

FUKUSHIMA AND CIVIL SOCIETY

JAPANESE DENUCLEAR MOVEMENT FROM THE SOCIO-POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

Summary

The book analyzes the impact of the Fukushima nuclear disaster of March 2011 on civil society in Japan, its development, forms of action, and in particular the way in which the opposition movement to nuclear energy functions. This ultimately aims to help consider the impact of civic groups on the state's energy policy, or to put it in broader terms, on the decision-making process. These issues are analyzed in the context of previous accidents and the activities of entities defined in Polish and English as anti-nuclear, and in this work as a *denuclear*, that is, protesting against nuclear power plants, which corresponds directly to the Japanese terms (*hangenpatsu, datsugenpatsu*). The work is based on field research, interviews and participatory observation conducted by the author, along with primary sources (governmental and private documents, reports), and a review of the existing literature on the subject. This is the first comprehensive monograph on the denuclear movement in Japan written in the Polish, English or Japanese languages.

The book is divided into fourteen chapters, with an introduction and a conclusion. It also contains a number of annexes that complement the information given in the work, including lists of institutions, programs, laws and events in Polish, Japanese (in transcripts and *kanji* characters), and in English whenever they are available. The first chapter discusses the theoretical framework, the sociological theories of social movements and discussions about civil society from the political science perspective. The former are used to describe the origin, structure and operations of the movement in Japan, and the second to typologize organizations in the movement, perceived in the wider perspective of civil society. The chapter introduces the analytical model of political possibilities, mobilization structure and framing developed by Dough McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zalda, which is used to describe and analyze the movement in subsequent chapters.

Chapters 2-5 present the socio-political situation in Japan before the accident in Fukushima Daiichi in March 2011, determining the political possibilities that contributed to the emergence and shape of the movement. The second chapter discusses the structure of political power and the decision-making process in the area of energy policy, which was dominated by members of the so-called *nuclear village*. The third chapter contains a description of nuclear accidents and incidents that took place in Japan before March

2011. The analysis exposes mechanisms of control and supervision in the nuclear industry, which allowed for the suppression and falsification of information by power plant operators and ruling elites. The fourth chapter outlines the situation during and after the accident on March 11th, with particular emphasis on issues contested by the denuclear movement. This chapter also analyzes the dynamics of changes in public attitudes towards nuclear power plants, which influenced the activities of the movement, as well as the behavior of decision-makers. The fifth chapter presents the development of the anti- and denuclear movement since the end of the American occupation, based on the theory of the protest cycle.

Chapters 6-13 contain a typological description and detailed analysis of the denuclear movement after March 2011, which provide a basis for subsequent discussion. This part is predominantly descriptive, because it is the first attempt (in Polish, English and Japanese) to present the movement so comprehensively. These chapters present examples of the activities of selected entities, representing the main categories: protest groups (chapter 6-7), research and information (chapter 8), policy (chapter 9), assistance (chapter 10), watchdogs (chapter 11), legal (chapter 12) and other (chapter 13). The last category also includes private companies, although they are not usually recognized as civil society entities. As the analysis shows, differentiating between organizations of social movements, civil society and other forms of socio-political and economic activity is in fact very difficult. The functional division used in this work reflects the main type of activity. In the analysis, attention is paid to the history of their emergence, forms of organizational and membership structures and financing. The most visible and media-related form of activity of civil society organizations are protests and demonstrations, however, as the analysis shows, they operate in a complex network of relations, or in other words, in a certain ecosystem of interconnected organizations, structures and actors, representing a wide range of activities.

Chapter 14 discusses one of the most contested issues of social movement and civil society theories, namely the relations between the state and civil society. This chapter analyzes the instruments of influence used by the authorities on society and vice versa, with particular focus on soft forms of social control, including framing. In this last area, both sides of the conflict compete fiercely with each other to create dominant interpretations and impose their narrative. In the Post-Fukushima movement there is particular emphasis on the use of slogans highlighting the participation of "common citizens", the claim for a democratic right to direct action, novelty (as a new type of a social movement) and modernity. The last chapter sums up the analysis in terms of the causes of the movement, its tools for exerting influence, its mobilization structures and cycles of movement. It also refers to the issue of defining the Post-Fukushima movement as a new social movement. Finally, there is a discussion of the movement's effects and results, grouped as direct and indirect, and short- or long-term ones.

The main argument of research is based on several assumptions: Firstly, that the Post-Fukushima denuclear movement is new type of social movement, one with a network structure and anti-hierarchical relations; secondly, that it has contributed to strong activation of civil society in Japan, reaching across social strata, which ultimately impacted on the national energy policy. Although that did not lead to the adoption of a plan for the total elimination of nuclear energy (except for a short period under the Democratic Party), its

activities influenced other decisions, such as the introduction of higher safety standards for nuclear power plants, increased emphasis on renewable energy development, abandoning the construction of new nuclear power plants, which de facto set a new course of national policy, also in the energy sector. The impact of the movement was multidimensional and included both the sphere of national policy and the organization and operation of social movements, public perception of direct action (demonstrations), symbolism of the public sphere, social norms and behaviors.