The Characteristics of Japanese Democratic Politics from the Perspective of the Second Modernity

An Investigation Centered on Civil Society Participation

Abstract

It is generally known that Japan is faced with such problems as low birthrate and aging population, "MUEN society" phenomenon and economic slowdown caused by "lost 20 years". To deal with the above-mentioned complex and profound social problems under such background of this era, the formulation of political policies and the direction of administrative reforms have a decisive guiding role. With the increasing awareness of national financial crisis and life problems, Japanese have also begun to look forward to political trends. Therefore, it is of great theoretical and practical significance to explore the development and trend of contemporary Japanese politics from the perspective of the second modernization. The occurrence of a series of social issues such as the Great East Japan Earthquake and other disasters has made people aware of the importance of the third sector organizations. Nowadays is the era of "risk society " defined by U.Beck, it's not only a prominent social issue in disaster, but also an inevitable consequence of modernization. When the government, companies, and family members find it difficult to help, the significance of such organizations like NGOs, NPOs cannot be ignored. At the same time, if the field of democratic politics is to be able to cope with the storm of a "risk society", it needs the joint construction and participation of such "new participants". Therefore, this article will discuss the new trends of Japanese democratic politics in the second modernization process from the third field of participation in social governance.

1. Introduction

This paper attempts to explore the new model of Japanese democracy in the second modern period based on the great changes of social form since the Heisei Period.

It is generally known that since the 1990s, Japan is faced with such problems as low birthrate and aging population, "MUEN society[1]" phenomenon and economic slowdown caused by "lost 20 years". To deal with the above-mentioned complex and profound social problems under such background of this era, the formulation of political policies and the direction of administrative reforms have a decisive guiding role. With the increasing awareness of national financial crisis and life problems, Japanese have also begun to look forward to the reform of political policy and governance，hoping that they could deal with complexing and various challenging in their daily life. Therefore, it is of great theoretical and practical significance to explore the development and trend of contemporary Japanese politics from the perspective of the second modernization.

Additionally, not only administrative organization，The occurrence of a series of social issues such as the Great East Japan Earthquake and other disasters has made people aware of the importance of the third sector organizations. Nowadays is the era of "risk society[2]" defined by Ulrich Beck. Beck's "risk society" is not only a prominent social issue in disaster, but also an inevitable consequence of modernization. When the government, companies, and family members find it

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[1] It refers to a new social phenomenon that people are getting less and less connected to each other. In Japan, there are kind of people dead for "new style of deaths" that cannot be classified as traditional causes of death, such as unidentified suicides and sudden deaths outside the country. "MUEN" was originally used as a Buddhist term in Japanese, such as "MUEN temple", "MUEN office", "MUEN cemetery", "MUEN Buddha", etc. (Shimada 2011). In NHK documentaries, "no chance" mainly refers to the weakening phenomenon of "ketsuen", "chien" and "syaen". According to Tachibanaki (2013), among them, the "ketsuen" means "is based on marriage between a man and a woman form a family, the husband and wife to offspring and its parents, brothers and sisters, uncles, aunts and other relatives of kinship", and "love and intimacy, on the economic and spiritual support" features (Tachibanaki 2013:125). However, with the rise of unmarried and divorce rates and the decline of birth rates, blood ties are becoming less common, and there are many people who are alone or completely independent of the family. Secondly, "chien" refers to the degree of communication with neighboring countries. In Japanese history, there were geo-organizations and related institutions such as "gohosei" and "goningumi", which played the role of helping and monitoring each other among people in the same region. After the war, Japan maintained its "chien" through neighborhood organizations such as "chuonaikai" and "jichikai" which gradually weakened with the change of personalization and work style. Finally, "syaen" have a shorter history than blood or geography because it generally refers to "relationships formed between people who belong to the same organization" (Tachibanaki 2013:140-141), and such organizations are most typically represented by corporations. However, with the increase of informal employment and the decrease of corporate welfare, it is difficult to maintain a long-term stable close relationship between companies and employees. (Yamamoto，Hiramatsu 2013)

[2] About "risk society", Tomoeda (2015) briefly summarized it as "the first modernity is a 'Society of distributing (producing) wealth', while the second modernity is a 'Society of distributing (acknowledging) risk'" (Tomoeda 2015:85).

difficult to help at some urgent situation, the significance of such organizations like NGOs, NPOs cannot be ignored. Hu (2015) pointed out that as an important force in social governance, NPOs have effectively made up for the lack of Japanese government services and market economy. At the same time, it also heralds the end of the era of relying solely on the government to solve social problems, and the era of multiple subjects participating in social development and social governance is coming.

