Energy Democracy under Energy Transition

Energy Transition and Democracy in Japan

Tetsu Iida,
ISEP

Hiroshi Sasaki,
Niigata University of International and Information Studies
Comparative / Interactive / Practical Research on Energy Transition and Democracy in East Asian Countries

Energy Transition and Democracy in Japan
Aim and scope of the research

2005

LDP

2010

3.11 Fukushima

2015

LDP

DPJ

DPP

DPK

GNP

NFP

KMT

DPP

DPK
### Aim and scope of the research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Japan DPJ</th>
<th>Japan LDP</th>
<th>Korea DPK</th>
<th>Taiwan DPP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Period</strong></td>
<td>2009-2012</td>
<td>2012.12 -</td>
<td>2017.5 -</td>
<td>2016.5 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Target</strong></td>
<td>0 NPP by 2030s</td>
<td>20-22% NPP by 2030</td>
<td>Toward 0 NPP</td>
<td>0 NPP by 2025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Policy</strong></td>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>Progressive</td>
<td>Progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Process</strong></td>
<td>Open, participatory</td>
<td>Close, Top-down</td>
<td>Open, participatory</td>
<td>Open, participatory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Public opinion</strong></td>
<td>Supportive</td>
<td>Mixed, conflicting</td>
<td>Supportive</td>
<td>Supportive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Big shift after 3.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Implementation</strong></td>
<td>poor</td>
<td>strong</td>
<td>(challenging)</td>
<td>(challenging)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Utility</strong></td>
<td>10 monopolies</td>
<td>Nationwide monopoly</td>
<td>Nationwide monopoly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nuke industry</strong></td>
<td>Toshiba, Mitsubishi, Hitachi</td>
<td>Doosan</td>
<td>US(GE, WH)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EL Reform</strong></td>
<td>On-going</td>
<td>On-going</td>
<td>On-going</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RE</strong></td>
<td>RPS 2002-2012</td>
<td>FIT 2002-2012</td>
<td>FIT 2010-2012</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FIT 2012 -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Take-off stage</td>
<td>Explosive growth stage</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B.F. and A.F.

Before 3.11
- Negative: 6.5%
- Status quo: 59.8%
- Positive: 18.8%
- Don't know: 16.2%

After 3.11
- Negative: 6.5%
- Status quo: 24.4%
- Positive: 66.1%

2014
- Negative: 1.3%
- Status quo: 8.8%
- Positive: 64%
- Don't know: 0%

2015
- Negative: 1.7%
- Status quo: 10.1%
- Positive: 62.7%
- Don't know: 0%

2016
- Negative: 1.8%
- Status quo: 8.3%
- Positive: 62.1%
- Don't know: 0%

2017
- Negative: 1%
- Status quo: 5.9%
- Positive: 64.3%
- Don't know: 0%

[source] “before 3.11” from Cabinet Office, “After 3.11 from NHK”, 2014-17 from JAERO
Niceko Obihiro
Kyotango Goyama
Takarazuka: Takayama
Bizen
Hiroshima
Yamaguchi
Obama
Kumamoto Shizuoka Odawara
Shimokawa
Obihiro
Akita
Ogata
Iitate
Niigata
Shimokawa
Minam Niigata
Saitama
IIDA city
Nagano
1. Focusing on historical and on-going experience in energy transition and its politics in each countries of East Asia, where there might be a lot to be leaned each other.

2. Japan was “forerunner” in challenging energy transition under democratic & progressive energy politics from 2009 to 2012, but failed. It was taken over by extreme conservative energy politics, as a backlash to the former administration, and/or “shock-doctrine” of 3.11 Fukushima nuclear disaster.

3. New and current administration of Taiwan since May 2016, and of Korea since May 2017 are both challenging energy transition under each democratic & progressive politics.

4. There are similarities with direct/indirect political/industrial relations in political culture with Confucian background, monopolistic electricity industry structure, that must be worth to learn each other, while there are of course many differences.

5. This “research” aims to influence energy policy of each country constructively through learning lessons each other by those who are involved in each energy politics, which can be reflecting to build democratic & progressive energy society.

6. ….and China?
Comparative / Interactive / Practical Research on Energy Transition and Democracy in East Asian Countries

Energy Transition and Democracy in Japan
7 years have passed since “March 11th”

What has changed?

