



NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE

Humanities

DIVISION OF RESEARCH PROGRAMS

## **Narrative Section of a Successful Application**

The attached document contains the grant narrative and selected portions of a previously funded grant application. It is not intended to serve as a model, but to give you a sense of how a successful application may be crafted. Every successful application is different, and each applicant is urged to prepare a proposal that reflects its unique project and aspirations. Prospective applicants should consult the Research Programs application guidelines at <https://www.neh.gov/grants/research/fellowships-advanced-social-science-research-japan> for instructions. Applicants are also strongly encouraged to consult with the NEH Division of Research Programs staff well before a grant deadline.

Note: The attachment only contains the grant narrative and selected portions, not the entire funded application. In addition, certain portions may have been redacted to protect the privacy interests of an individual and/or to protect confidential commercial and financial information and/or to protect copyrighted materials.

Project Title: Environmental Politics in East Asia: Strategies that Work

Institution: Wesleyan University

Project Director: Mary Alice Haddad

Grant Program: Fellowships for Advanced Social Science Research on Japan

## **Environmental Politics in East Asia: Strategies that Work**

As sea levels rise and pollution spreads, people around the world are organizing to advocate for a better environment. They are protesting in the streets, lobbying politicians, filing lawsuits, forming green companies, participating in local cleanup campaigns, installing eco-art and many other activities that are all designed to change behavior and policy in ways that will improve environmental outcomes in local communities and around the world. Which strategies are the most common? Which are the most effective? Thus far academic research has tended to focus on the strategies of environmental politics that are common in North America and Europe, such as public protest, special interest politics, and party politics. However, these foci leave out forms of advocacy common in Asia, which tend to be more cooperative with the government.

Rather than rooting its theoretical assumptions in the experience of Western Europe and North America, this study begins in Japan, which transformed itself from a “toxic archipelago” to a global environmental leader in less than half a century. It did this without any of the factors that current research on environmental politics would suggest that it would need: It had (and has) a strong pro-business government, no viable green party, and no well-funded professional advocacy organizations. And yet, it enjoys some of the cleanest air, water, and soil among advanced industrialized nations.

The ultimate purpose of this project is to use the Japanese experience to help uncover and explain which environmental advocacy strategies are the most successful in generating pro-environmental behavior change among governments, businesses, and individuals. Through research described below it finds that the strategies that have been most effective in Japan are, in fact, the strategies that are the most effective around the world. Those strategies that have been the focus of environmental politics scholarship thus far, including protests, lawsuits, and lobbying are much less effective. Surprisingly, government regime type does not appear to influence the effectiveness of different advocacy strategies.

This study will make major contributions to three areas of scholarship. First, it will shift scholarship on environmental politics and policy away from a myopic focus on the experience of North American and Western Europe to a broader perspective that develops theories that are more explanatory for all regions of the world. Second, it will help contextualize the Japanese experience, which is often seen as “unique,” into one that is located in the experience of East Asia and other countries around the world. Finally, my findings will offer environmental policymakers and advocates practical and usable information that will enhance their efficacy as they work to improve environmental outcomes in their local communities, countries, and the world.

### **Methods and Work Plan**

This project began as a narrowly focused inquiry into why Japan had been able to become a global environmental leader without any of the factors that the environmental politics literature suggested should be necessary to complete such a transformation. Because of my previous work (Haddad 2007, 2012) I was especially interested in the grassroots, citizen activity related to this transformation and also the role that democracy and democratization might have played in the process. Therefore, when I first designed the research project, it was intended to be a comparative study of four East Asian countries that all shared a) pro-business governments, b) the absence of viable green parties, and c) weak professional environmental advocacy organizations, but varied on the democracy variable: The People’s Republic of China is not a democracy, the Republic of China and the Republic of Korea are both new democracies, and Japan is a mature democracy.

I began my study with an examination of the environmental politics in these four polities. During a sabbatical/leave in 2010-11 I spent five months in the region, visiting Taipei, Beijing, Seoul, Tokyo, and Kitakyushu. I interviewed more than sixty people in the four countries, seeking to gather information about effective advocacy strategies from government officials, NGO leaders, grassroots volunteers, academics, and business executives. I had thought that the project was going to be a book about how democracy affected advocacy strategies. However, I was shocked to discover that the same handful of strategies kept emerging in response to the question, “What advocacy strategies are the most effective?”

No matter what kind of person I was talking with and no matter which country I was in, my interlocutors listed the same set of effective strategies. Also surprisingly, none of the strategies named by my interlocutors were the ones that featured prominently in the literature—no one thought that protest, lobbying, or lawsuits were particularly effective.

Discovering that my interlocutors thought a relatively small set of strategies were effective across the region led me to develop a larger-n study to examine the relative frequency of the named strategies as compared to the traditionally studied strategies. Using organizational websites and other media I developed an original database of more than four hundred organizations from the four countries and also the United States (for a comparative perspective) to study which strategies the organizations were utilizing most frequently. I am still analyzing those data but initial results seem to support the interview findings.

