engaged in development assistance, and private sector investments provide further resources for less-developed countries.

Because development efforts rely on resources from industrialized, donor countries, involved agencies must somehow obtain support and understanding from the people living in these industrialized donor countries (McDonnel *et al.*, 2003). Ensuring public support and assuring accountability among the donor public holds the key to enabling sustainable development efforts.

However, such support from the donor public does not arise naturally. For most people living in wealthy countries, international development is not an immediate cause that they feel strongly concerned about. People may well question why developed countries need to invest substantial resources into a cause that appears to be distant from them. People may also claim that resources should be spent on domestic issues. Thus, agencies engaged in international development must compete with other social concerns in order to win support from the donor public for development assistance.

This dissertation sheds light on the policies and practices involved in building a donor society that looks favorably on international development. Since implementing projects in developing countries and obtaining public support in developed countries are inextricably linked, this policy challenge is an important, yet neglected, aspect of international development.

Development agencies engaged in communicating with the donor public are the key actors in enhancing public understanding and support for international development. These efforts may be termed public relations, public information, or domestic mobilization. Through advertisements, commercials, posters, flyers, events, campaigns, most, if not all, development agencies make the effort to communicate, persuade, and mobilize the donor public. Governmental agencies for development assistance such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Department for International Development (DfID) in the United Kingdom, international organizations such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and nongovernmental organizations engaged in international development (hereafter development NGOs) are all active in public relations, encouraging the donor public to know more about global poverty and the agencies' contribution in solving the issue. For larger impact, development agencies often work extensively with the media (Gaber and Willson, 2005).

Development agencies have also been long engaged in educating the donor public through efforts called development education or global education, attempting to raise awareness among those living in wealthy, industrialized nations (Arnold, 1988; Brodhead, 1987; Minear, 1987). Some are committed to raising funds, while also soliciting the public to become members supporting the work of the agency. Others are engaged in policy advocacy, attempting to influence those with authority (Anderson, 2000; Nelson, 1995). Agencies not only seek to win attention and interest of the audience, but also encourage specific behaviors among the audience,

including making financial contributions, becoming a member, volunteering, making behavior changes, as well as taking political action.

In this dissertation, I identify messages articulated to the donor public through these mobilization efforts as an important dimension that merits further investigation. I focus on messages for the following three reasons.

First, among key components that constitute development agencies' efforts to mobilize the public, message is an important factor in determining whether the audience is successfully mobilized or not. Message has been identified as one of the key elements of public information campaigns (McGuire, 2013; Manheim, 2011; Dervin and Frenette, 2001), strategic communication (Bonk, 2010), social marketing (Andreasen, 2006), marketing communications (Gainer, 2010), as well as charity marketing (Nan and Heo, 2007) and cause-related marketing (Grau and Folse, 2007).

Secondly, as mentioned earlier, because development agencies are often among the few sources on which people living in industrialized countries depend for learning about situations of the developing world, their communication messages have much influence on how the donor public understands and perceives the issue. The issue of global poverty is often a distant problem for people living in donor societies, and development agencies serve as the bridge between the two worlds; agencies become the "voice" of the people suffering poverty (Dogra, 2012). Given its potential influence on perceptions of global poverty and international development among the donor public, communication messages that development agencies articulate through their donor mobilization efforts are extremely sensitive and should be dealt with carefully.

It is important to recognize here that development agencies are not just simple transmitters of information on global poverty and international development, but creative agents

with power and the ability to decide what information should be presented, and more importantly, in what manner. Development agencies based in donor countries are granted with the opportunity to choose which aspect of global poverty and international development to emphasize, to make a logical argument in explaining the nature of the problem, and to propose potential solutions. In the process, agencies simplify the complex issue of development into a reduced form that can easily be consumed and digested by the donor public. Today, development agencies have become the “new institution of representation” with the possibility of influencing discourse on global poverty and international development in donor countries (Shaw, 1996).

For development agencies, the ability and power to frame communication messages provides both opportunities and challenges. It is an opportunity because it gives development agencies the space for being strategic and creative. It is a challenge because they must make difficult decisions given multiple choices and multiple criteria that must be dealt with simultaneously.

Framing communication messages is not a straightforward process for development agencies. Agencies may frame messages in multiple ways, shedding light on different aspects of global poverty and international development. One OECD study identified five types of messages that are being articulated by development agencies (McDonnell et al, 2003, p.29). Although these messages were not extracted in a systematic manner, the categorization does give an idea of a variety of communication messages that development agencies may articulate. The first message was categorized as “starving baby.” This type of message includes negative images, often crying babies or depressed people suffering from poverty. While the message intends to trigger compassion among people living in industrialized countries, it may also create an impression of hopelessness that people in developing countries are incapable of transforming

their lives. The second type of message, in contrast, is a positive one. “Feel-good” messages often include smiling children, happy with changes brought about through development efforts. While this type of message overcomes the negative aspect of the “starving baby” message, it may be insufficient to make more than an incremental difference in both attitudes and understanding. The third type of message is the “social due” argument, stating that developed countries “owe” developing countries. “Global public good” is the fourth type of message, which can be spelled out as “what is good for them is also good for us.” The logic is such that if education and healthcare are essential for people living in industrialized countries, then the same services must be beneficial for those living in Third World countries. Finally, there is the “global public bad” message, which in essence says “what is bad for them is bad for us.” This type of message has been used in the context of security, to elaborate that “*our* long-term security is very much dependent on *theirs*.”

In addition to choosing from multiple types of messages, development agencies must deal with several criteria when choosing and shaping messages to be presented to the donor public. First and foremost, messages must be effective in achieving the ultimate goal of mobilizing the donor public. Second, messages must allow such mobilization to be accomplished in an efficient manner. Third, articulated messages must be ethically sound, meaning that it must not violate the rights of the people living in developing countries in any way, nor strengthen certain stereotypes. Several NGOs, for example, have signed various “Codes of Conducts” in this regard and have made efforts to comply with them (Dijkzeul and Moke, 2005). Fourth, messages must be something with which the donor public can easily understand, accept, and sympathize. Finally, development agencies must make their messages unique. With an increasing number of development agencies that work for similar causes, the sector has become extremely competitive.

Moreover, there are various social issues that organizations attempt to advance. Each development agency must frame unique communication messages to distinguish themselves from competitors. Framed messages are reflections of development agencies' strategic choices.

Despite their importance, little is known about communication messages that development agencies articulate to the donor societies. Much less known is the process through which such messages come to be strategically framed. To fill in this gap, this study applies framing theory to examine communication strategies of development NGOs in Japan to understand the dynamics of message framing.

1.1.2 Focus on NGOs

Among various development agencies, this study focuses on the work of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) based in wealthy industrialized countries. In particular, I focus on NGOs in Japan. Mobilization of the donor public is especially important for these organizations - sometimes called the Northern NGOs or international NGOs- much more so than international governmental organizations such as a World Bank, governmental development agencies, or NGOs based in developing countries. This is because they rely heavily on the donor public for finance and volunteer labor, and because they are often seen as having a comparative advantage in mobilizing the people living in donor societies.

First, and most importantly, Northern NGOs rely heavily on donations from individuals and groups in developed countries for their financial base. Donations and membership fees often comprise the majority of organizational income. The Internal Revenue Service in the United States, for example, requires the Public Support Test to determine whether the organization

qualifies for tax-exemption status (IRS, 2012). The same goes for Japan, where one third of the overall revenue must be comprised of donations to be authorized as a nonprofit corporation (Cabinet Office, 2011).

Secondly, nonprofits rely on volunteers as their major labor force. In its structural/operational definition of nonprofit organizations, Salamon and Anheier (1992) include “voluntary” as one of the five key characteristics, referring to the fact that these organizations involve some meaningful degree of voluntary participation. Public support is also desired to demonstrate organizational credibility to obtain public funding, to attract large scale donors, and to make their advocacy efforts more persuasive. In short, nonprofits would not be able to survive without support from the public, let alone advance towards fulfilling their missions.

Thirdly, Northern NGOs have been considered to have comparative advantage in mobilizing the donor public. Studies have shown that since the 1980s, NGOs based in donor countries have shifted their focus of activities from service delivery in developing countries to public mobilization in developed countries (Edwards, 1999a; Clark, 1991; Korten, 1990). This trend was driven by the fact that as local NGOs, established and run by the people living in the developing world, built on their capacities, Northern NGOs began to understand the need for division of labor. Local NGOs gradually increased in size and capacity to the extent that they began to displace Northern NGOs “as implementers, or even as channels for aid from government or multilateral agencies (Coates and David, 2002, p.503).” In such context, Northern NGOs “began to experience more and more confusion about their roles and identity, and by the mid-1990s this had produced a constant stream of rethinking and reorganizing for the future (Edwards, 1999a, p.198).” In the process of redefining their identities, Northern NGOs found their comparative advantage in bridging the developed and developing world at a grassroots level.

It has been argued that this re-identification process has led Northern NGOs to enhance their engagement in mobilizing the donor public within their home countries.

1.1.3 Focus on Japan

Among major donor countries, this study will explore development NGOs that are active in mobilizing the donor public in Japan. Japan is one of the members of Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), known as the “donors club.” Since the 1960s, Japan has always ranked among the top donor countries that provided the largest net amount of Official Development Assistance (ODA). From 1993 to 2000, Japan provided the largest amount among all 24 DAC member countries (OECD/DAC, 2011). The nonprofit sector in Japan has also been expanding with the enactment of the Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities in 1998, and accordingly, the number of development NGOs has been constantly growing (JANIC, 2011).

The Japanese case has an interesting theoretical implication in that it is one of the few non-Western industrialized countries that are active as donors in international development. Japan has had a unique experience of developing from an aid recipient country to a donor country in a short period of time. One can imagine that such contextual differences may lead to a unique condition in which development NGOs operate, both structurally and culturally. This distinctive environment, in turn, may influence how the mobilization of donor public is attempted and accomplished.

Studies indeed have found Japan to have unique characteristics when compared with other major donors. Reimann (2010) found uniqueness in the way NGO activism emerged and

expanded in Japan. While NGO sectors in most OECD countries grew as the country modernized and globalized, the pattern did not appear to fit Japan. Reimann argues that Japan's NGO activism underwent an interesting pattern in that it was the international political opportunity structure, the promotion of a new NGO norm and the transnational diffusion of ideas that gave activists in Japan the impulse to organize and to institutionalize their efforts. Furthermore, it was the international institutions and actors that promoted the NGO norm and socialized the Japanese state to foster the growth of the NGO sector.

The structure of Japanese civil society is also distinctive. Pekkanen (2006) argued that with the government's strong regulatory framework, civil society in Japan has been shaped to have duality, with numerous small groups but only few large organizations. Because small neighborhood organizations concentrate on service delivery and are not interested in interacting with decision-makers, Pekkanen called Japan's civil society "members without advocates (p.8 and p.159)."

Studies have also found Japan to have lower rates of civic engagement when compared to other donor countries. For example, comparative studies on giving between Japan and the United States found that with lack of culture of giving, Japanese people tend to give less than Americans (Ouchi, 2004; Matsubara and Todoroki, 2003).

The unique history of engagement with international development may also affect the understanding and perception of the donor public on the issue. While an OECD study did not find significant uniqueness in the level of public support for governmental development assistance (McDonnell et al. 2003), a case of an advocacy campaign suggests that the general public's understanding and perception of development NGOs may be significantly different in Japan (Okada, 2007). In 2005, a group of NGOs launched an advocacy campaign called

Hottokenai Sekai no Mazushisa Campaign, which was the Japanese version of the white band campaign. Wrist bands symbolizing the fact that a child is dying every three seconds around the world were sold all across the country. The aim of the campaign was to have people demonstrate to the leaders of G8 countries that they care about global poverty, and to encourage them to enhance the commitment to international development. The campaign attracted significant media attention, and successfully sold two million white bands in two weeks. Yet, criticisms quickly arose, questioning why sales from the white bands were not sent to the developing world, e.g. Africa, and used directly to benefit people suffering from poverty. The incident made it evident that the Japanese public had little understanding about what NGO advocacy was, and that people tended to understand NGOs as doing fundraising for service delivery. The campaign headquarters had to make an official apology for not describing what advocacy meant (Hottokenai, 2008).

As these studies imply, Japan presents a highly distinctive context in which development NGOs operate, which might be different from what has been described in the context of Western donor countries. This dissertation study has the potential of adding yet another dimension to Japan's distinctiveness by revealing the characteristics of messages articulated by development NGOs through their donor mobilization efforts.

Taking Japan as a case in exploring NGOs' message framing behaviors also has a practical implication. With a dramatic increase of development NGOs' efforts to mobilize the donor public during the past two decades (Imata and Harada, 2004), attention to communication messages appears to be imperative for NGOs in Japan today. In addition to launching massive fundraising campaigns using various media, development NGOs have increased their efforts to educate the public about developing countries and global poverty (Yumoto, 2003; Ishii, 2003).

Development NGOs today are also becoming active advocates as represented in the aforementioned white band campaign for global poverty. A recent survey on activities and management of development NGOs in Japan confirms their increasing and expanding commitments to mobilization of the donor public (JANIC, 2007).

Despite such dramatic increases in NGOs' mobilization efforts, there have been virtually no studies or discussion about communication messages articulated through them in Japan. Communication messages not only hold the key to success of mobilization efforts, but also have an important function of influencing how the donor public understands and perceives global poverty and international development. This dissertation contributes to the study of NGOs in highlighting the discourse-making function of these organizations, and in understanding the dynamics of message framing. The study also intends to call NGO practitioners' attention to the importance of communication messages, and to urge them to be more cautious, but at the same time encourage them to be strategic in message framing process.

1.2 DEFINITION OF KEY CONSTRUCTS

1.2.1 Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)

As Najam (1996) shows, countless terms have been used interchangeably to refer to organizations that work based on a mission, independently from the public and the private sector. While the term "nonprofit" is commonly used to indicate these organizations, "nongovernmental organization (NGO)" has been the preferred term in the field of international development. In

this study, I follow Lewis (2007) in defining development NGOs as “a subset of third sector organizations concerned with development, human rights and social change (p.71).” This broad definition of NGO includes organizations that are “formally part of the ‘development industry’ (which consists of the world of bilateral and multilateral aid donors, the United Nations system and the Bretton Woods institutions) as well as those which are not and choose to work outside these structures.” This means including groups sometimes called community based organizations (CBOs) and people’s organizations (POs).

Development NGOs can be further classified into Northern NGOs and Southern NGOs. Northern NGOs refer to “organizations whose origins lie in the industrialized countries” and Southern NGOs refer to “organizations from the ‘less developed’ areas of the world (Lewis, 2007, p.72).” In this study, I focus primarily on Northern NGOs, particularly those that operate in Japan in understanding how NGOs mobilize the donor public.

1.2.2 Mobilization

Karl Deustch first applied the term “mobilization” to political and social science in the context of nationalism as “a process in which a social unit gains relatively rapidly in control of resources it previously did not control (Etzioni,1968, p.243).” Since then, the concept has been expanded and elaborated in various fields, including social movements and contentious politics as social mobilization, popular mobilization, mass mobilization, and resource mobilization.

Mobilization efforts can be distinguished into consensus mobilization and action mobilization (Klandermans, 1984, p.586). Consensus mobilization is a process through which an entity tries to obtain support for its viewpoints. Action mobilization is a process by which an

organization calls on people to participate. Consensus mobilization is considered to be a prerequisite for successful action mobilization.

Efforts that development NGOs make to attract the attention of the people living in developed countries, including fundraising, volunteer recruitment, membership solicitation, global education, and policy advocacy, have been referred to as “constituency building (e.g. Edwards, 1999a; 1999b)” or simply as “advocacy (Anderson, 2000).” In this study, I refer to these work of NGOs as mobilization efforts, and mobilization is defined as a process in which development NGOs attempt to gain control of resources they previously did not control from the donor public, including their viewpoints and interests, as well as resources such as money and time. The construct thus covers both consensus and action mobilization.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In addressing the challenge of building public support for international development in donor societies, this dissertation examines how development NGOs frame communication messages articulated in the effort to mobilize the donor public. In understanding the dynamics of development NGOs’ message framing, the study asks the following three questions:

1. What dimensions of international development do NGOs present in their communication messages, and how are these dimensions being framed?
2. Why are the messages framed in such a way?
3. Have messages changed over time? If so, how and why?

1.4 ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This dissertation study consists of nine chapters. Following this introductory chapter is a literature review, where I discuss and position this research in four fields of study: 1) development theory, particularly to the post-development school of thought that seeks to deconstruct the concept “development,” 2) studies on development NGOs, 3) studies on strategic communication of nonprofits, and 4) studies on Japanese civil society and the nonprofit sector.

In Chapter Three, I discuss theory and the methodology of this research. I explain framing theory as the dominant theoretical framework of this study, and describe the dissertation’s methodologies which include the use of content analysis, semantic network analysis, visual image analysis for frame analysis, and semi-structured interviews.

Chapter Four discusses the domain of international development in Japan to understand the context in which the dynamics of development NGOs’ message framing take place. I review how international development emerged as a policy arena in which both the government and civil society engage. I also analyze the attention given to the field of international development within the Japanese society as well as how the public perceives the field.

Chapters Five and Six present the results of framing analysis of development NGOs’ communication messages. The two chapters address the first and second research questions of this dissertation project. While Chapter Five focuses on revealing the overall trend of individual NGOs’ messages, Chapter Six will explore framings presented by other types of development agencies including multi-organizational coalitions, government agencies, and international organizations.

Chapter Seven discusses the second research question of this study on organizational decision-making for framing communication messages. From the interviews conducted of eleven development NGOs and one multi-organizational coalition, the study identifies the process of message framing, and derives a set of criteria on which messages are being framed.

Chapter Eight will analyze message framing from dynamic perspective, addressing the third research question of this dissertation on message change. Again using the data from interviews conducted with eleven development NGOs and one multi-organizational coalition, I discuss whether messages have changed over time, and if so, how and why.

Chapter Nine will conclude this dissertation with a summary of its findings, significance and contributions, as well as limitations and future research questions.

2.0 REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

The question of how development NGOs frame messages to mobilize the donor public in Japan lies in the cross-section of four fields of study: development theory, management of development NGOs, strategic communication of nonprofit organizations, and studies on Japanese civil society and the nonprofit sector. In this chapter, I discuss relevant questions raised and examined in each field of study. I also position this dissertation in these four fields and elaborate its contribution.

2.1 DEVELOPMENT THEORY: POST-DEVELOPMENT SCHOOL OF THOUGHT

Ever since its conception in the late 1940s and early 1950s, theories of international development have continuously evolved in pursuit of a framework that provides the best explanation for, and the best solution to, the situation experienced in developing countries. This study joins the so-called post-development school of thought, which emerged in response to the *impasse* of development theory in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The question of NGOs' message framing contributes to the inquiry of how one represents the concept of "development."

2.1.1 Early Theories

Two theories were dominant in thinking about development from the 1940s to the 1970s: modernization theory and dependency theory.

For modernization theorists, development was a “structural change process whereby the traditional and backward Third World countries developed towards greater similarities with the Western, or rather, the North-Western world (Martinussen, 1997, p.38).” Because they focused on economic development (Rostow, 1960; Nurske, 1953; Rosenstein-Rodan, 1943) or on political development (Almond and Powell, 1976; Apter, 1965), modernization theorists shared three characteristics. First was the contrast between “tradition” and “modernity.” Modernization theory assumed situations in developing countries as “traditional,” which could be transformed into “modern.” “Modern” here refers to conditions of Western developed countries, so underlying this assumption was the desire of creating greater similarities between the developed and developing world. The second characteristic was the assumption of a linear transformation process. The process of change from “traditional” to “modern” was to take place in a linear manner, without any intervening conditions or reversals. The third characteristic is the basic assumption of endogeneity of the change process. Factors that trigger linear transformation from “traditional” to “modern” were to be found within the country. This leads to the assumption that all countries, sooner or later, will go through the development process, regardless of any differences.

In response to this rather optimistic perspective came the criticisms of dependency theory, which pointed out the unequal power relationship involved in social transformation processes. For dependency theorists, the impeding factor of development was *not* the internal conditions of

Third World countries, but rather the external influences, including the past imperialism and colonialism as well as the economic dominations exerted by the industrialized countries. This was a concern that emerged out of experiences of Latin American countries, and also a concern of neo-Marxists who questioned developing countries' position in the international system. The forerunners of dependency theorists were structuralist economists (Singer, 1950; Prebisch, 1950) and was later elaborated by Baran (1957), Frank (1966, 1967), and Amin (1974; 1976).

2.1.2 *Impasse of Development Theory and Emergence of Alternatives*

By the mid-1980s, it had become clear that neither modernization theory nor dependency theory seem to explain or provide adequate solutions to the problems of poverty and underdevelopment (Schurrman, 2000, 1993; Leys, 1996; Booth, 1994). What emerged was a question about empirical strength and theoretical validity of dominant development theories, and scholars also pointed out the observed gap between theory and practice (Pieterse, 2010; Edwards, 1989).

Schurrman (1993) provided seven reasons for such *impasse* of development theory (pp.10-11). First, there was a realization that “the poor and rich countries continued to widen and that the developing countries were unlikely to be able to bridge that gap whatever strategy they would follow.” Second was a realization that developing countries were preoccupied with short-term policies to keep up with their debts, not taking intermediate or long-term goals into consideration. The third reason was a growing awareness that economic growth has a catastrophic effect on the environment. Fourth, there was a de-legitimization of socialism as a viable political means of solving the problem of underdevelopment. Fifth was a realization that policies at national level were not adequate to deal with the world market. The sixth reason was a

“growing recognition of differentiation within the Third World that could no longer be handled by global theories assuming a homogenous First and Third World.” As a final reason, Schuurman points to the rise of post-modernism in social sciences. As a result, the three central paradigms in the study of development - an assumption about the homogeneity of the third world, a shared belief in progress, and the centrality of state as the main actor in development - lost their “hegemonic” status (Schuurman, 2000).

In response to such *impasse* of development theory, there emerged several alternative ways to think about development. These include neoclassical resurgence (Lal, 1983; Hayek, 1973), developmental state theories (Johnson, 1982), and human development (Sen, 1999). Also among them was the post-development school of thought, which attempts to deconstruct the concept of “development” *per se*. This dissertation joins these scholars who state that “development” is not value-free. They claimed that both studies and practices of development need to ask, from whose perspective is the concept being understood and represented?

2.1.3 Post- Development School of Thought

Rather than trying to provide an alternative framework to understand the current situation, groups of scholars began to assert that “development had been, from the beginning, nothing but a deceitful mirage (Rahnema, 1997, p.x).” Scholars in post-development, as they came to be called, understood development as a concept that was constructed solely by those in power to meet their interests. These critics of earlier development theories argue that their basic premises of modernization theory and dependency theory are now outdated, and that they are a product of an

earlier period defined first by colonialism and later by the cold war, reflecting European and North American views of political, social and economic change.

The origin of such post-development thoughts can be identified as early as 1960s in Illich (1969)'s analysis of underdevelopment as "the surrender of social consciousness to prepackaged solutions" created by the rich. He argued that adoption of Western standards and ideals leads Third World countries to aspire to unattainable goals.

Some political modernization theorists also challenged the linear and monolithic view of modernization process. Gusfield (1971), for example, asserted the incorrectness of viewing traditional societies as static, normatively consistent, or structurally homogeneous. He emphasized that relations between traditional and modern do not necessarily involve displacement, conflict, or exclusiveness. Pye (1966), on the other hand, called for abandoning linear, homogeneous understandings of development from the perspective of cultural relativism, arguing that given cultural differences, the change process should be different for individual countries.

Among the well-known post-development theorists is Escobar (1995), who presented the understanding of development as a discourse. For Escobar, development is "an apparatus that links forms of knowledge about the Third World with the deployment of forms of power and intervention; resulting in the mapping and production of Third World societies (p.213)." He further stated that "poor people's ability to define and take care of their own lives was eroded in a deeper manner than perhaps ever before. The poor became the target of more sophisticated practices, of a variety of programs that seemed inescapable (p.39)."

Hobert (1993) also presented an understanding of development as a discourse, pointing to the power of Western scientific knowledge. He states,

Not only are indigenous knowledge ignored or dismissed, but the nature of the problem of underdevelopment and its solution are defined by reference to this world-ordering knowledge (p.1).

Another well-cited post-development theorist is James Ferguson with his case study of the World Bank project in Lesotho (1994). He showed how the development discourse was constructed by those in power so as to be *apolitical* and *simplified*, thus distorting the reality. He states,

...it is a practice, it is structured, and it has real effects which are much more profound than simply 'mystification.' The thoughts and actions of 'development bureaucrats' are powerfully shaped by the world of acceptable statements and utterances within which they live; and what they do and do not do is a product not only of the interests of various nations, classes, or international agencies, but also, and at the same time, of a working out of this complex structure of knowledge.

The biggest contribution of post-development theorists to development theory is their claim that development is not value-free. Post-development thinkers argue that "texts, images, and concepts of development cannot be taken at face value (Sahel, 2012, p.72)." Scholars show how development is a Western-oriented concept, assuming homogeneity and universalism, apoliticizing the process. Rist (2003) calls attention the fact that these underlying ideas lead to an emergence of a "messianic" belief in the idea of development (p.235)."

Post-development theorists have also pointed to the importance of asking who defines development, how is it defined, and how is it being represented. By asking these questions, they sought to breakthrough existing framework of development, defined and framed by early development theorists from the West.

Sahel (2012) sees the question on representation as one of the key in the post-development school of thought. He argues that such a trend was further enhanced by post-structuralists (e.g. Hall, 1997) who argue that “words or languages and meaning contribute to political, cultural, and economic social reality (p.x).”

The question of representation of “others” is both an old and new question in anthropology. For example, using the term *Orientalism*, Said (1978) showed how European knowledge about the East was not based on facts or reality, but based on preconceived assumption that Eastern societies and Western societies are different, and that the former is superior to the latter. He showed that the discourse of *Orientalism* was a reflection of power and knowledge.

Applying this lens to international development, development anthropologists have shown how the concept of development is a Western imagination, and that emphasis on homogenization is a reductionist and simplistic representation (Crewe and Harrison, 1998; Grillo and Stirrat, 1997; Hobert, 1993).

While the perspectives provided by post-development theorists were indeed stimulating, critics argue that they have yet to come up with a concrete alternative (Watts, 1993; 1995). In other words, they have succeeded in *deconstructing* the concept of development, but fail at *reconstructing* the concept.

2.1.4 Contribution of This Study

This study contributes to the post-development school of thought by providing an empirical study of how development and related issues are being represented to the people living in Japan. Broadly speaking, there are two ways through which NGOs manifest how they understand development: in policies and designs of programs and projects to be implemented in the developing world, and in contents used for approaching and communicating with the donor public. While the studies have had the tendency to focus on the former, the same question also pertains to development actors who engage in representation of development for mobilizing the people living in donor societies. In this study, I examine how development NGOs in Japan manifest their understanding of international development and related issues in the efforts to mobilize the people living in Japan. how do NGOs define development and fit into this critique? Going beyond Western dominant frames, how do Japanese (non-Western but industrialized) NGOs understand and present the concept of international development? Do NGOs mirror the official views of progress-oriented modernization-development? Looking at Japan, do we see NGOs there reflecting these larger patterns or do non-Western NGOs different (but perhaps still paternalistic or hegemonic) views?

In addition to *how* one understands development, a related question being asked by post-development theorists is *who* defines development. As I discuss in the next section, the most optimistic view of Northern NGOs - NGOs with their bases in industrialized, donor countries - regard themselves as bridging the developed and the developing world at the grassroots level, representing and speaking for those who suffer from poverty. To what extent are Northern NGOs able to speak for the people in developing countries, or are they contributing to strengthening the

rampant discourse that presents the reductionist view of global poverty and international development? By focusing on Northern NGOs based in Japan, this study contributes to the theory of international development in examining the question of *who* defines development.

2.2 STUDIES ON DEVELOPMENT NGOS

During the 1980s and 1990s, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) emerged as one of the key actors in international development (Edward and Hulme, 1995, p.1). The driving factor was the disillusionment towards conventional development theories and practices and the discovery of NGOs' comparative advantage to the state.

NGOs were seen as a suitable actor for what Robinson (1993) called the "New Policy Agenda" that came to dominate development and aid policies. Underlying this new agenda was the idea of good governance and economic liberalization. NGOs were regarded as the 'magic bullet' with huge potential to play a key role in promoting democratic processes and to deliver services more efficiently (Edwards and Hulme, *op.cit.*). NGOs were believed to become the "leaders in cultivating a global moral order that finds poverty and violence unacceptable" as "exemplars of the societies they want to create, and work much harder to mainstream civic values into the arenas of economic, social and political power. (Edwards *et al.*, 2000, p.14)."

These rosy views of NGOs were not without problems. Studies have discussed the need for scaling up (Edwards and Hulme, 1992), accountability issues with regard to their

relationships with states (Hudock, 1999; Edwards and Hulme, 1996a; Edwards and Hulme, 1996b), and the need to enhance effectiveness (Fowler, 1997).

In assessing performance and contributions that NGOs make, studies called for NGOs to “move away from addressing problem symptoms and toward an attack on fundamental causes (Korten, 1990, p.113).” Based on the past experience of development practices, scholars claimed that providing *band-aids* to *symptoms* of poverty is insufficient for the ultimate aim of poverty alleviation. They advocated for measures to tackle the *root causes* of poverty by transforming the fundamental social structures.

Doing so meant expanding the target of development efforts. Interventions were to be made not only in developing countries but also in wealthy, industrialized countries. Edwards (1999a) made this point in his call for building constituency for international development. For Edwards, constituency building meant facilitating deep-rooted changes in personal behavior.

Constituency building is not a matter of briefing a few politicians or distributing an education pack to schools on how children live in Africa, since making co-operation work...implies deep-rooted changes right across society in order to persuade governments, businesses and individuals to make short-term sacrifices for long-term gains, and engage actively in global regimes. (p.189)

Edwards states that this is about “altering patterns of consumption and production, especially in the global North (p.9).”

Korten (1990) made a similar claim in discussing “generations” of how voluntary organizations in development have evolved. He states that “there is a need to energize decentralized action toward a people-centered development vision on a much broader scale (p.124).” One of the critical roles expected of voluntary organizations in the fourth generation is

to catalyze a change in existing systems, and one way to do so is for Northern NGOs to develop engaged constituencies in industrialized countries (pp. 202-205).

Clark (1990) is another strong advocate for the need to make active approaches to the donor public to tackle the root causes of poverty. Clark adds that such need also comes from Southern NGOs. Local NGOs established and run by people in developing countries gradually increased in size and capacity to the extent that they began to displace Northern NGOs “as implementers, or even as channels for aid from government or multilateral agencies (Coates and David, 2002, p.530).”

Northern NGOs are increasingly being challenged by their Southern partners to put more resources into education, campaigning and advocacy. Southern NGOs are saying that it is not enough to give money, what is needed is political action to help them in the struggle to get the rich North off the backs of the South’s Poor. (Clark, *op.cit.*, p.126).”

Northern NGOs have indeed expanded and enhanced their efforts to approach the people living in donor countries or donor *per se* to bring about change in development practices. Studies have documented several different ways in which they do so such as development education (Arnold, 1988; Broadhead, 1987; Minear, 1987; Lemaesquier, 1987) and policy advocacy (Hudson, 2002; Anderson, 2000; Chapman and Fisher, 2000; Nelson, 1995; Edwards and Hulme, 1992).

2.2.1 Northern NGOs as Agents of Representation

When Northern NGOs approach the donor public, they describe the problematic situation observed in the developed world and present potential solutions. In doing so, NGOs become the

“new institution of representation,” playing the role of discourse-maker of global poverty and international development (Shaw, 1996).

How NGOs do so is not without question. As Edwards (1999a) states, the major part of the failure of past efforts to build constituency for international development “lies in the messages we have used to communicate the case and the methods and techniques employed (p.203).” He calls for the need “to break free from paternalistic images of Third-World charity and the message that global issues can be tackled through foreign aid, and replace them with strategies that convince people to take action in their own lives to build a more co-operative world – as ethical consumers, agents of change in their communities, and active citizens of an increasingly internationally minded polity (p.230).” He also states that “the most important thing is to move away from an attitude that ‘the problems are over there’ and embrace an inclusive message that co-operation matters both at home and abroad (pp.193-194)” and to connect the vision “to practical actions that people can take to put in into practice (p.194).” Are NGOs able to realize Edwards’ point?

The concern had been raised as early as the 1970s, particularly in the European context. One of the first studies that pointed out the variety observed in communication messages of development agencies can be found in Lissner (1977). Lissner, who saw voluntary agencies as enjoying “a quasi-monopoly position in the Third World information market (p.133),” pointed out the tendency for these agencies to place disproportionate weight on representing negative images, which later came to be called the “starving baby,” “flies in the eyes,” or the “poster child.” Analysis of publications of voluntary agencies in Europe also revealed that the dominant message tended to understand the issue of global poverty as “others’ problem”:

The dominant problem is all “out there.” It is caused by endogenous factors inside the low-income countries. We in the high-income countries are outside spectators; our present standard of living is the results of our own efforts alone. The only, or most important, thing we can do to reduce poverty and human suffering in the Third World is to provide more aid resources (Lissner, 1977, p.158).

After more than thirty years, both scholars and practitioners today continue to observe such skewed messages that highlight hopelessness and attempt to escape from questioning the power relationship embedded in the issue. Canadian activist Danielle Goldfinger (2006), for example, cautions that the continued use of “development pornography” will bring about three undesired consequences:

1. Creation and solidification of stereotypes that the entire developing world is rife with poverty, disease, and malnourishment
2. Dehumanization of people living in developing world with simplified representations of many others from different contexts
3. Masking of the root causes of poverty and diversion of attention from issues of justice and basic human rights toward values of charity and pity

The challenge has always been to move away from the “starving baby” messages, and to find an alternative that would motivate the donor public to engage in international development as a cause that they feel strongly concerned about. Such efforts, for example, can be observed in development of various Codes of Conduct. For example, *Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and NGOs in Disaster Relief* (1995) states that “In our information, publicity and advertising activities, we shall recognize disaster victims as dignified humans, not hopeless objects.” Similarly, Canadian Council for International Co-operation’s

Code of Ethics and Operational Standards (1995, revised in 2004 and 2009) states that organizations “shall ensure that images and text included in all communications to the public a) respect the dignity and rights of the individuals portrayed and their way of life; b) are accurate, balanced, truthful and representative of reality and do not generalize and mask the diversity of situations; c) portray local communities as active agents in their own development process and do not fuel prejudice or foster a sense of Northern superiority, and d) encourage a sense of interconnectedness and interdependence between the Canadian public and the people shown in the image or discussed in the text.”

Attempting to overcome the simplistic message that showed the “starving baby” as “others’ problem,” development NGOs came to have a rich repertoire of messages, as reflected in the five types of messages that McDonnell *et al.* (2003) identified (see chapter 1, p.x). However, scholars argue that an enhanced repertoire has led to an emergence of yet another problem, that of mixed messages. Simply put, messages end up being “confusing, self-serving, contradictory and more often than not, negative (Smillie, 1995, p.142).”

Arnold (1988), for example, pointed out the lack of clarity in the purpose of development education implemented by British charities, identifying multiple visions and objectives (pp.188-189). Arnold saw three visions articulated in educational efforts of British organizations: a “charity” vision that inspires compassion and awakens a sense of “moral duty” to help the less fortunate, an “interdependence” vision that encourages the donor public to cooperate with their partners in the South, and a “liberation” vision that motivates the donor public to work on behalf of people living in the developing world. Objectives of educating the donor public were also multidimensional, including providing information, providing critical skills, or encouraging actions.

Dogra (2007), in an empirical study examining fundraising images observed in a print media of Christian Aid in United Kingdom, also found messages to be a mix of “negative” and “positive” imageries. Dogra saw the phenomenon of mixed messages as a reflection of organizational struggle to set priorities, and as reflecting the dogma of “positive imagery” that Benthall (1993) pointed out. In a more recent study, Dogra (2011) found that the representation of women in fundraising and advocacy messages of international development NGOs in the United Kingdom were “mixed, sometimes contradictory (p.334).” The study found that representations of women were naturalized, and made distinct from the context. “Third World women” served as projecting universal values of motherhood, but at the same time represented a special value of the developing world.

In her 2012 book, Dogra concludes that messages that British international NGOs articulate present the dualism of “difference” and “oneness.” Developing countries were “infantilised, feminized, naturalized and dehistoricised, separate and unconnected’ to the DW (developed world) (p.73).” Dehistoricized rhetoric of universal humanism was nested in such differences, setting the scene for outside intervention. Dogra argues that use of space “heightens the distance between MW (majority world referring to developing countries) and DW (developed countries) through oppositional representations that project a largely rural MW containing extreme poverty and vulnerability and an urban, modern, and prosperous DW (p.73).” Causes of poverty are explained “either as ‘internal’ features of the MW such as corruption, overpopulation and violence or as external factors caused by natural or medical reasons which deny any connections and continuities between the MW and the DW (p.92).”

Multiplicity of messages is not necessarily bad, as long as they are not mixed in a way that makes the messages less effective in mobilizing the donor public. One of the solutions that

have been advocated is to balance multiple messages by articulating different messages in different types of mobilization efforts. For example, Smillie (1995) understands fundraising and development education to be two sides of the same coin; fundraising tends to represent negative images, while educational messages tend to be more positive.

2.2.2 Contribution of This Study

This dissertation joins the group of studies that presents or assumes NGOs as agents of representation. I expand these existing studies in three ways.

First, by applying framing theory, particularly as it is discussed in social movement theory, to the inquiry of messages that Northern NGOs articulate to mobilize the people living in donor societies, I expand the scope of NGOs' representation from how developing countries are represented and how the needs for intervention are represented, to how the people living in donor public are motivated to join the cause (details to be discussed in Chapter three). Little has been discussed about how NGOs describe why one should get involved in the cause.

Second, the application of framing theory sheds light on the process of how messages are crafted. Studies from Lissner (1977) to recent studies have focused much on the nature of messages that are being presented. There is limited understanding of how discussions and decision-making takes place within the NGOs. Application of framing theory allows us to understand messages as strategically framed by groups or organizations in context, reflecting NGOs' strategic choices. In addition to analysis of messages being presented, this study will

conduct semi-structured interviews to sample NGOs to better understand the process and their strategic choices in message framing.

Third, given the diversity of observed communication messages, there is a need to conduct more empirical studies to accumulate articulated messages. This is crucial to conceive a framework that comprehensively captures the patterns of messages. To my knowledge, the majority of the studies examining NGOs messages are in the European or North American context, and little is known about non-Western contexts. This dissertation study expands the contexts of empirical study by exploring message framing behaviors of development NGOs in Japan.

2.3 STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION FOR NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

Nonprofits today operate in an environment in which competition is greater than ever (Brown and Slivinski, 2006; Young and Salamon, 2003; Oster, 1995). With an increasing number of nonprofits – more than 1.4 million in the United States alone (NCCS, 2011) – and an advance of a seamless economy blurring boundaries of public, private, and nonprofit sectors (Kearns, 2010), nonprofits today compete not only for financial, material, and human resources, but also for public attention and support in advancing their missions.

Greater competition calls for nonprofits to differentiate themselves from their competitors. It also demands identification of their comparative advantage. Strategic marketing has attracted much attention as a measure to deal with such emerging needs, particularly as part of strategic planning (Andreasen and Kotler, 2008). Strategic marketing is a process of carefully considering

programs, products, communications, and pricing and distribution for a specific goal or result (Gainer, 2010).

Among components of strategic marketing, how nonprofits communicate with various stakeholders has attracted much attention. Termed strategic communication (Patterson and Radtke, 2009), nonprofits have looked into the “purposeful use of communication by an organization to fulfill its mission” (Hallahan et al. 2007, p.3). For nonprofits, this means not only “sending out an occasional press release or publishing an op-ed once a year. It means that an organization treats media relations and communications as more important, fully integrated, consistent, and ongoing functions and invests resources in it (Bonk *et al.*, 1999, pp.2-3)”. Ideally, strategic communication plans are driven by (1) an organization’s goals and outcomes, (2) its vision, as expressed in the mission statement, and (3) its values and beliefs (Bonk, 2010, p.x). The process involves careful definition of target audience, crafting messages, and selecting most effective communication channels.

