

# Consideration of the Political Weakness of Nature Conservation Movements in Japan

— From the Identity Politics seen in “Ikego Forest Conservation Movement” —

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The purpose of this paper is to consider the difficulties of nature conservation movements in Japan based on the case of “Ikego Forest Conservation Movement” in Zushi city, Kanagawa prefecture (that is, Ikego US military housing units protest movement), especially focusing on well known ‘political weakness’ of this kind of ‘New Social Movements’. We will find that the movement’s difficulties and political weakness of Ikego case can be explain from the view point of ‘Paradox of subjects’ at identity politics on their “full-time citizen”s Movement. When we get the recognition of that ‘Paradox of subjects’ can be avoid by ‘Bricolage Strategy’, we notice that the political weakness of Nature Conservation Movements as New Social Movements is not inevitable.

Keywords: Nature Conservation Movements in Japan, identity politics, New Social Movements, political weakness, bricolage strategy

## Specific issues of this paper

The specific issues of this paper are set as follows:

1 "Ikego Forest Conservation Movement" against the plan of housing units construction for the US military in Zushi city, Kanagawa prefecture, which had been emerged in the 1980s (the movement during this period is referred to as "the first term movement" in the report) and was once terminated. And a movement has been currently reignited as a protest movement against the plan of additional housing units construction in the region (it is referred to as "the second term movement", but the movement body itself calls it as "Ikego Forest Conservation Movement" like before). Even though "Ikego Forest Conservation Movement" in the 1980s attracted attention by recalling the mayor and recruiting their own candidates, the assets of the first

term movement which are supposed to be significant such as human resources and experiences haven't been used to advantage the second term movement. Why the resources are not used? How it's related to the difficulties of Nature Conservation Movements in Japan? 2 Ms. Sawa, the former mayor of Zushi city who have put a point controversy in the second term movement, was one of leaders in the first term movement, stating that she believed in "Text book Democracy" at the time. Recently, however, she has thrown doubt on the maturity of citizens. Why this change has developed?

In order to clarify the above-mentioned questions, we have to figure out an appropriate point of view first. In Europe-derived theories, environmental movement, peace movement and feminist movement are called as "new social movements" and they have been pointed out

to have properties differing from those of conventional socialisms. These movements have also been pointed out that they tend to become "identity-oriented movements". I have observed that formation of identity in a form of "image strategy" or "symbolic mockery at antagonists" has been emphasized (note 1). In the paper, I'll try to use identity politics analysis based on Post-Colonial theory, aiming at understanding complicated process of the movement lasting for quarter of century.

Subsequently, I'll consider the viewpoint for analyzing nature conservation movements at the end.

## **1 Outline of Ikego Forest Conservation Movement, Ikego US military housing units construction issue, and their simple review**

### **1-1 Ikego Forest Conservation movement as a nature conservation movement**

#### **1-1-1 Object of the movement**

The nature conservation movement in question has been spurred by the neighborhood residents opposing to a plan to construct Yokosuka US naval officer housing units in one of the handful extensive forest areas that remains in capital region of Japan (reference: Chronological table). I have determined that it hasn't been a conflict of interest regarding to land prices or land use, judging from two facts that neighborhood residents are highly settlement-oriented and "Ikego Forest" has been a requisitioned land since before the world war II .

#### **1-1-2 Sense of value of movement participants**

Participants in the first term movement have chosen "nature conservation" by the top ranking reason, i.e. reason for objecting/sense of value, leaving such reasons behind, i.e. ① anxiety in public safety, ② local autonomy, and ③ peace, armament reduction and security concerns.

#### **1-1-3 Nature conservation movements in urban area**

Environmental sociology in Japan has a point of view to contrastively perceive nature conservation movements in "urban area" and those in local area, and the differentiation is often understood by putting together that of "citizen" and "resident". Although it is

unclear where the borderline to be drawn, the movement in Zushi city is regarded as one developed by "citizens" in "urban area", according to the differentiation here.

### **1-2 Aspect as a Movement on a conflict over US military bases issues**

The movement essentially opposes the construction plan which is connected with national policy such as relationship with the US and National Defense Policy, so "victory of movement side" hasn't almost been expected by people neither in the movement nor outside of it.