With such background, in other words, if the field of democratic politics is to be able to cope with the storm of a "risk society", it needs the joint construction and participation of such "new participants". Therefore, this paper focuses on the third field of participation in social governance to discuss the new trend of Japanese democracy in the process of the second modernization.

2. Second modernity theory and "The end of history" involving political issues

Speaking of the great changes in society since the 1980s, many people consider the "fall of the Berlin Wall" to be a symbolic event that changed the way of society since the 1980s. The cold War pattern was a framework to comprehend the post-war world pattern. With the end of the cold War pattern, the "overall victory of capitalism" in the economic mechanism became obvious.

These major changes of modern society were discussed accurately from a sociological perspective by The German sociologists Beck and the English sociologists Giddens. Their views represent a perspective divide from postmodern theory. They object to the viewpoint of advent of post-modernity in our current era and believe that nowadays society is in the situation of "late modernity", or "high modernity" which is characterized by the uncertainty of risk and the possibility of reflexibility.

It is conceivable that the transition from the first modern period to the second modern period would bring about social changes. Briefly, this social change is reflected in culture as the emergence of multiculturalism, in the economic field, it would be the emergence of post-industrial or knowledge-based society, and in the narrow sense of social field, the development of individualization represents it. However, of the four dimensions of social change, only the political sphere did not see significant changes. In the political field, the universality of democratic system and democracy was a major change and development in the first modern period, but in the second modern period, there was no political form beyond democracy emerge.

Regarding such issues as the development and trend of the second modern politics, Japanese-American scholar Francis Fukuyama once proposed the "end of history" theory, which was another important voice about the historical stage and trend around the 1990s besides the "second modern" theory. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the expansion of coups in Eastern Europe, the Western camp ushered in a comprehensive "victory", from which Fukuyama proposed the "end of history" with the victory of western ideology as the end point. This was published in an article entitled "The End of History? ", posted in the summer issue of the National Interest in 1989.As soon as his article was published, it attracted widespread attention from many academic circles, including sociology, history and political science. Mr. Fukuyama argues that liberal democracy, as a regime, has in recent decades triumphed over rival ideologies such as hereditary monarchy, fascism, and Soviet communism, and has achieved a "prominent consensus of legitimacy" around the world. Fukuyama further suggests that liberal democracy may be "the end point of mankind's ideological evolution" and "the final form of human government"(Fukuyama 1992:4). In 1992, he published the Book "The End of History and The Last Man", which comprehensively summarized and discussed his theory of "the End of History" and further proposed some important problems when facing the possibility of this theory. Is there, for example, an alternative to the liberal

democracy that dominates the world today? Will religion or ultranationalism make a comeback? Is liberal democracy itself good or bad? Has politics, according to Fukuyama, run its course and been pronounced dead with the completion of western democracy? And is this argument universal? To answer these questions, it is important to find out what has changed in the field of democracy after the "fall of the Berlin Wall".

3. Second modernization theory in Japan: compressed modernity

Because modernization theory is born in the West and is mainly used to study the modernization process in Europe and The United States, it leads to biased interpretations that equate modernization with Westernization. Based on the reflection of this problem, the social circle has gradually applied this theory to the study of Asian countries in recent years. Among them, Japan became the earliest case study. The reason is naturally related to Japan's modernization development. After the Second World War, Japan was the first non-Western country to enter the ranks of "modernization" development. Since the 1960s, as a defeated country, Japan quickly recovered from the post-war depression and ushered in a period of high economic growth, which attracted global attention. Of course, the role of the United States in external forces during its occupation cannot be excluded. However, as an Oriental country, Japan's own conduction and reform on the process of modernization have also brought positive effects, and thus formed some characteristics of modernization that are obviously different from those of western countries. The modernization research of Asian countries represented by Japan has also formed an important part of modernization theory research. Therefore, choosing the development and change of Japanese politics in the "second modern" stage as the research object is not only the focus of the "second modern" research of non-western countries, but also one of the important research topics of Japanese studies.