Andreasen and Kotler (2003) stress the importance of communication in the context of nonprofit marketing for several reasons (pp.28-29). They refer to consumers as the audience of nonprofits’ strategic communication, and sacrifice as actions they make. First, consumers are often asked to make sacrifices in or for issues they are largely indifferent about. Second, consumers are often asked to make 180-degree shifts in attitudes or behaviors. Third, large amounts of information must be communicated to consumers because the issues involve very complex behaviors and attitudes. Fourth, benefits resulting from the sacrifice are not evident, and for some sacrifices, the benefits accrue to others and not to those who made the sacrifice. Finally, it is often difficult to portray the offering because many of the changes to be marketed involve intangible social and psychological benefits.

The growing interest in strategic communication in the nonprofit sector is reflected in the fact that the most recent edition of *The Jossey-Bass Handbook of Nonprofit Leadership and Management* introduced a new chapter on strategic communication (Bonk, 2010). Despite the stressed importance, however, the number of empirical studies is still limited. There is room to understand how strategic communication is implemented in practice and to examine its effectiveness.

2.3.1 Application of Social Marketing to Nonprofit Context

Because what nonprofits market to their audience often involves behavioral change, social marketing has expanded into the world of nonprofits. Social marketing is “the application of commercial marketing technologies to the analysis, planning, execution, and evaluation of programs designed to influence the voluntary behavior of target audiences in order to improve their personal welfare and that of their society (Andreasen, 1995, p.7).” The idea of adopting “marketing” beyond buying and selling of a product was first advocated by Wiebe (1951) and Kotler and Levy (1969), and expanded into the term “social marketing” by Kotler and Zaltman in 1971. The focus is on voluntary behavior change, application of principle of exchange, application of marketing techniques, and the end goal of improving welfare.

Empirical studies analyzing how social marketing is done, including what makes it effective, have been conducted on health-related behaviors such as smoking, drunk driving, drug use, obesity, and nutrition (e.g. Grier and Bryant, 2005). Also of interest has been environmental

related behaviors such as saving water, paper use, and emission of carbon (e.g. Mckenzie-Mohr *et al.*,2011).

Because social marketing efforts are often initiated and sponsored by public and nonprofit organizations, social marketing covers nonprofit marketing. However, because marketing is used for wider objectives than simply promoting behavioral change such as utilization of an organization's service, purchases of ancillary products and services, volunteer recruitment, advocacy efforts, and fundraising, "social marketing efforts are only one of many marketing activities" conducted by nonprofit organizations (Kotler and Lee, 2008).

A related domain of work is public information campaigns, defined as "purposive attempts to inform or influence behaviors in large audiences within a specified time period using an organized set of communication activities and featuring an array of mediate messages in multiple channels generally to produce noncommercial benefits to individuals and society (Atkin and Rice, 2013, p.3)." In public information campaigns, messages are purposively focused on knowledge, attitudes, and behavior. (Atkin and Freimuth, 2013, p.55).

A well-known model of public information campaigns is McGuire's communication-persuasion matrix (McGuire, 2013). This is an input-output model, where source (organization that sponsors the campaign and the messenger who delivers the message characterized in terms of demographics, credibility, and attractiveness), message, channel, receiver (e.g. demographics, ability, personality, etc.), and destination (e.g. immediacy or delay, prevention or cessation) are treated as input communication factors, and information-processing and response are treated as output variables.

Message is considered to be one of the keys in this model, where designing a message involves strategic selection of substantive material and the creative production of stylistic

features (Atkin and Rice, 2013, p.9). Each message may feature a variety of content dimensions such as themes, appeals, claims evidence, and recommendations, using various formats of arranging material and styles of packaging. The overall series of messages in a campaign can vary in volume, repetition, prominence of placement, and scheduling.

2.3.2 Effective Messages

Both social marketing and public information campaign have built a rich repertoire of types of messages that have been proven to be effective in various contexts. Studies have identified the types of information that is being presented as well as how it is presented. Because I elaborate on different types of messaging using the concept “frame” in Chapter three, I simply list some of the possible messages identified in studies of social marketing and public information campaigns in this chapter. Messages may be persuasive or informational; preventing problematic behavior or promoting positive behavior; stressing rewarding gains or emphasizing loss; emphasizing credibility, engaging, personally involving, understandability, and/or motivational. “These attributes 1) attract attention and facilitate comprehension by personalizing message concepts, 2) elicit positive cognitive responses during processing, and 3) heighten emotional arousal via identification or transfer of affect, and 4) increase retention due to memorability (Atkin and Rice, 2013, p.10).”

2.3.3 Strategic Communication in International Development Context

In the context of international development, social marketing has been applied to the promotion of health-related behavioral change in developing countries (Cairns *et al.*, 2011). There are a limited number of studies that look into the other side of international development – that of donor mobilization.

Studies on charity advertisements have looked into how nonprofits may influence giving behavior. Das *et al.* (2008), for example, identified three characteristics as key in fundraising messaging: likelihood of goal attainment, positive or negative message framing, and statistical or anecdotal evidence. In an experimental setting, the study found explicit reference to the likelihood of goal attainment to be the most effective, and that abstract, statistical evidence combined with a negative frame, or anecdotal, vivid evidence combined with a positive frame had a pronounced effect on attitudes toward the charity message. Chang and Lee (2009), on the other hand, focused on gain-loss frames, vivid and concrete information in case stories, and the scale of statistical numbers used, as key in fundraising messages for child poverty-oriented charity. In an experimental setting, the study found the presentation of a small number, combined with a negatively framed message and negative case story, as well as a larger number combined with a positively framed message and positive case story, as effective. In Chang and Lee (2010), the study also reported the effect of temporal framing as another key message characteristic. While a short-term temporal frame facilitated effects of negatively framed messages combined with negative images, a long-term temporal frame combined with positively framed messages and positive images turned out to be effective in motivating the audience towards charitable contribution.

2.3.4 Contribution of this Study

This dissertation provides an empirical study of how strategic communication is implemented by nonprofits engaged in mobilization of the donor public for international development. Using the types of messages - or message framings as I describe in Chapter three – identified and used in social marketing and public information campaign as a guide, I extract and examine the contents presented in messages articulated by NGOs. Because global poverty is often an issue distant and unfamiliar to people living in industrialized, donor countries, winning their attention and persuading them to make actions is challenging. This is particularly true for Japan, where international development is not a cause that attracts much interest (to be discussed in Chapter four). Rather than exploring how strategic communication in international development might work in an experimental setting, this study examines how development NGOs as social marketers decide and present message framings in actual practices.

Another contribution that this study makes is in examining a case of a non-English speaking context. Because analysis of strategic communication, particularly of messages, involves language issues, rarely are studies examining practices in non-English contexts reported in English academic literature. Using my bilingual language skills, I challenge this barrier by examining strategic communication practices of nonprofits in Japan/Japanese, and report the results of the analyses in English.

2.4 JAPANESE CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE NONPROFIT SECTOR

Since the early 1990s, there have been emerging interests in comparative studies of civil society and the nonprofit sector around the world. Studies conducted and published by the Center for Civil Society Studies at Johns Hopkins (Salamon *et al.*, 2004; 1999) as well as those published by CIVICUS (Finn, 2008; 2007) have attracted much attention.

Japan has been of interest to these scholars as a case of non-Western societies. Studies have examined: 1) the structure and characteristics of the Japanese civil society and the nonprofit sector, 2) factors that affect the formation and structure of the Japanese civil society and the nonprofit sector in Japan, as well as 3) characteristics of the contexts in which nonprofits operate. There have also been studies on the emergence, characteristics, and performance of development of NGOs in Japan. Below, I elaborate on each of these aspects and discuss the contributions that this study makes to the field of Japanese civil society and the nonprofit sector.

2.4.1 Structure and Characteristics

Whether a realm that can be called “civil society” exists in Japan or not has been a longstanding question. Wolferen (1991), for example, stated “‘civil society’ – the part of the body politic outside the active Government and power system – is virtually unknown in Japan (p.x).” Kawashima (2001) also states that “it is difficult to judge whether Japanese nonprofit organizations form their own “sector” to constitute a relatively distinct institutional sphere (p.15).” Some refer to the fact that the term “third sector” in Japan refers to a hybrid sector of

quasi-public, quasi-business organizations and that it does not depict a distinct institutional sphere (Amenomori and Yamamoto, 1998).

Scholars proposing an opposing view stress the long tradition of philanthropy and volunteerism in Japan, much of which is rooted in Buddhist teachings and practices (Shigeta, 2005). Looking back into the history, Imada (2006) concluded that charity activities began to be organized in a more formal manner during the eighteenth century, and soon after Japan opened-up its borders after 200 years of a closed-door policy, the Civic Code was established in 1898 to publicly recognize these organizations.

Recent studies suggest that there indeed is a strong Japanese civil society, and there is an emergence of an institutionalized nonprofit sector. Schwartz (2003) concludes that “civil society in Japan is stronger than has been presumed, and that current trends are positive (p.x).”

According to a study by Yamauchi *et al.* (1999), the nonprofit sector in Japan is a \$213.6 billion industry based on its expenditures (1995 average exchange rate), representing 4.5 percent of GDP. The sector has 2.1 million full-time equivalent paid workers, accounting for 39.8 percent of public employment, 3.5 percent of total nonagricultural employment, and 13.7 percent of total service employment. The sector has been successful in attracting volunteers that are equivalent to 700,000 full-time employees. It grew by 27 percent from 1990 to 1995 with \$23 billion of additional revenue, adding 451,000 new full-time equivalent jobs.

Atoda *et al.* (1998) argue that while the Japanese nonprofit sector is quite sizable in absolute numbers, it ranks behind other industrialized countries. According to the cross-national comparison conducted by Johns Hopkins University, Japan ranked nineteenth on the Civil Society Index, one of the lowest among advanced nations (Salamon and Sokolowski and Associates, 2004).

Yamauchi *et al.* (1999) further argued that the Japanese nonprofit sector in Japan is *bifurcated*, consisting of two different types of organizations. First, there are legally well-defined and well-recognized nonprofit corporations based on the Civic Code, such as public benefit corporations, medical corporations, private school corporations, and social welfare corporations. The second set of organizations is grassroots groups that engage in such activities as environmental protection, advocacy, community development, and international cooperation. Most of these grassroots organizations are small and their revenue structures are fairly fragile. Amenomori and Yamamoto (1998) further elaborated on different types of organizations.

Tsujinaka (2003) also found a two-tiered structure in his study comparing Japanese civil society with the United States and Korea. He found that while in Japanese civil society there are as many public-interest corporations as the other two countries, there are fewer associations and active groups. He also found that the associations largely consisted of business associations and producer sector. As a result, Tsujinaka argues, civic associations involved in advocacy in Japan are particularly weak. In another international ranking, Tsujinaka *et al.* (2005) revealed that Japanese civil society exerts relatively little influence on policy-making.

Pekkanen (2006) conducted another study that found duality in Japanese civil society. However, unlike the other studies, he found the duality among grassroots organizations. It was noted that “small local groups, such as neighborhood associations, have been promoted by the state, while large, independent, professionalized groups, such as Greenpeace, have faced a much more hostile legal environment (p.7)”. Pekkanen argues that while the state incentives encouraged many small neighborhood organizations that concentrate on service delivery and networking - which he calls “social capital-type civil society” - lobby type civil society groups

were discouraged, thus leading to a Japanese society that could be called “members without advocates.”

2.4.2 Factors Affecting Size, Scale, and Effectiveness of the Nonprofit Sector

What are some of the factors that led Japanese civil society to have such a *bifurcated* or dual structure? Studies agree that government policies and regulations, implemented via legal framework, had a considerable impact (Pekkanen and Simon, 2003; Kawashima, 2001; Amemiya, 1998). Salamon and Anheier (1998) conducted a cross-national comparison to examine varying social origins of civil society. The study advocates four routes to its development – liberal, social democratic, corporatist, and statist – and found Japan as an exemplar of statist theory.

Pekkanen (2003, 2000) argues it was the state regulation that shaped the development of civil society, creating a situation where “some groups face greater difficulties in formation, operation, and growth than do others (2003, p.113).” Osborne (2003) also joins the argument, stating that the “importance of mutual aid as an essential component of society and where the development both of social services and of non-profit organizations is dependent upon the sanction and leadership of local and central government (p.11).” Furthermore, Kawashima (2001) states, “legal framework and political culture of Japan have made it difficult for private individuals to take the initiative to voluntarily organize activities for public benefit (p.6).”

Studies have also documented the impact of a change in state policies towards voluntary and nonprofit organizations in recent decades. In 1998, the Japanese government enacted the *Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities*. This new legal framework is believed to have

allowed smaller organizations opportunities to gain legal status with less strict governmental approval procedure and enjoy tax exemptions (Pekkanen, 2000). Furthermore, this new nonprofit law was complemented by an additional authorization process in 2001, allowing nonprofits that further pass a specified “Public Support Test” to enjoy the privilege of treating incoming donations as tax-deductable.

Reimann (2012, 2010) adds another perspective in understanding how NGO activism in Japan emerged and expanded, arguing for the impact of external drive from the international community. While NGO sectors in most OECD countries grew as the country modernized and globalized, the pattern did not appear to fit Japan. Reimann argued that Japan’s NGO activism underwent an interesting pattern in that it was the international political opportunity structure, the promotion of a new NGO norm and the transnational diffusion of ideas that gave activists in Japan the impulse to organize and to institutionalize their efforts. Furthermore, it was the international institutions and actors that promoted the NGO norm and socialized the Japanese state to foster the growth of the NGO sector.

2.4.3 Contextual Characteristics

Studies interested in Japanese civil society and the nonprofit sector have also examined characteristics of the context in which organizations operate and their effects on nonprofit performance.

For example, studies have documented the rising culture of civic engagement and actions that underpin Japanese civil society. Chapters in Vinken, *et al.* (2010) document certain degrees

of civic engagement in Japan, in both traditional and emerging forms. In the introduction, Vinken *et al.* states that civic engagement in Japan,

“...is not just about joining hands in watering flower beds at museum parks. In many cases, it is a serious battle and a hard struggle with the formal powers to defend interests, to fight for civil rights, to raise one’s voice, and even to – sometimes with over anger and despair – protest against injustices that people experience on a day-to-day basis, especially people outside the mainstream, and people who suffer economic hardships (p.5).”

Kage (2011) argues that the culture of civic engagement in Japan is deeply influenced by what the Japanese people experienced during the World War II. The wartime experience affected the incentives and resources for citizens to participate in associational life. The rise of such civil society was a key variable in facilitating better organization of reconstruction efforts after the war (Kage, 2009). A strong civil society generated information that helped to identify the areas of most acute need, facilitated implementation, and provided effective monitoring.

As part of civic engagement, giving behaviors have been of interest to both scholars and practitioners. The main claim is that there is a lack of, or a low level of, giving culture in Japan. For example, studies comparing giving behaviors between Japan and the United States found that Japanese people tend to give less than Americans (Yamauchi and Mekata, 2012; Ouchi, 2004; Matsubara and Todoroki, 2003). Given the reluctance to give among the Japanese people, practitioners were concerned that nonprofits were not putting a sufficient amount of effort into raising funds in Japan. Nishi (2007) refutes such claims by showing a wider application of various fundraising techniques than presumed by these critics.

Volunteering as another form of civic engagement has also been a focus of study (Avenell, 2010; 2009). Studies agree that the 1995 Kobe Earthquake triggered what Honma and Deguchi (1996) called a “volunteer revolution,” boosting and enhancing the volunteering efforts in Japan (Imada, 2003).

Studies also look into efforts to enhance civic engagement through education. Sato (2010), for example, concluded that current civic education (called *komin*) in Japan is insufficient. He calls for public education in Japan to expand its international focus, and to enhance its efforts to produce “global citizens.” Doing so leads educators to turn their attention to NGOs engaged in international development, which I discuss below.

2.4.4 Development and Proliferation of Development NGOs

Although limited, studies have documented and examined the emergence and performance of development NGOs in Japan. Their history of development and evolution has been documented mostly by leading practitioners (Ohashi, 2011; Itoh, 2004). Case studies of different types of organizations are also being documented (Mabashi and Takayanagi, 2007; Kim *et al.* 2007; Shigeta, 2005; Imada and Harada, 2004).

Of particular interest to this dissertation are studies that consider Japanese development NGOs or Northern NGOs and discuss their diversifying roles. Kuroda and Imada (2002) and Kuroda (2004) discussed the changing role of Northern NGOs from service delivery to capacity building and empowerment, promotion of development education, policy advocacy and campaigns, and expanding support base. Looking at the practical level, studies have documented increasing trends of development NGOs approaching the donor public. For instance, NGOs

today are engaged in development education (Yumoto, 2003; Ishii, 2003; Tanaka, 1994; Yoshida, 1989) and policy advocacy (Hirata, 2002; Mekata, 2000). A recent survey on activities and management of development NGOs in Japan confirm their increasing and expanding commitments to mobilization of the donor public (JANIC, 2007).

Studies have also found reluctance of development NGOs in Japan to make sizable commitments in efforts to approach the Japanese people. For example, Kuroda and Imada (2003) interviewed six major international NGOs in Japan and found that “Japanese NGOs, with the exception of few established ones, do not make a considerable staff and resource investment to either develop strategies and tools for campaigning and advocacy or to expand and maintain a strong domestic support base (p.5).” Kim (2007) sees refusal of politicization as the reason why Japanese NGOs are unwilling to engage in advocacy. He argues, “while advocacy is one of the important activities of NGOs, Japanese society tends to regard advocacy work as part of political activities, and tends to consider NGO advocacy undesirable (p.21).” Kim suggests that “NGOs, in order to achieve their ideal and values must ‘politicize’ and should not be self-restricted to be apolitical actors (p.33).”

Messages that NGOs articulate in mobilizing the Japanese public have received limited attention. To my knowledge, there are only two such scholarly works. Shimosawa (2004) analyzed pamphlets used for fundraising by ten development NGOs with the largest financial record in 2000. Here, he found that NGOs represent “a world of destitution, hunger, and threats to life.” Shimosawa interprets such representation as “a world over there” that has no direct connection to the one in Japan. He also argues that the frequent use of smiling children is used to connote that donations made to NGOs contribute to changing the world of destitution and hunger.

Shimozawa criticizes these messages by pointing to the lack of discussion on “our world,” i.e. Japan, and that they do they expect any change in the Japanese people.

In my own work, I have conducted participant observation of development education programs by an international NGO in Japan (Okada, 2006). I found that developing countries were represented in three different ways: as poor countries that receive aid, as poor countries that suffer unequal North-South relationship, or simply as a foreign country. The objective of educating the donor public was also mixed, including soliciting donations, raising awareness toward international development, encouraging the audience to oppose Japanese governments’ current policies for international development, encouraging a change in one’s lifestyle, or raising awareness towards foreign countries. From a series of interviews, I found that mixed messages were a reflection of a struggle of priority setting among different staff. Some prefer to understand development education as a tool for fundraising, while other regarded it as a tool for education. Mixed messages were also a reflection of the dilemma of trying to overcome the stereotyped “starving baby” images that students already have, but at the same time trying to tailor the messages familiar enough to attract students’ attention.

2.4.5 Contribution of this Study

To my knowledge, this dissertation is the first systematic, large-scale study that examines development NGOs as agents of representation in Japan. Not only do I add an empirical study of NGOs’ performance in mobilization of the Japanese public, but also present the understanding of development NGOs as discourse makers of global poverty and international development. Because the majority of the studies on Japanese development NGOs’ performance to date were

driven by practical interests, the view presented in this study will enhance the understanding of these organizations from a sociological perspective.

2.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has reviewed four fields of study that are relevant to this dissertation. First, this study joins post-development scholars in development theory, questioning the representation of dimensions surrounding the concept of “development.” Second, this study expands the perspective of understanding NGOs as agents of representation by applying framing theory and shedding light on motivational aspects of messages. Third, I positioned this study as expanding an empirical study of nonprofits’ strategic communication, presenting a case from a non-Western context. Finally, I add an empirical study of a performance of development NGOs to the series of studies on Japanese civil society and the nonprofit sector. Bringing these four fields together, this dissertation examines how development NGOs frame communication messages articulated to mobilize the donor public.

3.0 THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter will discuss the theoretical framework and methodology applied in this study. In examining messages that development NGOs in Japan articulate to mobilize the donor public, I apply framing theory and conduct framing analysis combining qualitative content analysis, semantic network analysis, visual analysis, and semi-structured interviews.

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part describes the concept of “frame” and framing theory. I discuss its application in different fields of study and demonstrate how applying the theory to this study leads to the emergence of a perspective to understand NGOs as strategic framing agents. The second part of this chapter describes the methodology of framing analysis. I introduce different methods used in existing studies, discuss concerns about reliability and validity, and propose to combine multiple methods for conducting frame analysis in this study. The chapter concludes with a discussion of sample selection and data collection.

3.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: FRAMING THEORY

Framing refers to a process in which an individual or an organization selects aspects of a phenomenon or an idea to highlight, emphasize, or ignore. Framing theory has been adopted in various fields of study, including cognitive psychology, linguistics and discourse analysis,

communication and media studies, social movement theory as well as political science and policy studies (Benford and Snow, 2000).

Below, I begin with a description of the concept “frame.” I then discuss framing theory in detail as well as its application to three fields of study that are closely related to this dissertation: media and political communication studies, social movement studies, and social marketing studies. Finally, I elaborate on significance of applying framing theory to this study.

3.1.1 Frame

The concept of “frame” came to be widely recognized with Goffman’s work titled *Frame Analysis* (1974). Goffman defined “frame” as “schemata of interpretation” that enable individuals “to locate, perceive, identify, and label” occurrences within their life space and the world at large (p.21). Frames are used to understand events or ideas, to organize experience, and to guide action. Frames function to simplify and condense the “world out there” by “selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one’s present or past environment (Snow and Benford, 1992, p.137).”

Since Goffman, the concept of “frame” has come to be understood on different levels. For example, a “frame” can be observed at micro, meso, and macro levels (Friedland and Mengbai, 1996). In other words, “frame” can be understood not only at the level of individuals, but also at the levels of organizations and societies. Studies have also come to highlight more specific frames, as seen in an identification of “media frame” (or “news frame”) and “audience frame” in media studies (Scheufele, 1999). Social movement studies suggest “collective action frames” that “enable activists to articulate and align a vast array of events and experiences so that

they hang together in a relatively unified and meaningful fashion (Snow and Benford, 1992, pp.137-138).” Also of interest to social movement studies is “master frame” identified at the societal level, accounting for clustering and connections among various movements (Snow and Benford, 1992).

3.1.2 Framing

Framing refers to the process of generating and/or shaping a frame. Framing theory thus explains how a particular phenomenon or an idea comes to be described and presented in a certain way, with particular aspects being emphasized and made salient (Benford and Snow, 2000). The perspective is “rooted in the symbolic interactionist and constructionist principle that meanings do not automatically or naturally attach themselves to the objects, events, or experiences we encounter, but often arise, instead, through interactively based interpretive processes (Snow, 2004, p.384).”

Framing has been defined in so many ways that Entman (1993) characterized it as “fractured” and “scattered.” Van Gorp (2007) points to the unequivocal conceptualization of the term across different disciplines, calling it a “passé-partout.” For example, Gitlin (1980) defined framing as “principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters (p.6).” Gamson and Modigliani (1987) defined it as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events (p.143).” The most well-known and well-cited definition of framing is found in Entman (1993).

Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to *select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* for the item described. Frames, then, define problems – determine what a causal agent is doing and costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of cultural values; diagnose causes – identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments – evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies – offer and justify treatments for the problem and predict their likely effects (p.52).

While variations exist, all framing theories share two basic assumptions. First, theories take a constructivist view and assume that a phenomenon or an idea can be represented in different ways. Second, it is assumed that an entity has the ability to choose aspects of the phenomenon or an idea to be highlighted, emphasized, or to be ignored. Framing is an act of meaning construction (Benford and Snow, 2000).

Two concepts are closely related to framing. Agenda setting, first developed by McCombs and Shaw (1972), refers to a function of mass media to bring people's attention to certain issues. Framing goes a step further than agenda-setting in that the process makes certain attributes of an issue, not issues *per se*, more salient than others. As such, McCombs (2004) calls framing "second-level agenda setting." The second related concept is priming, a process of setting a benchmark for evaluating the performance of political elites, leaders, and governments. Priming can be understood to be part of the framing process that triggers "changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987, p.63)."

3.1.3 Application of Framing Theory

Framing theory has been applied in multiple fields of study. In this section, I discuss three fields that are particularly relevant to this study: media and political communication studies, social movement studies, and social marketing studies. Each field understands organizations engaged in framing slightly differently, and depending on its interest, sheds light to different stages of the framing process¹. As I discuss, this study brings together understandings of framing organizations in all three fields of study to examine NGOs engaged in mobilizing the donor public towards international development in Japan.

3.1.3.1 Media and Political Communication Studies

For media and political communication studies applying framing theory, media are entities that select, clip, and present certain aspects of political issues to be conveyed to the audience.

The studies can be classified into four groups. The first group of studies examines the kinds of frames that media present. Most of these studies are descriptive, illustrating differences among presented frames by different media. The second group of studies examines the impact of media on perceptions and opinions of individuals. The third group of studies examines the impact of media on public policies, on policy makers and decision makers. Studies focus on the

¹ Framing consists of multiple stages. The first phase is frame generation, where an entity makes decisions on what dimensions to emphasize and to make salient, and in what manner. Studies focusing on this phase explore factors that influence emergence of frames as well as interactions that take place within the process. The second phase is presentation of frames. Studies analyze the nature and characteristics of frames in question. The third phase involves frames having effects on the audience. Studies examine the extent to which certain frames were transmitted and received to the audience, or whether transforming a frame in different ways makes any difference in the outcome.

relationship between media discourse and debates among political elites. There are two dominant theories in this group of study. The first theory is indexing (Bennett, 1990) where “mass media news professionals, from the boardroom to the beat, tend to ‘index’ the range of voices and viewpoints in both news and editorials according to the range of views expressed in mainstream government debate about a given topic (p.106).” The second theory is called the CNN effect, referring to the impact of new global, real-time media on international affairs. Livingston (1997) highlights three different understandings of the CNN effect: as policy agenda-setting agent, an impediment to the achievement of desired policy goals, and an accelerant to policy decision-making.

Some studies in political communication go a step further to examine the effects of different types of framing. These include effects of “equivalency frames” or effects of different wordings used to connote the same issue (Druckman, 2001), as well as “emphasis frames,” which are concerned with whether emphasis placed on different subsets of certain issues makes any difference (Druckman, 2004).

Although limited, media and political communication studies also explore how frames are generated. For example, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) identified four factors that influence the choice of mass media content: personal attitudes and orientations of media workers, media routines, nature of the organization, and relationship between the media and the external world. Van Gorp (2007) is another example of a study that examined of how cultures “interact with the schemata of both the journalist and the audience member (p.61).”

3.1.3.2 Social Movement Studies

The primary interest of social movement studies in framing is in understanding how social movement organizations (SMOs) approach and mobilize people's ideas, beliefs and support for participation. Also of interest is the effect of frames in bringing together multiple social movements.

For example, Snow and Benford (1988) identified three elements that serve as core framing tasks for SMOs: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational (also elaborated in Hunt *et al.* 1994). Diagnostic framing refers to identification of "some event or condition as problematic and in need of amelioration, and thereby designates culpable agents (Hunt et al., 1994, p.191)." It attributes a blame or causality to those identified as villain, culprit, or antagonist. Prognostic framing refers to a proposed solution to the diagnosed problem, specifying what needs to be done by whom. This includes not only a suggestion of solutions to the problem, but also identification of strategies, tactics, and targets. Motivational framing refers to a call to arms or rationale for engaging in ameliorative or corrective action. Motivational framing "entails the social construction and avowal of motives and identities of protagonists. These shared identities and motives in turn serve as an impetus for collective action (*ibid.*, p.191)."

The process of how these different framing tasks function to mobilize the people is studied with the concept of "frame alignment." Frame alignment refers to "the linkage of individual and SMO interpretive orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values and beliefs and SMO activities, goals, and ideology are congruent and complementary (Snow *et al.*, 1986, p.464)." Four of such alignment processes are identified: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation.

3.1.3.3 Social Marketing Studies

Like social movement studies, studies on social marketing apply framing theory to understand how organizations influence people's ideas and beliefs. However, they go beyond social movement studies in their focus to change people's behaviors, and as such, how organizations motivate the target audience becomes a major concern. Studies have explored: 1) dimensions to be framed, 2) how to frame the selected dimensions, and 3) different ways to present the framed dimensions.

As dimensions to be framed, Levin *et al.* (1998) highlighted risk, attribute (evaluation of object or event characteristics) and goal. Hallahan (1999) provided a more comprehensive list in the context of public relations, highlighting seven dimensions: situation, attributes, choices, actions, issues, responsibility, and news.

How can these dimensions be framed? The most frequently used strategy is valence framing. Adapted from prospect theory (Kahneman and Tversky, 1979; Tvesky and Kahneman, 1981), these frames are often referred to as gain-frames and loss-frames. Positive framings emphasize gains that rise as a result of adopting certain behaviors or ideas, while negative framings emphasize losses that may occur from not doing so (Maheswaran and Meyers-Levy, 1990). Messages may be one-sided, presenting either gain-frames or loss-frames, or two-sided, presenting both frames. While studies report varying results in different topics or in contexts, a meta-analysis by Levin *et al.* (1998) concludes that overall, there is a “consistent tendency for people to be more likely to take risks when options focus attention on the chance to avoid losses than when options focus on the chance to realize gains (p.153).”

Benefits and costs are not the only ways to frame dimensions (Andreasen and Kotler, 2003; Andreasen, 1995). Frames may also present interpersonal or social pressure if behaviors referred to are assumed to be strongly influenced by others in the environment of target audience. Messages may also be framed to emphasize self-efficacy, or an individual's belief that he or she can actually make things happen.

How can these framed dimensions be presented? Studies suggest that messages may be rational, emotional, or moral (Andreasen and Kotler, 2003, pp.414-416). Messages may be framed rationally, aimed at passing on information or serving the audience's self-interest, or both. Emotional messages stir up negative or positive emotions that motivate the target audience, including appeals of fear, guilt and shame. Finally, moral messages are directed at the audience's sense of what is right and proper.

Messages may also be more *informational* or more *persuasive* (Atkin and Rice, 2013, pp. 8-9). While an informational message "informs people what to do, specifies who should do it, or provides cues about when and where it should be done," persuasive messages emphasize "reasons why the audience should adopt the advocated action or avoid the proscribed behavior."

Atkin and Rice (2013) also highlight five message qualities (p.9). Messages may articulate *credibility*, conveyed by trustworthiness and competence of the source and provision of convincing evidence. Messages may also be presented in an *engaging manner* via selection of interesting or arousing substantive content combined with attractive and entertaining stylistic execution. Third, messages may be *personally involving*, so that the audience regards behavioral recommendations as applicable to their situations and needs. Fourth, they may emphasize *understandability* with simple, explicit, and detailed presentation of content that is comprehensible to the audience. Finally, messages may highlight *motivational incentives*.

3.1.4 Application in this Study: NGOs as Strategic Framing Agents

Application of framing theory leads to an emergence of a perspective to understand development NGOs as strategic framing agents. In this view, NGOs are granted with the ability to choose aspects of the phenomenon or an idea to highlight, emphasize, or ignore. The key lies in the fact that nonprofits are not just simple transmitters of information of the issues they work on, but creative agents with power to decide what information to present, and more importantly, in what manner. NGOs are seen as entities making logical arguments to explain the nature of the problem under consideration, to propose potential solutions, and to motivate the audience to desired action(s). In the process, nonprofits simplify what otherwise would be a complex issue into a reduced form that meets organizational desire and can be easily consumed by the audience.

Among the three fields of study discussed in the previous sections, development NGOs engaged in mobilizing the donor public in Japan can be understood as framing agents that overlaps understandings of organizations in all three fields of study. First, NGOs are engaged in political communication, selecting particular aspects of poverty issues that take place in Third World countries and communicating them to people living in industrialized, donor societies. Second, NGOs attempt to influence how people think and to make action as social movement organizations do. Third, NGOs are social marketers as part of their mobilization involves motivating and persuading the audience to make actions that contribute to solving the issue of global poverty.

When NGOs are understood as strategic framing agents, their message framing behaviors emerge as a complex decision-making process. There are two factors that contribute to such complexity. First of all, NGOs must frame their messages in light of multiple criteria. To begin

with, the message must be *effective* in achieving the objectives. Second, the message must allow such mobilization to be accomplished in an *efficient* manner. Third, the articulated message must be *ethically sound*, particularly when the issue under consideration is sensitive. Messages articulated must not violate anyone's human rights, nor strengthen certain stereotypes. Fourth, the message must be something that the audience may be *receptive* to. It must be something that the potential audience can easily understand, accept, and sympathize with. Fifth, nonprofits must make their messages *unique* to win competition among nonprofits, for-profits, and others. Related is the fifth criteria; messages must be framed in such a way to contribute to *building organizational brand and credibility*.

The complexity of decision making also stems from the fact that NGOs wear multiple hats in approaching the donor public, attempting to play multiple roles with differing objectives that are, more often than not, not mutually exclusive. First, NGOs are *advocates*, promoting a cause of tackling global poverty. Development NGOs aim to raise awareness and concern for global poverty and development efforts made to eradicate poverty. In addition to winning the attention and interest of the audience, NGOs also encourage the audience to take specific actions such as making financial contributions, participating in a campaign, or sometimes changing one's behavior. Related to this is the second role of NGOs as *educators*. They educate the public on issues that they promote, and enhance their knowledge level. Finally, some NGOs play the role of *policy advocates*, presenting new perspectives to the society, sometimes even innovative solutions.

Message framing is thus a difficult decision-making process that requires NGOs to navigate tradeoffs, determining what appears to be the most appropriate framing at one point. It is a process that requires setting priorities and making compromises.

3.2 METHODOLOGY OF FRAMING ANALYSIS

Procedures for examining frames and framing behaviors are called frame analysis or framing analysis. The distinction between the two comes from the extent to which an analyst emphasizes what is being presented or the process of an entity shaping the frames. Because the interest of this study lies in understanding how NGOs select what information to select in what manner, I use the term framing analysis.

In this section, I discuss different methods used for conducting framing analysis. I also discuss issues of reliability and validity and propose to combine multiple methods for conducting framing analysis in this study to best address the shortcomings of individual methods.

3.2.1 Methods for Framing Analysis

Studies have adopted several methods for conducting frame and framing analysis (Matthes and Kohring, 2008). These include content analysis, discourse analysis, linguistic analysis, and visual analysis. Below I discuss these four methods frequently used in frame and framing analysis.

3.2.1.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of its use (Krippendorff, 2013, p.24).” It is a technique that provides “new insights, increases researcher’s understanding of particular phenomena, or informs practical actions (p.24).”

Content analysis can be conducted using both deductive and inductive approaches. Hsieh and Shannon (2005) summarize that approaches differ in coding schemes, origins of codes, and threats to trustworthiness. Content analysis from a deductive approach is appropriate when an existing theory or prior research exists about a phenomenon. The purpose of the research would be to validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory. Predictions about variables of interest or about the relationships among variables help to determine the initial coding scheme or relationships between codes. On the other hand, content analysis from an inductive approach aims to describe a problem. The approach is appropriate when an existing theory or research literature on a phenomenon is limited. Inductive researchers avoid preconceived categories, and instead allow categories and names of the categories to flow from the data. Doing so allows new insights to emerge, and some studies go as far as to derive a theory out of the data.

In both the deductive and inductive approach, data can be dealt with qualitatively and quantitatively. In the qualitative approach, researchers often present the findings of extracted categories with rich description, while quantitative researchers tend to count frequency of extracted codes and conduct statistical analysis, e.g. cluster analysis.

3.2.1.2 Discourse Analysis

One commonly referred to definition of discourse is “language use above the level of sentence” (Stubbs, 1983). Discourse analysis is thus a “study of language-in-use (Gee, 2011, p.8)” that attempts to extract the meanings connoted by given sentences.

There are multiple levels of discourse analysis that are applied in frame and framing analysis. First, descriptive discourse analysis intend to simply identify and describe the “content” of the language being used. These may be themes and issues. Second, critical discourse analysis goes a step further than just describing how language works, but also analyzes “opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language (Wodak, 1995, p.204).” It is distinctive in “its view of the relationship between language and society, and the relationship between analysis and the practices analysed (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997, p.258).”

A related method used in framing analysis is rhetorical analysis. According to Kuypers (2010), rhetoric is a strategic use of communication, oral or written, to achieve specifiable goals. Researchers identify structural elements, tropes, styles of argumentation, and speech acts.

Discourse analysis has a strong affinity with the inductive approach, and the findings are usually presented in rich description.

3.2.1.3 Linguistic Analysis

According to Entman (1993), “frames are manifested by the presence or absence of certain key words (p.52).” They can be detected by probing for particular words that appear consistently in text to “convey thematically consonate meanings across media and time (p.7).

Frame analysis using a linguistic approach goes a level deeper than discourse analysis, moving beyond themes and topics, to the use of words, concepts, and their structures. Under study are “syntactical structures, stable patterns of arranging words and phrases in a text; script structures, the orderly sequencing of events in a text in a predictable or expected pattern;

thematic structures, the presence of propositions or hypotheses that explain the relations between elements within a text – including the presence of words such as ‘because’ ‘since’ ‘so’ and rhetorical structures that subtly suggest how a text should be interpreted (Levy, 2005, pp.83-84).”

Linguistic frame analysis can be conducted from both deductive and inductive approaches. Given the amount of data to be processed, several studies suggest using a computer-automated method, combining both deductive and inductive approaches. For example, Miller (1997) suggests the use of “frame mapping.” Analysts first go in-depth in texts to extract codes to generate working frames. These working frames are then defined in a codebook to be used for subsequent quantitative content analysis, often leading to hierarchical cluster analysis. Koenig (2004) suggests the other way around, in which analysts first identify frames drawing on existing knowledge to avoid purely inductive identification of frames. Automatic word mapping are then used to assist interpretation of keywords, key phrases, as well as audio or visual symbols. Identified indicators are then used to semi-automatically analyze frames in the remainder of the data.

3.2.1.4 Visual Analysis

Frames are not only presented in texts, but also in visual materials like photos and pictures. Visuals offer “a number of different condensing symbols that suggest the core frame of the issue, with the power to create stronger emotional and immediate cues (Gamson and Stuart quoted in Rodriguez and Dimitrova, 2011, p.50-51).”

Studies suggest that visuals and words differ in their “semiotic potential and communicative efficiency (Noth, 2011, p.299-300).” While visual images require a two-dimensional visible space, words are produced and perceived in a linear sequence. Their difference in semiotic potential complements each other when presented together, enhancing efficiency in media communication.

Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) present four tiers of visual framing techniques and methods that vary in the extent to which researchers try to make inferences from the data. The first tier understands visuals as denotative systems. At this level, images are examined as “visual sensations or stimuli that activate the nerve cells in the eyes to convey information to the brain (Lester, 2006, p.50 quoted in Rodriguez and Dimitrova, 2011, p.53).” The aim of frame analysis at this level is simply to describe what is shown, and what they mean to the audience is left untouched. The second tier understands visuals as stylistic-semiotic systems, where attention of a frame analysis expands into interactions between the viewer and the people shown in the images. This is an approach of visual semiotics, where pictures are segmented into minimal units, studied at the level of expression (color, forms, etc.), content (things, plants, animals, men and women, etc.) and how they are structured (Noth, 2011). At the third level, visuals are understood as connotative systems. In other words, “persons and objects shown in the visual not only denote a particular individual, thing, or place, but also the ideas or concepts attached to them.” Finally, at the fourth tier, visuals are understood as ideological representations. This perspective expands the third tier and asks “what interests are being served by these representations? Whose voices are being heard? What ideas dominate?” (p.57). This becomes a study of visual rhetoric, concerned with understanding how images communicate, how they function in a social and cultural environment, and how they embody meaning (Wright, 2011).