The reason why nature conservation issues in Japan contain confrontational point against national policies can be explained as one of examples that environmental conflicts containing nature conservation issue have been caused by government-initiated "Public Projects" just like the cases of Shinkansen bullet train issue and industrial complex issues. However, some nature conservation movements relates to issues of conflicts against local governments or firms, such as Fujimae Tidal Flat landfill issue in Nagoya city and Aichi Expo protest movement. Comparing with such cases above, US military housing issue is considered to be containing confrontational point more directly against national policies.

In cases where the validity of Ikego forest conservation movement was criticized based on the above mentioned characteristics of conflicts, the lack of knowledge and judgment in relation to diplomatic policy or National Security has often been pointed out. In order to insist their own validity of the movement to such criticisms, there are three ways; ① to build up their own foreign policy different from current policy, ② to support current policy basically while opposing to specific plans, and ③ to insist the validity on other totally different core point, denying their responsibility for diplomatic policy. The main stream of the movement in Zushi city ( 'Protection Group for nature and children opposing US military housing units construction' . In after refers to "Protection Group") has chosen the measure of ③ and insisted the movement had a validity as a "liver". The movement, however, wasn't monolithic and such activity to propose alternatives based on the National Security policy (by a group of intellectuals such as university professors in Zushi city) was also seen in the movement.

The relationship between "Protection Group" and intellectuals group wasn't very good. In relation to the National Security policy, there were both proponents and opponents in the movement participants.

### 1-3 Movement' s identity as "Movement by household wives = full-time citizens"

In the first term movement, the fact that main participants were women was strongly recognized either within the movement or outside of it including mass media. The enhancement of the statement was done by sociology researchers too. In the 80s when women's participation in politics attracted attention, the assertion to be a "movement by women" and to be valid as a "liver" formed an important part of identity constitution of movements and it is understood that it resulted in a self-defined "movement by household wife = full-time citizens".

Further, the movement even took a tactic to appeal their own "newness" and "validity" to inside and outside by making a mockery of former city mayor and his supporters who were willing to accept the US military housing units construction with a phrase of "Ojisan-tachi ; middle-age men, in striped suits".

### 1-4 Achievement of the first term movement

The first term movement continued for 10 years producing two mayors. The first mayor was Mr.Tomino and the other was Ms.Sawa. The construction plan was scaled down but was executed.

## 2 The second term movement and retrospective talk by former mayor Sawa

### 2-1 Relationship between former mayor Sawa's determination and the second term movement

At the end of the first term movement, mayor Sawa, who had been a participant in the movement, made a compromise with the construction agent on the condition that no enlargement would be performed in the future. Nevertheless, an extension plan became apparent in 2003. Former mayor Sawa and Zushi city had sued for "breach of contract" only to be rejected both by a district court and high court. Mayor of Yokohama city where part

of the planned area was located announced the acceptance of the plan. In a symposium of protest movement (7.2004), such opinion was irrupted; "No more old story (the experience of the first term movement)! We should stick to our own movement!" In fact, unlike the first term movement, the second term movement has been promoted mainly by neighborhood associations (Chohnai kai, which is traditional form of residents associations) and Communist Party. One-time upsurge hasn't been seen at least up to now.

### 2-2 Interview with former mayor Sawa

In her hearing interview in 2007, former mayor Sawa retrospectively explained as follows: ① her determination at the end of the first term movement wasn't understood by her origin parent body, i.e. the protest movement side and she was labeled as a "betraye"; ② she couldn't discuss in trust with an ordinary citizens but with a certain government official, ③ she advocated "text book democracy" during the first term movement, but gradually got interested in the contention by Japan Renewal Party and "neo-conservatism" later; ④ she has always thought there's no choice but to take the best measure at the time without hesitation based solely on the criteria "for the residents" and "green preservation" even though they are abstract; ⑤ some of the leaders in the first term movement have selected a turning point in their life such as divorce, remarriage, career move and change of the house due to the participation in the movement (Note2).

The reminiscent talk by the former mayor Sawa shows that participation in "Ikego Forest Conservation Movement" caused the leader figures including former mayor Sawa herself to change their sense of values several times and to turn in some other direction in their personal histories. In other words, participation in the movement is a social event and a personal one as well, and it has been observed that both events interacting each other.