For Japan, according to the modernization model defined by Parsons (1971=1997), some modernization theories and modern social theories emerged in Japan in the 1990s. One of the most famous is Tominaka Kenichi's Modernization and Social Change in Japan (1990=1998). As shown in table 1, Tominaga will modernization since modern times is defined a system of human social development pattern, and organize it into four subsystems: the economic modernization and political modernization, social modernization and cultural modernization, Japan and western countries in modern order is different in each subsystem, in particular, according to the research of the Tominaga, The modernization of western countries began with cultural modernization, followed by political modernization, economic modernization and social modernization. Japan's modernization began with economic modernization, followed by political modernization, social modernization, and cultural modernization. He pointed out that Japan's modernization was an input modernization, and due to the limitation of this conflict, the modernization of non-Western latecomers was different from that of the precursors when they accepted modern values. The effect of economic modernization is easy to compare, small impact on tradition and easy to be accepted and carried out by the ruler, so it can take the lead in launching. Political and social modernization will be hindered by the rulers and difficult to introduce, while cultural modernization has the greatest impact on tradition and therefore the greatest resistance and difficulty to complete. He also believes that even after more than 100 years of modernization, Japan has only completed economic modernization, but not political, social, and cultural modernization.

Table 1 Different order of modernization by four subsystems between japan and western countries

Subsystems of modernization	The order of modernization		Representative process
	Japan	Western countries	
Economic	1	3	Industrialization
Political	2	2	Democratization
Social	3	4	Realization of freedom and equality
Cultural	4	1	Realization of rationalism

(Source: Tominaka Kenichi（1990=1998）Modernization and Social Change in Japan 富永健一，1998，『日本の近代化と社会変動』講談社)

In addition, Professor Chang Kyung-Sup of sociology Department of Seoul National University studied the changes of Korean society in recent years with the second modernization theory and proposed a conception that the modernization of Asian countries is a kind of "compressed modernity". By Professor Chang, Compressed modernity is "a social situation in which economic, political, social and/or cultural changes occur in an extremely condensed manner with respect to both time and space, and in which the dynamic coexistence of mutually disparate historical and social elements leads to the construction and reconstruction of a highly complex and fluid social system. This concept was first introduced to account for the unique modernity of contemporary South Korea, which, on the one hand, has undergone full-scale capitalist industrialization, economic growth, urbanization, proletarianization (i.e. the transformation of peasants into industrial workers), and democratization within unprecedented short periods, and which, on the other hand,

still manifests distinctly traditional and/or indigenous characteristics in many aspects of personal, social, and political life. These experiences and characteristics are not entirely unique to South Korea but have been or are being demonstrated in many other formerly or currently late developing societies"(Chang 2010:38-39). In other words, the modernization of western countries has gone through two stages, while that of Asian countries is mostly catch-up modernization, which compresses the two stages into one.

In 2010, Ochiai Emiko, a famous Japanese family sociologist, and her research team of Sociology at Kyoto University made a quantitative demonstration of the concept of "compressed modernization" put forward by Professor Chang from the perspective of family sociology, and obtained a very accurate time data of family modernization compressed in Japan and major Asian countries. Professor Ochiai use of demographic statistics, with two times of falling birth rate as a symbol of modernization of two stages, more countries in Europe and Asia women's total fertility rate (TFR), found in Europe in the 1820s and 1960s had two phenomena with a declining birth rate, there are 50 years among the stability of the time. Asian countries, on the other hand, have seen continuous population decline since the 1950s, with almost no discernible stages. Japan is right between Europe and Asia, 25 years later than Europe and the United States, and about 25 years earlier than Asia.