Visual analysis can be conducted both deductively and inductively. The difference is in whether the analysis begins with predetermined concepts or ideas that one expects to find. Data may also be approached quantitatively or qualitatively; the former often relies on counting while the latter aims for rich description and interpretation.

3.2.2 Issues of Reliability and Validity in Framing Analysis

Whichever method one applies, frame is an abstract variable that is hard to identify and hard to code (Van Gorp, 2005). Thus, the major concern of reliability and validity in framing analysis has been in ensuring transparency in extracting the frames (Tankard, 2001; Matthes and Kohrings, 2008). Studies are often unclear about how the researcher reached the extracted frame, posing threats to reliability understood as replicability and consistency, as well as to validity broadly understood as accuracy or correspondence between what is intended to be researched and what is actually being analyzed. Matthes and Kohrings (2008) cites several studies and point out that they simply omit describing how identified frames were extracted with phrases like “emerged from the analysis,” “frames were found,” or “a deep reading informed the authors of the emergent frames” (p.259).

The most frequently suggested way to enhance reliability and validity of frame and framing analysis is to break down frames into smaller elements and to code the data according to these elements, and then to aggregate them together to extract frames as the end product. For example, Van Gorp (2007) suggested a use of a “frame package” consisting of “framing devices” such as word choice, metaphors, exemplars, descriptions, arguments, and visual images (p.64).” Interested in analyzing news, Van Gorp proposes to create a data matrix for each news texts as

“framing devices.” Pan and Kosicki (1993) is another media study that presented understanding of frames as clusters of frame elements. The study suggests a model that divides the structure of the analysis into four parts: syntax (a way journalists makes the news), script (a way a journalist tells the facts), thematic (the way journalists write the facts; observed unit is a paragraph or proposition), and rhetorical (the way journalists emphasize the facts; unit observed is the word, idiom, images/photos, and graphics). According to Pan and Kosicki, combining these elements leads to an emergence of news discourse. Frames are also clusters of frame elements for Matthes and Kohring (2008). Data is coded according to frame elements, as was defined by Entman (1993) mentioned earlier. The study suggests that a cluster analysis of elements would reveal a pattern across several texts, leading to what they call pattern frames.

I argue that even when one does break down frames into smaller elements, the question remains as to how components are woven together into a larger interpretation. The essential question on reliability and validity in framing analysis is related to how a researcher deals with differing units of analysis. When the focused units are larger, such as content, discourse, or an ideology granted to a picture, question emerges as to how they were extracted from the given source. When the focused units are small, such as words or concepts in linguistic analysis, readers are able to track down to units at the micro level, but questions remain as to how combinations or group of words are interpreted into a larger frame. In Table 3.1, I summarize advantages and disadvantages of methods used for framing analysis.

Table 3.1. Advantages and Disadvantages of Different Methods in Framing Analysis

Methods		Advantages	Disadvantages
Content Analysis	Inductive	Able to capture broad categories/themes directly from the data.	Possibility of incorrect or biased coding. Unclear procedure of extracting categories.
	Deductive	Systematic and reliable.	Topics not included in the original codes may not be captured.
Discourse Analysis		Able to capture broad discourse.	Unclear process of extracting the discourse.
Linguistic Analysis		Procedures transparent at the most minimum unit (i.e. word).	Unclear process of broadly interpreting words and concepts.
Visual Analysis	Denotative	Systematic and reliable.	The meaning of visual image is left untouched.
	Stylistic-semiotics	Systematic and reliable.	How the audience decodes the visuals is left untouched.
	Connotative	Seeks to interpret the meaning of visuals.	Unclear process of interpretation.
	Ideological Representation	Seeks for the deepest interpretation of visuals.	Unclear process of interpretation.

3.2.3 Methods Used in This Study

As the best possible way to address issues of reliability and validity in framing analysis, I propose to combine multiple methods to complement shortcomings of each. First, to broadly capture topics, themes and arguments that development NGOs in Japan articulate, I apply qualitative content analysis, extracting categories using grounded theory approach. The findings here will be backed up with results of semantic network analysis, a linguistic analysis that looks into texts focusing on words and structure of these words that comprise sentences. I also conduct visual image analysis based on stylistic-semiotics, focusing on segments of pictures. The

combination of such best fits the context of studying development NGOs engaged in mobilizing the donor public towards international development, which often uses both texts and visual images (i.e. photos).

I illustrate the significance of combining the three methods in capturing articulated framings in a comprehensive manner using a flyer from Oxfam Australia's flyer for its 2007 Close the Gap Campaign (see Figure 3.1).



Figure 3-1 Flyer from Oxfam Australia's Close the Gap Campaign (2007)

Source: <http://theinspirationroom.com/daily/2007/close-the-gap-in-australia/>

Looking at the photo, we see three smiling colored children. It is hard to tell by simply looking at the picture that this flyer addresses health of indigenous people. It is also hard to tell from happy looking children that this flyer presents a problem. Even harder to extract from simply looking at the visual is the argument using peer pressure.

As this simple example shows, it is through the analysis on texts, both from macro and micro perspectives, combined with analysis of frequently used visual images that one is able to understand message framings articulated in NGOs pamphlets, flyers, and brochures.

In addition to content analysis, semantic network analysis, and visual image analysis, I conduct semi-structured interviews to examine how NGOs decide to frame their communication messages in a particular way.

In all methods, I take an inductive approach. This is because there is limited prior knowledge on message framings of development NGOs for mobilizing the donor public, particularly in the Japanese context. It is hard to draw detailed hypothesis on the types of framings that I expect to find. Thus, the study does not aim for hypothesis testing, but rather aims to describe the phenomenon, to generate hypotheses, and possibly to build theories. Below, I describe each methods used in this study in detail.

3.2.3.1 Qualitative Content Analysis

Taking an inductive approach, my coding process does not begin with predetermined codes. Rather, I develop codes from the actual data. In particular, the study follows the coding procedure suggested by grounded theorists.

Grounded theory, first advocated by Glaser and Strauss (1967), is an attempt to stress discovery of theory from data that are purposefully-systematically obtained and analyzed in social research. This challenged the “logico-deductive theory.”

“While the verification of theory aims at establishing a relatively few major uniformities and variations on the same conceptual level, we believe that the generation of theory should aim at achieving much diversity (p.35).”

Strauss and Corbin (1990) state that the approach is “a non-mathematical process of interpretation, carried out for the purpose of discovering concepts and relationships in raw data and then organising these into a theoretical explanatory scheme (p.11).” There are three key ideas in the grounded theory approach. First, the approach emphasizes the role of participants' own understandings of their social environment. Second, the processes of data collection and data analysis are considered to be intimately connected, each informing and guiding the other. Third, researchers are required to be flexible, creative, and to tailor the approach to their own research settings and interests.

I follow the procedures elaborated by Strauss and Corbin (1990), the steps of open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. Open coding refers to the process of generating initial concepts from data, axial coding to development and linking of concepts into conceptual families until they saturate, and selective coding to formalizing these relationships into theoretical frameworks.

3.2.3.2 Semantic Network Analysis

In addition to qualitative content analysis, I combine a linguistic approach of semantic network analysis. The intent is to enhance transparency of how I reach the categories that explain the frames extracted by content analysis by examining the smaller unit of the texts under study.

Semantic network analysis is a methodology that looks at relationships among words or concepts that appear in a text. It is a method that can be used to extract meanings from a text, and to represent knowledge that a person, group, or mankind has about topics, domains or the world at a given time (Diesner and Carley, 2011a). The basic strategy is to extract, identify, and measure patterns of occurrence of a word or a concept in a document, as well as patterns of co-occurrence of multiple words or concepts. Co-occurrence can be identified simply as appearing within the user-defined text units, or as collocation, i.e. proximity of words within the text units (Diesner and Carley, 2011b). In addition to visual representation of occurrence and co-occurrence of concepts, semantic network analysis produces numeric measures that help in identifying key concepts or groups of concepts that play an important role within the texts under study. Adapted from social network analysis, Carley and Kaufer (1993) point to three helpful measures: degree centrality (determined by the number of links that a concept has), betweenness centrality (determined by the number of paths leading through a concept under study), and consensus measure (determined by the extent to which links tied to concepts are agreed in a given network).

Semantic network analysis has three advantages that enhance robustness of framing analysis. First, semantic network analysis allows one to look at the relationship or association of words or concepts, rather than a simple frequency count. Because frames emerge as a combination of words or concepts within a text, focusing on association of words allows one to be more precise and sensitive in extracting frames. Second, by constructing networks of words and identifying whether the two words (represented as nodes) are associated or not (presented by edges), readers of this study will be able to tell exactly how frame(s) were extracted from the raw text. Finally, tools for semantic network analysis allow researchers enough flexibility to conduct

analysis on multiple levels, once the semantic network is extracted from individual texts. As van Atteveldt (2008) states, “due to the decoupling of extraction and querying, data obtained from Semantic Network Analysis lends itself to being combined, shared, and used flexibly (p.5).” For this specific study that explores frames that NGOs articulate in communication messages, a semantic network constructed for each source (for example, a single pamphlet) can be aggregated by types of organizations (e.g. NGOs/governmental agencies/international organizations, international/domestic NGOs, service-oriented/advocacy-oriented NGOs), by types of mobilization efforts (e.g. fundraising, advocacy, outreach, education), or to a sector as a whole. This flexibility allows the study to analyze data to answer the research questions from multiple angles.

Semantic network analysis for this study is performed using a text mining tool Automap and network analysis software ORA developed at the Computational Analysis of Social and Organizational Systems (CASOS) at Carnegie Mellon University². Because the available software is unable to conduct analysis with Japanese, Japanese to English translations were given before creation of semantic networks³.

² I was given intensive training to use this software at the Computational Analysis of Social and Organizational Systems (CASOS) Summer Institute at Carnegie Mellon University in June 2011.

³One can assume that linguistic approach in framing analysis is sensitive to how translations are handled. To verify this point, I performed a pilot analysis using a Japanese text-mining software called KHCoder. Below, I show an example of frequency of words in the same sets of texts (motivational phrases used in print mobilization materials of

3.2.3.3 Visual Analysis

In addition to word texts, development NGOs often use visual images, i.e. pictures, to articulate and to communicate their messages to the donor public. To capture how messages are being framed and articulated in these pictures, the study conducts visual content analysis, coding the following three elements: 1) who appears in the picture, 2) where the image is taken, and 3) expression of those persons. Codes were not established at the outset but were developed in a similar manner as grounded theory approach.

Among the four tiers approach in visual analysis suggested by Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) discussed earlier, I aim for the third tier, that of semiotic-stylistic. By understanding people that appear in the picture, I interpret ideas or concepts that visuals intend to connote.

development NGOs). While some variations are observed, the key terms overlap. Given this finding and the level of sophistication in available analysis, I decided to translate the text and use Automap and ORA.

KHCoder		
Concepts in Japanese	Concepts in English	Frequency
する	do	48
あなた	you	38
できる	can	34
活動	activity	30
子ども	child	26
NGO 具体名	NGONAME	25
支援	support	25
なる	become	18
参加	participate	17
プロジェクトサイト具体名	PROJECTSITE	15
協力	cooperate	13
世界	world	12
アジア	Asia	11
私たち	we	10

Automap	
Concepts in English	Frequency
You	62
We	39
Support	36
Child	30
Do	29
Can	28
I	26
NUMBER	22
NGONAME	22
Activity	19
They	15
People	15
What	14
Please	14
PROJECTSITE	12
Together	12
Participate	12
Thing	11
Cooperation	11
World	11
One	11
who	10
japan	10
become	10

3.2.3.4 Semi-structured interviews

In understanding *why* NGO practitioners decided to frame messages in a particular way, I conduct semi-structured interviews.

The interview method was chosen for three reasons. First, strategies for how NGOs frame their communication messages are not published, which requires the researcher to directly approach practitioners. Second, from prior knowledge and experience of working with NGOs in Japan, I assumed that message framing strategies are not even documented in internal sources. The strategy often emerges in meetings and brainstorming sessions, and the reasons for reaching a decision are in the heads and minds of practitioners. Thus, I decided that talking to them directly was the best way to approach the research question of *why* NGO practitioners decided to frame messages in a particular way.

Among multiple ways to conduct research interviews, I chose semi-structured interviews. From prior knowledge, I assumed that many practitioners have not reflected on how they chose to frame messages and thus will not be able to answer the *why* question in an organized manner if rigid, structured questions were asked.

In structured interviews, “the interviewer uses a pre-established schedule of questions, typically referred to as questionnaires, with a limited set of response categories, and asks each respondent the same set of questions in order to ensure comparability of the data (Blee and Taylor, 2002, pp.92-93).” In contrast, in semi-structured interviews, “the interviewer relies on an interview guide that includes a consistent set of questions or topics, but the interviewer is allowed more flexibility to digress and to probe based on interactions during the interview. They provide greater breadth and depth of information, the opportunity to discover the respondent’s

experience and interpretation of reality, and access to people's ideas, thoughts, and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researchers (Blee and Taylor, 2002, pp.92-93).”

The semi-structured style best fits the context of this study as interactions with the researcher may prompt interviewees to reflect upon their experience from a new perspective. It also allows the interviews to proceed to topics that the researcher had not assumed to be part of the study, leading to what sometimes becomes a surprising finding. The interview protocol used as an interview guide is found in Appendix.

All interviews were conducted in the Japanese language by the researcher, who is a native of Japan. All interviews were conducted face-to-face, with the exception of one interview over *skype*⁴. Interviews lasted from 30 minutes to 90 minutes. All interviews were recorded with the permission of interviewees, transcribed, and analyzed from grounded theory approach using *MaxQDA*. Open, axial, and selective coding were conducted in Japanese, and the final categories extracted from the data according to the research questions were translated in English.

3.2.4 Sample Selection

In examining message framing practices among development NGOs in Japan, the study aimed to select organizations that fulfill two criteria: 1) having a certain level of presence in Japanese society as an organization engaged in international development, and 2) actively working to expose themselves to the Japanese society and to mobilize the Japanese public.

⁴This particular organization was located outside of Tokyo metropolitan area. Skype interview was suggested by the interviewee.

In order to select organizations that meet both criteria, I chose organizations that were cross-listed in two lists of development NGOs. The first list is the NGO Directory of Japan NGO Center for International Cooperation (JANIC). This directory provides the most comprehensive list of NGOs involved in international development in Japan. Because organizations self-register, the list includes NGOs with multiple kinds of legal status as well as non-incorporated voluntary organizations. The second list of development NGOs is a list of participants at the *Global Festa 2011*. *Global Festa* is the largest annual gathering of development agencies in Japan, where organizations engaged in international development assemble for a two day festival in Hibiya Park, right in front of the Imperial Palace in Central Tokyo. The target audience is the general public in Japan, and more than 100,000 people visit this annual event each year. Global Festa 2011, for example, attracted 110,000 people in two days (announced on the Global Festa 2011 website on October 4, 2011). Given the number of visitors and the scale of media attention, development NGOs in Japan consider the annual *Global Festa* as an important opportunity to mobilize the Japanese public.

Of the 193 NGOs that participated in *Global Festa 2011*, 122 organizations overlapped with the JANIC NGO Directory. Among the 122 NGOs, 61 were actively disseminating pamphlets at *Global Festa 2011*. The study thus analyzes print mobilization materials (described in the next section) disseminated by these 61 NGOs. The study also analyzes two multi-organizational campaigns as well as six government agencies and international organizations that were disseminating pamphlets and flyers at *Global Festa 2011*. Results of framing analysis are presented in Chapter Five and Chapter Six.

Among these 61 NGOs and two multi-organizational campaigns, the study selected 11 NGOs and 1 multi-organizational campaign for semi-structured interviews. Details and results of the analysis are discussed in Chapter Seven.



Figure 3-2 Entrance of Global Festa 2011



Figure 3-3 NGOs and the Japanese Public at Global Festa 2011

Source: Picture taken by Okada on October 1, 2011.

3.2.5 Target Source: Print Mobilization Documents

Development NGOs use multiple tools to communicate with the donor public including print materials, websites, advertisements, and social media such as Twitter and Facebook. Among variety of ways used for mobilization, this study examines print communication materials. These include pamphlets, brochures, flyers, and leaflets printed on paper for the purpose of dissemination to the Japanese people.

There are two reasons for selecting print mobilization documents. First, from prior knowledge, I am aware that in many Japanese NGOs, these documents often serve as a base or template for other communication channels, including websites and blogs. Secondly, because these printed materials are repetitively used for a long period of time, organizations tend to devote considerable amount of time to think strategically about what to present. I thus consider these materials to be best reflecting development NGOs' message framing strategies.

I decided to collect print mobilization documents for analysis at *Global Festa 2011*. As mentioned before, because this annual event attracts more than 100,000 Japanese public, development NGOs in Japan carefully choose what to disseminate to the visitors. As such, I consider print mobilization documents that NGOs provide at this event to be an accurate reflection of strategic communication practices of Japanese NGOs.

3.2.6 Threats to Reliability and Validity

Although I attempt to overcome the shortcomings of reliability and validity in framing analysis by combining multiple methods, there remain concerns that must be taken into consideration when interpreting the findings of this study.

In terms of reliability, coding procedures were conducted by the author only, given the constraints on language ability, time, and financial resources. As such, no inter-coder reliability is reported. In order to enhance consistency and to minimize errors, coding procedures were checked at least twice.

In terms of validity, four issues must be taken into consideration. The first concern is selection bias. As explained above, the study covers 61 NGOs and two multi-organizational campaigns. While this number does not cover all NGOs active in mobilizing the people living in Japan towards international development – such as organizations that had decided not to participate or to disseminate mobilization materials at *Global Festa 2011* - I myself as a researcher with an experience of working in the Japanese NGO sector is confident that the list covers key development NGOs in Japan. Yet, there remains a risk that organizations providing multiple types of services – service delivery, policy advocacy, and/or education – are overrepresented. Among the 61 NGOs selected as samples for this study, 58 organizations were engaged in multiple types of services while three were engaged solely in policy advocacy. Second, examining only print mobilization materials raises a concern for construct validity. Development NGOs in Japan indeed use other types of media to mobilize the donor public including websites and social media. There is a chance that articulated message framings in these media are different from those presented in pamphlets, flyers, and leaflets. The third concern of

this study is on external validity. Because I only examine organizations that operate in Japan, one should be careful about generalizing the findings of this study.

3.3 SUMMARY

Framing theory explains how a particular phenomenon or an idea come to be described and presented in a certain way, with particular aspects being emphasized and made salient. Application of framing theory in the context of development NGOs engaged in mobilizing the donor public leads to an emergence of the perspective of NGOs as strategic framing agents, who strategically select what information to present to the audience, in what manner. Not only do development NGOs explain the problem, but also describe potential solutions and motivate the donor public to get involved in the cause.

Framing analysis is a methodology best suited to understand and analyze messages that development NGOs as strategic framing agent present to the audience. In the effort to best overcome the issue of reliability and validity in framing analysis – challenge of which lies in how a researcher shows links between micro and macro units used – I proposed to combine qualitative content analysis, semantic network analysis, visual analysis, and semi-structured interviews as methods for this study.

4.0 INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN JAPAN

Among major donor countries around the world⁵, Japan is unique in how it has rapidly changed from being a recipient country to a donor country. How did international development come into play in Japan? How did the government as well as civil society get involved? To what extent does the domain of international development attract people's attention, and how is it perceived among the Japanese public? Navigating these questions, this chapter will review the domain of international development in Japan in order to understand the context in which development NGOs articulate communication messages to mobilize the Japanese public.

The chapter begins with a brief overview of how international development emerged as a policy area for the Japanese government. Secondly, I discuss how the Japanese citizens began to organize themselves to actively engage in development efforts. The third section discusses how these citizen groups, organized as development NGOs, increased and expanded their efforts to mobilize the Japanese public towards the global effort of tackling poverty in Third World

⁵ For example, the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is known as the forum for group of donor countries to discuss matters related to development cooperation, including aid, development, and poverty reduction in developing countries. As of 2012, there are 24 of such donor countries: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States and the European Commission. (OECD/DAC, 2012).

countries. Finally, the chapter discusses public attitudes towards international development, nonprofit organizations, philanthropic actions, and development NGOs.

In this chapter, I illustrate the challenging context that development NGOs face in trying to mobilize the Japanese public. While commitments towards international development have constantly increased both at the level of government and civil society, the public to which NGOs attempt to communicate do not appear to perceive international development as a policy domain that merits further attention, nor as an arena in which individuals need to take action. I argue that such context creates both challenges and opportunities for development NGOs' message framing. The audience may be less responsive, but there also exists space for NGOs to capture their attention through strategic and creative messages.

4.1 GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT

The year 1945 was a major turning point for the history of Japan - with the loss in World War II, aid assistance began to flow into the country. Between 1946 and 1952, the war-torn country received approximately US\$ 2.2 billion⁶ from the United States (Serafino *et al.* 2006, p.5). Roughly 1.6 billion was provided through Government and Relief in Occupied Areas (GARIOA), an initiative led by the United States Army to prevent hunger and social unrest in Japan. Also well noted were goods sent by Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia (LARA). LARA was the only non-governmental body that was allowed to operate in occupied Japan. Led by Lutheran

⁶ Serafino *et al.* calculates the amount to \$15.2 billion in 2005 dollars.

World Relief, Church World Service, Mennonite Central Committee, Church of the Brethren, and Catholic Relief Service, LARA sent \$400 million worth of relief goods between 1946 and 1952 (Barth, 1997). CARE International also began to send its packages to Japan in 1948 (CARE Japan, n.d.), and in 1949, UNICEF began distributing milk to Japanese school children (UNICEF, 2013).

From 1953, the World Bank began to provide series of loans for Japan to build key infrastructure. Buildings, facilities, and transportation systems constructed with these loans were crucial for the economic recovery that took place in the decades that followed. For example, the 80 million dollar loan allowed Japan to build *Tokado Shinkansen*, a bullet train connecting Tokyo and Osaka, the two megacities in the country. This *Shinkansen* continues to be the key transportation line in Japan today. Also built with the World Bank loans were *Tomei Highway* connecting Western and Eastern Japan and the *Kurobe Dam* in Toyama Prefecture.

With the help of this aid assistance, the Japanese economy slowly began to recover from the mid-1950s. Coined “*the Japanese miracle*” (Umesao, 1990; Johnson, 1982), the dramatic economic expansion throughout the 1960s and the 1970s enabled Japan to become a donor that provides foreign aid to less-developed nations.

Two occasions in 1954 are noted as the “birthday” of Japan’s involvement in international development. The first incident took place on October 6, 1954⁷, when the Cabinet voted in favor of Japan joining the *Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic Development in*

⁷ In 1987, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) decided to establish October 6th as the “Day of International Cooperation.” *Global Festa*, the largest gathering of international development agencies in Japan, thus takes place annually during the first weekend of October.

*South and Southeast Asia*⁸. The Colombo Plan was an initiative established in 1950 to enhance economic and social development of the countries in Asia. Japan began to host trainees and to dispatch experts in 1955.

The second occasion was the Japan-Burma Peace Treaty and Agreement on Reparations and Economic Cooperation of November 1954. Obligated by the Treaty of San Francisco⁹, the Japanese government was to engage in payment of war reparations. Burma, now Myanmar, was the first to sign the agreement among recipient countries in Southeast Asia. Japan's involvement in international development thus began in tandem with postwar reparations (MOFA, 2005).

From the late 1950s, Japan gradually enhanced its involvement and presence in the international community as symbolized by gaining membership to the United Nations in 1956. In 1958, Japan extended its first yen loan to India and gradually began to expand the scale of its Official Development Assistance (ODA) into the 1960s. Japan, during this period, was making a clear shift from being a recipient country to a donor in international development.

In 1960, Japan joined the International Development Association (IDA), and in 1963 joined the Development Assistance Committee (DAC). In April of 1964, Japan gained full membership to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Japan's emergence as a donor country was perfectly timed to meet the increasing demand for aid from former colonies that were gaining independence during the 1960s.

⁸ The official name of the Colombo Plan changed in 1977 to the *The Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic and Social Development in Asia and the Pacific*.

⁹ This peace treaty, signed by 48 nations of the Allied Powers and Japan on September 8, 1951, brought an end to the Japanese imperial power. The treaty ordered Japan to allocate compensation for those who suffered Japanese war crimes.

To accommodate expanding involvement in foreign aid, professional agencies began to become organized in Japan. Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF) was established in March 1961 as an implementation agency for yen loans, and Overseas Technical Cooperation Agency (OTCA) was founded in June 1962. The OCTA became Japan International Cooperation Agency in August 1974, which to date continues to be the key agency for Japan's involvement in international development. Increasing its presence as a donor country, particularly in Asia, Japan played a key role in founding the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in 1966.

It was during this period, and well into the 1970s that Japan's ODA began to rapidly increase. The amount of ODA increased by nearly ten times between 1964 (116 million dollars) and 1976 (1.11 billion dollars). In July 1976, Japan completed the final payment of its war reparations to the Philippines. With this, Japan fully established itself as a donor country in international development. .

In 1978, Japan announced its first medium-term target of ODA and proposed to double its ODA in three years. What followed into the 1980s and 1990s was a series of announcements to further expand Japanese ODA. As Figure 4.1 shows, Japanese provision of ODA continued to increase exponentially, and in 1989 replaced the United States and became the top donor country providing the largest amount of ODA in the world.

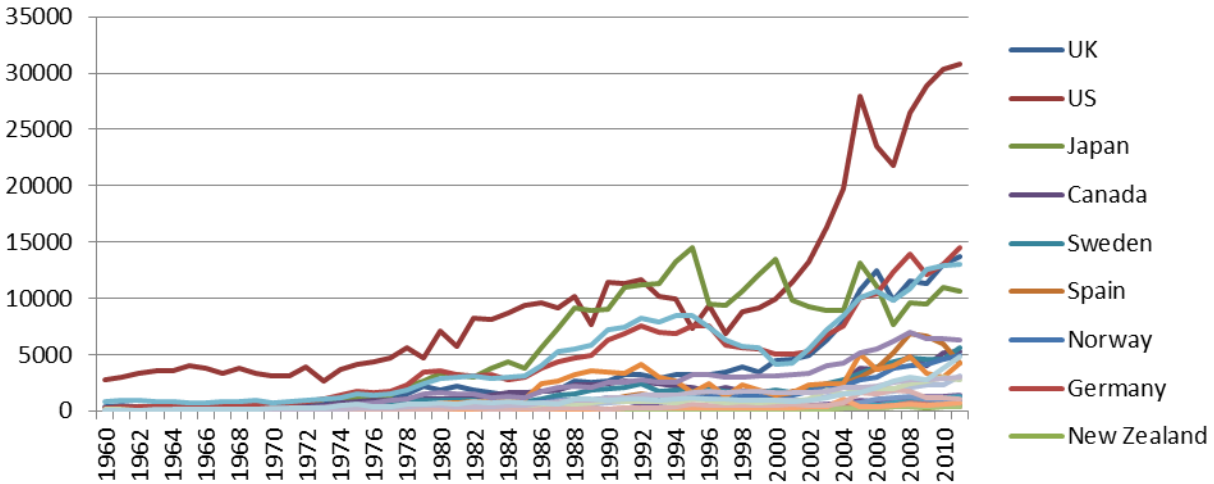


Figure 4-1 Net ODA of Major Donor Countries (in million dollars)

Source: OECD/DAC (2011)

As Japan continued to provide an increasing amount of foreign aid, there emerged a need to establish a purpose or direction for provision of its ODA. In 1978 and 1980, MOFA conducted a study on the significance of Japan's ODA and began to clarify its philosophies. These studies led to the establishment of the *ODA Charter* in 1992. The Charter organized the principles of Japanese foreign aid in four underpinning philosophies: the imperative of humanitarian considerations, recognition of the interdependent relationships among member nations of the international community, necessity for conserving the environment, and necessity for supporting the self-help efforts of developing countries (MOFA, 1992).

During the 2000s, Japan launched a reorganization of its development assistance organizations. In 1999, OECF and the Japan Export and Import Bank merged to become the Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC). As part of administrative reform in the entire government sector, JICA became independent from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2003 and transformed its legal status to independent administrative institution. The *ODA Charter* was also

revised in 2003 to enhance “the strategic value, flexibility, transparency, and efficiency of ODA” (MOFA, 2003). Furthermore, the yen loan section of JBIC was integrated into JICA in 2008, allowing JICA to manage yen loans, technical cooperation, and grants in an integrated manner.

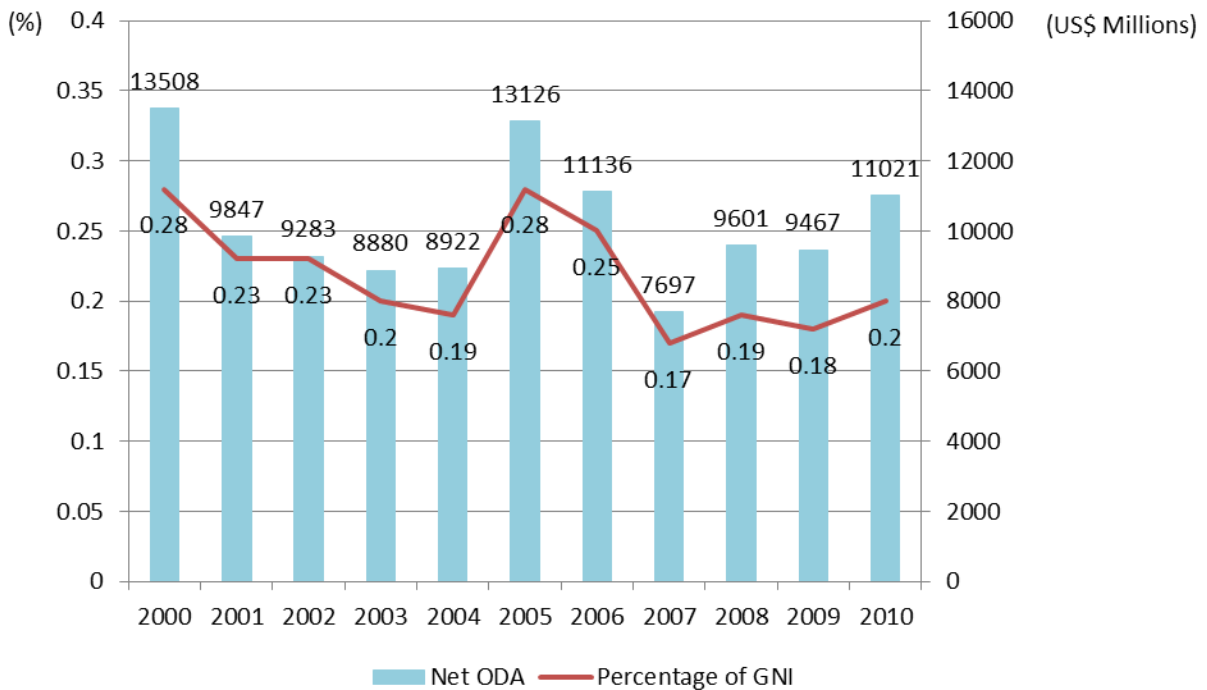


Figure 4-2 Net ODA and Amount of ODA as Percentage of GNI

Source: Recreated from MOFA (2011), p.53.

While Japan increased and expanded its commitment to international development over the years, the percentage of gross national income (GNI) allocated to tackle global poverty remains relatively low. As shown in Figure 4.2, Japan provided on average 0.2 percent of GNI between 2000 and 2010. This low percentage of ODA compared to the sizable national economy has been a strong criticism of Japan as a donor country.

4.2 ORGANIZING CITIZENS

Engagement in international development took place not only at the government level, but also among Japanese citizens. While the precursor to citizens' involvement in international development was seen in the late 1930s among nine Christian doctors who treated Chinese victims and refugees after the Sino-Japanese War, the true proliferation came after World War II, especially after the 1960s. In this section, I discuss the evolution of the development NGO sector in Japan, highlighting four factors that studies have identified as key triggers for organization and expansion of citizen groups to tackle global poverty: emerging needs in the international community, financial support from the government, favorable legal arrangements, and a push from the international community (JANIC, 2011; Ohashi, 2011; Reimann, 2010; Itoh, 2004; Ikezumi, 2001).

Several pioneering NGOs established between the late 1940s and the 1960s were led by religious groups. For example, a group of Christian doctors with the experience of helping the Chinese people before World War II came to organize the Japan Christian Medical Association in 1949. This organization led to the establishment of one of the first development NGOs in Japan, the Japan Overseas Christian Medical Cooperative Service, in 1960. Also founded in 1960 was a Christian-led agriculture NGO called the South East Asia Rural Social Leadership Institute. The institute has been renamed the Asian Rural Institute, and continues to be one of the leading NGOs in agricultural development today. Founded in 1961 was another agriculture NGO, a Shinto-led International Organization for Cultivating Universal Human Spirit. This NGO continues to be active today after changing its name to OISCA, which stands for the Organization for Industrial, Spiritual and Cultural Advancement.

Following these early organizations, young people and intellectuals began to organize NGOs for international cooperation during the 1970s. One symbolically important group is the Help Bangladesh Committee, established in 1972. The group was founded by young people who volunteered with the aforementioned South East Asia Rural Social Leadership Institute and with Caritas Japan¹⁰. The Help Bangladesh Committee turned into an organization called Shapla Neer: Citizens' Committee in Japan for Overseas Support. Another example of organizing youth and intellectuals is the founding of Pacific Asia Resource Center (PARC) in 1973 by a group of activists for the anti-Vietnam War movement.

The economic boost in Japan brought about a dramatic increase of development NGOs from the late 1970s to early 1980s. The year 1979 was the key when the Japanese people witnessed the massive influx of refugees from Cambodia. Several organizations that serve as the core of the Japanese NGO sector today were founded in response to the international climate: Japan Silver Volunteers, Asia Community Trust, Japanese Organization For Infants and Children (JOFIC), Motherland Academy, Association for Aid and Relief, Japan (AAR JAPAN), Japan Sotoshu Relief Committee (renamed Shanti Volunteer Association), Caring for Young Refugees, and Japan International Volunteer Center (JVC). As shown in Figure 4.3, the number of newly established NGOs increased dramatically in 1979 and 1980.

¹⁰ Caritas Japan emerged out of Japan Caritas Association, established in 1948 to handle goods distribution for LARA for the Japanese people. The organization shifted its focus to people living in developing countries following the establishment of Caritas International in 1970.

Bar: Number of Newly established Organization
 Line: Accumulated number of organizations

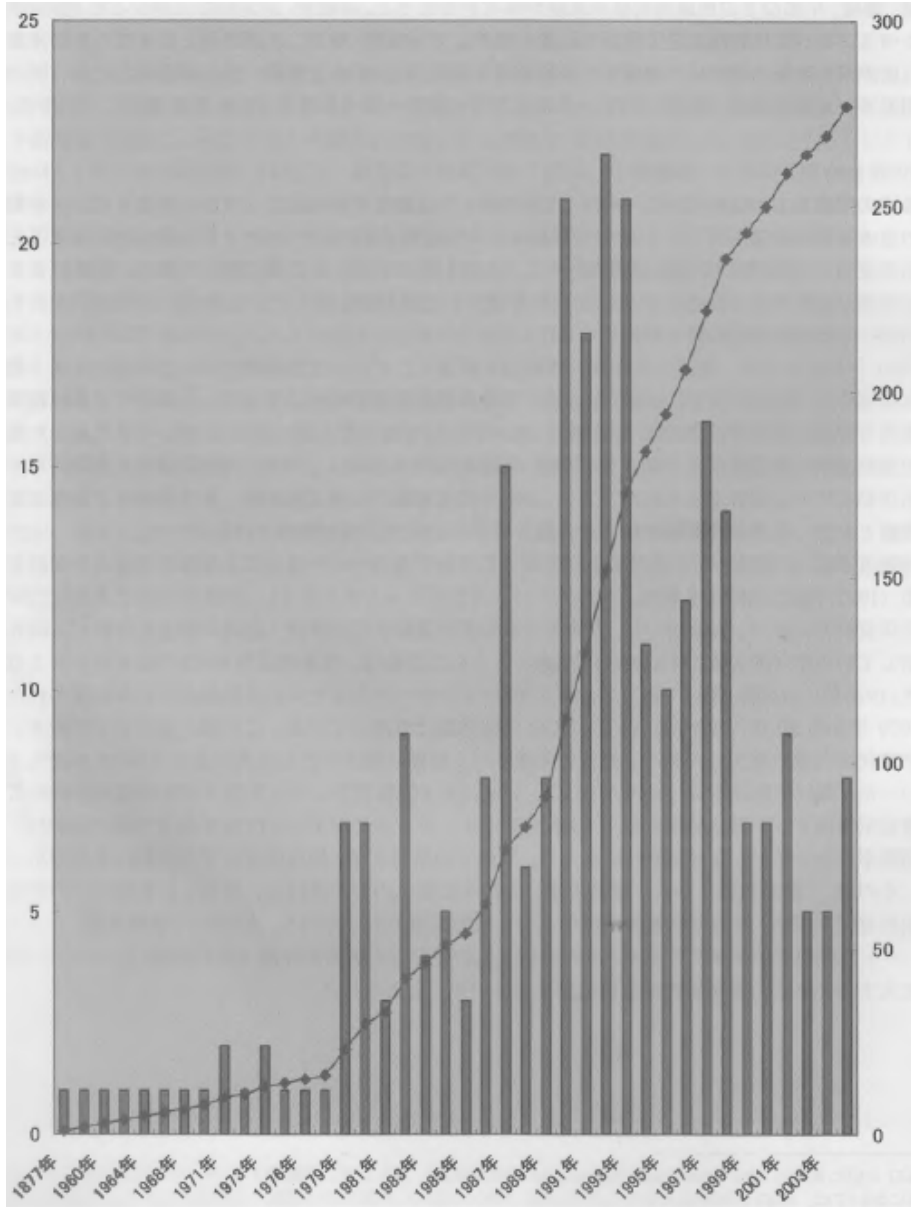


Figure 4-3 Number of Development NGOs in Japan

Source: JANIC (2007), p.4.

4.3 INCREASING ATTENTION

With increasing involvement to international development both by the government and the civil society, international development began to capture more attention within Japanese society. To understand the degree of attention given to international development, this section will examine related newspaper articles.

The study examines two major newspapers in Japan: *Yomiuri Newspaper* and *Asahi Newspaper*. Articles that include the following keywords related to and often used in the context of international development were searched in Japanese language: “World Poverty (*sekai no hinkon*)”, “NGO”, “Official Development Assistance (ODA)”, “Developing countries (*tojoukoku*)”, “International Development (*kokusai kaihatsu*)”, “Overseas Assistance (*kaigai enjo*)”, “Development Assistance (*kaihatsu enjo*)”, and “International Cooperation (*kokusai kyoryoku*).” Databases used are *Kikuzo II Bijuaru* for *Asahi Newspaper* and *Yomidas Rekishikan* for *Yomiuri Newspaper*.

As Figure 4.4 and 4.5 shows, the number of articles related to international development increased dramatically in the 1990s. While the number of articles was 1,978 for *Asahi Newspaper* and 534 for *Yomiuri Newspaper* during the 1980s, it reached 18,784 and 14,393, respectively, during the 1990s.

The two figures also show that some of the key words are used more preferably than others. While *NGO*, *ODA*, *developing countries*, *development assistance* and *international cooperation* appear occasionally in newspaper articles, *international development* and *overseas assistance* are less frequently used. Of particular interest is the increase in the number of articles

referring to NGOs from the 1980s to the 1990s. The trend is revealed in both *Yomiuri Newspaper* (3,063 articles to 4,596 articles) and *Asahi Newspaper* (3,154 articles to 5,104 articles).

