

Framing of safety and social license to operate (SLO) in nuclear waste management

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Introduction

Objective: comparing risk and safety argumentation, and the framing of final disposal, by leading newspapers in Finland and France

• particular focus on social license to operate (SLO) and trust in NWM institutions

The Finnish 'high-trust society': passive safety – no monitoring is required in the future after the closure of the repository, yet **retrievability** must be ensured.

France, a 'society of distrust': legislation stipulates that the project must be **reversible** – the repository and its environment remain under monitoring over several centuries.

Distinct means of building trust in

- the waste disposal solution and
- the organisations responsible for RWM

Trust in the media

Finland

- The country with the most trusted news media
- Overall trust in the news 59%
- Trust in 'news I use' 70%

France

- Weak trust in the news media
- Overall trust in the news 24% (2018 35%, Yellow vest –protest)
- Trust in 'news I use' 34% (2018 41%)
- 22% have high or relatively high trust in the media (35% have no trust at all, and 38% only little trust the media

(Sources: Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2019; CEVIPOF 2019, p. 34)



Source: Yle; The Foundation for Municipal Development 2019

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Trust in institutions - France

Q25. Avez-yous très confiance, plutôt confiance, plutôt pas confiance ou pas confiance du tout dans chacune des organisations suivantes... ? Réponse 'Très confiance' + 'Plutôt confiance' individus



Nuclear waste management in Finland and France

France: reprocessing + final disposal

Finland: direct final disposal



*Spent fuel reprocessing is omitted from the cycle in most countries, including the United States.

Source: Pennsylvania State University

Nuclear waste management in Finland and France

France: 58 nuclear reactors > 70% of electricity Finland: 4 nuclear reactors ~ 30% of electricity

Selected Spent Nuclear Fuel Inventories



Source: Sloan 2017



Finland: passive safety instead of monitoring

KBS-3 multibarrier system (Source: Posiva)



Major milestones of Finnish nuclear waste management

2000: The government issued the Decision-in-Principle for final disposal of SNF

- **2001**: Parliament ratified the DiP (votes 159–3). Safety was discussed but final disposal was seen as "better" and "safer" option than interim storage
- 2004: Posiva started the construction of the underground rock characterisation facility (ONKALO)
- **2008**: Government decree on safety of final disposal: no requirements related to opening of the disposal facility
- **2010**: Extension of the final disposal facility approved by the government and Parliament

2012: Posiva submitted the construction licence application for repository, including a legally mandatory statement on retrievability

STUK: retrievability shall not impair post-closure safety

- **2015**: The government granted the construction licence, the Minister of Economy considered retrievability as a key criterion for the disposal solution
- **2018**: Excavation of the first tunnels for Posiva's final disposal facility started

2019: Posiva started the construction of the encapsulation plant



France: reversibility to build trust



Réversibility: "the ability, by successive future generations, to either pursue the path defined by choices made earlier or to re-examine the choices and further develop the management solution accordingly." (The Planning Act, 28 June 2006)

Major milestones of French nuclear waste management

1991 Waste Act (loi Bataille): introduces the idea of reversible geological disposal – 15year research on 1) reversible or irreversible disposal, 2) long-term interim storage, 3) partitioning and transmutation

• Reversibility emerged as a demand from the 'civil society'

1998 government declaration: reversible disposal as a prerequisite for public acceptance of the project

2005-06 public debate (CNDP): advocates research on long-term interim storage (earlier suggested e.g. by Barthe, 2001)

2006: Planning Act and TSN Act

- reversible geological disposal the reference option
- distinction between *retrievability* of waste and *reversibility* of decisions
- independent *regulator* (ASN)
- High committee on nuclear *transparency*, information and safety (HCTISN)
 2016: Reversibility Act defines reversibility in greater detail

Frames and framing

'Frame' is a schema of interpreting reality

• Tools we use to make sense of 'raw' information regarding the situation, giving them meaning and coherence (Kendall)

'Framing' stresses agency

Active construction and articulation of frames

Framing by the media

 shapes the ways in which the involved actors and stakeholders understand and address the issues

Functions of frames/framing

 "the text contains frames [...] that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" which have certain functions (Entman)

Frame functions / Framing processes

- Define problems
- Diagnose causes
- Entail moral judgement (of actors, situations)
- Suggest remedies and ways forward

(Entman; Benford and Snow)

The Newspapers

Helsingin Sanomat

- the only major national daily newspaper
- 17% of Finns read the paper, and 27% HS.fi online weakly
- Country's second-most trusted news producer (1st = public broadcaster YLE)