Professor Zhou Weihong (2012), a Japanese sociologist in China, attempted to conduct a more specific and comprehensive empirical study on the modernization of the four subsystems in Japan based on the above preliminary research. Specifically, professor Zhou to choose higher education popularity, representative perfect degree, modernization of industrial structure change and the family respectively as a cultural, political, economic and social modernization core timing indicators, comparing the UK and Japan modern timing of two countries, in the western definition of 6、70 s in the 20th century as the first modern cut-off and the modern, The paper examines how Japan catches up with the western advanced modernization countries after the

1960s, and then realizes the "compression" in development. At the same time, the "reverse order" problem proposed by Professor Tominaga and the "compressed modernity" phenomenon proposed by Professor Chang Kyung-sup are analyzed and verified.

As stated above，has The second modernization of Japan caught up with the advanced modernization countries such as Europe and America through compression development? If so, when did Japan enter the second modern period?

In my opinion, the beginning of Heisei is the watershed of Japan's transition from first modernity to second modernity. Put another way, I hold that second modernity for Japan start around 1990s. There are 3 main reasons for my insistence.

First, at a theoretical level, the period around the 1990s has been viewed both in Japan and overseas as a major turning point in Japanese society（Suzuki et al.2010；Tsujinaka 2012；J.A.A.Stockwin 2003；Hommerich,Sudo,Kikkawa 2021）. For instance, Suzuki Munenori and his colleagues（2010）analyzed a profound turn in Japan's societal structure and modes. The authors raised their hypothesis that the age of industrial modernization, during which it was believed that full employment and economic growth would last forever, has long since ended, and with the mid-1990s as a watershed, Japan has entered the age of second modernity, or reflexive modernization (Suzuki et al. 2010:514). This article entitled "Individualizing Japan: Searching for Its Origin in First Modernity," following in the footstep of Beck's project, the mid-1990s mark the turning point from first to second modernity. Additionally, in China, a group of Japanese researchers represented by professor Liu Xiaofeng, a historian, also came up with the view of "Heisei Japanology", and proposed to regard the Heisei Period as a separate historical periodized study(Liu 2019).

Second, for historical level, after 1989, Japan's politics, economy and society all ushered in some historical events around this time point, not only presents by that the year name changed from Showa to Heisei. Economically，with the bubble burst

in 1990, both within and outside Japan, tends to be described as "the lost decades," "stagnation," as well as by more colorful terms such as "moribund growth" 。The country moved into a period of fighting "recession" and is still fighting it. The phrase "the lost decades" changed into "lost two decades" and then "lost three decades". In the political realm, the 1955 system, which was established in 1955 and was based on the confrontation between conservatives and reformists, who are Jimintō(The Liberal Democratic Party)，Nihon shakai-tō(The Japan Socialist Party)and Nihon Kyōsan-tō(The Japanese Communist Party), ended in 1993 after 38 years later. The subsequent political situation in Japan is called the "post-1955 system". On the social front, Japan's overall situation is arguably still stretched. In 2010, Japan's NHK broadcast a documentary entitled "MUEN Society ~ impact of 32,000 People", people began to gradually realize the existence of "KODOKUSHI" and "MUENSHI" phenomenon, but also sounded the alarm of interpersonal and social relationship problems in Japan. The event that had an even bigger impact to Japan on Heisei, however, was the great East Japan Earthquake that followed. The Fukushima nuclear leakage accident caused by the earthquake has plunged Japan into the shadow of more severe environmental, economic, and social problems. Beck's risk society theory was discussed and paid attention to again in Japan. Therefore, it is of practical significance to study and analyze Japan in the framework after the late 1980s.

Lastly, on empirical research, Professor Zhou Weihong (2019) further analyzes the period in Japan to the social, economic, cultural, and political areas based on present some characteristics of late "modernization", respectively, set up four related indicators, will be the modernization of Japan's 1989 core index data of the 70 s were compared with the west. These four indicators are: the second decline in birth rate representing family modernization; the tertiary industry accounting for more than 60% of the total population representing the change in industrial structure; the university coverage rate representing the higher education penetration rate exceeding 50%; and the realization of universal suffrage representing the perfection of the representative

system. According to the statistical data of Britain, the United States and Japan, it is found that Japan basically completed the first stage of modernization in just 25 years from the postwar period to the 1970s. Although the modernization was more driven by external forces (occupation), there is still no denying the speed and efficiency of its completion. After that, it took nearly 20 years to complete the final catch-up of the first stage of modernization. It was not until the beginning of the Heisei period that it basically caught up with the index data of the "second modern era" reached by Europe and America in the 1970s. From this point of view, it can be said that the Heisei period marked the beginning of a new historical period for Japan.