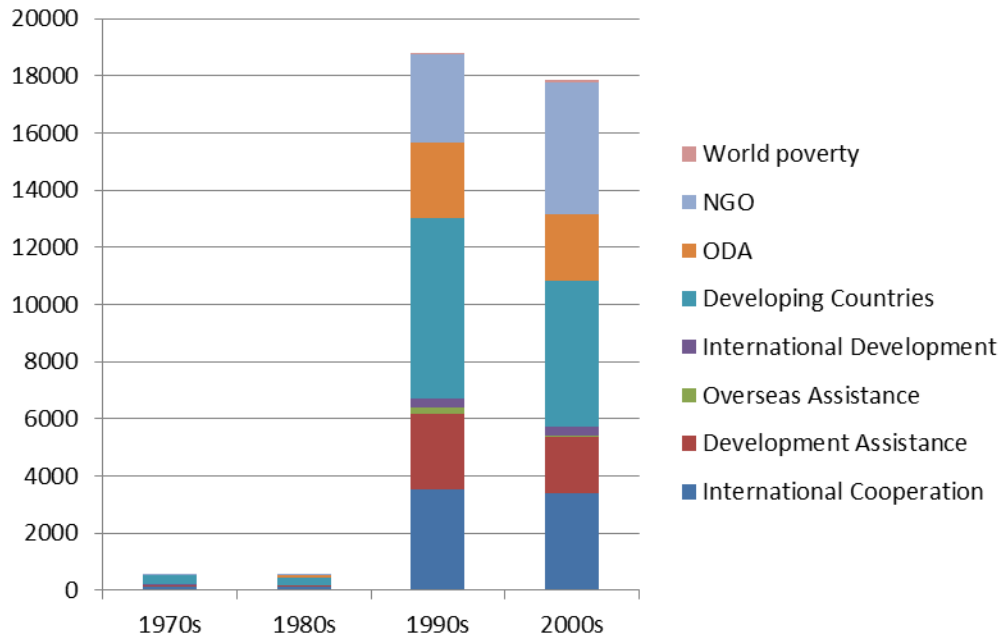


Figure 4-4 Number of Newspaper Articles in Yomiuri Newspaper

Source: *Yomidias Rekishikan.*

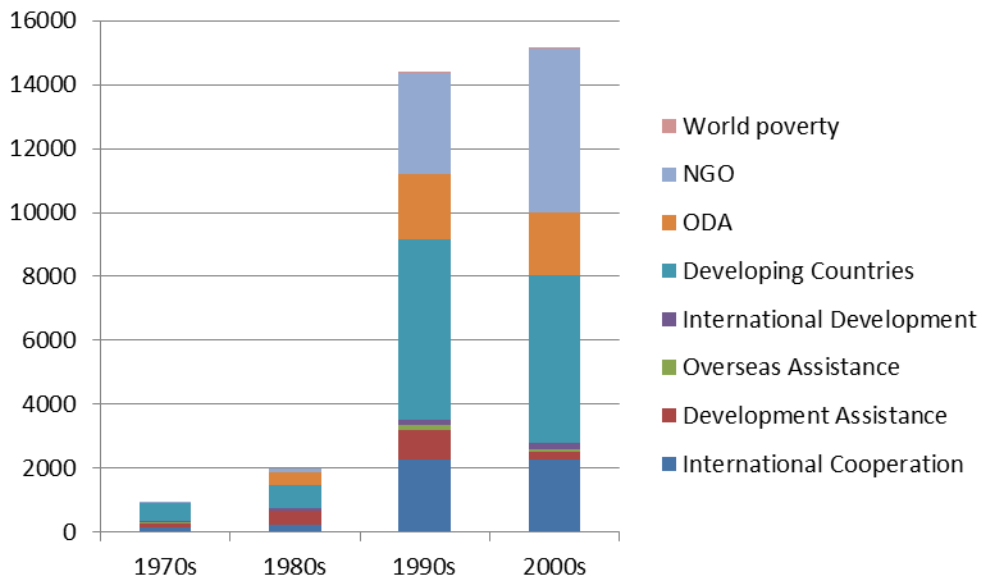


Figure 4-5 Number of Newspaper Articles in Asahi Newspaper

Source: *Kikuzo II Bijuaru.*

There are two incidents that had a major impact on such an increase in the number of articles referring to NGOs. The first incident was the refusal of NGO representatives to attend an international conference hosted by the Japanese government. On February 20th, 2002, four members of an NGO called Peace Winds Japan and a multi-organizational coalition Japan Platform were denied entry to the International Conference on Reconstruction Assistance to Afghanistan held in Tokyo. It soon became clear that this refusal was due to a will of one Diet member, Muneo Suzuki.

Suzuki, much involved in Japanese foreign aid, was upset about an article published in *Asahi Newspaper* on January 18th. The article¹¹ featured Kensuke Onishi, the founder and national director of *Peace Winds Japan*, serving the key role in Japan's diplomacy with Afghanistan. Onishi at the time was also serving as the representative for the *Japan Platform*. Suzuki was unhappy with the phrase, "I really don't trust what *okami* says." *Okami* in Japanese refers to those with authority over you, and in this context Onishi was referring to the Japanese government and the politicians. The response of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to this incident also became a social concern. A MOFA official had called Onishi to make apologies to Suzuki, and another had stated that the ministry cannot let a non-cooperative NGO attend the conference. The issue went as far as Onishi and another NGO representative being called to give testimony at the Diet. While NGOs were put in a very difficult position, the incident ironically brought public attention to the identity, role, and distinctive features of NGOs in Japan. The term NGO and its presence became well known to the Japanese people.

¹¹The article titled "*People – Kensuke Onishi: An NGO Representative in Contact with Interim Government of Afghanistan*" had appeared in *Asahi Newspaper* on January 18, 2002.

The second incident that contributed to an increase in the number of articles on NGOs was the G8 Summit held in Toyako, Hokkaido in July 2008. As will be discussed in the next section, many Japanese NGOs made policy advocacy efforts for this particular summit that was held in Japan. To amplify their voice, 141 NGOs engaged in international development, environment, human rights, and peace, came together to form a multi-organizational coalition named the *G8 Forum*, and launched active media campaigns, hosted events, and even held the citizens summit in Hokkaido in parallel to the actual Summit. These NGO efforts attracted much media attention, and thus increased their appearance in the newspapers.

Because the term *NGO* came to be widely known in the context of international development, the term sometimes refers to citizen groups engaged in overseas cooperation even when mentioned without the word *development* or *international cooperation* preceding it. For example, a well-known Japanese dictionary *Daijirin*¹² defines *NGO* as “a private international cooperation agency founded without any governmental treaty.” Another encyclopedia titled *Jiji-Yogo no ABC* defines *NGO*¹³ as “private organizations whose purpose is to work on global issues such as environment, medicine, poverty, and refugees.”

¹² Access via www.weblio.jp on November 18, 2012.

¹³ Access via www.weblio.jp on November 18, 2012.

4.4 INCREASING PUBLIC MOBILIZATION

As Japan's commitment to international development increased, there emerged the need to obtain support from the Japanese public. This section will review how the Japanese government as well as the NGO sector expanded its effort to mobilize the Japanese public.

4.4.1 Governmental Mobilization Efforts

While limited, government agencies had put forth efforts to mobilize the Japanese people beginning in the 1960s. The first newspaper advertisement identified in the aforementioned newspaper database dates back to November 29, 1967 - the Department of Public Relations of the Cabinet Office of Japan had placed an advertisement titled "Assistance to Under-Developed Countries: For World Peace and Progress." The Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries of Japan had also put out a newspaper advertisement on October 16, 1985, and JICA had also placed an ad on March 18, 1981 to recruit for the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) program, the Japanese version of Peace Corps.

In 1999, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) launched a program called "Private ODA Monitor" that sends selected Japanese citizens to visit the actual sites where ODA projects are being implemented¹⁴. MOFA also began organizing *ODA Town Meeting* in August 2001 to encourage dialogue among the government and citizens. Also established in 2001 was the department of Training Affairs and Citizen Participation in the JICA Headquarter.

¹⁴ This program was terminated in 2008. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/oda/shimin/monitor.html>

Given these trends, the revised *ODA Charter* in 2003 stated “Increasing public participation” as one of the principles of the formulation and implementation of ODA policy (MOFA, 2003). The *Charter* encourages: (1) broad participation by Japanese citizens from all walks of life, (2) human resource development and development research, (3) development education, and (4) information disclosure and public relations. As part of these new initiatives to encourage citizen participation, JICA opened *JICA Global Plaza* in Tokyo in 2006¹⁵. The *Plaza* offers resources on international cooperation and gives workshops to interested citizens. Furthermore, MOFA and JICA have broadcasted television documentaries “Chikyu VOCE” showing Japanese aid workers in developing countries since 2010 (MOFA, 2011).

4.4.2 NGOs’ Mobilization Efforts

As discussed in chapter one, mobilization of the public serves as the key for the existence of NGOs. Not only do NGOs rely on donations from the individuals, but NGOs also need to recruit members and volunteers to sustain their operations. While fundraising had been the default method of mobilization since the 1960s and the 1970s, an increasing number of organizations began to offer membership. By 2009, 95 percent of development NGOs had membership of some sort (JANIC, 2011, p.94).

Collecting money and attracting human resources are not the only mobilization efforts that NGOs do. As a result of diversified mobilization efforts, more and more NGOs began to engage in development education and advocacy campaigns. Figure 4.6 shows a result of a survey

¹⁵ <http://www.jica.go.jp/hiroba/english/plaza.html>

done by JANIC, capturing this trend in the 1990s and 2000s. In the following sections, I discuss these two mobilization efforts in detail.

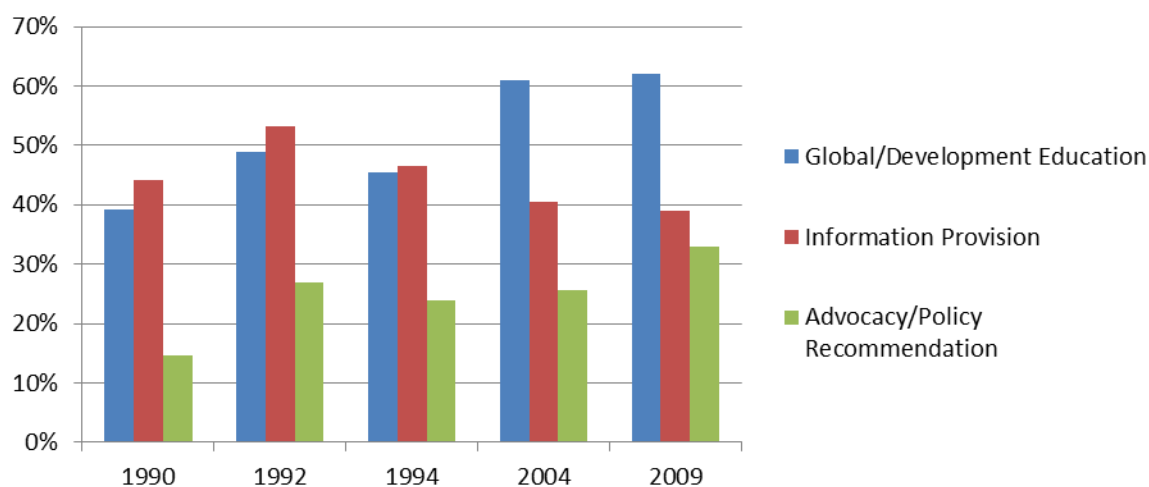


Figure 4-6 Development NGOs' Mobilization Efforts

Source: JANIC (1994, 1996, 1998, 2006, 2011)

4.4.2.1 Global and Development Education

Development education is something that NGOs do to teach about global poverty and international development. Sometimes called global education, its origin goes back to the late 1960s, when Scandinavian nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) engaged in development assistance in Asia and Africa, and came back to their home country and started disseminating first-hand information on the actual situation of developing countries to receive public support (Broadhead, 1987; Minear, 1987). It is both an 'education *about* developing countries' and 'education *for* developing countries' (Fujikane, 2003, p.136).

Since its inception, development education has evolved to have diverse messages with

different approaches. Numerous researchers have attempted to analyze this evolution and to classify various approaches (Korten, 1990).

Development education was introduced to Japanese NGOs in 1979, when UNICEF and the United Nations University hosted a symposium on development education (Tanaka, 1994). Groups of interested NGOs practitioners and teachers came together and founded the Development Education Council of Japan (DECJ) in 1982, which continues today as the Development Education Association and Resource Center (DEAR). As is well documented by Shigeta (2005), Ishii (2003), and Yumoto (2003), development education continued to attract the interest of NGOs through the 2000s.

The demand for NGOs' development education expanded among Japanese schools with the educational reform of 2002. This reform, which came to be called the *Yutori* (meaning relaxed or more room for growth) reform, intended to loosen centralized curriculum standards in Japan to enable Japanese students more freedom and less pressure. One feature of this reform was an introduction of an Integrated Study Period (*Sougouteki na Gakushu no Jikan*) in all elementary, junior high, and high schools across the country.

Despite the tradition in Japanese formal education, no centralized curriculum standards were established for this newly established Integrated Study Period, and schools and teachers were encouraged to decide upon the content to be taught in their respective schools according to the needs of students or communities. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) only offered suggestions in topics suitable for Integrated Study Period: environment, information, health and welfare, and international understanding. Individual schools and teachers were also encouraged to utilize educational resources in local communities. Given this new environment, development NGOs came to the attention of schools and teachers.

Demands for NGOs' development education has thus increased, and accordingly, the number of NGOs engaged in development education expanded following the educational reform.

4.4.2.2 Policy Advocacy

The term *advocacy* is a tricky word to translate into Japanese. The early activists who brought in the term translated it as *seisaku-teigen*, which literally is translated as *policy recommendation*. As such, advocacy in Japan came to mean lobbying to policy makers.

The target of policy advocacy in early periods was mostly the Japanese government. The impetus came not only from NGOs themselves, but also from the social background of Japanese ODA. Increasing attention to ODA during the late 1980s and 1990s ironically brought several scandals to the fore, invoking suspicions of ODA among the Japanese public. The Macros scandal, for example, revealed strong ties that the Japanese government and Japanese business enterprises had in implementing an ODA project in the Philippines. The scandal revealed how the funds were recycled into the coffers of Japanese firms, and also how the Japanese ODA had contributed to sustaining the corruption of an authoritarian regime in the Philippines.

By the early 1990s, Japanese people had come to question how ODA was being managed, and the development NGOs stood up to make recommendations to reform the system. Prominent campaigns included: lobbying to cancel an ODA loan project in India, lobbying to cancel a pesticide project in Cambodia, and the Anti-Landmine Movement that came to be known as JCBL, the Japan Campaign to Ban Landmines (Hirata, 2002; Mekata, 2000).

To engage in policy advocacy, development NGOs had to secure sufficient financial and human resources. In doing so, NGOs followed several strategies. First, rather than making the

action individually, NGOs formed networks or alliances. Examples included: Reconsider Aid Citizens' League (REAL) established in 1986 as Japan's first NGO dedicated to changing Japanese aid, Mekong Watch established by twelve Japanese NGOs engaged in environmental or development NGOs in Indochina, and the Citizen-NGO Liaison Council for ODA Reform (renamed as ODA Reform Network in 2000) established by more than 50 Japanese NGOs in 1996.

In addition to alliance building, NGOs in Japan used the strategy of working closely with international alliances, networks, and coalitions. NGOs also approached and collaborated with environmental organizations who were already actively engaged in policy recommendations in Japan. By the 1990s, NGOs had become “a conduit of global norms and a successful advocate for change in Japan's ODA and foreign policy (Hirata, 2002, p.97).”

Tactics for policy advocacy in Japan gradually began to change in the early 2000s. In addition to direct lobbying to policy makers, campaigns began to include a component of public mobilization to enhance credibility and voice for their policy recommendations.

The most prominent example is the *Hottokenai Sekai no Mazushisa Campaign in 2005*. Directly translated as “don't let it be, world poverty”, this campaign was part of the worldwide Global Call to Action against Poverty¹⁶. Consisting of 68 organizations, the Campaign aimed to raise public awareness of international development and to appeal to the Japanese government to prioritize poverty alleviation in its agenda for the G8 Summit, the Millennium Plus Five Summit, and the Sixth WTO Ministerial Conference. In addition to the lobbying efforts, the campaign

¹⁶The Global Call to Action against Poverty, or GCAP, is a global alliance of trade unions, community groups, faith groups and campaigners working together across more than 100 national platforms. GCAP calls for action from the world's leaders to meet their promises to end poverty and inequality. Examples are The ONE Campaign in the United States and Make Poverty History Campaign in the United Kingdom (GCAP website: www.whiteband.org).

encouraged the Japanese public to wear white bands to show solidarity to achieve this aim. Numerous celebrities including actors/actresses, musicians, and athletes began to wear white bands and joined the Campaign's clicking film, a short commercial message where they snap their fingers every three seconds to show that children around the world are dying at this same rate. 4,648,754 white bands sold and the campaign attracted extensive media attention (Hottokenai, 2008).

Following the success of this campaign in appealing to the Japanese people who had never shown interest in international development, NGOs in Japan have formed multi-organizational campaign coalitions. Examples include: the G8 Forum for the G8 Summit in Toyako, Hokkaido (2008), me too campaign (2008), Ugoku-Ugokasu (2009), and CAMPAIGN1 Shinakya project (2010).

4.5 PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARDS INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The chapter so far has shown how the policy domain of international development emerged and expanded in Japan, both at the level of government and civil society. Attention to the Japanese commitment to tackle global poverty has increased, and development NGOs have enhanced their efforts to mobilize the public. How responsive are the Japanese public to these approaches? Are they supportive of the increasing trend of Japan's involvement in international development? How much do they know, and to what extent are they willing to support and take part?

The results of several surveys conducted in recent years provide answers to these questions. The surveys used in this section are: the annual *Survey on Diplomacy* conducted and

published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) of Japan in 2012, *Survey of Attitudes towards Official Development Assistance (ODA)* conducted by the MOFA of Japan in 2009, *Survey on Interdependence between Japan and Developing Countries* conducted by Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in 2009, *Survey on Citizen's Awareness towards Social Contribution* by conducted by the Cabinet Office of Japan in 2012 (2012b), and *Survey on Public Awareness towards International Assistance* conducted by Oxfam Japan in 2008. From the findings of these surveys, I examine the degree of support given towards international development, the level of knowledge on development related issues, attitudes towards voluntary actions, attitudes towards nonprofit organizations, and finally towards development NGOs.

4.5.1 Support for International Development

MOFA's *Survey on Diplomacy* has asked how respondents think about Japan's future economic cooperation since the 1970s. The questionnaire defines economic cooperation as "financial and technical cooperation provided by developed countries to developing countries."

Figure 4.7 shows the trend observed between 1977 and 2011. The graph shows the dominant trend of the Japanese people to consider the status quo as the best option for Japan's future involvement in economic cooperation. While the expanding option was supported by nearly 40 percent of the respondents until 1991, the percentage began to drop and those in support of the shrinking option began to increase at the same time. The year 1991 was when the "bubble" of Japanese economy suddenly burst. Figure 4.8 shows that people began to prioritize domestic issues, i.e. policy concerns within Japan. Opinion in favor of further expanding Japan's economic cooperation has increased since 2004.

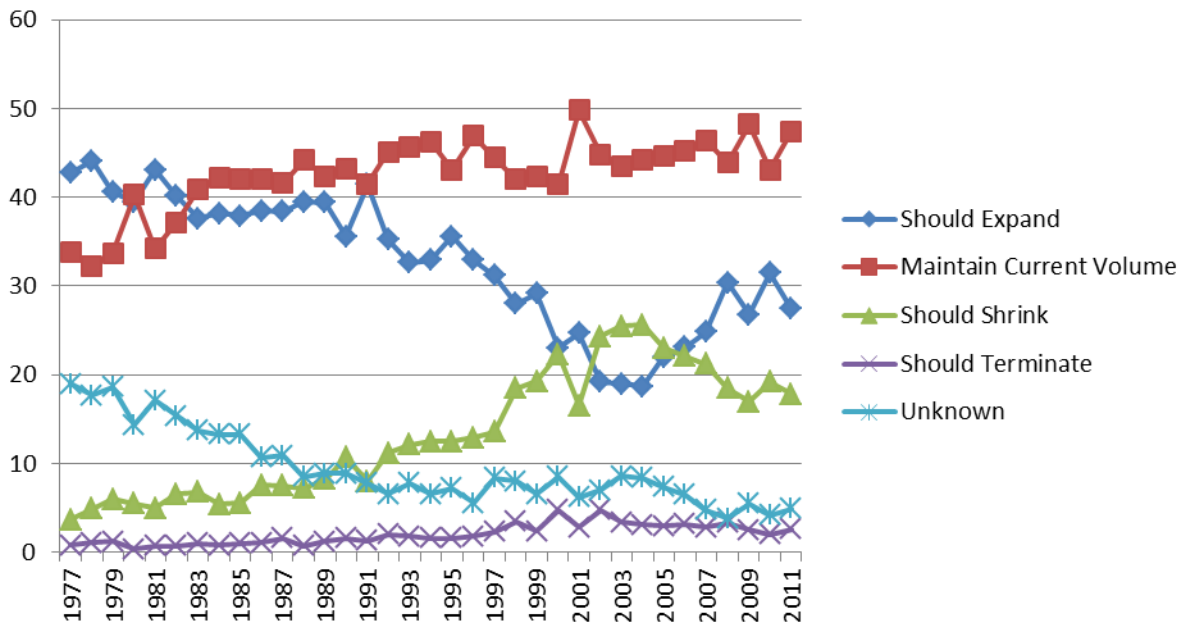


Figure 4-7 Attitude towards Future Economic Cooperation

Source: MOFA (2012)

A similar trend was observed in MOFA’s *Survey of Attitudes towards Official Development Assistance (ODA)* in 2009. As shown in Figure 4.8, 43.2 percent agreed that Japan should maintain the current volume of ODA. About 25 percent of the respondents thought that Japanese ODA should increase from the current level, while 16 percent were in favor for decreasing the amount. It is interesting to note here that 12.8 percent answered unknown, which is a much larger percentage than the 4.9 percent answering unknown for the *Survey on Diplomacy*. This reveals that more people lack knowledge or are indifferent about ODA.

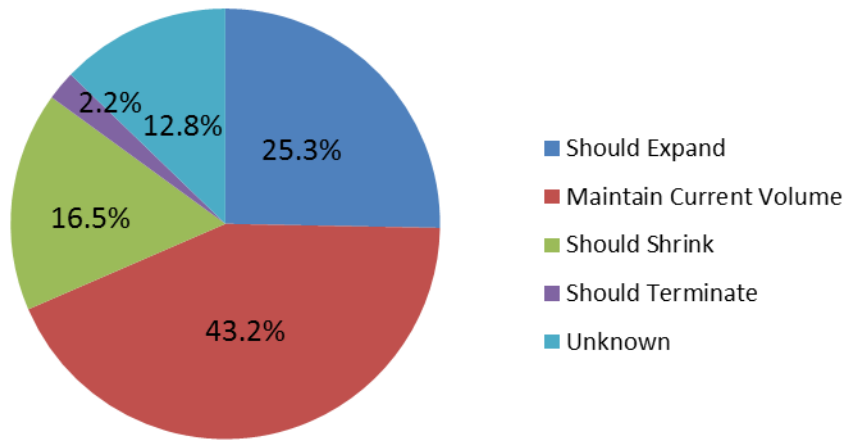


Figure 4-8 Attitude towards Future Japanese ODA

Source: MOFA (2009)

Surprisingly, the ratio of respondents did not show a dramatic difference when Oxfam Japan conducted a survey in 2008 in order to obtain data to support the *Me Too Campaign*, a campaign organized by four NGOs calling for universal provision of healthcare. The question presented to the respondents was somewhat leading, reflecting Oxfam’s intention to obtain the results that support the campaign’s claim. The question asked, “Over 30,000 people in poor countries around the world die every day due to lack of minimum healthcare. Should developed countries like Japan increase their commitment?” The majority of the respondents answered “agree”, while 35.1 percent answered “strongly agree” (see Figure 4.9).

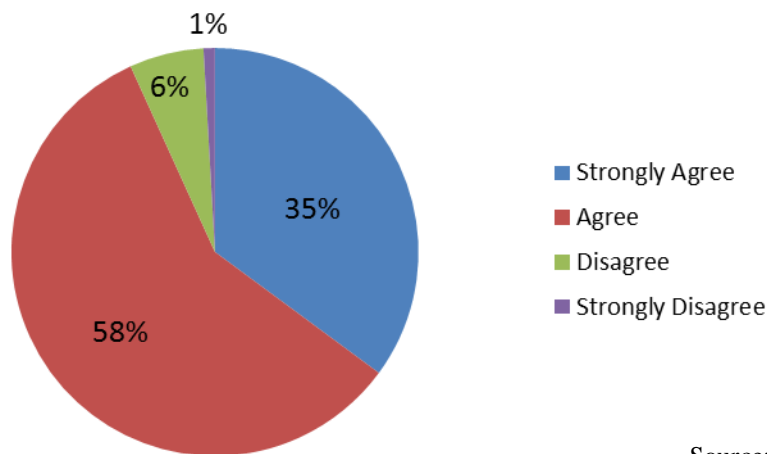


Figure 4-9 Attitude towards Donors’ Commitment to Healthcare

Source: Oxfam (2008)

What influences whether Japanese people support international development? Figure 4.10 shows the percentage of people who chose specific reasons for supporting further expansion of Japan's economic cooperation in MOFA's *Survey on Diplomacy*. While several answers show people's understanding of economic cooperation as a tool for fulfilling national interest of Japan (for Japan's diplomacy, for economic development of Japan, for contribution to the Japanese economy), others understand Japan's commitment to economic cooperation as contributing to global interests (for contribution to environmental concerns, for stable energy supply, humanitarian obligation, for contribution to world peace). The MOFA survey added an additional reason from 2011, one that presented economic cooperation as a way to respond back to assistance that flowed into Japan following the 2011 triple disasters in Northeastern Japan. Surprisingly, over 60 percent of the respondents marked this new reason.

MOFA's *Survey on Diplomacy* also asked the reason why Japan should *not* engage in economic cooperation to those who answered that Japan "should shrink" or "should terminate" its economic cooperation towards developing countries. As shown in Figure 4.11, well over the majority of the respondents chose reasons for prioritizing domestic issues, while one-third chose reasons related to lack of recognition, effectiveness, and efficiency of current international development. It is interesting to note that 25.4 percent raised the question of lack of knowledge and information.

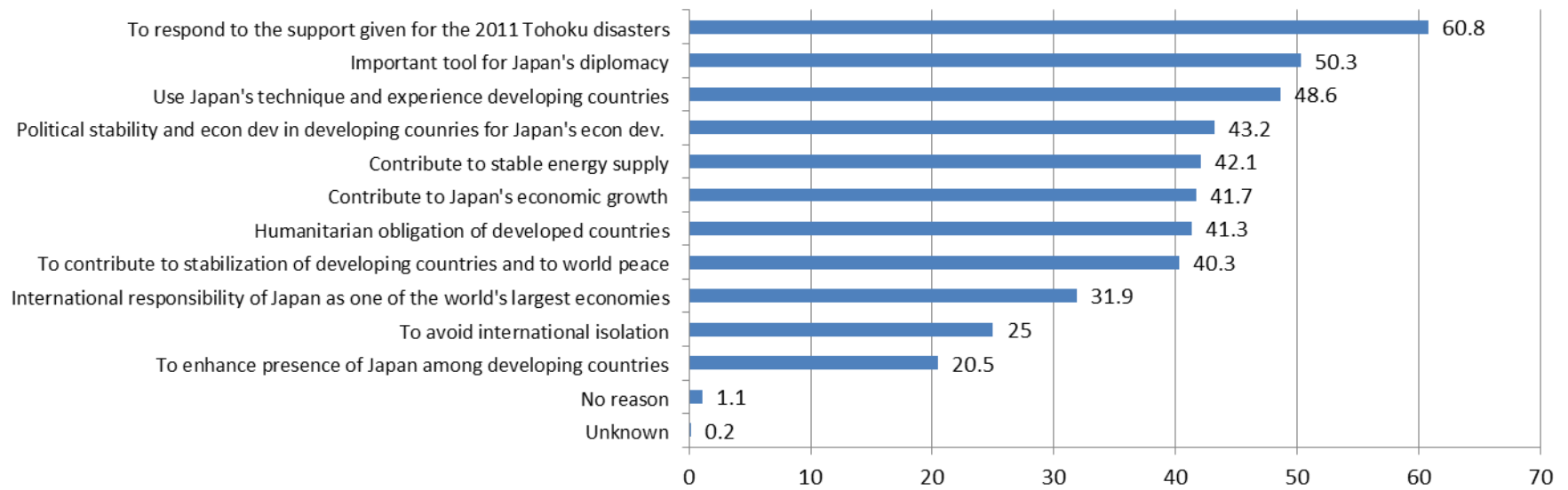


Figure 4-10 Reasons for Expanding Economic Cooperation

Source: MOFA (2012)

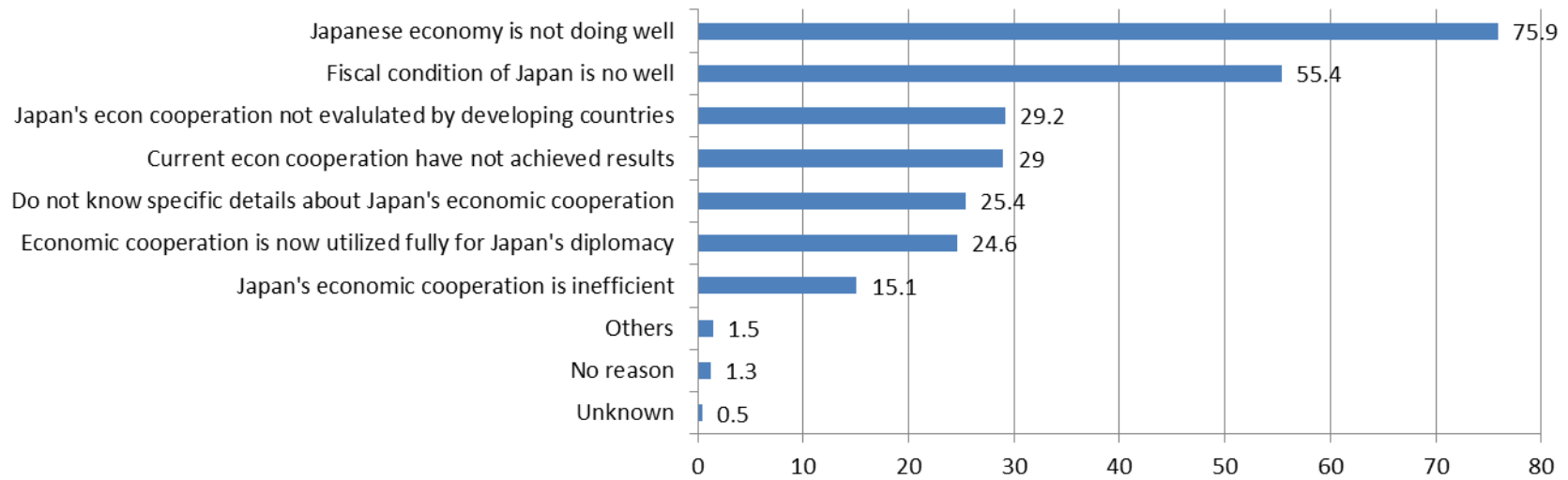


Figure 4-11 Reasons for Shrinking or Terminating Economic Cooperation

Source: MOFA (2012)

JICA's *Survey on Interdependence between Japan and Developing Countries* conducted in 2009 also asked why Japan should engage in economic cooperation (see Figure 4.12). Just as in the MOFA survey, the results showed that Japanese people are in favor of promoting international development efforts because they contribute to Japan's further economic development as well as to global interests. The JICA survey showed a smaller percentage of people prioritizing domestic issues over issues in developing countries.

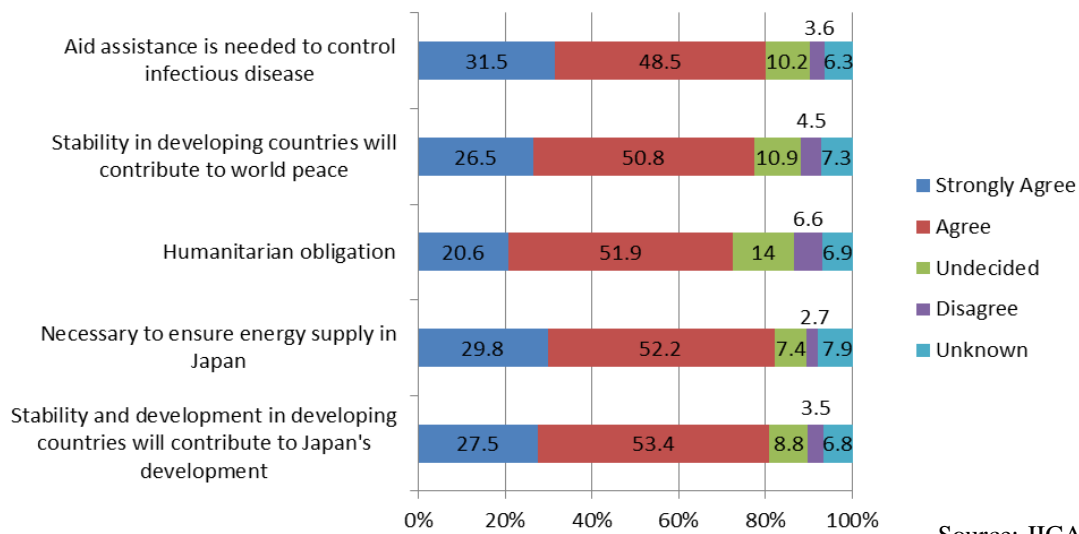


Figure 4-12 Reasons for Japanese Commitment

Source: JICA (2009)

4.5.2 Level of Knowledge on International Development

Whether they agree or disagree with Japanese engagement to international development efforts, to what extent do the Japanese people know about development related issues? Findings from the surveys reveal that the level of knowledge among the Japanese public is not high.

As shown in Figure 4.11, the MOFA *Survey on Diplomacy* revealed that 25.4 percent of the respondents did not know the details about aid assistance that Japan provides to developing countries. In MOFA's *Survey on ODA*, 34.9 percent of the respondents did not know what ODA

is, and that 95.8 percent of them have never been to MOFA's ODA website. Only 19.7 percent were aware of the decreasing trend of Japanese ODA, and only 13 percent had the correct knowledge on how Japan ranked among the top donor countries in 2007.

What are some of the factors that contribute to lack of knowledge about development issues among the Japanese people? Findings from two surveys reveal that the public seems to blame those engaged in international development for not providing sufficient information. In the JICA survey, a total of 86.6 percent of the responded strongly agreed or agreed that they do not see a transparent explanation of what kinds of economic cooperation are being provided by Japan. Also in the Oxfam survey, a total of 93.9 percent respondents agreed that the Japanese government is not giving sufficient explanation about their economic cooperation efforts.

Some findings also show that most of the Japanese people are not familiar with developing countries to begin with. The JICA survey revealed that 74.4 percent of the respondents do not have any direct connection to developing countries or to people from the developing world.

4.5.3 Attitude towards Voluntary Actions

How do the Japanese people feel about voluntary actions, and to what extent have they participated? In the most recent *Survey on Social Awareness* conducted by the Cabinet Office of Japan (2012c), 67.4 percent of the respondents showed commitment to making contributions to society. The finding implies that at least majority of the people do have some interest in taking voluntary actions.

Making donations tends to be the most popular voluntary action. 76.9 percent of all respondents in the survey mentioned that they have made financial contributions in the past. The percentage of Japanese people who have volunteered in the past is not as high as those who gave, with 26.7 percent of all respondents.

Japan has long been known as a country lacking the culture of voluntary action. For example, studies have discussed the lack of giving culture in Japan (Matsubara and Todoroki, 2003). As will be discussed in Chapter seven, the lack of giving culture was also mentioned by several NGO practitioners in the interview as one of the difficulties they face in mobilizing the Japanese public.

This tradition of weak culture for voluntary action appears to have changed dramatically following the earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear power breach that struck Japan on March 11, 2011. While the triple disaster mainly impacted three prefectures in the Northeastern region – Iwate, Miyagi, and Fukushima – the entire country suffered the main shock and countless number of aftershocks that followed, and half of the country struggled with power shortages. Given the magnitude of damage, donations poured in from all over the country.

For example, as of September 24, 2012, more than 320 billion yen (US\$4.2 billion) has been given to the Japan Red Cross (JRC, 2012). Furthermore, more than 926,000 people have volunteered in Iwate, Miyagi, and Fukushima prefecture (Japan National Council of Social Welfare, 2012). This number reflects only those who volunteered through local volunteer centers that were set up in cooperation with social welfare councils and nonprofit center; adding volunteers who made their efforts individually, the actual number is much higher.

The 2012 survey indeed considered this impact of the disaster, and asked questions to carefully examine whether the disaster had any influence on one's voluntary actions. Among

76.9 percent of all respondents who confirmed to have made donations in 2011, 22.4 percent answered that they made charitable gifts for *the first time after the disaster*. Interest in volunteering also appears to have increased. Among 57.5 percent that answered as having interest in volunteering, 6.6 percent specifically mentioned that they became interested after the disaster on March 11, 2011.

4.5.4 Attitude towards Nonprofit Organizations

Japan has long been known to be a country with high public trust towards the government (Pekkanen, 2006). Yet, people's trust and reliance on the nonprofit sector has not been that high. Survey results show that the tradition appears to continue even after the expansion of the nonprofit sector with the enactment of the new Nonprofit Law in 1998.

The *Survey on Social Awareness* conducted by the Cabinet Office of Japan (2012c) revealed that only 10.7 percent of the respondents were strongly interested in nonprofit organizations, followed by 40.4 percent who are somewhat interested.

As with the culture for voluntary actions, the 2011 triple disasters indeed appear to have had a considerable impact on enhancing people's interest in nonprofit organizations. The percentage of respondents interested in nonprofit organizations increased from 35.9 percent before the disaster to 51.1 percent after the disaster. Furthermore, 65.0 percent of the respondents now say they support the use of nonprofits and volunteer organizations in providing public services.

How are nonprofits perceived as organizations to which people may donate? 15.0 percent of the respondents said they do not donate because they cannot find an organization that they can

trust. Among those who didn't want to donate, 42.2 percent gave the reason that they do not know the organization well.

4.5.5 Attitude towards Development NGOs

Among various fields in which nonprofits operate, to what extent are people interested in international development? The *Survey on Social Awareness* conducted by the Cabinet Office of Japan (2012c) asked in what fields the respondents might consider contributing to society. Results reveal that international organizations are not among the popular fields of social causes; as Figure 4.13 shows, only 10.9 percent of them raised international exchange and international cooperation as a field of interest. Compared to 41.2 percent of the respondents interested in environment issues, this figure appears to be relatively low.

Furthermore, the same survey revealed that among those respondents with volunteer experience, only 7.9 percent had done so in the field of international cooperation and international exchange¹⁷. Furthermore, only 1.2 percent of the donations made for social causes were given to organizations working on international cooperation and exchange¹⁸. However, 10.8 percent showed interest in making future commitments on international issues.

These findings suggest that interest in development NGOs is not high, and that public response to development NGOs' mobilizing efforts is not expected to be high.

¹⁷ Volunteering here excludes volunteering for the March 11, 2011 triple disasters of earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear reactor breach.

¹⁸ As with footnote 6, donation here excludes those made for the March 11, 2011 triple disasters.