“Under Control” (2013.9.) P.M.Abe

- Exploration work inside the nuclear plant’s failed reactors has barely begun.
- Contaminated water is continuing to flow into the Pacific Ocean (from the crippled No. 1 plant at a rate of around 2 billion becquerels a day).
- The number of Evacuee about 60,000 (Reconstruction Agency 2018.7.31.)
Another TEPCO Nuclear Power Station as a Largest Political Issue in Japan

Kashiwazaki-Kariwa Nuclear Power Station in Niigata Prefecture

- 7 reactors and 8,200,000 kw
- No.1. = 33 years old       No.7. = 21 years old

TEPCO and METI want to restart immediately.
The Governor Election of Niigata in 2016—“Niigata Shock”
The victory of the opposition alliance brought;

1. TEPCO had to give up an idea of immediate restart.

2. Contrary to expectations he won the election by a plurality of 60,000 votes. → The central government realized strong public feeling against the nuclear power station.

3. As his public commitment, The Committee for Inspection of the Nuclear Power Station ("Genpatsu Kensho-linkai") was established.
Sudden Resign 4/27— An Unsavory Scandal

- Period being in office just one and half year.
- It seems the information of weekly magazine originally came from the cabinet research office …
The Governor Election of Niigata in 2018
--- Again, the Abe Administration vs. Opposition Alliance
The Governor Election of Niigata in 2018

-- The Government’s Victory

Ikeda 509,568  Hanazumi 546,670
Narrow Margin 37,102
1. Abe administration could avoid the consecutive defeats. (Defeats are House of Councilors election 2016, Governor election 2016 and House of Representatives election 2017)

2. The government have some good prospect for restart the most important nuclear power plant. (But Hanazumi’s public promises were almost the same as the opposition side because no one can win the elections without saying “abandoning nuclear power generation” in Niigata. So the Committee for Inspection of the Nuclear Power Station will maintain for a while.)

3. Abe administration will continue to exist at least one more his term and existing Japanese Energy Plan will also last (in addition, Junichi Fukuda who got involved in “Mori-Tomo Scandal” would assume administrative vice-minister of Ministry of Finance as default route).
The 5th Basic (Outdated) Energy Plan 2018
The 5th Basic (Outdated) Energy Plan 2018

● Under the plan, nuclear will remain a key energy source ("baseload power source"), accounting for 20-22% of the country's electricity generation up to 2030.

● That means we will have to restart all of the existing nuclear power plants even over 40 years old, if you will not be able to construct new plants.

● The estimation of renewable energy is extremely conservative.
This Summer ... (according to the ISEP research)

- Shikoku Electric Power Co.  100%  (5/20 10:00-12:00)

- Kyushyu Electric Power Co.  96%  (5/3 12:00)  
  (solar power 81%)
  Renewable Energy supplied.
Trends of Renewable Power Generation in Japan

Share of renewable energy power generation increased to 14.8% in FY2016.

Source: METI, ISEP (Renewables Japan Status Report)
Towards a Energy Democracy in Japan
“Security Politics” and Democracy in Japan

9/17, 2015.
“Security Politics” and Democracy in Japan

Abe Administration

- Change the Pacifist Constitution
- Construct of the new US base camp in Okinawa
- Continue the existing Nuclear Energy Policy

Risk and Security Issues

Counter Specialists

Counter Activities

Civil Society, the Local Residents
The Problem of the Nuclear Power Station as a Security Issue

11 years ago, Chuetsu-Oki Earthquake

“Genpatsu Kensho-linkai” will strictly investigate this problem especially in terms of the evacuation plan.
“Nuclear Power Never Bring the Wealth to the Local”

● “Economical Effects” is just a “legend” for the Niigata.

● This “legend” has been formed in the historical process in which Niigata and Fukushima prefectures have been forced to be just energy supplying region since the Miji-period.
250 community powers

Niceko Obihiro
Kyotango Toyama
Takarazuka: Takayama
Bizen
Hiroshima
Yamaguchi
Obama
Kumamoto Shizuoka Odawara

Shimokawa
Iitate
Yamagata
Minam Niigata
Saitama
IIDA city
Nagano
1. All of the Nuclear Power Station in Japan must be shut down and abolished immediately.
2. Decision of decommissioning all reactors have to make in 5 years.
3. Renewable Energy should accounts for more than 40% until 2030.

- Constitutional Democratic Party
- Japanese Communist Party
- Liberal Party
- Social Democratic Party
- Independent MP (Kikuta, Kuroiwa)
  +
- Genji-ren (Including former P.M. Koizumi)
Towards a “Post Nuclear Power Station-typed” Society

「Centralized & Divided Local community (= colonial) Society」

「Decentralized & Network Society」
(Self Governance)
Comprehensive Image of the Social Transformation

- Energy
- International Relations
- Industry
- Politics
- Labor, Employment
- Education, Culture
- Life Style
Thank you.