To sum up, we could sustain the viewpoint that Heisei, started at 1989, is the beginning of second modernity in Japan.

4. Analysis framework of politics in Second modern

After defining the time point of Japan's second modernity, we will turn to the research framework of Japan's political change from the perspective of second modernity, that is, how to consider the indicators of change in the political field.

By referring to the four dimensions proposed by Giddens in his book The Consequences of Modernity, the author tries to construct an investigation dimension of Japan's second modernity. The idealistic model mentioned by Giddens is a model that needs to be created in the face of the risks brought by the reflection of modernity, which is called "Utopian realism (Giddens 1990:157) ". Regarding this model, although the name sounds "utopia" and "realism" are clearly two contradictory concepts, Giddens believes that in the face of the risks of the "second modern", it is necessary to "balance utopian ideals with reality". So, Giddens has this to say about his own vision of what the late twentieth century would look like:

It must be sociologically sensitive-alert to the immanent institutional transformations which modernity constantly opens out to the future; it must be

politically, indeed, geopolitically, tactical, in the sense of recognizing that moral commitments and "good faith" can themselves be potentially dangerous in a world of high-consequence risks; it must create models of the good society which are limited neither to the sphere of the nation-state nor to only one of the institutional dimensions of modernity; and it must recognize that emancipatory politics needs to be linked with life politics, or a politics of self-actualization.(Giddens 1990:156)

Giddens' "Utopian realism" is a model centering on political goals, which contains four interrelated dimensions, including emancipatory politics, life politics, politicization of the local, and politicization of the global. Among them, the axis of emancipatory politics and life politics embodies the content of Utopian realism. The axis of politicization of the local and politicization of the global reflects the regional scope of utopian realism. To deal with the risk of modernity, emancipatory politics and life politics should be combined in content, politicization of the local and politicization of the global should be combined in region, and the four dimensions of utopian realism should also be combined. In other words, these four dimensions are interconnected and constitute an ideal model for dealing with the "risks" of modernity. However, he did not elaborate on the realistic textual research and possibility of this model.

Therefore, according to this model, the author constructs a theoretical framework to discuss democratic politics in the "second modern". As shown in Figure 1, according to the above five dimensions, four corresponding sociological theories can be extended to investigate changes and trends in the political field, i.e., fairness and justice, voluntarism, decentralization, corporativism and international politics. As this paper focuses on the changing trend of Japan's domestic politics, international political topics related to foreign relations are temporarily removed from the quadrilateral framework and not discussed.
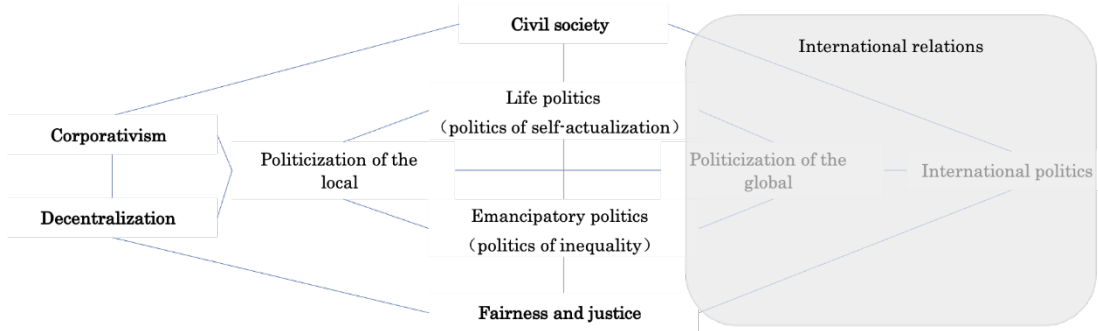
Figure 1: Frame of politics change in second modernity

(Source: Giddens Anthorny.1990. The Consequences of Modernity, Stanford

University Press:157)

Specifically, the politics of second modernity should be local politics, equal politics, and personal politics. The three political objectives are investigated as follows:

Local politics, literally, corresponds to the politicization of the local. In the second modern society, decentralization needs to be further deepened to truly achieve local governance, and local groups have relatively independent financial rights and independent activities. Therefore, the main investigation in this field includes sorting out and analyzing the existing Japanese decentralization policy, and in addition, the achievement of collaborative governance in the political governance of the second modern society is also one of the important indicators. The investigation in this field requires the investigation of the current situation of group activities, and the commonality of the current situation and problems of collaborative governance in Japanese local politics can be found through the analysis of individuals.