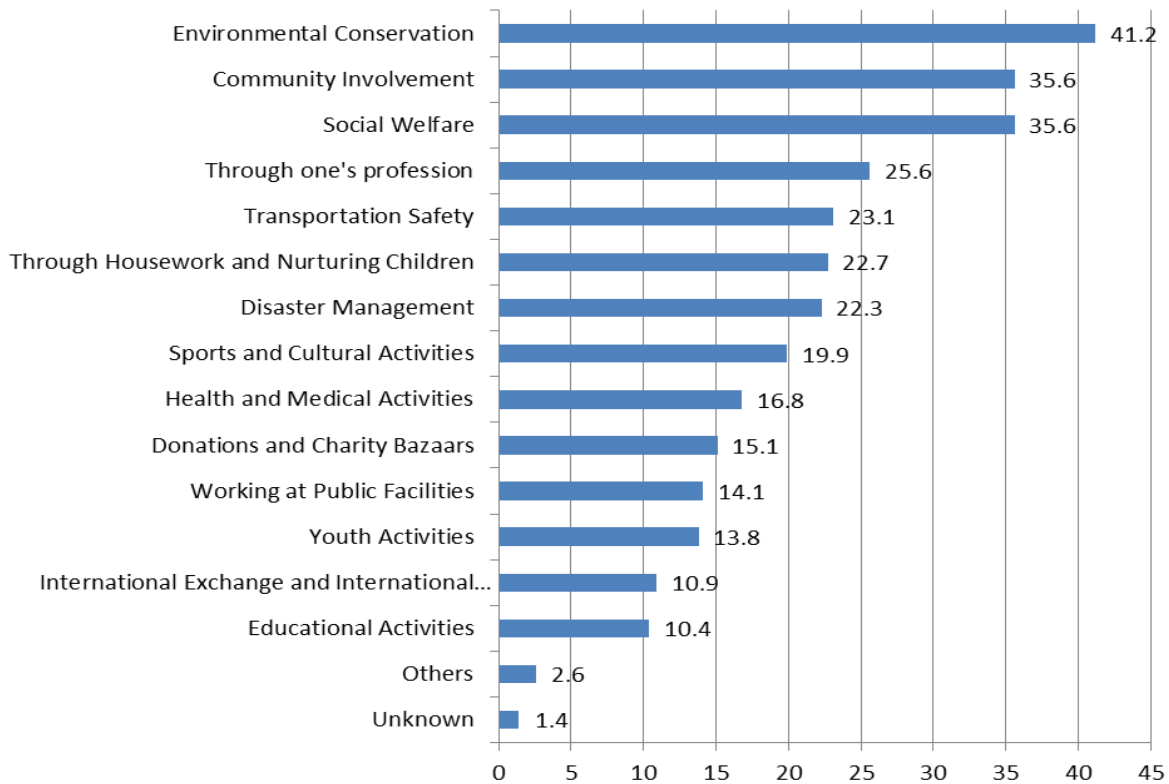


Figure 4-13 Interests in Making Social Contributions by Field of Activity

Source: Cabinet Office (2012b)

4.6 SUMMARY

This chapter has sought to understand the policy domain of international development in Japanese society. Analyses show that development NGOs in Japan face quite a challenging context in trying to mobilize the Japanese people.

As commitments to international development increased, both the Japanese government and civil society have expanded their efforts to mobilize the Japanese public. Attention given to

international development also increased during the 1990s, as was shown with the boost in the number of newspaper articles.

Despite better recognition, however, the public do not appear to perceive international development as a field in which they see an urgent need for action. While the public consistently show understanding of the need for Japan's commitment to tackle poverty in the developing world, the Japanese people are not strongly in favor of expanding Japan's commitment or in taking actions as individuals. Lack of knowledge about international development, lack of trust towards nonprofit organizations, and lack of interest in making commitments to development issues imply that the probability of NGOs successfully mobilizing the Japanese people towards international development is relatively low.

This is a challenging context for development NGOs. One can easily assume that the Japanese public is less responsive to the messages that NGOs articulate. The undecided audience with basic support but lack of enthusiasm may be a difficult group of people to persuade and to mobilize.

At the same time, however, NGOs do have the possibility of transforming this challenging context if they approach the Japanese public *correctly*. That is, if NGOs successfully frame messages that resonate with the Japanese people who are rather undecided about their commitment to international development, the chances of building further public support for international development is not impossible. Message framing, thus is the key for development NGOs in Japan.

5.0 FRAMING ANALYSIS I: NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

What dimensions of international development do NGOs in Japan present in their communication messages? How are these dimensions being framed? This chapter presents the results of framing analysis of messages articulated by development NGOs in Japan to mobilize the Japanese people towards international development.

In Chapter two, I introduced two studies that examined message framing practices of development NGOs. Findings of these studies provide insights for what analyses in this chapter might find. In the context of the United Kingdom, Dogra (2012) analyzed fundraising and advocacy materials of international NGOs and found the use of dualism of “difference” and “oneness.” Developing countries were “infantilised, feminized, naturalized and dehistoricised, separate and unconnected to the DW (developed world) (p.73).” Dehistoricized rhetoric of universal humanism was nested in such differences, setting the scene for outside intervention.

In the Japanese context, Shimozawa (2004) analyzed pamphlets used for fundraising by ten development NGOs with the largest financial records in 2000. Represented was “a world of destitution, hunger, and threats to life.” Such imagery is presented as “a world over there” that has no direct connection to those living in Japan. There were also pictures of smiling children presented in these pamphlets. Shimozawa interprets these pictures as showing how donations made to respective NGOs contribute to change the world of destitution and hunger.

How are framings articulated by development NGOs in Japan today similar or different from the UK context in 2005/2006 or from the Japanese context in 2002? This chapter analyzes message framings presented in print mobilization documents disseminated by NGOs at *Global Festa 2011* (details described in Chapter three). Through text and visual images presented in these pamphlets, brochures, and flyers, NGOs articulate their communication messages.

I first describe the details of print mobilization documents analyzed in this chapter. I then present the results of framing analysis, where I dissect the contents of pamphlets and flyers into texts, slogans, and visual images.

In this chapter, I find that development NGOs in Japan have a tendency to emphasize *actionability* of international development. Rather than explaining the nature and complexity of the problem or why the observed situation is considered problematic, Japanese NGOs present global poverty as an issue that can be solved through organizational and individual actions. At the organizational level, NGOs describe their projects and programs, changes and improvements made to date, as well as their history and broad range of partnerships. Emphasized here are organizational experience, accomplishments, and credibility. At the individual level, NGOs suggest broad range of actions that one can make, and incentivize the audience with an argument that they are capable of taking action to change the world. I explain this motivational framing with a construct *self-efficacy*. I also find that NGOs stress that taking action for solving global poverty is not a difficult task, which I describe with the construct *approachability*.

5.1 PRINT MOBILIZATION DOCUMENTS

As described in Chapter three, I selected 61 NGOs cross-listed on two lists of NGOs: the NGO Directory of the Japan NGO Center for International Cooperation (JANIC) and participant list of at *Global Festa* 2011. By using this method, I selected NGOs that are active in exposing themselves to Japanese society and mobilizing the Japanese people to take action for international development.

Framing analysis was conducted using 115 print mobilization documents that these 61 NGOs were disseminating at *Global Festa* 2011. As noted in Chapter Three, participating NGOs carefully choose what pamphlets, leaflets, and flyers to distribute at this specific venue given the number of visitors and the scale of potential media impact. On average, each organization was disseminating 1.88 print mobilization tools. Figure 5.1 presents the distribution.

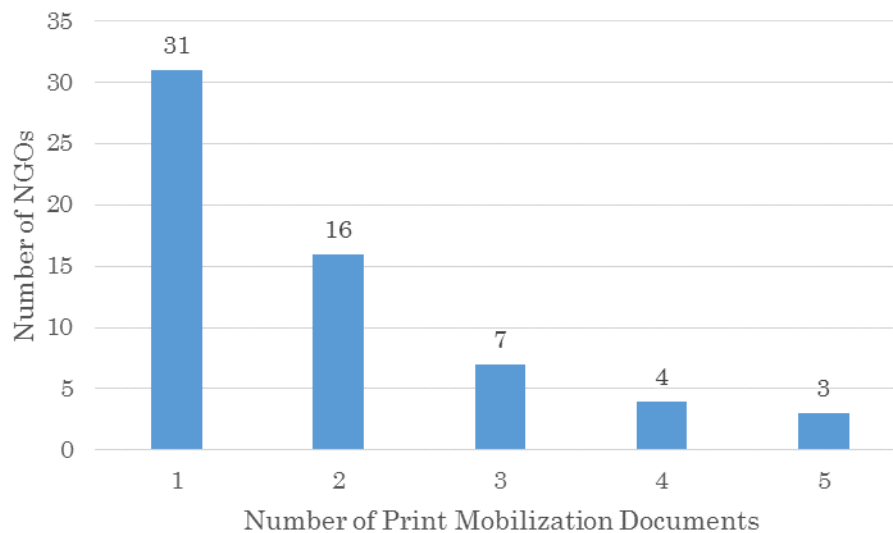


Figure 5-1 Distribution of the Number of Print Mobilization Documents under Analysis

These print mobilization documents varied in their purposes. Table 5.1 summarizes the types of mobilization documents under study. Almost half were pamphlets that provided introductory descriptions of the organization (48.7 percent). Following these “Who We Are” pamphlets were flyers that called for participation in specific events or those that called for other actions among the public (24.3 percent). There were also 14 leaflets that asked for financial contributions and/or joining membership.

In the following sections, I dissect the contents of these print mobilization documents into texts, slogans, and visual images, and analyze each component.

Table 5.1 Types of Print Mobilization Documents

Types	N	%
“Who We Are” pamphlets	56	48.7
Flyers for Event Participation and Other Actions	28	24.3
Pamphlets Soliciting Giving or Membership	14	12.2
Advocacy Flyers	5	4.3
Flyers for Merchandise Sales	5	4.3
Educational Materials	4	3.5
Project Reports	2	1.7
Newsletters	1	0.9
TOTAL	115	100.0

Note: 15 newsletters longer than six pages were excluded from the analysis.

5.2 TEXTS

Texts constitute the majority of information presented in NGOs’ print mobilization documents. Content analysis identified 22 dimensions presented in 115 pamphlets, leaflets, and flyers. Table

5.2 shows these dimensions along with the total number of documents that contained each dimension.

Examining the 22 dimensions, I find three dominant topics. First, NGOs encourage individuals to take action for international development. 92.2 percent of the documents contained segments that described specific actions that individuals can take to contribute to eradicating global poverty, and 42.6 percent of the documents included a phrase that specifically motivate the audience to get involved. Second, a considerable number of documents explained what the organizations do, including general descriptions of programs such as sponsorship, community development, and/or emergency relief (63.5 percent of all documents), locations of programs and projects (36.5 percent), as well as goals, content, and accomplishments of specific projects (27.0 percent). Third, development NGOs in Japan provide basic information about the organization in brochures and flyers including organizational mission and vision (58.3 percent), organizational history (44.3 percent), information about partners and affiliated organizations (24.3 percent), as well as organizational accomplishments (12.2 percent). The three major topics identified in texts reveal that international development is presented as strongly related to actions both by individuals and organizations. It is surprising to find that only 41 documents, 35.7 percent of all documents, contained texts that describe what the NGOs see as a problem observed in the developing world.

Below, I first discuss two framings that emerge from in-depth analysis of dominant dimensions: individuals in action, and effective, experienced, and NGOs in action. I then discuss how a limited number of documents explain the problem of global poverty.

Table 5.2 Dimensions Presented in Texts

Dimensions	Total Number of Documents	% (N=115)
Suggested Actions	106	92.2
Description of Programs and Projects in General	73	63.5
Missions and Visions of the Organization	67	58.3
Organizational History	51	44.3
Motivational Phrases	49	42.6
Location of Programs and Projects	42	36.5
Problem	41	35.7
Description of Specific Projects	31	27.0
Partners and Affiliated Organizations	28	24.3
Explanation of NGO's Tax-Exempt Status	19	16.5
Board	16	13.9
Voices of Volunteers and Sponsors	15	13.0
Organizational Accomplishments	14	12.2
Who Works at the Organization	14	12.2
Recipient Voices	13	11.3
Financial Report	11	9.6
Received Recognitions	10	8.7
Description of Project Sites	8	7.0
Project Visions	4	3.5
Originality of the Organizations	4	3.5
Explanation of NGOs and NPOs	4	3.5
Media Exposure	1	0.9

5.2.1 Individuals in Action

Pamphlets, brochures, and flyers disseminated by development NGOs in Japan presented several actions that individuals in Japan can take to contribute to solving the issue of global poverty. These actions include: becoming a member (appeared 82 times), making financial donations (52), participate in events (40), volunteer and/or intern (29), purchase goods (23), learn more (20), make in-kind donations (16), participating in study tours (13), look at website (13), plan and

organize fundraising (4), let others know of the issue being addressed (1), plan and organize an educational event (1), and engage in networking (1). The variety of actions suggested, along with *self-efficacy* and *approachability* framings articulated in motivational phrases discussed below, presents international development as personally engaging efforts.

In 49 pamphlets, motivational phrases accompanied suggested actions to further encourage the audience to get involved. “*Join the family of picture books!*” “*There are many things you can do even if you're in Japan!*” “*Individual support and cooperation leads to large scale projects abroad!*” are some of the examples.

I first coded these phrases in grounded theory approach to understand how they are being framed. The analysis revealed three major framings: *self-efficacy*, *approachability*, and *sense of community*. Table 5.3 presents a summary of content analysis with categories. Note that some phrases were coded under multiple categories, and thus the total exceeds 49.

The most frequently used framing in motivational phrases was *self-efficacy*, which stressed the audience’s ability to take action and to bring about a change. *Self-efficacy* is a construct that highlights “the role of the individual’s perceived capability of successfully performing behaviors; those who are confident in carrying out recommended actions are more likely to attempt and sustain behavioral enactment efforts (described as definition of Bandura, 1997 in Atkins and Rice, 2013, p.5).” Nineteen of the motivational phrases identified as articulating *self-efficacy* framing can be summarized as “*You can do it!*” with some of them literally phrased as such. Others presented change that one is able to make by taking action, the scale of effects one is able to make, and progress made to date.

Table 5.3 Framings Extracted from Motivational Phrases (N=49)

Framings	Frequency	Main Message
Self-Efficacy	44	You can do it! (19)
		Change you will make (18)
		Small contribution, big results (3)
		Local action to global action (2)
		Progress already made (2)
Approachability	17	Reasonably easy to make action (13)
		Multiple possible actions (4)
Pleading	15	Please make action (15)
Sense of Community	11	Join us (11)
Oneness	4	We are together (4)
Benefit	3	What you gain by making actions (3)
Negative	2	Negatively framed (2)
Urgency	1	What is urgently needed (1)

Eighteen motivational phrases were categorized as presenting *approachability*. These phrases either stressed that it is reasonably easy to make contributions for international development or emphasized that there are multiple ways of making an impact. Eleven motivational phrases stressed *sense of community*, encouraging the audience to get on board and join the efforts of respective organizations.

Other less frequently used framings were *oneness*, which presents the Japanese and people living in the developing world as connected; *benefit*, which suggests the gain one could expect by taking action; *negative*, a framing that describes the consequence of not taking action; and *urgency*, which stresses the immediate need.

Findings from semantic network analysis of motivational phrases support major framings identified through qualitative content analysis. Table 5.4 reports frequently used concepts in motivational phrases, Table 5.5 shows concepts that were identified as “symbol” words in *Semantic Network Report* produced by network analysis software ORA, and Table 5.6 reports pair of concepts that co-occurred more than five times.

Results show the significant role the concept *you* plays, used for the majority of phrases articulating *self-efficacy* and *approachability* framings. *I*, *can*, and *do* were also frequently used for these two framings as we observe pairs of *can-you*, *can-do*, *I-can* used simultaneously in a motivational phrase. *We* and the specific NGO name were used for phrases articulating *sense of community* framing. This framing was also evident in the co-occurrence of *let-together*.

Table 5.4 Frequently Used Concepts in Motivational Phrases (N=478)

Concept	Frequency
we	48
support	36
child	30
do	29
I	28
can	28
NUMBER	22
NGONAME	22
they	20

Table 5.5 “Symbol” Words from Motivational Phrases

Rank	Concept	Consensus	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
1	you	0.045	0.096	0.167
2	we	0.035	0.087	0.168
3	child	0.022	0.061	0.111
4	support	0.026	0.059	0.106
5	I	0.020	0.063	0.081
6	can	0.020	0.053	0.076
7	do	0.021	0.049	0.079
8	they	0.014	0.053	0.078
9	NUMBER	0.016	0.045	0.074
10	NGONAME	0.016	0.042	0.069

Table 5.6 Frequency of Word Co-occurrence in Motivational Phrases

Frequency	Concepts	
13	can	you
12	can	do
11	do	you
9	activity	NGONAME
8	can	what
	NUMBER	Yen (currency)
	support	you
6	what	you
5	thank	you
	fee	membership
	I	can
	let	together
	you	you

It is also interesting to note that fifteen out of 49 motivational phrases presented simple pleading, asking the audience to *please* take action. Furthermore, three phrases simply mentioned “Let’s Take Action!” These findings show that there is still room for NGOs in Japan to be strategic in framing motivational phrases.

Testimonies of sponsors and volunteers already taking action for global poverty and international development were also used to incentivize the donor public. These stories are anecdotal evidence of Japanese people’s experience with respective NGOs. Among 38 sponsors and volunteers that appeared in 115 documents under study, three were of Japanese celebrities (actress, comedian, and a commentator that frequently appear in television programs in Japan) and the remainder were everyday Japanese people. As Atkin and Rice (2013) note, these “messengers help enhance each qualitative factor by being engaging (attractiveness, likability), credible (trustworthiness, expertise), and relevant to the audience (similarity, familiarity) (p.10).”

The stories of everyday Japanese people especially connote *approachability*, suggesting that getting involved in the cause isn't a difficult thing to do.

Table 5.7, 5.8, and 5.9 reports results of semantic network analysis of texts that present voices of sponsors and volunteers. As was the case with motivational phrases, concepts such as *I*, *we*, *can*, and *do* connote *self-efficacy* framing.

Table 5.7 Frequently Used Concepts in Sponsor and Volunteer Voice (N=592)

Concept	Frequency
I	253
child	62
support	38
we	33
have	29
when	25
PLACE	24
NGONAME	24
school	24
he ¹⁹	22
do	22

Table 5.8 “Symbol” Words in Sponsor and Volunteer Voice

Rank	Concept	Consensus	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
1	I	0.117	0.284	0.474
2	child	0.029	0.083	0.094
3	we	0.015	0.060	0.051
4	support	0.018	0.047	0.045
5	have	0.013	0.053	0.033
6	he	0.010	0.048	0.031
7	NGONAME	0.011	0.035	0.033
8	when	0.012	0.043	0.021
9	do	0.010	0.035	0.030
10	can	0.010	0.042	0.022

¹⁹“He” in these text segments mostly referred to a movie character that a sponsor referred to as being a wakeup call to take action.

Table 5.9 Frequency of Word Co-occurrence in Sponsor and Volunteer Voice

Frequency	Concepts	
21	I	I
13	want	I
	begin	I
12	when	I
11	I	child
	have	I
10	school	forget
9	can	I
8	do	I

5.2.2 Effective, Experienced and Credible NGOs in Action

Actions to solve the issue of global poverty are also not only described at the individual level, but also at the organizational level. Articulated in these text segments are effective and credible NGOs with experience and accomplishments.

Two types of text segments articulate such framings. The first type is texts that provide general descriptions of programs and projects that respective NGOs do. These include building schools, providing textbooks, providing vocational training, training of health nurses, and promoting children’s rights. Other segments describe specific projects, including where projects are being implemented, description of project sites, and project visions. These descriptions connote NGOs in action. Furthermore, voices of recipients in fifteen documents provide anecdotal evidence of NGOs’ work. The stories describe how NGOs improved the lives of people living in development countries connote effectiveness of NGOs’ programs and projects.

The second type of text segments is basic descriptions of NGOs that articulate organizational credibility. Described are missions and visions of the organization (58.3 percent of total documents), organizational history (44.3 percent), partners and affiliated organizations

(24.3 percent), and organizational accomplishments (12.2 percent). Explanation of NGOs' tax exempt status in 16.5 percent of the document is particularly powerful since such recognition means that the organization has passed examination by the Japanese government twice – once to obtain legal status and another to be authorized to enjoy tax-exemption on incoming donations.

Table 5.10, 5.11, and 5.12 report results of semantic network analysis of text segments that describe missions and visions of development NGOs in Japan. The frequency and symbolic use of the term *child* shows that several organizations under study work to improve lives of children in developing countries. *We* and the specific NGO name are presented with concepts like *support*, *work*, and *activity*, connoting NGOs' involved in changing how *people live*. It is also interesting to note that *we* appears frequently with *government*, connoting the partnership the NGO enjoys with donor governments as well as local governments in the field.

Table 5.10 Frequently Used Concepts in Missions and Visions (N=1085)

Concept	Frequency
we	216
child	130
NGONAME	98
support	90
people	82
world	79
PLACE	75
NUMBER	64
develop	53
activity	50

Table 5.11 “Symbol” Words in Missions and Visions

Rank	Concept	Consensus	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
1	we	0.041	0.152	0.252
2	child	0.025	0.076	0.098
3	support	0.017	0.070	0.090
4	NGONAME	0.019	0.065	0.083
5	PLACE	0.018	0.056	0.072
6	people	0.016	0.054	0.059
7	number	0.012	0.041	0.042
8	activity	0.010	0.038	0.032
9	have	0.006	0.034	0.034
10	can	0.008	0.035	0.031

Table 5.12 Frequency of Word Co-occurrence in Missions and Visions

Frequency	Concepts	
20	country	develop
18	support	we
17	human	rights
14	we	work
13	round	YEAR
	we	PLACE
12	AIDS	orphans
	NGO	international
	government	we
	people	live

5.2.3 Problems

Text segments explaining what organizations see as problems were found in 41 documents. Problems the organizations described ranged from education (children unable to attend schools or to graduate from schools, insufficient number of classrooms, lack of textbooks, lack of picture books), gender disparity (lack of girls education, violence and abuse towards women), health (HIV/AIDS), hunger, street children, use of cluster bombs, to needs of victims of natural disasters.

As observed in the most frequently used concepts (Table 5.13) and in “symbol” words (Table 5.14), several documents pointed out problems related to children, especially girls. NGOs in Japan also tend to describe a problem in particular contexts, giving specific names of countries, regions, or villages.

Table 5.13 Frequently Used Concepts in Problems (N=1176)

Concept	Frequency
NUMBER	272
PLACE	170
child	129
I	92
they	75
girl	75
have	63
because	56
people	48
world	45
school	45

Table 5.14 “Symbol” Words in Problems

Rank	Concept	Consensus	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
1	NUMBER	0.049	0.110	0.179
2	PLACE	0.032	0.097	0.159
3	child	0.023	0.078	0.102
4	I	0.017	0.065	0.076
5	they	0.014	0.060	0.079
6	have	0.011	0.057	0.069
7	girl	0.014	0.048	0.048
8	because	0.010	0.041	0.053
9	like	0.005	0.033	0.035
10	YEAR	0.010	0.034	0.027

Results of semantic network analysis also present characteristics of the format in which the problems were presented (see Table 5.15). 40 segments explained the state of the problem such as “*there are not enough textbooks at schools in Cambodia*” or “*water resource in rural*

villages of India and Indonesia is shrinking every year. Eleven text segments described consequences of the problem. One example is “*Malnutrition interferes with the healthy growth of children, deprives adults of vitality, and causes a variety of illness.*” It is interesting to note that only five segments described the presumed benefits from solving the problem: “*...if girls go to school and grow up in good health, the country's GDP will increase, and child mortality rate in the future will decrease.*”

Table 5.15 Formats in Problems

Dimensions	Number of Segments
State of the problem	40
Statistics	25
Anecdotal evidence	12
Consequence of the problem	11
Presumed benefits from solving the problem	5
Reason (rational)	1

Only one document explained why the observed situation was considered a problem. This text segment referred to the United Nations convention to point out that the observed situation is a clear violation of this international agreement. This was the only text segment that presented a rational argument; others used emotional messaging that simply described inhumane conditions. Underlying these texts was an implicit moral messaging that considered such inhumane conditions as unacceptable.

25 segments presented the problem using statistics such as “*Today, around the world, a child loses his/her parents to AIDS every 14 seconds*” or “*Developing countries only consist of 26 percent of world's GNI. However, they consist of 62 percent of the total number of telephones.*” The frequent co-occurrence of numbers with percent or age also implies use of statistics (see Table 5.16).

In addition to statistics, anecdotal evidence or stories of those living in developing countries were also used to explain the problem. This might be a story of a girl who was forced to get married in her early teens, or a boy forced to fight as a child soldier in a civil conflict. The first person, *I*, appeared in text segments to explain problems through use of these anecdotes, referring to children or people who suffer from the problem.

Table 5.16 Frequency of Word Co-occurrence in Problems

Frequency	Concepts	
67	NUMBER	NUMBER
33	percent	NUMBER
28	child	NUMBER
28	age	NUMBER
28	PLACE	PLACE
26	cluster	bombs
26	PLACE	NUMBER
19	school	Go
18	YEAR	NUMBER

5.3 SLOGANS

Slogans are succinct phrases that best reflect what NGOs consider the most important message. Often in one or two sentences, slogans are developed carefully to attract audience's attention. They tend to appear on the top page of print mobilization documents, sometimes with the name of the organization or with logos.

Among 115 print mobilization documents under study, only 30 documents included organizational slogans. Taking into account that the same slogan appeared in different types of print mobilization documents disseminated by the same organization, the study identified 27

slogans. This was a surprising finding, as one would expect slogans to be used by all 61 organizations. As will be discussed in Chapter seven, findings from the interviews revealed that some organizations did not have a single organizational slogan that they would put out in their communication documents. Some would use multiple phrases almost interchangeably, and others would create different phrases for different occasions.

Conducting qualitative content analysis and semantic network analysis of identified slogans, I find two dominant framings articulated in slogans of Japanese NGOs: organizational vision and incentives for individual actions.

5.3.1 Organizational Vision

Twenty-one slogans described organizational visions. They either presented the change the organization intends to bring about, such as “*Creating a Community of People Making Actions for Children's Future*” and “*Creating Future Structure with Children*” or the philosophical underpinning of an organization’s engagement in international development – “*Living Together*” or “*Slow is Beautiful.*”

Presented in Table 5.17 is a list of most frequently used concepts, and presented in Table 5.18 are concepts identified as “symbol” words in semantic network analysis. Identified concepts reveal what NGOs’ intend to achieve – they deal with *child, family, people, human beings, and community, to create a world* with certain characteristics in *cooperation* with multiple stakeholders. The only co-occurrence of concepts observed was *international* and *cooperation*.

Table 5.17 Frequently Used Concepts in Slogans Articulating Organizational Visions (N=62)

Frequency	Concept
7	child
5	world
4	create
3	people

Table 5.18 “Symbol” Words in Slogans Articulating Organizational Visions

Rank	Concept	Consensus	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
1	child	0.077	0.081	0.010
2	people	0.033	0.057	0.011
3	human	0.022	0.041	0.002
4	family	0.022	0.041	0.001
5	water	0.022	0.024	0.004
6	cooperation	0.022	0.024	0.002
7	community	0.022	0.024	0.002

5.3.2 Incentives for Individual Action

Among the 27 slogans, six phrases articulated incentives to motivate the target audience to get involved. Through qualitative content analysis, I find that four slogans articulated *self-efficacy*, where the audience was told of one’s ability to make a significant impact on eradicating the global issue of poverty. Three other slogans presented *approachability* framing, which emphasized easiness to contribute to international development or that there are multiple ways of making an impact. There was one slogan that encouraged the target audience to join the organization, which I categorize as *sense of community* framing. Because one slogan was categorized as articulating both *self-efficacy* and *approachability*, the total in Table 5.19 exceeds six.

Table 5.19 Framings in Slogans Articulating Incentives for Individual Action

Framing	Frequency	Content
Self-Efficacy	4	You can do it! (1)
		Change you will make (3)
Approachability	3	Reasonably easy to make action (3)
Sense of Community	1	Join us (10)

Table 5.20 and Table 5.21 present the results of semantic network analysis of the six slogans that presented incentives for individual action. Concepts *you*, *can*, and *I* were identified as “symbol” words. These words support the finding of *self-efficacy* framing, connoting possibility of the audience *I* or *you* making a change. There were only three pairs of words that co-occurred more than twice among slogans articulating incentives for action: *what-can* (3 times), *future-you* (2), and *can-do* (2).

Table 5.20 Most Frequently Used Concepts in Slogans Articulating Incentives for Individual Action (N=27)

Concepts	Frequency
you	4
can	4
what	3
I	2
future	2
do	2
start	2
change	2
world	2

Table 5.21 “Symbol” Words in Slogans Articulating Incentives for Individual Action

Rank	Concept	Consensus	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
1	you	0.095	0.132	0.144
2	what	0.071	0.151	0.139
3	can	0.095	0.151	0.062
4	I	0.071	0.075	0.051

5.3.3 Problems

Only two slogans referred to problematic situations observed in developing countries. These were food shortage in “*Creating a world without hunger*” and lack of access to clean water in “*Water for thirsty Asia and the World!*” No reference was made to why these situations were considered problematic.

5.4 VISUAL IMAGES

Development NGOs make frequent use of visual images in their mobilization documents – pictures and photos indeed are powerful tools to articulate one’s messages. In 115 pamphlets, I found a total of 1021 visual images. Because framings presented through these images are more indirect than texts and slogans, I approach the framings through analyses of the following three elements: 1) who appears in the picture, 2) where the image is taken, and 3) expression of those persons.

Among 1021 visual images, 872 (85.5 percent) captured one or more human beings. A total of 1072 persons appeared in these photos. Table 5.22 shows attributes of these people. The majority of the persons were those in the project area, where 44.5 percent were recipients of services that NGOs provide, and 20.8 percent were residents in the region not specified as having an affiliation with NGOs. This is followed by Japanese volunteers (13.0 percent) and Japanese NGO staff (12.9 percent). Looking at where the picture was taken, 762 pictures, well beyond the

majority (74.6 percent), were captured or taken at project sites in developing countries. 122 were taken in Japan (11.9 percent)²⁰.

Two framings emerged from the analysis of these visual images: effectiveness of NGOs' interventions and positive experience of Japanese involvement.

Table 5.22 Attributions of Persons that Appear in Visual Images (N=1072)

Description of Person	Frequency of Appearance	%
Recipients	477	44.5
Local people	223	20.8
Japanese volunteers	139	13.0
Japanese NGO staff	138	12.9
Japanese public	24	2.2
Non-Japanese NGO staff	22	2.1
Non-Japanese NGO staff or local volunteers	21	2.0
Japanese celebrity	9	0.8
Japanese sponsor	9	0.8
Japanese expert	3	0.3
Policy makers	3	0.3
Non-Japanese volunteers	1	0.1
Japanese media	1	0.1
Local media	1	0.1
Children around the world	1	0.1

5.4.1 Effectiveness of NGOs' Interventions

Figure 5.2 shows facial expressions of recipients of NGOs' work and local people captured in photos taken in project sites. Among them, only 12 appeared with a sad facial expression. These were mostly children: girl sitting down in rain, a boy carrying a baby, and a boy lying down on

²⁰Composition of places among remainder of the visual images are: two taken in an industrialized country other than Japan, 41 were taken at a project site in Northeastern Japan (affected area of triple disasters of March 11, 2011), and the question of asking where the image was taken was irrelevant or unable to determine for 94 images.

the ground. Such finding suggests that development NGOs make less use of visual images to describe a problem.



Figure 5-2 Facial Expressions of Recipients and Local People

Photos are rather used to connote effectiveness of organization's work. Of the recipients that appear in the photos, 235 are smiling. 142 local people also show smiling faces. Recipients with serious expressions are captured in scenes where they are receiving NGOs' services: vocational trainings, educational workshops, agricultural trainings in the field, and attending classes in schools.

The effectiveness of NGOs' interventions is also presented through NGO staff captured in photos. Figure 5.3 shows the facial expressions of NGO staff, both Japanese and non-Japanese. Over half of the NGO staff captured in project sites looks serious, interviewing local residents, conducting focus group interviews, and giving workshops. Smiling non-Japanese NGO staff

captured in Japan also connotes their satisfaction with Japanese NGOs' development efforts as well as accomplishments.

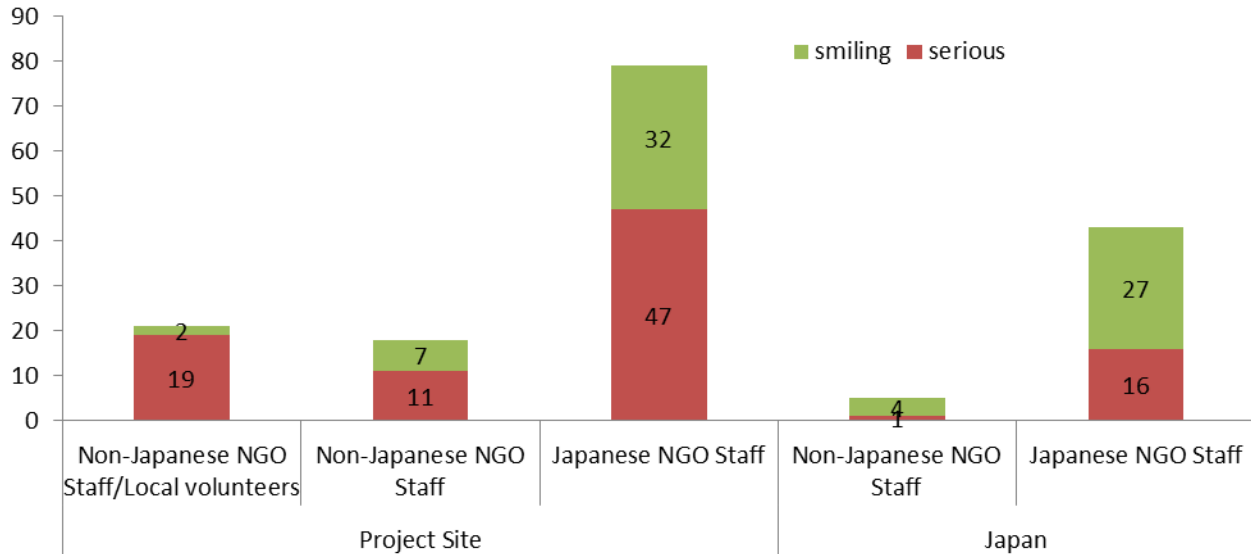


Figure 5-3 Facial Expressions of NGO staff

5.4.2 Positive Experience of Japanese Involvement

Among 1021 visual images used in 115 print mobilization documents under study, 30.1 percent captured Japanese people. Analyzing their attributes and facial expressions, I find that these photos connote a rewarding and worthwhile experience of Japanese involvement.

Photos taken in project sites show Japanese people making a visit through study-tours and work-camps, sometimes engaged in volunteer work. Photos taken in Japan show volunteers participating in an event such as fundraising, cooking classes, and charity walks.

Figure 5.4 shows expressions of these Japanese people. The majority of them are Japanese volunteers, over half of which have smiles on their face. These photos connote that

Japanese volunteers enjoy their involvement. Serious volunteers connote the importance of the task they engage in, which contributes to solving the issue of global poverty.

The only two photos that showed Japanese volunteers with sad facial expressions were captured in projects sites when they are saying goodbye to the local residents after their stay in the village. It is also worth noting that no one captured in the picture taken in Japan showed sad facial expressions.

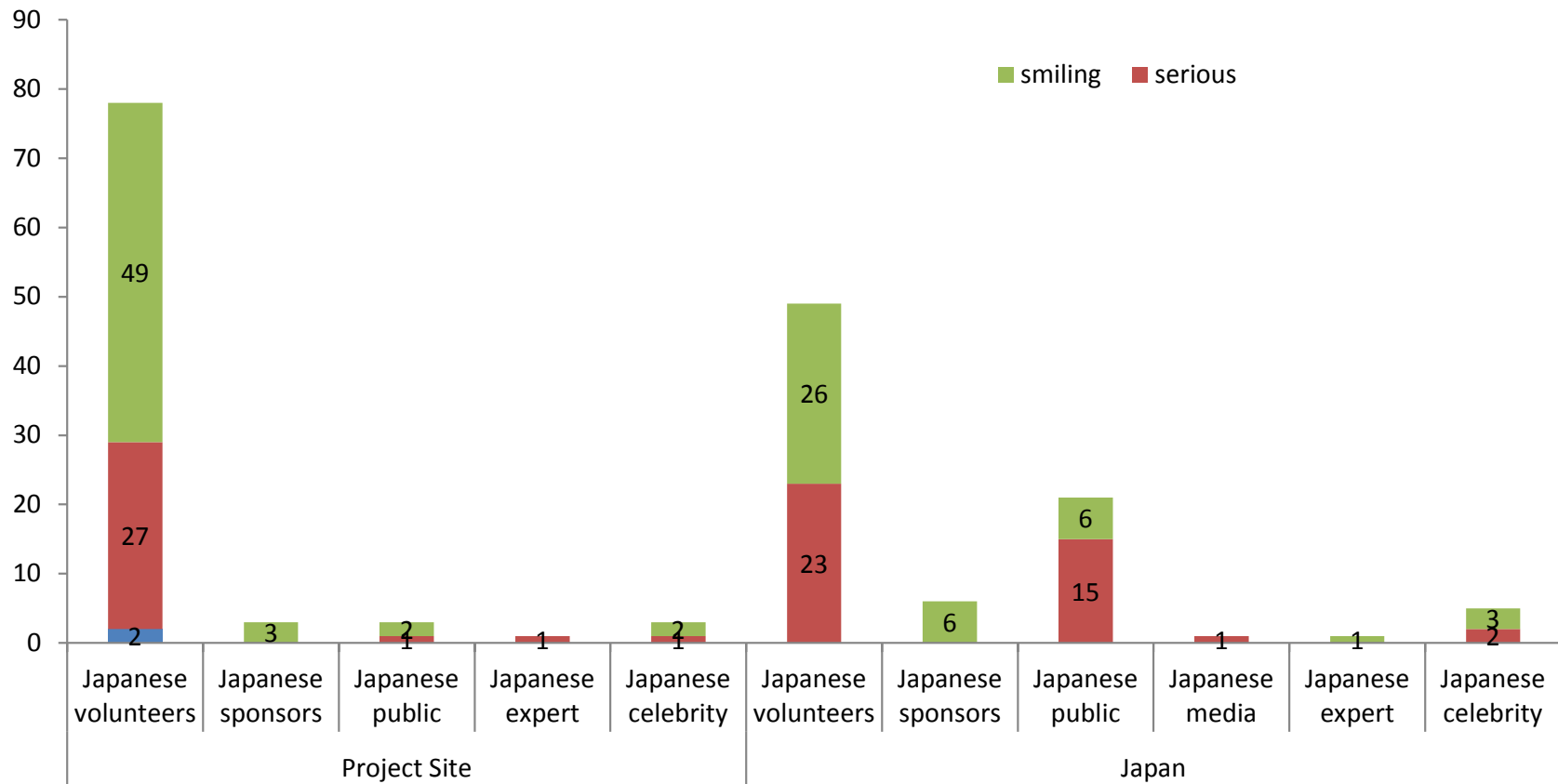


Figure 5-4 Facial Expressions of Japanese People

5.5 DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I analyzed message framings presented in 115 print materials disseminated by 61 development NGOs operating in Japan, focusing on *what* is being presented and *how*. Through content analysis of texts, slogans, and visual images, the study observes one transcending theme – *actionability* of international development. Global poverty is presented as an issue that can be solved through organizational and individual actions. Emphasized at the organizational level is the effectiveness of NGOs' development efforts. In pamphlets, brochures, and flyers, NGOs describe their programs and projects along with past accomplishments and organizational visions to change the world. Added here is credibility of the organization with its history, partnerships with a range of stakeholders, and received recognitions. NGOs present global poverty as a technocratic problem that can be solved through interventions that they offer. At the individual level, NGOs present a range of actions that individuals can take to contribute to global poverty, and encourage them to do so with an argument emphasizing *self-efficacy*, *approachability*, and *sense of community*. Put differently, taking actions for international development is articulated as something that one can do, as something that one can do without huge difficulty, and as something accomplished as a team with fellow peers. NGOs present engagement to international development as simple and easy, not complex and difficult.

The surprising finding from the analysis was that development NGOs did not devote much space in explaining the problems observed in developing countries, much less about why the observed situation is problematic or why such problems occur. Messages were framed not to

describe the plight of people suffering from poverty in developing countries, but rather to express that there is something that can be done for people living in the developing world, that development NGOs were themselves capable of doing so, and that there is a part that the audience, as individuals, can play.