Additionally, though a collaborative project on NIMBY (not in my back yard) protests with a colleague in our College of the Environment, I learned about a statistical method that would allow me to test the effectiveness of different strategies across the world. Therefore, I collected 150 cases of environmental “success” and “failure” around the world using the Factiva database of world news. Using a statistical technique called Random Forests and logistic regression, I analyzed those data to identify the strategies that are the most effective around the world. I found that having a friend in the government, forming local networks, and working for business were the most successful strategies. Protest activities had no statistically significant effect on outcomes while lawsuits and lobbying were more likely to lead to failure than success. Surprisingly, regime type was not statistically significant.

#### Proposed Chapter Outline for “Environmental Politics in East Asia: Strategies that Work”

- I. Theory chapter. This chapter develops a new model of policymaking that departs from rational choice or institution-based models, which both assume that policy making actors have clear preferences and single, identifiable, primary interest for which they negotiate. In my new model based on the Japanese and East Asian experiences, policy is significantly informed by ad-hoc advisory groups, and the members of these groups are chosen because they have multiple rather than single interests, a broad rather than a narrow perspective, and numerous social connections rather than a clearly defined institutional role.
- II. History/background chapter. This chapter will briefly examine environmental politics in East Asia, showing how environmental advocacy began in Japan, spread to South Korea and Taiwan, and then to mainland China. It argues that the main differences in the form of the environmental movements in the different places are due to their timing. Timing mattered in two ways—movements and their governments were able to learn from their predecessors in other countries (i.e., Taiwan and South Korea learned from Japan, and China learned from Taiwan and South Korea), and later movements had greater access to international resources than their predecessors.
- III. Large-n comparative chapter. This will chapter will draw on the large-n statistical analyses from both the regional organizational data as well as the worldwide environmental event data to show that the strategies identified as successful by the interlocutors in Japan and East Asia are, in fact, more common and more successful in the region and the world than the strategies more commonly discussed in the literature such as protests, lobbying, and lawsuits.
- IV. Friend on the Inside. This chapter highlights the usefulness and explains the process through which environmental advocates cultivate and use connections to important policy makers in the government.
- V. Make it Work Locally. This chapter demonstrates the ways that successful local projects are copied first horizontally by other municipalities and then developed into national policy.
- VI. Make it Work for Business. This chapter highlights some of the many ways that market forces can be used to promote positive environmental outcomes.

- VII. Network with Others. This chapter discusses the important and growing role of local and transnational networks in developing and disseminating environmental policy, especially in a context without large, professional environmental advocacy organizations.
- VIII. Engage the Heart. This chapter discusses how the arts (visual, performance, literary), usually thought of as purely cultural products, are used politically both by artists and by advocates to promote cultural shifts in pro-environmental ways.
- IX. Education. This chapter highlights the importance of both grassroots education as well as elite-level education in the form of policy papers as methods for generating policy and public behavior change.
- X. Think Outside the Box. This chapter is a case study of the Institute for Policy and the Environment in Beijing, which has developed an innovative method to encourage multinational corporations to pressure their local suppliers in China to comply with local environmental regulations, even in a context of weak governmental enforcement.
- XI. The concluding chapter will discuss the findings of the book and what it means for the study of environmental politics, comparative politics, and Japan.

I am applying for eight months of funding from January 1, 2015 to August 31, 2015 to support finishing a few articles and a book manuscript based on these findings. I completed most of the fieldwork for the project during a 2010-2011 sabbatical, and have been able to write a few articles and chapters based on that research. I have sabbatical again for the 2014-15 academic year and plan to devote myself fulltime to writing. However, Wesleyan is only giving me one semester of sabbatical support, so I am seeking support for writing during the second semester and the summer. I am seeking funding to support two activities:

- 1) Fulltime writing to complete several articles and the book manuscript. I have parts of Chapter I written (my early thoughts were published as an East Asian Institute working paper in 2010). The large-n analysis chapter is nearly completed and I plan to submit it to *Global Environmental Politics* shortly. Chapter II will be a modified version of my chapter in the forthcoming *Rutledge Handbook of Environment and Society in East Asia*, due out this summer. Chapter IX chapter will be a modified version of a manuscript currently under review at the *Journal of Environment and Development*. I need to write the remaining chapters, and I hope to submit several of the chapters as articles in peer reviewed journals before integrating them into the book manuscript.
- 2) Travel to gather additional materials. It is likely that I will need to make a short trip to Tokyo and Beijing to fill in gaps in my research that I discover while writing.

### **Skills and Materials**

This project requires high level Japanese language skills, statistical skills, and connections to environmental advocates and policy makers in East Asia. I have all of these skills and have already completed nearly all of the primary research and data analysis necessary for the project.

### **Final Product and Dissemination**

The goal of this project is to produce a book and several additional articles. I hope to submit two more articles based on the broad findings to the top journals in political science, environmental studies, and Asian studies (I have a full draft of one of these already and plan to send it to *Global Environmental Politics* in the next few weeks) and two or three more articles based on the empirical chapters to more narrowly focused journals in those fields. Because of copyright issues I need to submit the journal articles before the manuscript can be delivered to the press. I plan to finish the book manuscript before the end of my sabbatical and am targeting MIT University Press's Environment series as a publication venue. Additionally, I will be presenting my findings at academic conferences, such as the American Political Science Association annual meeting, where I am scheduled to present this August.

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