The politics of equality is the goal of the politics of emancipatory politics. After the politics of the first modern era covers the justice of the majority, the politics of the second modern era should consider the justice of the minority. According to the first principle of Rawls' two principles of justice, namely the equality principle, that is, the social system stipulates and guarantees the equality and freedom of citizens. This paper will examine the minority people with disabilities, women and foreigners

in the field of political participation in Today's Japanese society and analyze and focus on the political rights and social participation of these three groups. This is to investigate the status quo of egalitarian politics in the second modern Japan.

Finally, the politics of the individual corresponds to the life politics. In terms of the realization of individual politics, this paper focuses on the civil society composed of NGOs and NPOs. With the advent of the second modern era, the two trends of individuation and globalization have led to the further development of individuality and individualism, and the needs of individuals have become more complex and diverse. Therefore, the social role of grassroots organizations such as NPO and NGO has attracted more attention and attention(Korten 1990=1995; 佐藤 1999; 田中 1998). The participants of grassroots groups are mostly volunteers, and their mutual assistance, self-help spirit and behavior deserve attention. Therefore, this paper will focus on the changes of volunteers' thoughts and actions and explore their new trends in the second modern stage through data investigation and analysis. At the same time, it tries to analyze the influence factors of volunteerism spirit and practitioners, and then tries to discuss how to guarantee and develop volunteers.

In conclusion, based on the political ideal model of the "second modern" proposed by Giddens, the "second modernity" of Japanese politics can be sketched if the theoretical framework of the above four dimensions is demonstrated in the political field of Japan since the Heisei period.

5. The change in politics of Japan from the perspective of second modernity – focusing on the change of civil society

Within the above framework, this section attempts to focus on the changes of civil society in the second modern period in Japan. As a second stage of the Japanese political field of a tentative exploration.

The first change is the tendency of civic participation organizations to become legalized and organized. Especially with the enactment of the Act on Promotion of

Specified Non-profit Activities (the so-called NPO Act) in June 1998. The important role of volunteers and volunteer organizations was highly valued by the public and the government after the Kobe earthquake in 1995. As a large number of volunteers went to the disaster areas to participate in rescue activities, this year was called the "First Year of Volunteers" in Japan (Kan 2011; Kanno, 2015), and thus promoted the formulation and implementation of NPO Law in Japan. Then, in 2006, Japan promoted the reform of the public corporation system. All these provide legal and policy support for NPO activities in Japan. As a result, associations such as NPO have mushroomed in Japan. Figure 1 shows the increase of THE number of NPO in Japan since 1998. It can be said that NPO has achieved considerable development in Japan in just over two decades. By the end of April 2021, about 50,000 organizations nationwide had obtained corporate status.
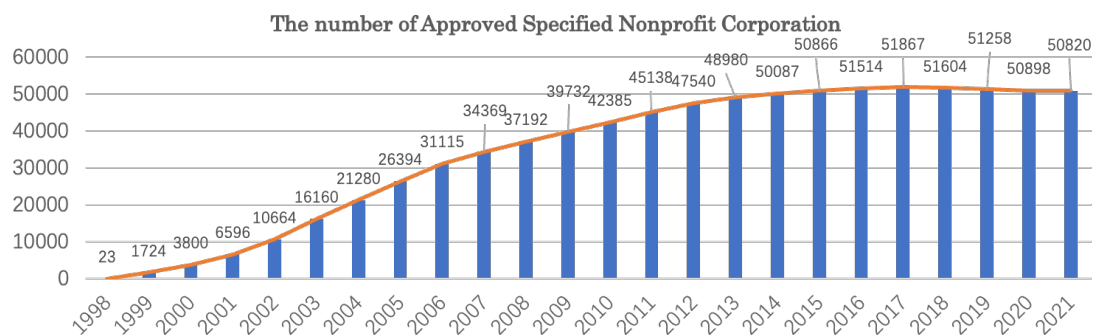

Figure 2: The number of Approved Specified Nonprofit Corporation

（Source:Cabinet Office,2021, Changes in the number of Approved Specified Nonprofit Corporation, access in June,14th 2021, link: https://www.npo-homepage.go.jp/about/toukei-info/ninshou-seni.