Interesting differences emerge in comparing these findings against Dogra (2012) and Shimozawa (2004). In both studies, developing countries were described as a world of destitution, hunger, and threats. This study found limited cases of such practices.

In Dogra (2012), charities called for donor public's attention through framing of *oneness*, emphasizing universal humanism that there are moral obligations for those in the UK to respond. The use of *oneness* was seen in only four cases in the context of Japan. Rather, the connection between the donor public and the problem was highlighted by emphasizing individuals' *self-efficacy* and *approachability* of international development. While less explicit, the finding of Shimozawa (2004) that Japanese NGOs use images of smiling children to show the change NGOs' interventions make in developing countries is in line with *self-efficacy* framing identified in this study.

Why do development NGOs in Japan tend to articulate *actionability* frames both at the organizational and individual level? One potential explanation is that such messages are the most persuasive framing that best matches the contexts in Japan today. As was discussed in Chapter four, interests towards international development is limited, and nonprofit organizations receive low level of trust in Japan. Development NGOs may be pressured to stress their *raison d'être* by demonstrating their work in a positive light, emphasizing credibility of themselves as well as the effectiveness of their work, and that individuals have the power and ability to take actions and

contribute to changing the world. How NGOs perceive the Japanese context will be further discussed in Chapter seven, where I present findings on organizational decision making.

5.6 SUMMARY

In pamphlets, brochures, and flyers used to mobilize the Japanese public, development NGOs in Japan tend to emphasize *actionability* of international development. NGOs represent global poverty as an issue that can be solved through organizational and individual actions, rather than describing the nature and complexity of the problem. At organizational level, NGOs' emphasize their experience, accomplishments, and credibility. At individual level, NGOs incentivize the audience by emphasizing their ability to make a change without much difficulty.

6.0 FRAMING ANALYSIS II: MULTI-ORGANIZATIONAL CAMPAIGNS, GOVERNMENT AGENCIES, AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Chapter five presented findings from framing analysis of print mobilization documents disseminated by development NGOs. In chapter six, I examine other types of organizations engaged in building public support towards international development in Japan: multi-organizational campaigns, government agencies, and international organizations. I use the same framework and methodologies as Chapter five to examine framings presented by these organizations, analyzing print mobilization materials disseminated at *Global Festa 2011*.

After presenting the results of framing analysis, I discuss similarities and differences observed among NGOs, multi-organizational campaigns, as well as government agencies and international organizations.

6.1 MULTI-ORGANIZATIONAL CAMPAIGNS

To scale-up their effect in mobilizing the Japanese public, NGOs and other types of organizations often come together to form a joint campaign. Figure 6.1 is a visual representation of five of such multi-organizations campaigns and participating organizations. In total, 329

organizations in Japan are involved in campaigns in one way or the other, some playing the leadership role while other simply join as members.

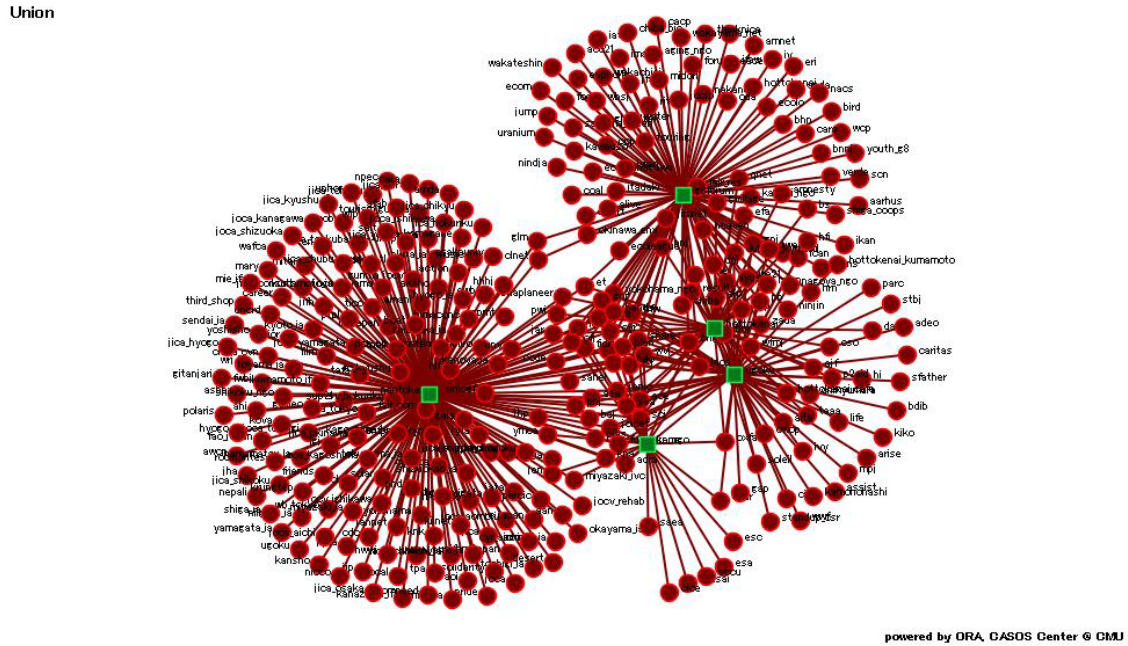


Figure 6-1 NGOs in Multi-Organizational Campaigns

Source: JANIC NGO Directory (as of February 20, 2012).

Among the five campaigns, two were present at the *Global Festa 2011*, where I collected print mobilization tools to analyze in this dissertation project. The first campaign advocated for enhanced commitment in achieving Millennium Development Goals. Run by more than 70 NGOs, this campaign pushes the Japanese public to learn about the gap between achievements made to date and targets to be achieved by the established deadline, year 2015. The campaign motivates those living in Japan to urge policy makers to take proactive measures to fill in this gap. The second campaign is on raising awareness towards global poverty among the Japanese public. Consists of NGOs, government agencies, and international organizations, the campaign encourages people to care about global poverty and find actions that one can take.

These two campaigns were disseminating a total of six print mobilization documents at the *Global Festa 2011*. Four of these were flyers encouraging event participation and other actions, while the other two were project reports.

As shown in Table 6.1, qualitative content analysis of these materials identified six dimensions being presented. In addition, four documents presented slogans, and a total of 64 visual images were used. Below, I analyze texts, slogans, and visual images used in these materials using the same methods as Chapter five.

Table 6.1 Dimensions Presented in Texts

Content	Total Number of Documents	%
Campaign description	5	83.3
Past accomplishments	3	50
Suggested action	3	50
Partners and affiliated organizations	3	50
Motivational phrases	2	33.3
Participant voice	1	16.7

6.1.1 Texts

Description of the campaign was the most frequently presented dimension. Analysis of these text segments reveals three dominant themes: campaign credibility, problems, and individuals in action.

6.1.1.1 Campaign Credibility

Campaign descriptions in five documents provided details about the movement: campaign goals, who runs the campaign, what the campaign does, and why the campaign is necessary and important. Frequently used concepts in Table 6.2 and results of semantic network analysis of campaign descriptions in Table 6.3 and Table 6.4 reveal that details about Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were explained most in detail. Much focus is placed on the importance of *achieving* particular *goals*, for *development* in *countries* suffering from *poverty*.

Table 6.2 Frequently Used Concepts in Campaign Descriptions (N=236)

Concept	Frequency
NUMBER	39
goal	29
year	20
achieve	17
MDGs	15
develop	15
country	14
poverty	12
world	9
ORGNAME	9
summit	8
cooperate	7

Table 6.3 “Symbol” Words in Campaign Descriptions

Rank	Concept	Consensus	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
1	NUMBER	0.065	0.121	0.251
2	goal	0.048	0.093	0.240
3	year	0.033	0.064	0.115
4	achieve	0.028	0.051	0.113
5	develop	0.025	0.047	0.110
6	MDGs	0.025	0.040	0.084
7	have	0.010	0.045	0.074
8	country	0.023	0.032	0.060
9	poverty	0.020	0.038	0.050
10	international	0.010	0.032	0.064

Table 6.4 Frequency of Word Co-occurrence in Campaign Descriptions

Frequency	Concepts	
16	goal	NUMBER
11	country	develop
8	achieve	MDGs
6	child	NUMBER
5	NUMBER	NUMBER

Names of specific organizations – NGOs, government agencies, and international organizations – that are involved in the campaign were also frequently mentioned in the descriptions. Providing names of some of the large, well-received organizations in Japan adds credibility of the campaign. Campaign credibility was further articulated by describing past accomplishments as well as partners and affiliated organizations.

6.1.1.2 Problems

Two documents made reference to what the campaign sees as a problematic situation. These were both the difficulty of achieving the Millennium Development Goals by the established deadline. No reasons were given, and no consequences of what would happen if the goals were not achieved were provided.

6.1.1.3 Individuals in Action

In addition to fourteen suggested actions presented in total of five flyers, one campaign description articulated how one can participate in the campaign. Suggested actions all

encouraged the Japanese people to participate in events such as concerts, seminars, and photo contests.

Two flyers contained six motivational phrases that further encouraged the audience to take actions to advance the campaign cause (including one duplicate). Through qualitative content analysis, I found that two phrases articulated *self-efficacy*, another two phrases articulated *connectedness*, and another articulated *approachability*. Motivational phrases emphasizing *self-efficacy* expressed how one's action leads to changing the world. Frequent use of concepts like *we*, *can*, *do*, *action*, and *power* support this finding (Table 6.5, Table 6.6, and Table 6.7). Motivational phrase articulating *approachability* stressed that one's action can take place anywhere. Two phrases presented *connectedness* of countries around the world as well as the world and Japan. Emphasis is placed on the need "to help each other" as is observed in the co-occurrence of these terms.

Table 6.5 Frequently Used Concepts in Motivational Phrases in Texts (N=64)

Concept	Frequency
world	5
action	4
power	3
we	3
do	3
no	3

Table 6.6 “Symbol” Words in Motivational Phrases in Texts

Rank	Concept	Consensus	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
1	we	0.034	0.055	0.145
2	do	0.034	0.071	0.112
3	no	0.034	0.087	0.096
4	power	0.034	0.031	0.094
5	world	0.057	0.039	0.052
6	help	0.023	0.047	0.047
7	can	0.023	0.031	0.048

Table 6.7 Frequency of Word Co-occurrence in Motivational Phrases in Texts

Frequency	Concepts	
2	because	moment
	power	become
	power	move
	world	move
	stand	action
	each	help
	help	other
	world	day
	world	poverty

In one brochure, voices of people who had already participated in the campaign further encouraged the Japanese audience to make actions. There were seven of such text segments. Semantic network analysis of participants’ voices reveals emphasis on *self-efficacy*. As shown on Table 6.8, Table 6.9, and Table 6.10, concepts *I*, *do*, *action*, *can*, *solve* and *achieve* are used not only frequently but also as symbolic terms.

Table 6.8 Frequently Used Concepts in Participant Voice (N=63)

Concept	Frequency
we	6
poverty	4
I	3
do	3
everyday	2
action	2
choose	2
goal	2
can	2
achieve	2
solve	2

Table 6.9 “Symbol” Words in Participant Voice

Rank	Concept	Consensus	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
1	we	0.073	0.096	0.175
2	do	0.037	0.064	0.073
3	I	0.037	0.056	0.054
4	solve	0.024	0.032	0.089
5	everyday	0.024	0.040	0.074
6	poverty	0.049	0.032	0.056
7	can	0.024	0.048	0.060
8	achieve	0.024	0.032	0.046
9	choose	0.024	0.040	0.025
10	action	0.024	0.032	0.017

Table 6.10 Frequency of Word Co-occurrence in Participant Voice

Frequency	Concept	
2	because	cheap
	achieve	MDGs
	achieve	definitely
	solve	poverty
	people	participate
	people	gracious

6.1.2 Slogans

Slogans of the two campaigns articulated distinct framings. Slogan of the first campaign articulated vision of the campaign to end poverty as well as what individuals can do to achieve this goal. The second campaign uses a slogan that presents striking statistic of the number of people who cannot be ignored. While the number refers to population living in developing nations, the slogan does not provide an explanation of what the number refers to. Presentation of a large number here is used to catch audience's attention. This slogan articulates what the campaign regard as problem, along with the importance of not ignoring this population.

6.1.3 Visual Images

Print mobilization documents for the two multi-organizational campaigns contained a total of 64 visual images. With the exception of one image, these photos captured one or more human beings.

Table 6.11 Attributes of Persons that Appear in Visual Images

Attributes	Frequency of Appearance	%
General Japanese public	45	66.2
Non-Japanese people	10	14.6
Japanese celebrity	6	8.8
Japanese NGO staff	3	4.4
Non-Japanese celebrity	2	2.9
Japanese campaign staff	1	1.5
TOTAL	68	100

As shown in Table 6.11, majority of the people who appeared in campaigns' brochures and flyers were Japanese people. 66.2 percent were the general public, while 8.8 percent were celebrities, 4.4 percent were NGO staff, and 1.5 percent was a campaign staff. These Japanese people were captured when making actions, doing demonstrations on the street, participating in a workshop, or carrying a poster with a message expressing their concerns for global poverty. All of these photos capturing Japanese people were taken in Japan. Japanese involvement in making actions connote *actionability* of international development at individual level, while motivating the readers by showing that actions are possible and that others are already doing their part.

The remaining photos captured non-Japanese people making actions for global poverty, again walking on the street or doing an event to encourage awareness for global poverty. All of the twelve pictures capturing non-Japanese people were taken outside Japan.

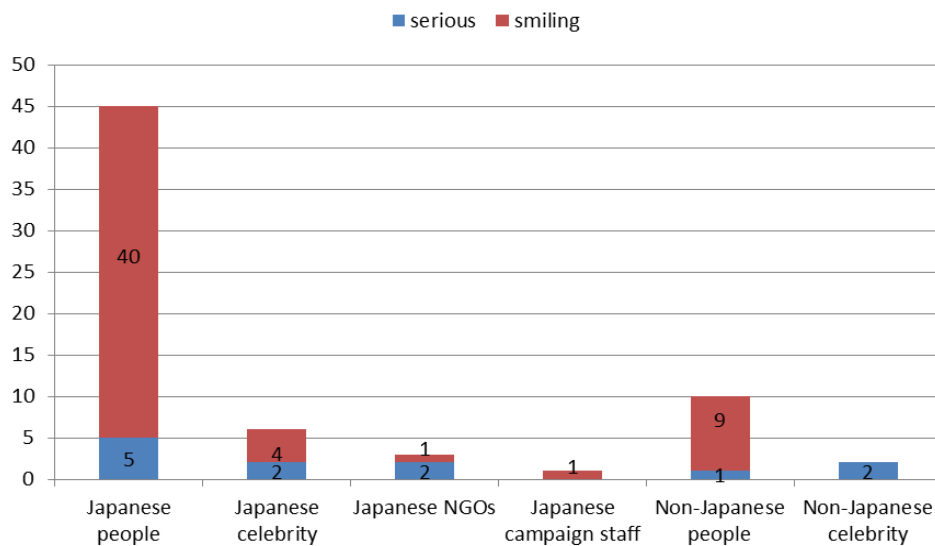


Figure 6-2 Facial Expressions of Persons in Campaign Materials

Figure 6.2 shows facial expressions of people that appear in visual images. Majority of these people are smiling, which connotes that joining the campaign is enjoyable and rewarding. Serious facial expressions connote the importance of the task one is engaged in.

6.1.4 Summary

In print mobilization documents, multi-organizational campaigns articulate credibility of the campaign, problems that needs to be solved, and individuals in action. The campaign motivates the Japanese public to take actions through framings of *self-efficacy*, *approachability*, and *connectedness* among the countries around the world.

6.2 GOVERNMENT AGENCIES AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

In addition to NGOs and multi-organizational campaigns, governmental agencies and international organizations are active in building public support for international development in Japan. These include foundations and specified nonprofit organizations that work under the name of its affiliated United Nations agencies and engage in public relations and communications in Japan on behalf of these agencies.

Table 6.12 presents the types of print mobilization documents that were disseminated by government agencies and international organizations at *Global Festa 2011*. Frequently used were flyers for event participation (38.9 percent), “who we are” pamphlets (27.8 percent), and flyers asking for donations (22.2 percent). In comparison with NGOs, there were no advocacy flyers, flyers for merchandise sales, or newsletters.

Table 6.12 Types of Print Mobilization Documents for Government and International Organizations

Types	N	%
Flyers for Event Participation and Other Actions	7	38.9
“Who We Are” pamphlets	5	27.8
Fundraising/Membership	4	22.2
Educational Materials	1	5.6
Project Reports	1	5.6
TOTAL	18	100

Presented in these materials were eight dimensions of international development. As shown in Table 6.13, 88.9 percent of them included suggested action for individuals, and 61.1 percent expressed what the organizations see as problems. 55.6 percent of the documents explained what the organization does, and 50 percent presented basic descriptions of the organization. Five documents, 27.8 percent of all documents, included phrases that intend to motivate the audience. Of particular interest here is 22.2 percent of the documents describing relationship between Japan and the organization. Texts segments either explained contributions that the Japanese government makes for the organization, assistance that Japan received from the organization for economic development following the World War II, or the organization’s work in disaster relief in Northeastern Japan following the March 11, 2011 triple disasters. Ten slogans appeared in these 18 print mobilization documents along with 224 visual images.

Table 6.13 Dimensions Presented in Texts for Government and International Organizations (N=18)

Content	Total Number of Documents	Percent
Suggested Action	16	88.9
Problem	11	61.1
Work of Organizations	10	55.6
Details of Organizations	9	50.0
Motivational Phrases	5	27.8
Japan and the Organization	4	22.2
Partners and Affiliations	3	16.7
Supporter Voice	1	5.6

6.2.1 Texts

6.2.1.1 Individuals in Action

Government agencies and international organizations emphasize individuals in action. Suggested actions include: making financial donations or becoming a member (appeared 13 times), participate in an event (10), organize events, fundraisers, or classes (5), volunteer or intern (4), look at websites (3), make in-kind donations (2), visit the organization's office or information centers (2), study or research about the issue (2), spread the word (2), and smile at refugees (1).

Individual actions are further encouraged in motivational phrases. Table 6.14 shows framings extracted from these motivational phrases. Findings here suggest that government agencies and international organizations were not as strategic as they could be in framing; eight motivational phrases were simple pleading, such as “*we ask for your warm cooperation.*” This is evident in results of semantic network analysis, where extensive use of “*please*” “*support*” “*cooperate*” “*warm*” was found (see. Table 6.15 and Table 6.16). The point is also evident in the co-occurrence of terms (see Table 6.17).

Two motivational phrases articulated *self-efficacy*, stating the change one would be able to bring about by making actions. One phrase presented *approachability* of taking actions for international development, one articulated *sense of community*, asking the audience to join the team, one stressed *connectedness* between Japan and the world, and another emphasized *urgency* in the need for one's action.

Table 6.14 Framing Extracted from Motivational Phrases

Framings	Frequency
Pleading	8
Self-efficacy	2
Approachability	1
Sense of Community	1
Connectedness	1
Urgency	1

Table 6.15 Frequently Used Concepts in Motivational Phrases (N=99)

Concept	Frequency
we	8
support	8
cooperate	7
you	7
Japan	6
NUMBER	5
ask	4
world	4
please	4
refugee	4
warm	4

Table 6.16 “Symbol” Words in Motivational Phrases

Rank	Concept	Consensus	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
1	support	0.045	0.091	0.274
2	we	0.045	0.071	0.137
3	you	0.040	0.066	0.130
4	number	0.028	0.051	0.117
5	Japan	0.034	0.041	0.116
6	cooperate	0.040	0.046	0.076
7	refugee	0.023	0.046	0.088
8	have	0.017	0.036	0.087
9	earthquake	0.017	0.025	0.088
10	donation	0.017	0.030	0.042

Table 6.17 Frequency of Word Co-occurrence in Motivational Phrases

Frequency	Concepts	
4	cooperate	you
	warm	you
	you	ask
3	east	earthquake
	east	Japan

6.2.1.2 Problems

21 segments in eleven documents described what the agencies see as problems. Identified problems were hunger, victims of natural disasters without life essentials such as food, water, and shelter, children who survived natural disasters, lives of refugees, and consequences triggered by increasing world population. While 17 of them were literal description of the state of the problem, nine made use of statistics to express what was considered a problem. No segments described why the situation was problematic or what the undesirable consequences would be if no intervention were to be made.

Because the organization dealing with refugee issues presented multiple descriptions of what the organization saw as a problem, results of semantic network analysis find extensive use of the term *refugee* as well as *internally displaced people* (see Table 6.18, 6.19, 6.20). The frequent use of statistics to describe a problem brings numbers as one of the key concepts. Japan also appears as a key term because victims of earthquake and tsunami in Japan as well as hard lives of refugees who arrived in Japan were mentioned as the problem.

Table 6.18 Frequently Used Concepts in Diagnostic Framing in Texts (N=333)

Concepts	Frequency
refugee	35
NUMBER	22
you	15
who	13
people	13
have	13
Japan	11
country	9
life	8
child	8
refuge	8
live	8

Table 6.19 “Symbol” Words in Diagnostic Framing in Texts

Rank	Concept	Consensus	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
1	refugee	0.050	0.080	0.246
2	number	0.031	0.053	0.118
3	have	0.018	0.051	0.127
4	you	0.021	0.051	0.112
5	people	0.018	0.035	0.066
6	Japan	0.016	0.033	0.068
7	who	0.018	0.027	0.044
8	may	0.010	0.029	0.050
9	population	0.009	0.026	0.050
10	live	0.011	0.021	0.047

Table 6.20 Frequency of Word Co-occurrence in Problems

Frequency	Concepts	
8	refugee	who
6	possible	soon
5	number	number
	refugee	protect
4	number	reach
	displace	internal
	people	internal
	take	refuge
	people	who

6.2.1.3 Effective and Credible Organization

Government agencies and international organizations also present effectiveness of its work through descriptions of organization's work as well as who they are.

Table 6.21, Table 6.22, and Table 6.23 show results of semantic network analysis of text segments describing the organization. In addition to issues that organizations deal with, such as *refugee* and *food*, numbers were used to show past accomplishments. For example, an organization would mention that it delivered certain amount of food to a particular number of people in a number of countries.

Another frequently mentioned dimension in organizational descriptions was organizational history and accomplishment. The extensive use of year in general reveals this point in the three tables below. These descriptions are used to present *credibility* of the organization, which is also expressed through segments describing organizations' partners and affiliations.

Table 6.21 Frequently Used Concepts in Organizational Description (N=220)

Concepts	Frequency
ORGNAME	39
NUMBER	30
refugee	14
support	14
world	12
people	11
YEAR	10
over	7
food	7
we	6
country	6
protect	6
PLACE	6

Table 6.22 “Symbol” Words in Organizational Description

Rank	Concept	Consensus	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
1	ORGNAME	0.078	0.107	0.238
2	number	0.060	0.066	0.202
3	support	0.028	0.055	0.162
4	people	0.022	0.050	0.158
5	refugee	0.028	0.048	0.110
6	world	0.024	0.032	0.056
7	YEAR	0.020	0.034	0.055
8	every	0.010	0.030	0.063
9	work	0.008	0.021	0.072
10	we	0.012	0.032	0.055

Table 6.23 Frequency of Word Co-occurrence in Organizational Description

Frequency	Concepts	
10	over	NUMBER
9	people	NUMBER
6	NUMBER	NUMBER
4	support	protect
	ORGNAME	window
	association	ORGNAME
	refugee	support
	displace	person
	country	NUMBER

6.2.2 Slogans

Besides texts, government agencies and international organization used slogans in print mobilization documents. Because each organization made use of multiple slogan-like phrases, this section presents results of analyzing 13 phrases. Table 6.24 shows extracted framings, and Table 6.25, 6.26, and 6.27 shows the results of semantic network analysis of slogans.

Table 6.24 Framings in Slogans

Framing	Frequency
State of the Problem	2
Statistics	1
Vision	8
Work of Organizations	1
Self-Efficacy	3
Benefit	1
Ideal Japanese	1

Slogans describing the problem both stated state of the problem, while one made use of statistics as “*one refugee without hope is too many.*” Slogans presenting the potential solution described the vision that the organizations see as the ideal condition, while another phrase described the work of the organization, which *continues* its work for a long period of time. Of the four slogans motivating the audience to get involved, three expressed *self-efficacy* showing the change one’s action would make such as “*Your support delivers food and hope.*” One phrase described the *benefit* of changing oneself as well as the world by making an action, and another presented an ideal understanding of Japanese as someone who’s needed by those in developing countries.

Table 6.25 Frequently Used Concepts in Slogans (N=42)

hope	5
world	4
refugee	3
food	3
ORGNAME	3
deliver	2
support	2
hometown	2
return	2
continue	2

Table 6.26 “Symbol” Words in Slogans

Rank	Concept	Consensus	Degree Centrality	Betweenness Centrality
1	hope	0.083	0.060	0.019
2	ORGNAME	0.050	0.060	0.020
3	refugee	0.050	0.072	0.006
4	food	0.050	0.060	0.012
5	deliver	0.033	0.060	0.010
6	continue	0.033	0.048	0.004
7	support	0.033	0.048	0.004

Table 6.27 Frequency of Word Co-occurrence in Slogans

Frequency	Concepts	
2	back	peace
	Japan	need
	ORGNAME	continue

6.2.3 Visual Images

224 visual images were used in 18 print mobilization tools that government agencies and international organizations were disseminating at the *Global Festa 2011*. Among them, 211 were photos capturing human beings. Figure 6.3 shows attributes of these people, distinguished by where the picture was taken and their facial expressions.

There were 135 people captured in project site (five of which were in Northeastern Japan). 78 people were captured in Japan, and five were taken in international policymaking scenes. The remaining five was a scene from movies related to global poverty.

Three points are worth noting. First, only few people appear with sad facial expressions among photos used by government agencies and international agencies. While problems were discussed to a greater extent in texts, photos are not used as often describe problematic situations.

Second, majority of the photos show people with serious facial expressions. While use of these photos connotes the seriousness of the work the agencies engage in, smiling recipients in project sites shows effectiveness of agencies' development efforts. Third, while recipients and local people constitute majority of people captured in project sites in developing countries, organizational staffs, both Japanese and non-Japanese, dominate in pictures taken in Japan. It shows that governmental agencies and international organizations present *actionability* of international development at the organizational level, more so than at the individual level.

6.2.4 Summary

Government agencies and international organizations active in mobilizing the donor public in Japan present individuals in action, problems, and effectiveness and credibility of organizations. Individuals are asked to *please* take actions, rather than motivated by arguments of *self-efficacy* or *approachability*. In visual images, emphasis is placed on actions at organizational level.

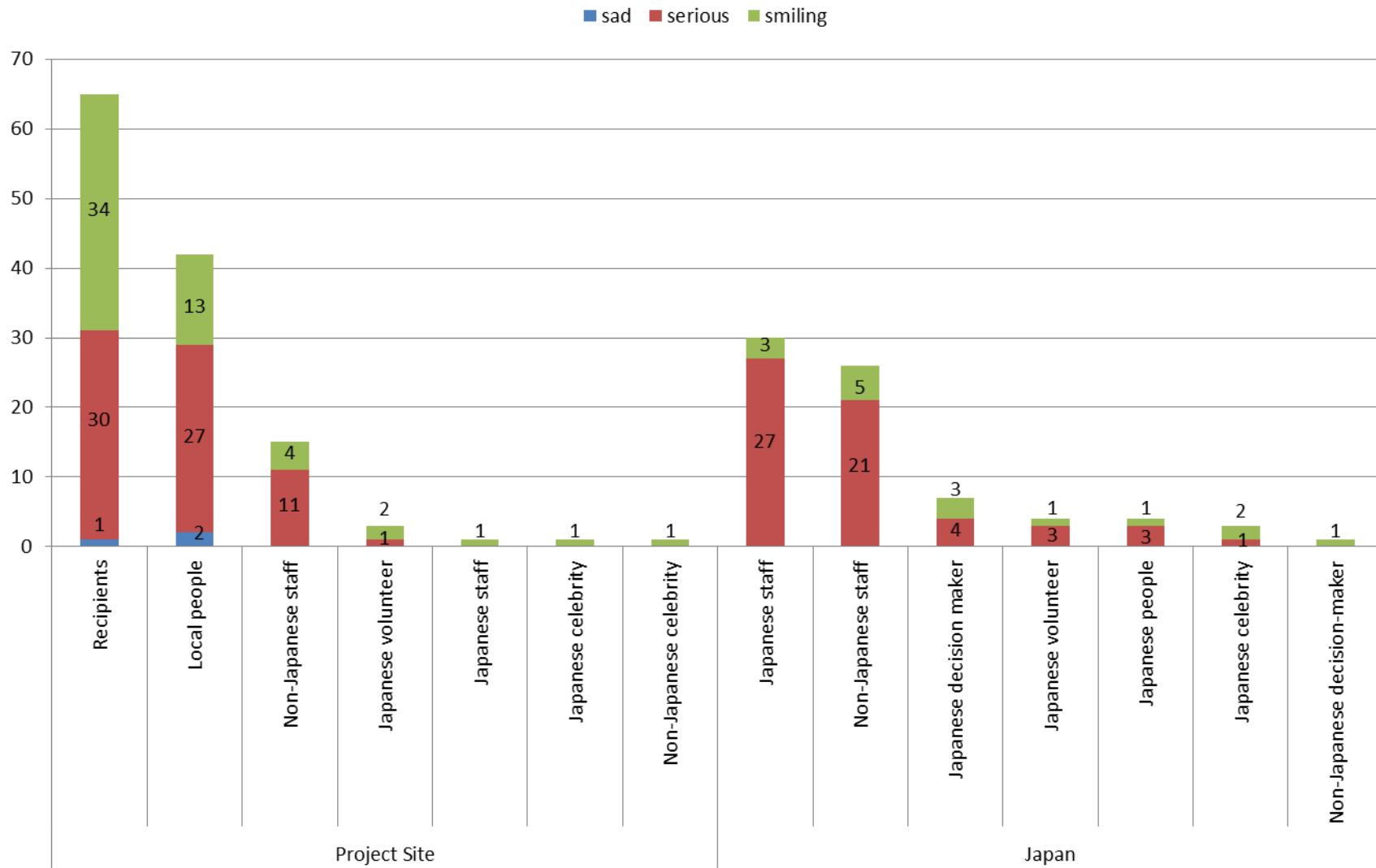


Figure 6-3 Facial Expressions of Persons in Documents of Government Agencies and International Organizations

6.3 DISCUSSION

In Chapter five and six, I examined message framings articulated by NGOs, multi-organizational campaigns, government agencies and international organizations. This section will discuss implications drawn by comparing the findings.

These three types of entities are all engaged in mobilizing the Japanese public, but with different purposes, missions, and visions. NGOs mobilize the Japanese public to raise funds, expand membership, and to build public support for policy advocacy. Multi-organizational campaigns are interested in raising awareness and encouraging actions for policy advocacy. Government agencies and international organizations are interested in obtaining understanding and trust to their work from the donor public. One can expect that these differences may result in varying message framings.

Nonetheless, there were some similarities identified across organizations. First, there was a strong tendency for all types of organizations to emphasize *actionability* of international development. Global poverty was presented as a problem with solutions in which actions can be made, both at the organizational and individual levels. Second, *self-efficacy* was the commonly used framing to motivate the audience to get involved. Organizations incentivize the audience by empowering them, rather than stressing *oneness*, *solidarity*, or *universal humanism*. Third, when problematic situations were explained, it was done so through an explanation of state of the problem with the use of statistics. Reasons why the observed situation is problematic or consequences that might be triggered by the perceived problems were rarely mentioned.

I also identify three differences. First, unlike NGOs who were reluctant to describe problems in print mobilization documents, multi-organizational campaigns, and government agencies and international organizations used much space to describe the complexity of what they saw as problems. This was seen mostly in texts, rather than through visual images showing sad local people or recipients of organizations' services.

Second, in describing the problem, NGOs were the only types of entities that used anecdotal evidence for describing the problem. This shows that while NGOs tend to utilize emotional messaging, appealing the plight of the suffering people in developing countries, multi-organizational campaigns as well as government agencies and international organization tend to make rational messaging.

Third, while actions for international development was emphasized in all three types of organizations, government agencies and international organization tend to emphasize the point at organizational level more so than at individual level, particularly through the use of photos. In visual images government agencies and international organizations had the tendency to show seriously working organizations staff rather than smiling Japanese public and Japanese volunteers enjoying taking actions for the cause.

6.4 SUMMARY

Multi-organizational campaigns, government agencies, and international organizations tend to emphasize actions taken to eradicate global poverty. As opposed to NGOs' message framing, these types of organizations devote more space to describe the problem. Potential interventions

were emphasized at individual level for multi-organizational campaigns and more so at organizational level in messages that government agencies and international organization present.

7.0 ORGANIZATIONAL DECISION-MAKING

Through framing analysis of print mobilization documents, I found that development NGOs in Japan tend to emphasize *actionability* of international development, representing global poverty as an issue that can be solved through organizational and individual actions, as opposed to explaining the nature and complexity of the problem (Chapter Five). At organizational level, NGOs' emphasize their experience, accomplishments, and credibility. At individual level, NGOs incentivize the audience with an argument that they are capable of contributing to eradicating global poverty without much difficulty. The findings prompt another question - why do development NGOs in Japan decide to frame their messages in such a way? In this chapter, I examine NGOs' message framing behavior as a process of organizational decision-making.

One can assume that development NGOs decide to frame their messages in a certain way to win attention of the audience and to mobilize them towards actions. For example, Kotler and Lee (2008) suggest practitioners in social marketing to ask the following three questions when crafting messages: What do you want your target audience to do? What do you want them to know? What do you want them to believe?

In organizational theory, making decisions based on these criteria that focus on desired outcomes is known as decisions made on the *logic of consequences* (March, 1997). In such a rational process, decisions are ideally based on knowledge of alternatives, consistent preference

ordering, and a decision rule. Organizations make decisions that best bring about the desired result. March argues that this decision-making based on *logic of consequence* is not the only model organizations apply. He presents three additional models. First, decisions may be made based on the *logic of appropriateness*. *Appropriate* here does not mean being suitable to certain contexts, but rather as decisions following organizational rules and practices. Decisions are made because it follows the pre-established rules and/or norms, even if doing so does not lead to achieving desired outcomes. Second, decision-making may be best understood as more of an interpretive activity rather than an instrumental activity, as a process of *making sense* of available information. Such organization decision making takes place when decision makers do not have sufficient information to determine what's best to bring about the desired outcomes nor rules to follow. It is the understanding and interpretation of the situation and available data that serves as the ground for one to make decisions. Third, decision-making may be understood as an *interacting ecology*, where multiple actors involved in the process influence each other.

In framing communication messages, do development NGOs in Japan make decisions based on the *logic of consequence*? Or, do they have a set of rules that determine *appropriateness* of message framings? Can decisions be best understood as an interpretive activity of making sense of available information, or more as an interacting ecology of actors? In this chapter, I examine decision-making practices of development NGOs in Japan by identifying the criteria used for making decisions.

Analyses conducted in this chapter use data obtained from interviews to eleven NGOs and one multi-organizational campaign²¹. Interview protocol is found in Appendix. I analyze interview transcriptions using grounded theory approach (see Chapter three), asking the following four questions:

1. What are the processes through which messages are framed?
2. Who is involved in the process?
3. What are the criteria on which messages are framed?
4. What are the difficulties faced by NGOs in framing communication messages?

In this chapter, I find that development NGOs in Japan frame messages primarily by interpreting and making sense of the context in which they operate, rather than considering whether presented messages will lead to successful mobilization of the donor public. NGOs were concerned about framing messages to which the audience is receptive, while prioritizing what's acceptable to volunteers and members and emphasizing unique organizational characteristics. I do observe some application of the *logic of appropriateness* among NGOs that place importance on following an informal norm of being ethically considerate. There was only one organization that had pre-established rules that practitioners follow in framing communication messages. I also find that development NGOs frame messages in a constrained environment which with limited funding, time, personnel and knowledge for strategic message framing.

The chapter begins with a brief description of the twelve interviewed organizations as well as framings they emphasize. I then discuss seven criteria that development NGOs use in

²¹ All interviews were conducted, transcribed, and analyzed in Japanese language by the author. Translation into English took place after the final categories were extracted from the data. Series of coding was conducted using the qualitative analysis software *MaxQDA*.

framing their communication messages: audience receptivity, receptivity of donors and volunteers, uniqueness, ethical soundness, organizational characteristics, project characteristics, and simplicity. I also discuss eight difficulties that impose constraints on NGOs as they engage in framing communication messages: lack of resource, lack of skills in developing mobilization strategies, level of knowledge and understanding among the audience, social and political context of Japan, dealing with the media. As both an emerging opportunity and threat, I highlight unexpected impact of the triple disasters of earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear threat that struck Northeastern Japan in 2011. The chapter concludes with a discussion of NGOs' message framing as *sensemaking* of available information in a constrained environment.

7.1 INTERVIEWED ORGANIZATIONS

Among 61 NGOs and two multi-organizational campaigns selected for framing analyses (see Chapter five and six), I approached 20 organizations via email and through personal contacts for a thirty minute interview. I chose these 20 organizations based on the findings from framing analysis and feasibility of conducting interviews, including location of the main office²². Eleven NGOs and one multi-organizational campaign graciously agreed to discuss their message framing strategies²³. Interviews were conducted between January and February 2012. Eleven interviews were conducted in person, where I was offered to visit their office in Tokyo

²²I did not contact three organizations from the outset, given my prior knowledge that these organizations do not accept individual research interviews.

²³Among the organizations that I approached, six organizations did not respond, while one organization responded but declined to have an interview.

metropolitan area. One NGO located in Northeastern Japan offered to be interviewed over *skype*. While I had initially asked for a thirty minute interview, ten out of twelve interviews went well beyond the time and lasted for as long as an hour and a half.

Table 7.1 summarizes basic characteristics of eleven NGOs and one multi-organizational campaign that agreed to share their experience of message framing. Eight NGOs are domestic, i.e. established by the Japanese people in Japan, while three NGOs are part of an international NGO “family.” Among the domestic NGOs, NGO1, NGO5, NGO6 are known to be among the central, key organizations within the development NGO sector in Japan. The three international NGOs are not a *branch* of transnational NGOs, but is part of a loosely tied partnership. The budget size of interviewed organizations varied from 13.4 million to 3.2 billion Japanese yen (US\$168,032 to US\$40.6 million)²⁴. Main programs and projects range from emergency response, poverty reduction, health, education, to supporting refugees and foreigners from developing countries now residing in Japan. Reflecting the results of semantic network analysis in Chapter five (e.g. pp.127-128), four of the interviewed organizations pay particular attention to children as their recipients, while another two organizations focus on children along with adults.

In the initial email inquiring for an interview, I had asked for a communication officer or a public relations officer, or anyone in charge of mobilizing the Japanese public. As shown in Table 7.1, I ended up talking with the executive director of the organization in four NGOs. These organizations were either very small, and the executive director had to wear multiple hats for

²⁴Calculated with the exchange rate of US\$1=80 Japanese Yen.

different tasks (NGO7, NGO8, NGO11) or the executive director considered public relations as key tasks that merit careful attention (NGO3).