5 LeMonde

Le Monde

- The most read daily newspaper in France (8% of French read the paper, and 13% the online version weekly)
- The most trusted news producer in France
- Independent but often qualified as politically centre-left (64% left-wing readers according to a reader poll in 2014)

(Sources: Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2019; Wikipedia)

Data collection (work in progress)

The research period: 1 January 2005 – 31 December 2018

Helsingin Sanomat, Finland:

Keywords

- ydinjät,
- loppusij,
- Posiva,
- STUK,
- radioaktiiv

Total: 1624 articles

Le Monde, France:

Keywords

- Déchets radioactifs OR
- Déchets nucléaires OR
- Andra OR
- Stockage géologique OR
- Enfouissement des déchets AND
- (ASN OR IRSN)

Total: 1731 articles

Figure 1: Annual number of news items in corpus in 2005-2018



Narrowing down: HS

1st stage – the following items were removed from the data set:

- Items other than news items (chronicles, etc.)
- Items not referring to waste or referring to other than high-level waste
- Items referring to transport, storage, reprocessing or dumping of waste, unless item itself referred to final disposal in Finland

2nd stage – remaining items were divided into two categories

- final disposal of SNF/HLW in Finland
 - in a significant role (n= 147)
 - in a secondary role (n=90)

Narrowing down: Le Monde

Selection via the Prospéro software, from the initial corpus of 1731 articles All articles in which "principal actors" included RADIOACTIVE-WASTE@, ANDRA@ or Cigéo

Articles in which the following actors were simultaneously present:

- Safety authority (ASN-DSIN@) and RADIOACTIVE-WASTE@
- Technical support organisation (IRSN@) and RADIOACTIVE-WASTE@
- Technical support organisation (IRSN@) and ANDRA@

Result = 434 articles

In this corpus, **209 articles** had RADIOACTIVE-WASTE@ as a principal actor

Figure 2: Narrowed-down data sets



Tampereen yliopisto Tampere University

Preliminary analysis of *Helsingin Sanomat*: issues associated with nuclear waste

- Licensing of new nuclear power plants
 - especially SNF management of the new nuclear power company Fennovoima
- Progress of final disposal (Onkalo / licensing / whole project)
- Description of the ONKALO underground rock characterisation facility and the work undertaken in/for the facility
 - What *will be done* in the future (and not just what is *planned*)
- Finland's position as a forerunner country

Some safety issues raised (*HS*)

Frames

- The project is advancing more or less within the schedule / there is plenty of time to deal with possible complications
 - Safety is attainable. There is time to 'iron out the wrinkles' and for technological development
- Collaboration between companies is recommended (even demanded) but not considered a necessity
 - There is no reason why two repositories would be less safe than one. (Additionally Onkalo could reach its safe limits.)

Preliminary analysis of *Le Monde*

- Enduring controversy over nuclear policy and (lack of) transparency Reprocessing => use of MOX fuel in some reactors; SNF transports; uncertain waste inventory; definitions of "waste", "material", "substance"... Controversies over the **costs** of the repository project: rival estimates by Andra and waste producers (EDF, Areva, CEA) – end of reprocessing? Opponents, Greenpeace, the Green Party (in government 2012-14) **Safety and risks**
- desire by the safety authority (ASN) and its expert arm (IRSN) to assert and demonstrate their independence
- both the advocates and the critics rely on ASN/IRSN in their argumentation
- « impossible safety demonstration »
- broad range of risks not just health and environment

Reversibility and trust

Initially, in early 1990s, a means of unblocking the stalemate and respond to demands from civil society

Institutionalisation and codification of reversibility in legislation

Balancing between objectives: avoiding burdening future generations, keeping options open, trust in science & technology, the principle of passive safety...

Reversibility now viewed with suspicion by the civil society & project opponents: "is the Cigéo project reversible or irreversible?"

Key role of Parliament and its committees on science & technology and SD

Law defining reversibility (July 2016): several attempts by parliamentarians to sneak in the repository project in bills of law unrelated to NWM => trust undermined?

Trust in the planning and decision-making **processes** a key topic of contention (more than, or to an equal extent as, safety)

Some preliminary conclusions

- Editorial differences between *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Le Monde* towards nuclear power and nuclear waste management
 - Le Monde: critical environmental journalism on NWM (and nuclear)
 - Helsingin Sanomat: more neutral tone towards NWM
- Framing differences between and within the newspapers:
 - Le Monde:

Promoters of the project embrace and underline the continuously evolving nature of the repository project (hence, reversibility), whereas the opponents argue against a project they describe as irreversible

 Helsingin Sanomat: The SNF project is progressing as planned (and therefore there is no need for any extra measures)

Thank you for your attention!

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