（＝内閣府 NPO，2021，「特定非営利活動法人の認定数の推移」，2021 年 6 月 14 日，https://www.npo-homepage.go.jp/about/toukei-info/ninshou-seni）

The second change is the growing influence of civil society. In the 1960s, the citizens of Toyama Prefecture in central Japan fought for their rights due to cadmium

poisoning, which started the first time of environmental movement in Japan. It led to the establishment of the Japan Ministry of Environment in 1971, and made the Japanese government realize that preventing the environmental pollution was more important than economic development. This movement is considered to be the first case of public participation in Japan, where local citizens, external experts and local experts played an active role in solving the public problem of environmental pollution (Kaji 2012). But Japanese citizens are generally considered to have low political influence in policy making (Schroder, 2003). I argue that we can still see some development and progress since the 1990s.For example. For example, Japanese citizens have always made relatively high contributions to the environmental movement. On the one hand, this is a common issue in the world, so it has attracted extensive attention and participation from citizens. In addition, Japanese citizens are also more involved in welfare. Especially under the trend of globalization, the introduction of market principium in Japan, the weakening of public responsibility for social welfare, the expansion of informal employment, when social security and social welfare are difficult to seek changes, new social movements emerged. The practice of cafeteria for children was one of examples which started around 2012. More and more systematic movement are under way to try to address the vulnerability and violations of rights guarantee, from children to the elderly, from homeless to handicap (Li, Liu 2020).

The third change is in the form of participation, specifically civic participation, which is becoming more cooperative with others. Civil society, which used to be seen as a binary opposition between the state and society, is now not only opposing government decisions and corporate exploitation, but also collaborating with critics, the government, and corporations to come up with alternative policies. For example, "Kyoudo", the cooperative governance mode between Japanese NPO and the government, has attracted the attention of Chinese scholars. The Japanese government put forward the concept of "new public" in 2009, and "Kyoudo" is its core concept

(Yu, Zou 2012). Yu and Zou(2012) take the cooperative policy of "metropolitan prefecture-level" local autonomous body as an example to investigate the following data:1. Whether there is a department responsible for coordinating affairs; 2. Whether there is a clear record of "coordinating affairs" in administrative organization regulations ; 3. Whether any cooperation-related policies have been implemented. Through data, it is found that the concept of cooperation has indeed been infiltrated into the policy practices of Japanese government departments at all levels.

The fourth change is the diversity of activities. As the key element of the second modern society, the process of personalization is also fully reflected in the social participation of citizens. In other words, with the increasing diversity of individual needs, the diversity of civil society also increases. For example, swimming Pool Volunteers, an NPO organization, was established in 1999 to help the disabled and the elderly swim to create a society where everyone can enjoy swimming. Such organizations have a strong commonweal nature, and their contribution to social welfare and fairness is also unable to be completed by the government alone.

6. Conclusion

After the realization of democratic politics, Japanese politics, like western countries, did not appear institutional transcendence and essential change. But there have been changes such as the development of civil society. Moreover, in recent years, new phenomena have emerged in The Japanese political field, such as the introduction of a system for establishing managers, the participation of the disabled in politics, and the increase of female lawmakers and political leaders. Can these phenomena be seen as a refutation of Fukuyama's "ending of democratic politics"?

Through the investigation in the field of civil society, the author gives an opposing answer. Before democratic politics entered the second modern period, it had only fulfilled its institutional and legal tasks. In the future, with the advent of globalization and the deepening of individualism, the political field is bound to

change with the change of social structure. However, this kind of investigation is only a trial, and more scholars need to pay attention to it in the future.

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