It was very interesting to observe the varying degree to which respective NGOs had concrete strategies for message framing. For example, NGO3, NGO4, and NGO6 had a very clear understanding of their strategic approach to the Japanese public, while other organizations did not appear to have clear, well drafted answers to the interview questions. This was evident from occasional pause that interviewees made to think through the answers or the frequency of times that the interviewees said “*let me think....*” or “*let’s see...*” In some NGOs, the interviewees would say, “*I think we base our message on the mission statement and on our slogan...does that sound right to you?*”

Table 7.1 Interviewed Organizations

Org Name	Main Projects	Year of Founding	FY2011 Income (Yen)	Domestic/ International	Interviewees	Interviewed Date
NGO1	Emergency Response Disabled People Landmines Infectious Disease	1979	3,248,574,003	Domestic	Public Information Officer	February 6, 2012 Afternoon
NGO2	Affected children	1997	925,875,405	Domestic	Public Information Officer	February 10, 2012 Morning
NGO3	Children in Poverty	1975	261,919,950	International	Executive Director Public Information Officer	February 10, 2012 Afternoon
NGO4	Supporting refugees in Japan	1999	121,018,185	Domestic	Chief of Public Information	February 13, 2012 Afternoon
NGO5	Emergency Relief	1996	2,656,934,050	Domestic	Public Information Officer	February 14, 2012 Afternoon
NGO6	Libraries School Construction	1980	579,491,731	Domestic	Public Information Officer	February 14, 2012 Afternoon
NGO7	Poverty, Supporting Foreigners in Japan Multi-Cultural Understanding	1991	223,078,511	Domestic	Executive Director	February 16, 2012 Afternoon
NGO8	Children's Rights Development Education	1992	14,147,792	Domestic	Executive Director	February 17, 2012 Afternoon
NGO9	Children in Poverty	1999	29,613,348	International	Project leader Intern	February 27, 2012 Afternoon
NGO10	Maternal and Child Health	1997	185,450,000	International	Public Information Officer	February 27, 2012 Afternoon
NGO11	Education, Healthcare, Children's rights, Child Labor, Environment Gender and Empowerment, Sex Education	1990	13,442,567 (2007)	Domestic	Executive Director Staff	March 2, 2012 Evening
CAMPAIGN1	Awareness Raising on Development Issues Networking	2010		Domestic	Public Information Officer	March 1, 2012 Evening

Source for 2011 Income: *NGO1 Annual Report (2012)*; *NGO2 Annual Report (2012)*; *NGO3 Financial Report (2012)*; *NGO4 Financial Report for FY2011 (2012)*; *NGO5 Statement of Revenues and Expenses for FY2011 (2012)*; *NGO6 Financial Statements for FY2011 (2012)*; *NGO7 Statement of Revenues and Expenses for FY2011 (2012)*; *NGO8 Statement of Revenues and Expenses on Specific Nonprofit Activities for FY 2011 (2012)*; *NGO9 Statement of Revenues and Expenses for FY2011 (2012)*; *NGO10 FY 2011 Business Report (2012)*; *NGO11 Financial Statement for FY2007 (2008)*.

7.2 EMPHASIS IN COMMUNICATION MESSAGES

All interviews began with a question, “What are some of the key messages that your organization attempts to get across to the donor public?” Table 7.2 summarizes the main messages that interviewed organizations intended to articulate.

Table 7.2 Message Emphasis in Interviewed Organizations

Org Name	Emphasized Points
NGO1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We will deliver your kindness to the world. • Helping each other when in trouble.
NGO2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growing Together.
NGO3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What we can do for children’s smiles.
NGO4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The need to support refugees facing hardships so that they can lead “ordinary life” as human beings. • Refugees as independent citizens in Japanese society.
NGO5	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Importance of support. • Role of nonprofits and NGOs.
NGO6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significance of the library. Libraries do not just provide opportunities to read, but also to learn how to write, to obtain information in order to enhance life skills.
NGO7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A society that everyone around the world can live humanly.
NGO8	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significance of rights-based approach. Deriving the innate power of children.
NGO9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For the children, By the Children. • Kids can. • Two “Freedom” <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) To liberate children from poverty and child labor 2) To liberate children from the idea that children do not have the power to change the society or the world
NGO10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significance of helping both mothers and children. • Significance of long-term support.
NGO11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustainable regional development • Let’s try international cooperation, make your first step
CAMPAIGN1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are countries around the world that face problems. But you don’t need to quit your job and go volunteers for two years; simply thinking that there’s got to be something done for this countries is enough.

With the exception of CAMPAIGN1, a multi-organizational campaign, all eleven NGOs emphasize solutions to the perceived problems, describing organizational visions as well as activities. NGO1, NGO3, NGO9, NGO11, and CAMPAIGN 1 articulated motivational framing, providing incentives for the audience to get involved in the cause. Only CAMPAIGN1 presented what the organization sees as a problem. The analysis here corresponds to the findings of framing analysis presented in Chapter five and Chapter six, where NGOs tend to emphasize *actionability* of international development both at organizational and individual level while campaigns articulate problems.

7.3 MESSAGE FRAMING PROCESS: WHO'S INVOLVED?

How do development NGOs and multi-organizational campaigns frame their communication messages? Two dominant patterns were identified from the interviews: an in-house process and fully or partially outsourced process.

7.3.1 In-house Process

Two organizations framed their messages in-house, i.e. within the organization without any involvement of professional designers or advertisement firms. While the primary actor was the public relations (PR) department in both cases, there was variance in the extent to which the process went beyond the PR team. For example, in NGO1, a team of staff members in the PR

division initiates the message framing process, but in some cases, the team asks volunteers who come to the office in Tokyo to see if the pictures chosen are “*acceptable*.”

NGO6 was another organization that placed much importance on in-house processes²⁵. The PR officer makes the effort to involve all other staff members to the process of message framing. For the key “who we are” pamphlet renewed in 2011, the initial draft was sent to every single staff in the organization, even those in overseas offices. Each of them was asked to make detailed comments on what they thought should be included in the new pamphlet, or what they liked or disliked about the draft.

7.3.2 Outsourcing

In eight interviewed organizations, the process of message framing was outsourced to professional designers or advertising firms. This was a surprising finding; to my knowledge, such trend had not been discussed in the context of development NGOs in Japan. While some were paid outsourcing, others were *pro bono*, i.e. services provided free of charge as a volunteering effort of professionals.

There was some variance in the degree to which the outside agencies had a say in how the message should be framed. Some organizations like NGO5 and NGO9 would work with a *pro bono* designer for layout of flyers and pamphlets, while NGO staff chose all information and photos to use.

²⁵As will be discussed in the following section, NGO6 has recently begun to involve *pro bono* designers.

NGO3 was an interesting case where while the content, information, and pictures were provided by staff members to the professional designer, the tone in which the content was presented came out to be “*much brighter than expected.*” The initial intent of NGO3 was to stress the “*dark side*” of child poverty. However, the designer made a point that if they used an image of sad children and made “*dark*” impressions, NGO3 would not be able to differentiate themselves from their competitors, i.e. NGOs that implement similar projects and provide similar sponsoring opportunity to the Japanese public. The interviewee said that “*we did have quite a discussion with the designer, but when he mentioned (the name of the competitor NGO), that just really convinced me.*”

Use of professionals from private advertising firms also appears to be the emerging trend among development NGOs in Japan. In the past, NGOs have often avoided working with major firms because of unaffordable expensive fees. Professional firms were used only by *mega-NGOs* whose budget size exceeded by far fellow NGOs. These NGOs were able to place advertisements in newspapers and magazines. Today, even small-scale NGOs appear to have found a way to finance the cost for working with professional advertisement companies.

In some cases, it was the professionals in advertisement industry that approached NGOs and offer to work as *pro bono*. In the case of NGO11, a group of young professional designers approached the organization and offered to create a new “who we are” pamphlet. This group of *pro bono* designers presented their ideas of what to include in the new pamphlet, asked the NGO staff for relevant photos and information, and even conducted interviews to staff members to solicit hidden information. In fact, the reason why I decided to approach NGO11 for an interview was because it was the only organization that used the photo of a Japanese volunteer in the front page of their “who we are” pamphlet. When I mentioned this in the interview, the interviewees

were surprised and told me that it was an idea that came from this group of professional designers.

NGO6, which I mentioned earlier as placing importance on in-house message framing, is now making a new step to work with a professional PR consultant. As was the case in NGO11, this PR consultant saw a call for volunteers to plan and run an event for NGO6, and contacted the PR officer to see if there was any way he or she could contribute as a professional in advertising. The interviewee was extremely excited to have this professional on board, to brainstorm their new campaign together.

Some NGOs are successful in finding external sources to finance the use of professional advertisement firms. For example, NGO8 not only work with a *pro bono* designer, but also with a PR consultant who used to work at one of the major advertising firms in Japan to craft a new “who we are” pamphlet. The organization was able to obtain a grant from Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).

NGO4 was also able to find an investment firm that would provide funding necessary for strategic branding. The organization worked with one of the major advertisement firms in Japan to create a new logo, a new pamphlet, and a new donation scheme. The three advertising professionals were motivated to work NGO4 through personal experience of participating in one of NGO4’s events. Their interest and willingness to provide their professional skills matched the offer of the investment firm to provide funding, and thus led to implementation of this strategic planning. Advertising professionals interviewed staff members as well as volunteers to determine what makes NGO4 marketable, and what messages would be the most effective.

CAMPAIGN1 was able to finance on their own the outsourcing of the entire message framing process to one of the major advertisement firms in Japan. The teams of professionals

brought ideas for new pamphlets, flyers, and websites, which then were discussed among member organizations including the campaign, member NGOs, governmental organizations, and international organizations. In section 7.4, I discuss in detail discussions that took place.

7.3.3 International Partners

For NGOs that are part of an international alliance, information and sometimes strategies for message framing come from their international counterparts. NGO9, for example, makes extensive use of photos taken and provided by its international partnership. In the case of NGO3, major strategies including the use of the logo, stories, and even how to understand an effective message was largely influenced by their international counterpart.

7.4 CRITERIA

Going through the process of message framing mentioned above, how did NGOs and others involved in the process make decisions on what to present in their communication messages, and in what manner? From the analysis of transcribed interviews using the grounded theory approach, I identified seven major criteria on which development NGOs base their decisions in framing communication messages: audience receptivity, receptivity of donors and volunteers, uniqueness, ethical soundness, organizational characteristics, project characteristics, and simplicity. Below, I discuss each of these criteria in detail.

7.4.1 Audience receptivity

First and foremost, development NGOs frame messages so as to be accepted and understood by the audience, i.e. the Japanese public. This criterion of audience receptivity was mentioned in all interviews. What we observe here is NGOs' efforts to engage in "frame alignment," creating the linkage between the audience's interests and beliefs, and organizations' activities, goals, and ideology (Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford, 1986). NGOs do not expect to make drastic impact on audience's thoughts, but rather present messages that include cues for the audience to become interested.

What aspects of audience receptivity do NGOs look into? First, NGOs frame messages that are attractive to the audience (NGO4 and NGO7). Second, NGOs want messages that are easy for the audience to understand (NGO4, NGO5, NGO7, NGO9, NGO 11, and CAMPAIGN1). Third, some organizations place importance of making the issue close to the audience (NGO7, NGO9, and CAMPAIGN1). In case of NGO2, NGO9, and NGO4, organizations choose messages that are easy for the audience to sympathize.

NGOs may define their target audience rather narrowly and try to match their messages to the characteristics of these audiences. NGO10, whose major donors include private companies, intentionally emphasize *organizational credibility* in their messages. For NGO9 that approaches Japanese children, messages are crafted to connote "*pop*" feelings. NGO4 and CAMPAIGN1 frame messages in a soft tone because they consider the issue that they deal with as too conservative and too serious for the Japanese public.

It is interesting to note that *none* of the NGOs had any concrete evidence of what messages are acceptable to the Japanese people. Rather, decisions are made based on what they

thought or *considered* as acceptable to the audience. NGO2 and NGO9, for example, consider what their audience would *want* to hear and see.

7.4.2 Receptivity of Other Stakeholders

Another criteria used for framing messages was whether the message is acceptable for current donors, members, supporters, and volunteers.

In the case of NGO5, whose members consist of older generations who are “*steady, sincere, and serious,*” the PR team tries to avoid any playful, “*pop*” messages that NGO9, for example, would aim for. Members of NGO11 were largely school teachers at one point, interested in education people, so “*we once use to say that we are the ‘school for NGOs’ or ‘school for development.’ We were very proud that.*” The message came to reflect this pride and stressed organizational commitment to education.

When multiple organizations are involved, messages require group agreement. At CAMPAIGN1, there was a major discussion among professional copywriters and NGO staff on acceptable words and concepts. The basic procedure at CAMPAIGN1 is to have the advertising professionals produce drafts of flyers, posters, and websites, and to discuss them among member organizations. In case of a material on a campaign for famine in East Africa, discussions emerged as to how *famine* should be defined. NGO practitioners stated that print materials should include an explicit explanation of categories as defined by the United Nations, and that what’s happening now is not a *famine* but *food crisis*. The public relations officer recalled the agonized discussions among copywriters, NGO staff, and the campaign secretariat. Copywriters and advertising professionals stressed the importance of simplifying the message to attract more

attention, but NGOs wanted to have precise information, and the public relations team was trapped in-between, seeking out for a point of compromise. Some NGO members even refused to use the term “developing countries,” stating that not everybody in those countries are in need of help.

7.4.3 Uniqueness

How the organization stands out in the context in which NGOs operate also serves as an important criterion on which messages are framed. This criterion of uniqueness was mentioned in nine interviews.

NGOs’ uniqueness is stressed in several aspects. First is the issue that NGOs work on. For example, because NGO6 sees itself as one of the few nonprofits that specialize in library, messages emphasize its professionalism in library business. NGO8 stress its rights-based approach as something that others are not involved in, and NGO10 sees its involvement in health of mothers and children as a unique focus. When CAMPAIGN1 decided to launch a project on famine in East Africa, emphasis was placed on East Africa, given the fact that no one else was working on the issue in this region.

Some organizations see their uniqueness in organizational characteristics. NGO1, for example, prides itself in being born and established in Japan by the Japanese people. Messages are framed so as to stress this point and to show its 30 years of accomplishment.

Another uniqueness may be found in the fact that NGOs are involved in particular issues as *nonprofits*. For example, public relations manager at NGO4 working on refugee issues stressed that “*it’s really a value for us as nonprofits to bring together resources that are out*

there in the society, listen to refugees' voices, and to suggest services and assistance that fall out of the attention of public sector or administration."

7.4.4 Ethical Soundness

Five organizations frame their messages that ensure ethical soundness. NGO8 was particularly keen on this point, stating that *"We avoid using pictures that only recall tragedy and pity. Pictures that lead the audience to feel sorry for the children, I think, are charity pornography."*

For NGO11, presenting local people in developing countries that are *"poor and sad"* or as *"those in need of help from us in Japan"* is a message that must be avoided. The interviewees were surprised when I mentioned the fact that some organizations continued to use those types of photos. Staff members at NGO11 considered avoidance of tragic images as a common informal norm that development NGOs in Japan shared.

"I always stress that the purpose of our study tours, where we visit villages in developing countries, is to learn from the villagers, to play with them, and to ask if there's anything we can do...This point I am very conscious about, and in our 'who we are' pamphlet, I used the phrase 'Not a One-Way Exchange.' You know how some people these days say study tours are for searching oneself. But I just can't help stressing that study tours are not for us to go see those people living in project sites but for us to learn. I always try to avoid making it an exploitation of knowledge. I just can't help stressing this point."

At NGO5, using photos that capture *"children's smiles"* and avoiding *"very poor, sad pictures of children"* is an implicit assumption.

“Using such (sad, poor) pictures, I think, lead to a very negative image of developing countries. It may motivate the people to support them, but we want to use pictures of children with bright smiles and stress shining aspects. We do, sometimes, have to use sad photos to articulate the actual situation, but we stress the smiles to show our wish to spread more of these smiles. That way, I think people will be able to make donations with warm hearts.”

In a campaign where multiple organizations are involved, where to draw the line on ethical soundness becomes a point of contention. When CAMPAIGN1 was in the process of creating a new poster, the team from the professional advertisement firm came up with three poster ideas. One was a picture with a refugee woman and a girl in Iraq with a phrase, *“Cultivate the Future.”* Another idea was a picture of a boy carrying a gun with a phrase *“Break the Despair”* and the third idea was a picture of a teenage girl with her face wrapped around in a scarf with a phrase *“Wash Away the Sadness.”*

“Initially, all three ideas had photos of sad looking children. We decided on ‘Cultivate the Future’ poster, but replaced the picture with a girl smiling, carrying a bucket of water on her shoulder. I had just joined the PR department and began to work on the campaign promotion when these three poster ideas came up. I thought, don’t you see nowadays...this won’t work today. NGOs also had a lot to say. They were concerned about a very simplified message that showed developing countries are poor. They claimed that we should rather stress the fact that Japan is able to continue to exist as we are today because we help and are helped by developing countries. We also depend on developing countries, so we should seek for a way to co-exist. That’s the kind of messages

NGOs are trying to articulate, so don't put any of these messages that goes in other directions. So this poster ('Cultivate the Future') is really a product of compromise."

In the case of NGO3, the shared informal norm of avoiding sad, tragic image was translated in formal, written organizational rule. This document, titled *Fundraising Policy*, was adopted after the organization applied to join an international alliance in 2009. The policy came into effect on April 1, 2010, a month before NGO3 was accredited to join the alliance. Because staff members change occasionally, NGO3 adopted this policy to ensure stability in message framing. Emphasized are using *"facts and accurate information"* that are not *"over-expressed"* and pictures must be as recent as possible. Two sections below specifically highlight respecting integrity of the people that appear in fundraising tools.

2-6-1. When introducing a child or a family in fundraising activities, provide the most accurate and recent information, and be cautious not to disrespect integrity of individuals or families. Furthermore, reflect the fact that these people play the role of equal partner in the process of realizing their growth and development.

2-6-2. In fundraising, be cautious to respect integrity, pride, cultures, and beliefs of the people in receiving countries, and never slander them in advertisements or promotion activities.

7.4.5 Organizational Characteristics

In some organizations, messages are chosen to reflect characteristics of the organization. For NGO2 and CAMPAIGN1, messages that reflect organizational mission are given a priority, while NGO1, NGO2, NGO7, and NGO11 place importance on organizational vision. NGO1 and

NGO7 also frame their messages based on a slogan. NGO1 further chooses messages that reflect organizational achievements as a Japan-originated NGO with 30 years of experience.

7.4.6 Project characteristics

Project contents, goals, and needs also serve as criteria for determining how to frame messages. NGO10, for example, crafts messages that reflect the fact that the organization implements projects on maternal and children's health. Some organizations, like NGO1 and NGO2, prefer messages that the audience can instantly understand what the organizations do. For example, NGO9 spent much time choosing a photo to use in the front page of the "who we are" pamphlet. In order to show that the organizations do international work with children in Japan, staff members intentionally looked for a photo showed both Japanese children and children from abroad.

For NGO4, needs in current projects are important criterion. *"If we are facing funding shortage or if we know that certain project really needs attention. I think that becomes our key."*

Organizational needs are also one of the most important criteria for NGO6. The public information officer makes intentional effort to under those needs.

"I really try to seek for information. Sometimes it's hard, but I attend all of the meetings in the division of overseas project and the division of domestic activities. I also attend what we call a fundraising strategy meeting, which discusses where to approach for donations. If they hear that foreign firms are interested, they call those companies, make appointments, and visit them to make presentations. They are really a great team. So I

attend these meetings as a PR officer, and I listen to project reports and look for topics to be released to the press.”

7.4.7 Simplicity

Message tone is also an important criterion for development NGOs in Japan, particularly *simplicity*. This, however, can be challenging. A practitioner at NGO 11 states,

“What we often do is to say, here’s how much it would cost to plant one mangrove. A lot of places request us to give these messages. For example, one of the websites for donations that we work with says, ‘give us what can be done with a certain amount of money.’ But we really don’t want to do this. I mean, our problem is not going to be solved with planting one mangrove that costs 15 yen. Rather, we want to present what the situations are that require us to plant a mangrove. I don’t want to simplify too much. But, even if we think that way, we do need people to come work with us, so like this pamphlet, we really, really simplified.”

7.4.8 Summary: Decision-Making as Sensemaking

Through the analysis, I revealed that development NGOs in Japan use the above seven criteria when framing communication messages to articulate in mobilizing the Japanese public towards international development. It is interesting to note that these criteria are not directly related to the desired outcome of mobilizing the audience or informing them of global poverty. Rather, focus is

placed on whether the messages are acceptable to the audience and other stakeholders, and whether messages stand out among others articulated by competitors.

Decision-makings that take place thus are not based on *the logic of consequences*. It is also not based on the *logic of appropriateness*, where decisions are based on rules. There was only one organization, NGO3, who had a written rule about fundraising messages. Some organizations had informal rules, shared by staff members, but these were not strictly applied. The study does documents potential *interacting ecology* among NGOs and external stakeholders, but is short of evidence with lack of interviews to involved advertising professionals or observations on discussions among multiple stakeholders.

I argue that decision making by development NGOs in framing messages can best be understood as *sensemaking*. NGOs interpret the context in which they operate as well as features that make the organization marketable in such context through available information. The process does not explicitly take into account whether messages succeed in mobilizing the Japanese public or not, but rather focus on understanding both external and internal environment in which they operate.

7.5 CONSTRAINTS

In discussing criteria for decision-making, interviewed organizations mentioned much about the constraints that they perceive in mobilizing the Japanese public towards international development. NGOs are not satisfied with the current message framing process as well as the environment in which they do so. What are some of the difficulties that NGOs face in framing

their communication messages? This section will review five major challenges identified from the twelve interviews: lack of resources, lack of skills in developing mobilization strategies, level of knowledge and understanding among the audience, social and political context of Japan, and dealing with the media. While the first two challenges are internal to NGOs, the latter three are external. Interpreting these challenges also constitute the process of message framing for development NGOs.

7.5.1 Lack of Resources

Lack of human and financial resources has been repeatedly brought up as one of the major challenges facing NGOs in Japan (JANIC, 2012). Interviews in this study revealed that the concern is certainly the case for NGO practitioners engaged in efforts to mobilize the Japanese public towards international development.

Four interviewed organizations indicated insufficient number of staff members as one of the major difficulties they face. Table 7.3 shows the number of staff members involved in PR/communications in the interviewed organizations.

Table 7.3 Number of NGO Personnel for Public Relations/Communications

	Full-Time PR/Communication Only	Part-Time PR/Communication Only	Full-Time Staff Jointly Appointed with Other Responsibilities
NGO1	7	2	
NGO2	0	1	3
NGO3	3		1
NGO4	3	1	
NGO5	2		
NGO6	1	3	
NGO7	0		1
NGO8	0		1
NGO9	2	1 (intern)	
NGO10	2		
CAMPAIGN1	1		
NGO11	0		1

While over half the organizations have more than one full-time staff that deals with public relations and communications only, and three organizations engage in public communication with staff members who have other shared responsibilities. As the executive director of NGO8 stated,

“The issue really is lack of manpower. Efforts to mobilize the Japanese people don’t directly generate revenue, so we can’t spend much time and energy. This creates that vicious circle of the number of supporters not increasing. That’s how I feel.”

The effort to complement lack of manpower is sought by hiring of an undergraduate intern as was the case in NGO9, or by working with *pro bono* professionals as discussed earlier. In case of NGO2 and NGO9, every staff member in one way or another is engaged in mobilizing the Japanese public.

Lack of funding was also a serious concern for majority of interviewed organizations. While grant opportunities for implementing projects in developing countries have expanded for

NGOs in Japan since the late 1980s (see Chapter four), NGOs has limited number of funding opportunities for their efforts to mobilize the Japanese public.

Some organizations have successfully managed to find a way to finance outsourcing of their PR strategies. As was mentioned earlier, NGO8, for example, obtained grants from JICA to hire a retired advertising professional to develop new communication strategies. NGO4 also obtained funding from a private firm to finance development of organizational branding strategy with a professional advertisement firm.

The only organization that was not facing the challenge of limited resource was CAMPAIGN1, a campaign funded by international organization and governmental development agency. Given ample resources, CAMPAIGN1 can launch expensive campaigns, including a newspaper advertisement, if they decide to do so. However, spending large amount of money on public mobilization is not always the best strategy to do.

“Although we have enough resource for doing a newspaper advertisement, our partner NGOs would criticize the campaign for spending too much money if we did. We’ve learned...spending more money isn’t what makes NGOs happy.”

7.5.2 Lack of Skills in Developing Mobilization Strategies

Lack of manpower and financial resources is combined with limited capacity, knowledge, and skills for developing and implementing effective mobilization strategies.

There were several aspects of strategic communication that was discussed in the interviews. The PR officer of NGO10, for example, mentioned the need for the organization to decide on one unified messages for all communication tools. The organization has not reached

one single slogan, currently crafting slogan-like phrases when needed. For NGO1, the current vision statement was too vague to be used as a base for message framing. For NGO6, the challenge was in lack of capacity and skills for analyzing characteristics of the audience. NGO10 and CAMPAIGN1 face the difficulty of developing a strategy to approach the Japanese people in a more sustainable manner.

Getting the “right” materials for articulating communication messages is also a challenge for development NGOs in Japan. Photos are the most prominent example of such. In the case of NGO1, the PR division is keen on having the Japanese staff in the photo.

“We are one of the few domestic NGOs with relatively long history, so we want to show our 30 years of experience in the picture. I think having Japanese in the picture shows the relevance of Japan being engaged in aid activities, and we want to show how well the Japanese are doing, and that NGO1 is working responsibly. But it’s really hard to get the pictures we want. For one thing, there are less Japanese in the field now, so we sometimes have to ‘stage’ the scene.”

In dealing with the dilemma of positive and negative pictures, NGO8 has reached a conclusion that the issue should not be treated in a dichotomy.

“I think the best picture is one with a smiling child that also shows the hardships that he or she is facing. The picture should also show the effort the child is making despite the difficulty. Those kinds of pictures are the best....Also our advisor says that we should look for a picture with a smiling child whose background shows his or her story. So for example, the background of smiling child could be a mountain of garbage or something that shows that the child is living on the street...we are currently looking for such kind of pictures.”

One of the strategies for NGOs to attract more public attention is to use celebrities. Several of the interviewed organizations indeed used celebrities as an effective way to catch people's attention. Some organizations, however, realize that finding a supportive celebrity as a challenge. In case of NGO8,

“Entertainers and athletes used to be unwilling to work with us because people would look at them as ‘hypocrites.’ I see the trend changing, though. Now people look at them as a role model.”

Even if the organization finds a celebrity who would work for the NGO, using them strategically can be a challenge. CAMPAIGN1, a well-funded campaign working with a professional advertisement firm has been successful in attracting a number of singers, actors, and actresses as their campaign ‘supporters.’ However, the campaign *“really had to think hard to figure out how to use these great celebrities.”*

In 2010, CAMPAIGN1 had the opportunity to have one of the well-known singers in Japan to speak about the campaign in the concert. It was a great opportunity for CAMPAIGN1 to inform 4,000 audiences who are not familiar with international development. It turned out that the singer had to literally read the lines in between the songs; the singer wasn't in the mood to make announcement about the campaign, and the audience wasn't ready to hear such announcement.

“I learned that using celebrities can be risky. There were criticisms saying that the campaign was using the singer to become famous and that the singer was hypocritical. You really need to set up the right stage. But once you do so, it really works. We had one model who traveled to Nepal with us...she was confident that it was her role to spread the

word out. So she tweeted about our campaign to 60,000 followers, and gave a great presentation of her experience at the Global Festa.”

Evaluation of mobilization strategies is also a challenge. Most organizations realize the need to launch a formal evaluation of their approaches in order to develop effective strategies for the future. However, simply taking statistics on where the new donors had learned about the organization and funding opportunity, as was the case with NGO5, was at best the evaluative efforts being made by NGOs.

It was interesting to observe the variance among organizations on how they realize the difficulty of identifying the ‘right’ indicator for success in mobilization efforts. Some organizations found it a very easy thing to do. For example, when asked about evaluation, NGO3 had a clear idea of what they saw as effective evaluation.

“Oh, that’s looking at the response. We look at the number of new memberships. We calculate CPA...cost per acquisition. We’ve been doing this for several years, but this was stressed from our international counterpart, too. It’s the cost spent for obtaining a new sponsor...but it’s really difficult to determine whether it’s the issue of our messages, or it’s the issue of the environment, the social and economic context. So we just have to try different approaches and see if the response would change.”

Development NGOs in Japan thus face the lack of skills for developing and implementing strategic communication and mobilization efforts.

7.5.3 Level of Knowledge and Understanding among the Japanese Audience

Seven organizations mentioned the level of knowledge and understanding among the audience as a serious difficulty faced in trying to mobilize the public in Japan. To begin with, the Japanese people lack understanding on issues that the NGOs deal with. For NGO8, it is the concept of *empowerment* and *right-based approach* that the Japanese people have trouble understanding; for NGO4, it is the issue of refugees and human rights issues. NGO1 feels that the Japanese people do not have sufficient understanding on hardships experienced by people with disabilities.

Some NGOs even see the Japanese public as having incorrect knowledge about situations in developing countries. NGO2, for example, experience difficulties persuading the Japanese people to provide support for teenagers in developing countries.

“We used to run shelters called ‘The Youth Home (Wakamono no ie)’ for teenagers in Cambodia, Vietnam and the Philippines. Our recipients were not children, but those in their late teens, so it wasn’t that catchy. Because they are grown up, the cost of feeding them, for example, was much higher. So if we include in our message that on average, feeding one youth cost this much money, people would say, ‘It costs that much? It’s Southeast Asia, shouldn’t it be like 10 or 20 yen?’ We really needed to explain the situation.”

NGOs also experienced the difficulty of winning attention of people who believe that domestic issues should be dealt with first (NGO4), or people who think things are worse in Japan (CAMPAIGN1). Global poverty that persists in the developing world does not come as a priority issue for many Japanese people.

Also of concern among NGO practitioners were lack of audience understanding on NGOs.

As the staff of NGO8 stated,

“The Japanese people tend to think that those things are government’s responsibility. I do think it’s changing, but still, it should be the government, not NGOs.”

NGO9 feels this in comparison with its international counterpart.

“The understanding towards voluntary organizations like NGOs and nonprofits are much stronger overseas. In our organization, we have the Japanese children making actions, so sometimes children do fundraising and some teachers are against children doing donation campaigns. They say that children should not be engaged in raising funds. Such problem does not occur in Canada. We really feel the difference. Japanese teachers also say concentrate on studying, not doing volunteer work.”

7.5.4 Social and Political Context of Japan

At least three organizations interviewed for this study considered lack of giving culture in Japan as a source of difficulty in mobilizing the Japanese public. NGO3 has experienced a strong disappointment.

“The Japanese market is really hard and not responsive. It’s very hard to get any kind of response.....There may be a giving culture in Japan, but it’s not necessary directed towards the private sector. I don’t know how to put it, but for example, the Central Community Chest, that’s legally private, but I think a lot of people consider it a public organization and make donations.”

NGO3 had recently experienced such inelastic giving market in Japan while fundraising for projects launched in response to the triple disasters of earthquake and tsunami in Northeastern

Japan (details to be discussed in the sections below). While the organization successfully raised two billion yen, only 30 million was raised within Japan, and the remainder of money had come from their international counterparts. Its counterpart in Taiwan, for example approached NGO3 within a week after the initial earthquake on March 11th and offered to provide financial support if Japan decides to launch any projects. Similar offer also came from their counterpart in Turkey.

For NGOs engaged in policy advocacy, instability of Japanese politics is a concern. Unlike the United States where the elected President holds office for four years, the Japanese system is such that the Prime Minister may resign or be forced to resign at any time. There have been 17 prime ministers in the past 24 years, along with a major shift in ruling party in 2009 and in 2012. A PR officer of NGO4, dealing with refugees from developing countries, states,

“Given the unstable politics, these kinds of policies (i.e. on refugee issues) are not given a priority....So for us, it’s very hard to raise our voice as policy advocates. We really need to be careful.”

7.5.5 Dealing with Media

Working with media is one of the most effective and efficient ways for NGOs to deliver their messages to the wider audience. However, six of the 12 interviewed organizations raised the difficulty in working with the media.

To begin with, NGOs face the difficulty of attracting media interest. NGO2 and NGO9 analyze the situation and identify weakening uniqueness of their organizations as one of the underlying reasons. NGO3 points out that media do not write about NGOs, and even if they do, they do not mention specific NGO name.

Social media including *Facebook* and *Twitter* is a new way through which NGOs can directly approach the audience. Most NGOs are willing to take advantage of these new channels, as one interviewee mentioned with a laugh, “*You know, we’ve got to catch that wave of our times.*” However, NGOs recognize that these new media are not the magic bullet. For example, NGO6 see too much social media could be a concern: “*There’s just too many things going on that I don’t know where to begin.*”

For organizations with specific target audience for mobilization, selecting the correct media can be a concern. CAMPAIGN1, a campaign that aims to broaden the scope of audience, see the need to go beyond social media to newspapers and TVs.

“Facebook isn’t enough to inform much more people about our campaign. We need to be on the newspapers or in television news.”

NGO9, engaged in mobilizing the Japanese children, understand these new social media as an incorrect way to approach these audiences as children in Japan usually have limited access to *Facebook* and *Twitter*.

7.6 THE IMPACT OF THE MARCH 11, 2011 TRIPLE DISASTERS

Through the interviews, I encountered unexpected observations by NGO practitioners about the considerable impact the triple disasters of earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear threat on March 11, 2011 disasters have had on how development NGOs in Japan frame communication messages to mobilize the Japanese public. In this section, I discuss the emerging opportunities and threats that the disasters had brought about to development NGOs in Japan.

One would imagine that these NGOs engaged in improving the lives of people living in developing countries appear to lack direct connection to emergency relief within Japan. However, given the scale of impact that this unprecedented disaster had triggered all across Japan – beyond the Northeastern region known as Tohoku - it was difficult to find an organization or even individuals who were not affected by the catastrophe or those that made some sort of response. The development NGO sector was not an exception.

Among the twelve organizations interviewed for this study, nine NGOs made direct response actions, and two organization made indirect actions. Those engaged in emergency response in developing countries had the expertise in responding to disasters. There were also NGOs that raised funds and launched their own projects, while others served as a channel for incoming funding from abroad.

Responding to a domestic disaster brought about both challenges and opportunities for development NGOs' message framing. It provided an opportunity for enhanced mobilization as the incident encouraged more giving and volunteering among the Japanese public. As one of the interviewees phrased it, *“I think we can say with confidence that the overall passion of Japanese people to cooperate, to do what one can do have gotten much stronger than before.”*

The experience of NGOs is supported by the findings in the recent survey by the Cabinet Office (2012b). Results showed that that the number of people with experience and interests in making charitable contributions has increased. Among those who made donations in 2011 (76.9 percent of all respondents), 22.4 percent answered that they made charitable gifts for *the first time after the disaster*. Interests towards volunteering have also increased. Among 57.5 percent that answered as interested in volunteering, 6.6 percent specifically mentioned that they became

interested after the disaster on March 11, 2011. Interests towards nonprofit organizations also increased, from 35.9 percent before the disaster to 51.1 percent after the disaster.

For interviewed organizations that made direct engagement to response activities in Tohoku, fundraising turned out to be a huge success. NGO5 experienced a “*good response*” in their fundraising campaign for Tohoku. The Tohoku disaster also contributed in broadening NGOs’ donor base. NGO6, for example, successfully attracted more than 6,000 new individual donors following the Tohoku disaster. In the case of NGO1, incoming donations were largely for Tohoku until June 2011. While the organization wanted to raise funds for overseas assistance, they took advantage of the incoming flows of money and intentionally “*made ourselves patient and focused on putting Tohoku (in all of the PR materials) for two to three months.*”

The Tohoku disaster also created opportunities for these NGOs to be covered in the media. NGO6, for example, recall that they had “*countless number of media interviews*” in March 2011, including televisions and newspapers. Because NGO6 had published a book on their experience in responding to the 1995 Kobe earthquake, the media wanted the organization to discuss how one should prepare before going volunteering in disaster-affected area. The media exposure also led to successful sales of the published book.

While the Tohoku disaster served as a momentum of getting public attention and raising more funds, not everything was good news for development NGOs. NGO4 saw that while the number of people making donations has increased, the amount given by a single donor had gone down. Even more serious was the fact that the attention of the Japanese people have diverted from global poverty in the developing world. In the case of CAMPAIGN1, the occurrence of the Tohoku disaster led to a serious discussion on whether the campaign could continue to exist.

“We all thought, given what happened in Tohoku, what are we going to do with our campaign? Are we doing the right thing to say, look at the 5.5 billion people suffering from poverty.”

Development NGOs in Japan thus faced the challenge of bringing back people’s attention from Tohoku to the developing world. Messages had to be framed so as to persuade the Japanese public that while response in Tohoku is a serious issue, global poverty in developing countries is also another challenge needed to be dealt with.

Thus, the post-Tohoku challenge was to somehow create a connection between the Tohoku disaster and global poverty in the developing world, in order to bring back donors’ attentions and money to overseas assistance. At the time of the interview in February and March 2012, some organizations were beginning to have a clear strategy of how to bring people’s attention back to the issue of global poverty. There were broadly two strategies.

The first strategy was to stress the link between recipients in Tohoku and in the developing countries, and stress the spirit of the well-known Japanese proverb, *“We should help each other when we have a problem.”* NGO1 made use of this spirit, as the proverb had been the organizational vision since its founding. For NGO1, it took almost half a year for the organization to bring back contents on overseas projects in their PR materials. The organization had a case where recipients in Tohoku began to support those living in East Africa, which provided a perfect case for presenting this spirit in their mobilization tools.

Another related strategy was to stress the fact that assistance for Tohoku came from the developing world in appreciation for the past contributions that Japan had made. Stressed in this strategy was *reciprocity*. This was the strategy that NGO2 was looking into.

“We had lots of support coming from overseas for the big disaster in Japan. We also received supportive messages from developing countries that we’ve been working with. For example, children living near the Smokey Mountain²⁶ in the Philippines launched ‘One Peso Campaign’ for children in Tohoku. We can let the people know about these efforts...I do think that people will really be able to feel that we need to help each other when there is a problem. So if we can explain clearly the situations abroad ...”

At CAMPAIGN1, where the discussion went as far as terminating the campaign, the same message framing strategy of emphasizing *reciprocity* was recognized as the way to proceed.

“We came to an agreement that we should say, ‘We should help each other when we have a problem’ and that we (the campaign) don’t always think about developing countries only, but we support Japan as well as developing countries. In August, the air began to change...it became appropriate to say, look, not everyone was directly affected by the disaster. Those with extra energy should support countries facing more difficult situation. But yet, we can’t ignore (Tohoku)...In our message, we can say, well, because we experienced the unprecedented disaster, we can understand the hard feeling that people (in developing countries) have.”

As a result, the new flyer on famine in Africa included a reference to Tohoku: *“For us who experienced the unprecedented disaster of the Great Northeastern Earthquake, this is not somebody else’s problem.”*

²⁶ A well-known large rubbish dump in Manila with a large squatter community.

The second strategy to bring back the Japanese people's attention from Tohoku to developing countries was to stress the common ground of the needs and significance of NGOs' interventions. This was the strategy NGO6 was looking into.

“When I heard a librarian in Tohoku say, ‘Books that children come across now will support them for life,’ I saw the link between Tohoku and Asia....because it’s a hard time, books can support children. That made me realize the connection between Asia and Iwate. Librarians in Japan are also giving us advice in responding to the situation in Iwate, so we can also bring those inputs to overseas. If we can do that, then it will become a new technical assistance to libraries overseas.

To make the best use of this strategy, NGO6 has intentionally separated the project for Tohoku from those in developing countries. At the time of the interview, NGO6 had a separate website for their project in Tohoku that wasn't linked to their overseas projects. The strategy was to keep those supporters interested in Tohoku response attached to the organization for a year, and then to present them with the needs in developing countries. This long term strategy was the agreement made within the office to avoid crowding out of donations for developing countries.

The experience of responding to the Tohoku disaster thus poses both difficulties and opportunities for development NGOs' effort to mobilize the Japanese public. Message framing is the key for these NGOs to bring back the attention of the Japanese people to the issue of global poverty in developing countries.

7.7 SUMMARY

This chapter has examined NGOs' message framing behavior as an organizational decision-making process. Through analysis of message framing process, used criteria, and difficulties faced, I argued that organizational decision-making for development NGOs in Japan can be best understood as *sensemaking*, with some use of the *logic of appropriateness*.

Interviewed organizations did not frame their messages in consideration of whether the Japanese people would be successfully mobilized or not. The seven identified criteria reveal that NGOs make decisions by interpreting both internal and external contexts in which they operate – preference of the audience and stakeholders as well as what makes the organization unique and marketable within the constraints of limited resources, skills, and an environment not necessarily favorable for development NGOs. Decision-making for development NGOs in Japan is a process of “trying to discover, construct, and communicate interpretations of a confusing world” with limited, but available information (March, 1991, p.111).