**Ikego US military housing units construction issue**  
**Chronological table**

Events ■ related to the first term movement ● the second term movements
1937 "Imperial navy Ikego ammunition storage" was built in an imperial navy at 3,000,000 square meters of area which extends over Zushi-shi and Yokohama-shi (common name "Ikego requisition place"). "Yatoda 注填場" was constructed in "Japan navy munitions part Ikego depot" at the Yokohama-city side and the Zushi-city side. Total of 68 household among the Ikego area resident moved compulsion by this.
2.9.1945 Japan lost w.w. II , Ikego requisition place was requisitioned by allied forces and was put under the U.S. forces management.
17.11.1947 In depot large explosion in the Ikego requisition place, ammunition storage 7 house burning and the near resident, evacuation order. It explode in 24 <sup>th</sup> and take out a person of dead.
1950.6.26 The Korean War breaking out. Ikego requisition place was used as a U.S. forces ammunition bunker.
8.9.1951 changed to U.S. forces stationing unit belonging from a requisition place of allied forces with ratification of Japan-US Security Treaty. The area of lodgings where Sakurayama 4-Chome was returned.
28.4.1952 "Zushi peaceful conversazione" started as a nonpartisan antinuclear* peaceful activity organization.
4.1954 enforcement of municipalism of Zushi-city. The Ikego requisition place return movement starting at the same year September, a city council "requisition place part return request resolution of stationary troops" decision and the same year November return movement citizen organization "Ikego requisition place return promotion conference" organization are a fair, an assembly and citizen unity.
1.1966 It's returned to Zushi-city area of lodgings and a former landlord.
14.6.1966 "Ikego requisition place return and petition of play field establishment" are submitted by a physical education group in Zushi-city and a city council adopted it.
1.7.1970 The management belonging is changed to the navy Yokosuka base weapon part in the US in Japan.
10.7.1978 A U.S. forces and Japanese employee left, and mayor of Zushi-city kepted a key at the gate, and Ikego ammunition bunker was closed.
14.7.1978 Ikego ammunition bunker front return request is submitted to the Defense Facilities Administration Agency chief, an American ambassador and U.S. forces by Mayor of Zushi-city, Yokohama-city Mayor and Kanagawa-prefecyure governor joint signature. The request is submitted every year until that for 1982 years.
■1980 U.S. forces hands a request of a U.S. forces house building down to the Japanese side informally.
18.7.1980 The chairperson of Yokohama city council requisition release promotion operation committee submits request about return in Ikego ammunition bunker.
■29.6.1981 The plan by which Japanese Government constructs U.S. forces family housing in Ikego by "the sympathy budget allocation" in a Japan and U.S. defense summit meeting, agreement.
18.10.1982 Zushi-scity, a city council and a citizen group are joint sponsorship, "the 1st, mass meeting of citizens U.S. forces house building opposition, full return and national natural park realization" holding.
■20.10.1982 Yokohama Defense Facilities Administration Bureau notified Zushi-city of the geological feature and subsurface investigation and put it into from the next day. Citizens gathered every day in front of the gate, and "the group which protects nature and a child in opposition to Ikego U.S. forces house building" formed them.
20.7.1983 The Defense Facilities Administration Agency brought "suitable land notice" to Zushi-city, Yokohama-city and Kanagawa-prefecture formally.
23.10.1983 "the international symposium to protect green in Ikego" was held, and American NGO and Ooishi former Director of the Environment Agency attended.
■5.3.1984 Mishima Zushi Mayor expressed that (site for general hospitals and sports facility) accept U.S. forces housing conditionally. Zushi city council base measure committee also accepted it.
7.3.1984 "the protect group" had submitted a referendum regulation establishment bill register (14,099) to the Election Administration Committee, but it was rejected by a city council.
17.3.1984 A citizen group has submitted a request of citizen audit in a municipal place in the Ikego requisition place (22,000 square meters).
■8.8.1984 "the protect group" has begun the charge procedure which recalls Mayor Mishima.
8.10.1984 Mayor Mishima resigned. A citizen group formed the "The meeting of the citizens who protect Green and with children" which was mayoral election activity Mr. Tomino as a candidate.