As recent and additional context that development NGOs in Japan have begun to interpret, I discussed the emerging opportunities and challenges that the 2011 triple disasters in Northeastern Japan have brought about. While the disaster expanded opportunities for NGOs to receive more donations and to recruit more volunteers, it also brought about a new challenge of bringing back people's attention from Northeastern Japan to the problematic situations overseas.

8.0 MESSAGE FRAMING IN DYNAMIC PERSPECTIVE

Messages that development NGOs present in their communication messages do not remain the same – messages change over time. This chapter takes a dynamic perspective and examines whether NGOs’ messages have changed over time, and if so, why and how.

When would an NGO consider making a shift in message framing? One could assume that messages may change in the process of strategic planning (e.g. Allison and Kaye, 2005). Evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of the organization as well as reviewing the external environment in which the NGO operates, organizations consider modification of their missions, visions, programs, and/or priorities. Accordingly, what makes the organization marketable may change. Or, in some cases, the target audience which the organization attempts to mobilize may change. Organizations are advised to go through such strategic planning processes occasionally to “do a better job,” focusing their “vision and priorities in response to a changing environment and ensure that members of the organization are working toward the same goal (*ibid.*, p.1).”

Message change has rarely been studied empirically in the context of development NGOs’ communication messages. As was described in Chapter two, discussions have centered on the types of messages an organization should consider avoiding: messages that strengthen the stereotypical image of developing countries as passive and powerless, and messages that present

global poverty as a problem “out-there” (e.g. Dogra, 2012; Edwards, 1999a; Lissner, 1997). Little is known about the process through which organizations try to avoid these messages, and whether or how NGOs shift to alternative messages. This chapter is an attempt to fill this gap.

Part of the reason why message change is rarely studied is found in the difficulty of obtaining data. This certainly turned out to be the case for this dissertation project, looking at development NGOs in Japan. First of all, change in message framing is often not well documented. Decisions to change what to present to the donor public take place in meetings and conversations, and are rarely recorded, for example, in written form. Furthermore, because staff members in charge of public relations and communications often change within a short range of time, the background stories and strategies for making changes in message framing are only vaguely recalled. These reasons make it difficult for a researcher to document and understand NGO’s intentional changes in message framings. Secondly, obtaining past promotional materials turned out to be a difficult task. Only a few organizations had past pamphlets and flyers available. As a result, the amount of information obtained and analysis conducted varied among organizations under study. Limited access to materials from the past made it difficult for me to trace changes in message framing that NGOs have made unintentionally.

Given these difficulties, this chapter presents the results of the best analysis possible from the available data. As subjects of analysis, I focus on eleven NGOs, which are the same set of NGOs analyzed in Chapter seven. Both transcribed interviews as well as print mobilization documents of these organizations offer some insight into how and why messages change.

Findings are presented in two parts. First, I determine whether intentional message change had taken place or not among the eleven NGOs, and identify two momentums that

triggered such message change. I then ask the question of how message framings changed, presenting case studies of two organizations.

In this chapter, I find that half of the organizations under study had experienced varying degrees of change in what they present to the Japanese public. Changes did not emerge internally, but were triggered from events outside the organization. The preliminary analyses of message change in two NGOs imply that the degree and direction of change in message framing vary by organizations. I find that none of the organizations under study are concerned about breaking down the complexity of global poverty and international development nor describing the evolving face of development for the people living in Japan.

8.1 WHEN DO MESSAGE FRAMINGS CHANGE?

Among eleven individual NGOs interviewed for this study, five organizations mentioned that their message framings had *not* changed in recent years, with varying degrees of certainty. Some confidently mentioned that “*we have not seen any change*²⁷” while others were rather unsure, saying “*I don’t think we’ve had any change*²⁸.”

In the remaining six organizations, practitioners reported that their organization had undergone a change in message framing. The degree of change, however, varied. As shown in Table 8.1, the transformation ranged from creation or a change in logos and slogans, to revision of the “who we are” pamphlets.

²⁷ Interview with the public information officer, February 10, 2012.

²⁸ Interview with the public information officer, February 6, 2012.

Table 8.1 Summary of Message Change

Organization	Change	When
NGO3	New “who we are” pamphlet	2005
NGO4	Branding	2007
NGO6	Slogan and logo Pamphlet	1999 2011
NGO7	Slogan Pamphlet	1998/1999 Fall 2003
NGO8	Change in logo New “who we are” pamphlet	2007 Fall 2011
NGO11	New “who we are” pamphlet	Summer 2011

A change in logo, for example, may contribute to how an organization presents itself to Japanese society, while a change in slogans or the “who we are” pamphlet leads to a deeper change in the underlying philosophy about how NGOs present the problematic situations in developing countries, potential solutions, and the argument they make to persuade the Japanese public to join the cause.

What triggered the six organizations to make a change in their logos, slogans, and the “who we are” pamphlets? There were two kinds of motivations identified from the interviews: preparing documents for legal incorporation, and an input or an offer from external stakeholders. It is interesting to note that the incentives to make a change in message framing did not emerge internally, but came from outside the organization.

8.1.1 Preparing for Legal Incorporation

For NGO6, NGO7, and NGO8, the momentum for changing logos, slogans, and the “who we are” pamphlets came from the need to prepare documents for legal incorporation with the Japanese government. Organizing mission, vision, and other statements to officially register with

the authorities provided incentives for these three organizations to reflect on what they present to the Japanese people.

In the case of NGO6, a new slogan and logo were created when the organization decided to register as an incorporated association (*shadan hojin*) with the Japanese government in 1999. While the organization carefully kept keywords that best represent the organization's work – “book” and “library” – NGO6 came up with a logo that presents the acronym of the organization, and a slogan that articulates the vision of the organization, “ *Holding Hands.*” The slogan connotes solidarity, reflecting the vision statement of the organization to realize a peaceful society where we all live and learn together.

For NGO7, the process of preparing documents to register as a specified non-profit corporation (*tokutei hieiri katsudo hojin*) provided an opportunity for staff members to realize that its original vision “*Think Globally, Act Locally*” no longer encompassed the work that they do. In reviewing the organizational vision, they agreed on a new slogan, “*A society where anyone around the world can live humanely.*” This slogan emerged out of a brainstorming session for setting a goal for one of their projects in Cambodia, which came to reflect the entire organization. In the fall of 2003, NGO7 decided to renew its “who we are” pamphlet. This was because the old pamphlet did not reflect the new slogan but instead used the sentence “*You Connect the World and the Future*”, and because the organization felt that they were not getting an ideal response from the Japanese people. The new slogan now articulates organization vision, rather than emphasis on individual actions and *self-efficacy*.

NGO8 also revised its logo when registering as a specified non-profit corporation (*tokutei hieiri katsudo hojin*). Among multiple candidates, NGO8 chose what the national director expressed as “*the most simple logo*²⁹” that shows the acronym of the organization. NGO8 also revised its “who we are” pamphlet in Fall 2011. The content of changes will be discussed in detail in the second part of this chapter.

8.1.2 Input from External Stakeholders

For NGO4, NGO11, and NGO3, incentives to reconsider their message framing came from external stakeholders.

In the case of NGO4, an advertisement specialist who participated in one of the organization’s events became interested in volunteering, and offered to provide his/her professional skills. With this offer matching funding support from an international investment bank, NGO4 decided to undergo a strategic branding process in 2007. Until this process, the staff members were rather unaware about the importance of communicating with the Japanese public.

*We had thought that as long as we are doing our best in the projects and providing good services, public relations like newsletters didn’t need to be strong*³⁰.

NGO4’s branding process resulted in a new logo, a new donation scheme, and a new fundraising pamphlet. The *pro bono* advertisement professional brainstormed and identified what makes NGO4 marketable in the Japanese charity market. Three points were highlighted. First was to present NGO4 as the pioneer in the issue of refugees from developing countries in Japan. Second,

²⁹ Interview with executive director, February 17, 2012.

³⁰ NGO4 website. Last accessed September 12, 2012.

emphasis was to be placed on providing a link between refugee issues and the everyday lives of the target audience. It was necessary to “*bring the issue of refugee close to oneself*”³¹, providing a clear connection between refugee issues and the everyday lives of people living in Japan. The proposed strategy was to present refugees from developing countries as members of Japanese society with the need to access basic human necessities such as food, water, and shelter. Third, it was pointed out that NGO4 must be presented as a trustworthy organization. Because the Japanese public may view the organization skeptically, the advertisement professionals saw the importance of emphasizing how accountable the NGO is - that a donation to NGO4 is, and will be, used effectively.

Incentive to renew the “who we are” pamphlet also came from *pro bono* advertising professionals for NGO11. While the organization originally had the plan to revise its pamphlet on the 20th anniversary in 2010, they were unable to do so due to lack of financial and human resources as well as time constraints. When they were approached by a group of young advertising specialists in 2011, the staff was excited to take advantage of this offer. Emphasized in the revised “who we are” pamphlet was participation of the Japanese people in activities of NGO11. In the process of interviews, the advertising professionals identified the organization’s educational capacity through study tours to developing countries as well as volunteer opportunities as the strength of the organization. The outcome product thus emphasizes involvement of Japanese volunteers in NGO11’s activities. For example, a photo of a Japanese volunteer in the study tour with smiling children in developing countries is used in the front cover of the new “who we are” pamphlet.

³¹ NGO4 website. Last accessed September 12, 2012.

For NGO3, the major incentive to change message framings came from its international counterpart. When NGO3 was initially founded, the organization created its own logo and the “who we are” pamphlet. Problems emerged when the national director showed the pamphlet at a meeting with their international partners, and was forced to comply with the alliance’s international standards. The national director recalls, “*I was aware of branding as a term, but I didn’t think about putting that into practice*”³².”

Staff members also had the opportunity to participate in a fundraising lecture given by an Australian practitioner, which exposed them to what the communication officer terms “*the Western-style fundraising*”³³.” NGO3 learned that asking for donations three or four times a year was insufficient; they should be more aggressive, asking for further donations when sending a receipt for prior giving. International input was also provided when the organization worked with an American counterpart for a project in Sri Lanka. A fundraising professional from the United States came to Japan as an advisor to help set up the donation campaign. The American professional advocated emphasizing the problems observed in developing countries through children’s stories, stressing their suffering and sorrow.

8.2 HOW DO MESSAGE FRAMINGS CHANGE?

In this section, I examine two organizations – NGO3 and NGO8 – whose “who we are” pamphlets were revised over time. These two organizations were chosen for the following

³² Interview with the executive director and the public information officer, February 10, 2012.

³³ Interview with the executive director and the public information officer, February 10, 2012.

reasons. First, both organizations had revised the “who we are” pamphlet in recent years. I assumed that this may reflect some major changes in their message framing, rather than focusing on organizations that had undergone changes in logos and slogans. Second, because I was able to derive reasons why the NGO decided to make such revisions in the interviews, I am able to capture both intentional and unintentional change, if any. Third, these two organizations were the only ones for which I was able to obtain access to past print mobilization documents. Fourth, in these two organizations, I interviewed the national directors who had been involved in the organizations since its founding. The interviewees had been in charge of developing pamphlets and flyers for a certain period of time, and as such, were able to recall the backstage stories of how the changes in pamphlets took place.

8.2.1 Case 1: NGO3

Since its founding in 2005, the “who we are” pamphlet of NGO3 has changed three times. The exact date of change was not well recalled, but the oldest one was used until 2005 when the organization participated in a meeting with its international partners.

Conducting qualitative content analysis in a similar manner as Chapters five and six, I analyzed the four “who we are” pamphlets that have existed to date. Table 8.2 shows the major articulated dimensions. Due to the effort to align with standards of an international alliance, major changes have taken place from the oldest “who we are” pamphlet to the second oldest one. For example, the logo as well as mission and vision statement have changed. Suggested actions have also narrowed down from joining sponsorship, becoming a project supporter, and volunteering in the oldest pamphlet to only sponsorship in the latest three pamphlets. In the latest

three brochures, what the organization see as a problematic situation, followed by a change that its activities bring about, began to be included as an anecdotal evidence of a child's story.

Examining the four "who we are" pamphlets of NGO3, I identify four major changes. First, there is an increasing emphasis on organizational *credibility*. New pamphlets state its tax-exempt status as a specified nonprofit organization with the Japanese government and also make reference to its commitment to enhance accountability by completing Accountability Self-Check, a self-assessment framework developed by Japan NGO Center for International Cooperation (JANIC).

Second, newer pamphlets make more effort to provide a link between recipients in developing countries and those people living in Japan. For example, this is seen in a shift of mission and vision from the oldest to three new "who we are" pamphlets. The very first "who we are" pamphlet states "*We work in the hope that every child grows happily and becomes a responsible adult, based on the Universal Declaration of Children's Rights.*" This mission shifts to "*protecting children's rights through interdependent international cooperation.*" "Interdependent" in this context refers to the Japanese people helping the people in developing countries, but also being rewarded and given lessons from the recipients.

Efforts to link the Japanese people and those living in developing countries are also observed in a change in motivational phrases. Older pamphlets would simply ask and plead the audience to "*please participate in our activity.*" However, newer versions include specific descriptions of the change such as "children's smile, hope, and dream" and that continued support would enable "a child to continue to go to school."

Third, newer pamphlets present involvement in international development as a rewarding experience. This is evident in an increasing number of sponsors' testimonies. The latest "who we

are” pamphlets expanded from a testimony of one celebrity to testimonies by three Japanese non-celebrities. All three stories emphasize how happy they feel as they see their sponsored children grow. The trend is also observed in the use of visual images. As summarized in Figure 8.1, there is an increasing use of smiling Japanese sponsors.

Including testimonies of the Japanese public, in addition to that of a celebrity, also reflects emphasizing a *sense of community* in getting involved in international development. This is the fourth major shift observed in message framings of NGO3. Simply put, messages increasingly encourage the audience to “*join*” NGO3. The trend is also seen in a

Table 8.2 Articulated Dimensions in Series of “Who We Are” Pamphlets of NGO3

	Slogan	Problem	Mission and Vision	Org History	Program and Projects	Past Accomplishment	JANIC Accountability	Tax Exemption	Sponsor’s voice	Suggested Actions	Motivational Phrases
1 (Old)	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	3	1
2	1	2	1	1	2	1	0	1	1	1	1
3	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	2
4 (New)	1	1	1	1	3	0	1	1	4	1	3

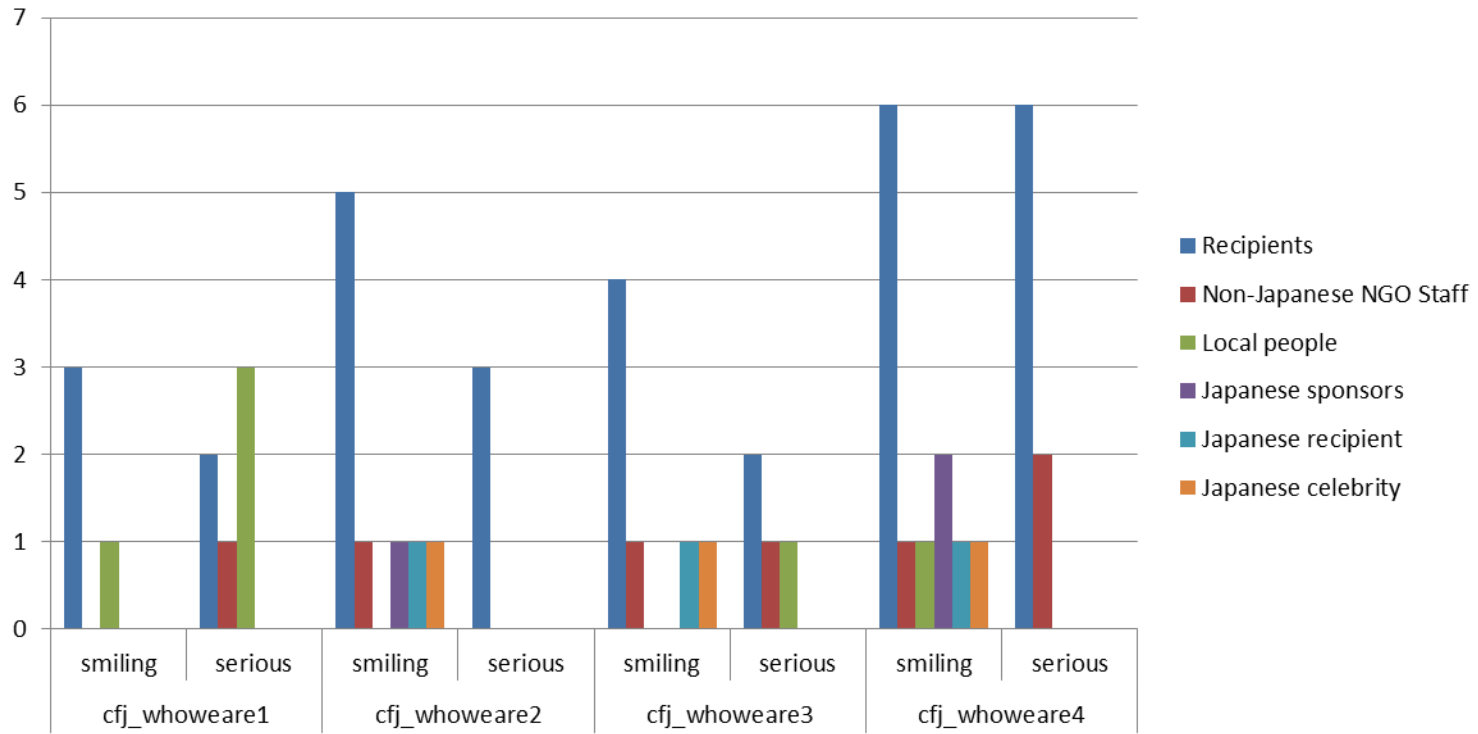


Figure 8-1 Facial Expressions of Persons in NGO3’s “Who We Are” Pamphlets

slight modification of the organizational slogan. Between the second and the third pamphlet, the slogan changed from “*What I can do for children’s smiles*” to “*Creating Children’s Smiles, Hopes, and Futures with You.*” While both slogans emphasize *self-efficacy*, the concepts of “*with You*” was introduced in the latter slogan.

For NGO3, messages articulated in the “who we are” pamphlets have evolved to present increasing emphasis on organizational *credibility*, a link between Japanese people and recipients in developing countries, and involvement in international development as a rewarding experience based on *self-efficacy* and *sense of community*.

8.2.2 Case 2: NGO8

To date, NGO8 has published at least two “who we are” pamphlets: one created in 2008 and one disseminated at *Global Festa 2011*. The exact date on which the second pamphlet was created is unknown. At first glance, one can see that the content that appears in the new pamphlet is much more streamlined. There is more space between different parts of the document and it appears more simplified. The number of visual images, primarily photos, decreased from 26 to four.

I identify two major changes in message framings. Table 8.3 shows the dimensions articulated in the two pamphlets. First, focus in message framing shifted from individual actions to organizational actions. This is evident from suggested actions and the slogan. First of all, suggested actions narrowed down from seven different actions to two. In the old pamphlets, the audience was provided with a list of things that one can do to contribute to empowering children: participate in a seminar, volunteer, buy fair trade goods, become a member of NGO8, donate, or participate in a study tour. Each action was accompanied by a phrase that motivates the audience,

either being asked to “*please lend your hand*” or “*let’s try.*” In the new pamphlet, becoming a member and donating as a monthly supporter are the only two actions being suggested, accompanied by a motivational phrase that emphasizes *self-efficacy*: “*Your continuous contribution will support children’s future.*” With the decrease of the number of suggested actions, the space is rather used for presenting what the organization does, and in presenting organization history.

Slogans also shifted from emphasizing actions at the individual level to what the organization does. The slogan that appeared on the first page of the old pamphlet was “*Even Just One Person! From One Person! Empowerment!*” On the other hand, the new slogan is “*Empowerment with children!*” The focus has clearly expanded from individual action to efforts made at the organizational level.

The same trend is further observed in the use of photos. As Figure 8.2 shows, no Japanese appear in the new pamphlet; only photos capturing local children are used. The use of three pictures showing smiling children connote the change the organization brings to project sites in developing countries.

The second major change is the inclusion of a description on what the organization sees as a problematic situation. The following paragraph appears next to a photo of a girl looking out the window in a dark room.

I thought every child had a "future" wherever they were born in the world...there are children living in terrible environments who cannot live well due to malnutrition and disease. There are children whose families are so poor that they have to work or migrate to work, and cannot go

Table 8.3 Articulated Dimensions in Series of “Who We Are” Pamphlets of NGO8

	Slogan	Problem	What We Do	Org Vision	Activity Outcome	Org History	Staff Voice	Suggested Actions	Motivational Phrase	Image
Old	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	7	9	26
New	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	2	1	4

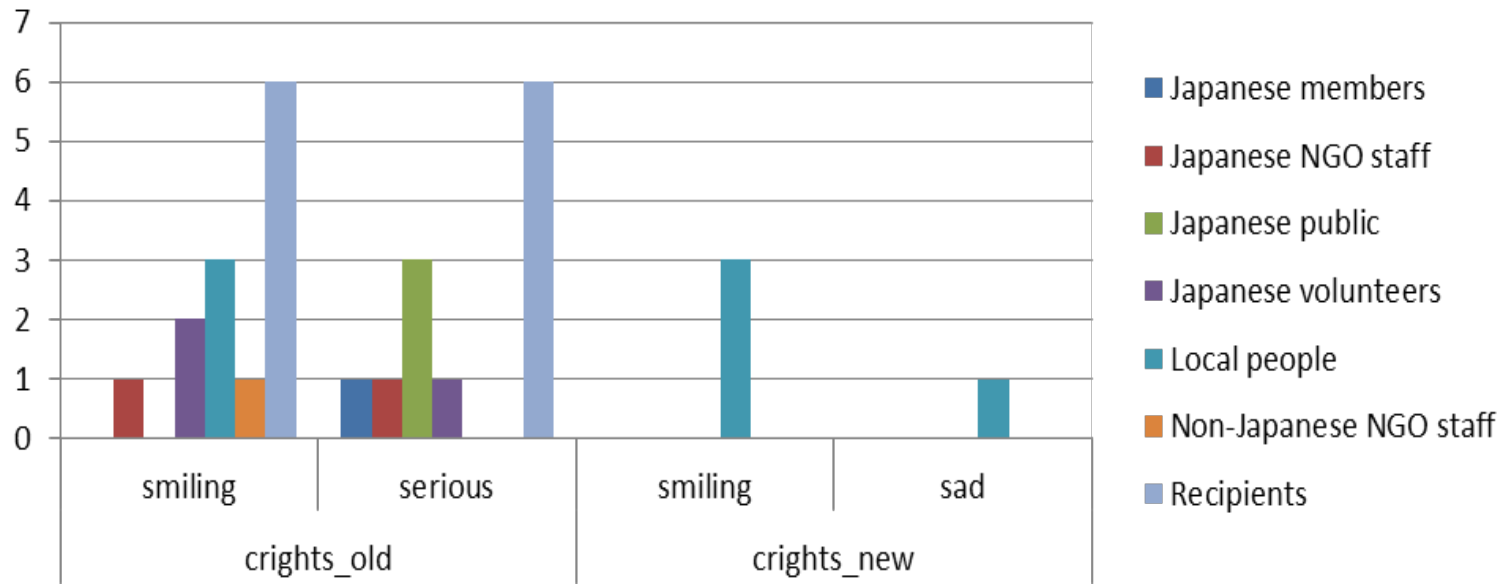


Figure 8-2 Facial Expressions of Persons in NGO8's “Who We Are” Pamphlets

to school or play. There are children living under violence or in dangerous environment like sexual exploitation, human trafficking, child labor, and abuse. Somewhere in the world today, children are crying.

Following this problem is a description of CRIGHT's projects, showing actions to tackle the problem at an organizational level and changes it has made. The description does not provide why the situation is considered problematic, but rather presents an emotional appeal.

The national director of NGO8 is not happy with the current "who we are" content, because "*it doesn't show what we actually do*³⁴." At the time of the interview on February 2012, I was informed that the new pamphlet would be created in April. However, the same "who we are" pamphlet I collected at *Global Festa 2011* was disseminated at *Global Festa 2012* in October 2012.

8.3 DISCUSSION

Development NGOs in Japan appear passive in changing their communication messages. Even when a few strategic NGOs with resource, time, and knowledge do make the change, the message remains in emphasizing *actionability* of international development. The two brief case studies in this chapter showed one organization moving towards emphasizing international development as actionable at the individual level, while the other aims to highlight actions at the organizational level.

³⁴ Interview with executive director, February 17, 2012.

One interesting implication from the findings of this chapter is that no organizations under study seem to be moving towards explaining the complexity of global poverty, or to react to changing scenes of communities in developing countries or to evolving development practices. Development NGOs in Japan appear to keep distance from their role of interpreting the problem of global poverty the donor public; rather their focus is on figuring out a way to present international development in positive light.

8.4 SUMMARY

When development NGOs in Japan change their communication messages, the incentives tend to come from outside. Among those that did experience a change in messaging, the change was not a result of NGOs' proactive move, but triggered by the need to organize information and prepare documents legal incorporation or by inputs and offers from external stakeholders.

Two brief case studies of message change revealed that the direction of change vary by organizations, although both continued to presentation *actionability* of international development. Development NGOs appear to be distancing themselves away from their role of interpreting the complicated issue of global poverty for the donor public, but rather focusing on presenting international development positively as possible.

9.0 CONCLUSION

9.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Highlighting NGOs' role as discourse makers, this dissertation examined how NGOs engaged in international development frame messages used to mobilize the people living in industrialized, donor societies. Because NGOs are among the few sources of information through which the donor public learns about poverty in Third World countries, what NGOs present in their communication influences how the public understand and perceive the issue.

Applying framing theory, the study first presented a perspective to understand development NGOs as strategic framing agents, with power and the ability to decide what information to present in what manner. Based on this view, the study explored message framing behaviors of development NGOs in Japan, focusing on printed pamphlets, brochures, and flyers disseminated to mobilize the Japanese people towards international development. I examined dimensions of global poverty and international development that NGOs describe in these materials including problems, potential solutions, and rationales for the audience to get involved in the cause. Also examined were why development NGOs decide to frame their messages in a particular way.

After positioning this study in four fields of study - development theory, management of development NGOs, strategic communication of nonprofit organizations, and studies on

Japanese civil society and the nonprofit sector (Chapter Two), I discussed framing theory as the theoretical framework and framing analysis as the methodology applied in this dissertation (Chapter Three). In examining advantages and disadvantages of various methods to conduct framing analysis, I proposed to use qualitative content analysis, semantic network analysis, visual analysis, and semi-structured interviews. Combining multiple methods not only enhances reliability and validity of the study, but also best matches the research questions and the context of this dissertation. I also explored the environment in which development NGOs in Japan attempt to mobilize the donor public (Chapter Four). I illustrated a challenging context for NGOs - while commitments towards international development have constantly increased both at the level of government and civil society, the public to which NGOs attempt to communicate do not appear to perceive international development as a policy domain that merits further attention, nor as an arena in which individuals need to take action.

In exploring dynamics of NGOs' message framing, the study asked three research questions. Below are summary of findings corresponding to respective questions. I also present hypotheses that are generated from the findings of this study. While generalizing these findings to NGO practices in other donor societies goes beyond the scope of this dissertation, these hypotheses pose interesting question on whether the findings are unique to Japan or are applicable to contexts other than Japan.

In opening this dissertation, I highlighted the role of nonprofit organizations as discourse-makers, interpreting issues that are new, unfamiliar, or distant from the people. The findings presented below cast doubt on whether development NGOs in Japan are in fact carrying out this role. Several of the hypotheses that I present following the summary of findings to the three research questions explore the tension between the organizational dynamics of NGOs' message

framing and the expectation that they interpret complex and emerging issues in international development for the Japanese public.

1.1 What dimensions of international development do NGOs present in their communication messages, and how are they being framed?

Analyzing message framings articulated in print mobilization documents, the study found the tendency of development NGOs in Japan to emphasize *actionability* of international development (Chapter Five). Rather than explaining the nature and complexity of the problem or why the situation is considered problematic, Japanese NGOs present global poverty as an issue that can be solved through organizational and individual actions. At the organizational level, NGOs describe their projects and programs, changes and improvements made to date, as well as their history, emphasizing organizational effectiveness, experience, accomplishments, and credibility. NGOs present global poverty as a technocratic problem that can be solved through interventions that they offer. At the individual level, NGOs suggest a broad range of actions that one can take from making donations, becoming a member, volunteering, participating in events, and learning more about the issue. Individuals in Japan are incentivized with an argument that they are equipped with the power and ability to take action (explained with a construct *self-efficacy*) and that taking actions for the cause is not that difficult (explained with *approachability*). NGOs present engagement to international development as simple and easy, not complex and difficult.

These findings on NGOs' message framing were contrasted against those of multi-organizational campaigns, governmental agencies, and international organizations (Chapter Six).

While emphasis on *actionability* of international development was observed in all types of organizations, governmental agencies and international organizations devoted more space in their print materials to explain the nature and complexity of the problem. The descriptions were presented as a rational argument, rather than appealing to the audiences' emotions. This was a striking difference from a few cases of NGOs that did present an explanation of the problem, but through the use of statistics and stories of people suffering from poverty. Governmental agencies and international organizations were also different from NGOs in emphasizing *actionability* of international development at the organizational level more so than at the individual level, particularly through the use of visual images.

It was surprising to find that development NGOs in Japan are not devoted to explaining the nature and complexity of global poverty, given that studies on Northern NGOs had paid much attention to how organizations represent situations of developing countries as a problem. Development NGOs in Japan appear to distance themselves away from the role of interpreting the intricate problem of global poverty for the donor public.

Another surprising finding was the less frequent use of the rhetoric of *oneness* or *solidarity* to incentivize the Japanese public towards international development. Japanese NGOs do make the effort to connect those living in Japan and those living in developing countries, but by highlighting the ability of Japanese people to contribute to making a change. NGOs in Japan frame their messages so that the audience receives positive impression about international development.

These findings generate the following three hypotheses to be tested in the contexts of donor societies other than Japan:

Hypothesis One - Development NGOs tend to emphasize *actionability* of international development in message framings presented to mobilize the donor public, more so than explaining the nature of the problem.

Hypothesis Two - Development NGOs tend to avoid explaining the complexity of global poverty in favor of simple message framing.

Hypothesis Three - Development NGOs tend to present the logic of self-efficacy and approachability in persuading the donor public to get engaged in international development, more so than the logic of solidarity and oneness.

1.2 *Why are the messages framed in such a way?*

From the analysis of transcribed interviews with practitioners in eleven NGOs and one multi-organizational campaign, I found that development NGOs' decisions to emphasize *actionability* of international development is a product of the organizations making sense of both internal and external contexts in which they operate (Chapter Seven). Rather than aiming to frame messages that lead to achieving the desired consequence of mobilizing the Japanese people, development NGOs were mostly concerned about framing messages that are acceptable to the audience and other stakeholders while emphasizing unique organizational characteristics and ensuring ethical soundness. Using the four decision making models that March advocated, I showed that the sense making model appeared to be strongly applicable in understanding Japanese development NGO's message framing practiced, followed by the logic of appropriateness model.

These findings generate the following hypothesis to be tested in contexts other than Japan:

Hypothesis Four – In framing messages, development NGOs do not consider whether presented framings will lead to successful mobilization of the donor public, but rather make decisions based on making sense of available information.

1.3 *Have messages changed over time? If so, how and why?*

Half of the organizations under study had experienced varying degrees of change in what they present to Japanese people (Chapter eight). Interestingly, the incentives did not emerge internally, but rather came from outside the organization either as the need to prepare documents for legal incorporation or as inputs and offers from external stakeholders. Through brief case studies of two NGOs, the study showed that the degree and direction of change in message framing varied by organization but they remain in presenting *actionability* of international development. None of the organizations under study were concerned about their role in breaking down the complexity of global poverty and international development and describing it in understandable presentation to the people living in Japan.

These findings generate the following three hypothesis to be tested in contexts other than Japan:

Hypothesis Five – Development NGOs rarely initiate message change internally, but rather through a trigger provided from external forces.

9.2 SIGNIFICANCE AND CONTRIBUTIONS

This dissertation makes contributions in three perspectives: theory, methodology, and practice.

9.2.1 Theoretical Contribution

As was discussed in Chapter two, the question of how development NGOs frame messages to mobilize the donor public in Japan lies in the cross-section of four fields of study: development theory, management of development NGOs, strategic communication of nonprofit organizations, and studies on Japanese civil society and the nonprofit sector. Among them, this study makes its primary contribution to the study of NGOs in international development. In particular, this study makes three contributions.

First, by bringing in the perspectives of strategic communication and social marketing, I expand the scope of NGOs' message framing from a focus on how developing countries and development interventions are being represented, to a focus on how the members of the donor public are motivated and persuaded to join the cause. The main finding of this study revealed that development NGOs in Japan in fact place much emphasis on the latter, describing global poverty as an issue that can be tackled through organizational and individual actions. Such finding implies that development NGOs in Japan are less committed to describing the complexity of development efforts. Nor are they engaged in informing the donor public of causes of global poverty or how development practices are changing.

Second, by applying framing theory, the study sheds light on decision making processes that take place as NGOs frame messages. Application of framing theory allowed this study to

understand messages as strategically framed by organizations, reflecting their decisions and choices. In contrast to past studies that focused on the nature of the messages that are being presented, this study explored decision-making within NGOs' message framing behaviors.

Third, the study provided an empirical study of development NGOs' strategic communication practices in Japan, an important yet underexplored donor country. Given the diversity of observed communication messages, there is a need to conduct more empirical studies to accumulate articulated messages. The majority of the studies examining NGOs' messages are in the European or North American context, and there is limited knowledge about other non-Western contexts. This dissertation study added a case of Japan to the literature.

9.2.2 Methodological Contribution

In conducting framing analysis, this study combined multiple methods to capture and to understand framings articulated in NGOs' communication messages: qualitative content analysis, semantic network analysis, and visual image analysis. As was discussed in Chapter three, I chose this approach to best address the criticisms on validity and reliability that framing analysis often suffer – that readers are unable to tell exactly how the researcher reached the frame presented – and also to take into account that development NGOs in Japan often use both texts and images in a single print mobilization material.

The proposed combination captures message framings both at the macro level, broadly examining emergent themes through qualitative content analysis using grounded theory approach and at the micro level, backing up the results of content analysis with those from semantic network analysis that looks into words used in texts. I also applied visual image analysis from

the perspective of semiotics-stylistics, where photos were segmented into who is captured in the picture, where it was taken, and the facial expressions of people that appear in the photo.

9.2.3 Practical Significance and Policy Recommendations

This dissertation study presented an empirical case study of nonprofits' strategic communication. The study has multiple implications for development actors engaged in mobilizing the people living in donor societies.

First, the findings of this study serve as a source of information for development NGOs engaged in mobilizing the donor public in Japan. To my knowledge, this is the first comprehensive study that captured development NGOs' communication messages in Japan. For example, development NGOs may contrast the dominant message framings found in this study with their ideas to determine a "niche" that is less frequently used to accentuate the uniqueness of their messages in order to better catch the audience's attention.

Second, development NGOs in Japan may also reflect upon the process through which messages are being framed. The identified set of criteria in Chapter seven may be used as a resource that supports NGOs' decision making in figuring out what the organizations want to emphasize in their communication messages.

Third, the findings of this study call upon development NGOs in Japan to reconsider its contribution as discourse-makers of global poverty and international development. Emphasizing that global poverty is solvable through organizational and individual actions and that making actions is possible without much difficulty may catch the donor public's attention and lead to successful mobilization, but the articulated framings do not explain the complexity of global

poverty and development efforts. Development NGOs indeed face the tradeoff of framing messages in a simple way to easily catch people's attention or in a more detailed way to provide knowledge and insights about complicated issues. From the findings of this study, development NGOs in Japan appear to stand away from facing this challenge. Development NGOs in Japan should consider how they might contribute in presenting the complexity of development, causes of global poverty, and the changing context of development practices.

This dissertation study also has practical implications for agencies that provide resources to development NGOs in Japan. The study revealed a clear lack of resources, both financial and of knowledge, for NGOs to better engage in strategically mobilizing the Japanese public towards international development. Not only are they in need of financial resources to ensure adequate and appropriate personnel, but are also in need of knowledge, experience, and tactics for effective strategic communication. Government agencies, international organizations, and foundations should consider enhancing their institutional support for development NGOs' efforts to mobilize the Japanese public, through funding, seminars, and workshops. As was beginning to take place in several NGOs in this study, encouraging and supporting an increase in the use of *pro bono* advertisement professionals may be one solution that agencies might consider.

9.3 LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Given the limitations of this dissertation study, this section lists five questions that await future research.

First, the study selected only print communication materials for analysis. There is a chance that message framings may differ by various communication outlets including websites, blogs, and social media such as Facebook and Twitter. Indeed, some communication studies have shown that strategies to frame messages differ by communication media (e.g Gilpin, 2010). Future studies may expand into broader modes of communication other than print documents.

Secondly, this study has focused on dynamics that take place in the stages of generating and presenting framings, and did not look into framing effects. Are messages that emphasize *actionability* in international development effective in mobilizing the Japanese public towards international development? Or, are other types of framings more effective? Future studies may evaluate the message framings used by development NGOs in Japan.

Third, because the study examined development NGOs in Japan, a question emerges as to how unique the findings are to this context. To fully answer this question of external validity, comparative studies that contrast Japan and other donor societies must be conducted. Another strategy might be to compare framings used by other types of nonprofits, e.g. organizations that work on environmental issues. How do these nonprofits frame their messages to mobilize the people living in Japan towards the cause? Do they emphasize actions as development NGOs do, or do they articulate other types of framing?

Fourth, how changes in external environment affect development NGOs in Japan merits further attention. For example, in Chapter seven, I identified both the opportunities and challenges that the 2011 triple disasters brought about on how development NGOs strategize their mobilization efforts and message framings. In Chapter eight, I found that a change in institutional environment - introduction of the new nonprofit law in 1998 and the opportunity for development NGOs to obtain legal status as specified nonprofit organizations – triggered varying

degree of change in NGOs' message framings. External effects on how development NGOs communicate with the donor public is a question to be explored in depth in future studies.

9.4 CONCLUSION

This dissertation explored the dynamics of message framings among development NGOs in Japan. Developing countries are not the only sites where international development is in action - development agencies' efforts to mobilize the people living in donor societies is also an important part of international development. How development NGOs present the issue of global poverty and international development as one of the few discourse makers on this issue is the key in building public support for international development.

APPENDIX
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Dear interview participant,

As part of a research project that explores development NGOs' efforts to mobilize the donor public, I am conducting interviews to learn about the challenges that NGOs in Japan face in framing messages to articulate to the audience. By public mobilization, I refer to any activity that aims to stimulate interests, raise awareness, and/or encourage actions from the Japanese public. These may include fundraising campaigns, advocacy campaigns, global education/development education, and outreach.

Your interview will greatly help me understand how development NGOs in Japan mobilize the public towards international development. Retrieved information will be used for research purposes only and will be kept in strict confidence in accordance with professional standards. If you have questions, please do not hesitate to contact Aya Okada at ayo2@pitt.edu.

1. What are some of the key messages that your organization attempts to get across to the donor public?

2. Could you describe the process through which your organization frames communication messages?
3. What are some of the criteria on which your organization base decisions when framing communication messages?
4. Who is in charge of making final decisions in framing of communication messages?
5. How do you determine the success/failure of efforts to mobilize the donor public?
6. Could you describe efforts that your organization makes to mobilize the Japanese public?
7. What are some of the reasons why your organization engages in mobilizing the Japanese public?
8. What do you consider as the most important thing when trying to mobilize the donor public?
9. Can you describe some of the challenges you face in mobilizing the donor public?
10. Have you observed any turning point in which your organization changed volume or direction in public mobilization programs? (e.g. expansion, cutbacks)

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