<p>■ 12.11.1984 Mr. Tomino was elected. Ariyasu Yaeko of "citizen's meeting" recommended in the alternate alderman election performed at the same time was elected, too.</p>
<p>28.11.1984 Mayor Tomino requested to withdraw Ikego U.S. forces housing scheme to the Defense Facilities Administration Agency.</p>
<p>22.3.1985 Mayor Tomino remarked if a construction project was enforced, he didn't cooperate in the waste treatment and the sewage processing concerned with U.S. forces housing.</p>
<p>28.3.1985 Yokohama Defense Facilities Administration Bureau chief has submitted an environment impact forecast evaluation draft to Kanagawa-prefecture.</p>
<p>1.4.1985 "The meeting for the changes a flow of Zushi municipalism "which insists on a conditional acceptance was formed.</p>
<p>11.5.1985 Zushi city council adopted "Opinion document about achieved promotion of 33 items of condition".</p>
<p>16.5.1985 "The protect group" "The meeting of the citizens who protect Green and children" and 3 groups started "assessment opinion document 100,000 movement".</p>
<p>13.11.1985 "The meeting which changes a flow of municipalism" started to the procedure for a recall to Mayor Tomino. This was redacted.</p>
<p>1987 Japan Government (Shishikura Defense Facilities Administration Agency chief), the prefecture (Nagasaki governor) and the city (Tomino mayor) held 3 person's meeting. A mayor brought back governor's mediation plan to a city, but it complicated by an area conversation. He assumed that he asked about will of the people in the mayor election, and a mayor resigned, and was reelected.</p>
<p>■ 1987 Mayor Tomino returned Nagasaki mediation plan and proposed "grassland plan", but the Government and the prefecture didn't react. "The meeting" didn't also agree.</p>
<p>■ 10.1.1987 Intellectual's group formed "the working group for Zushi Ikego problem" and submitted a substitution plan, but "the protect group" didn't agree.</p>
<p>8.9.1987 Defense Facilities Administration Bureau has submitted an environment evaluation document to the prefecture.</p>
<p>1988 Mayor election with expiration of term was performed, and Mr. Tomino was reelected by 3000 margins.</p>
<p>1988 Tomino municipalism charged Defense Facilities Administration Bureau with a River Act violation about a management problem on Ikego river.</p>
<p>1990 Zushi alderman election was performed, and an opponent councilor became majority. A city council adopted "the opinion document" the withdrawal and the old ammunition bunker site by which construction will be cancellation and a construction project immediately will ask for return immediately about Ikego U.S. forces housing.</p>
<p>1991 An acceptance group became majority again because 3 member of an opponent group alderman turned to a construction acceptance party.</p>
<p>■ 22.3.1991 Zushi-city council rejected the development restriction regulation into which citizen voting system was introduced.</p>
<p>■ 8.11.1992 Ms. Mitsuyo Sawa was elected in the mayor election.</p>
<p>■ 7.11.1994 A city agreed with the Government and the prefecture on U.S. forces house building under condition of no additional construction at "3 person agreement".</p>
<p>25.12.1994 Mayoral election with Mayor Sawa's resignation. Ms. Sawa loses out.</p>
<p>● 7.2003 Japan and U.S. governments announce that 800 houses of U.S. forces family housing is constructed on the Yokohama-city side (about 37 ha) of forest in Ikego.</p>
<p>● 27.4.2004 Sawa former mayor expressed participation in a symposium of "the meeting for: stop U.S. forces housing additional construction, let them return the base and protect Ikego forest" holding on July 31st, and she insisted that additional construction was a breach of contract to "3 person agreement" of 11.1994.</p>
<p>8.2004 Hiroshi Nakada Yokohama Mayor announced that housing additional construction at "forest in Ikego" is accepted under condition of returning the base in Seya and Fukaya .</p>
<p>17.9.2004 Zushi-city charged the Government in "the obligation which isn't supposed to construct U.S. forces family housing in forest in Ikego was confirmed, charge event".</p>
<p>3.2006 Yokohama district court rejected appeal of Zushi-city as they didn't admit it as a point on the law. Zushi-city was appealed to Tokyo high court immediately.</p>
<p>15.2.2007 Zushi-city council rejected the budget to fight at the court. The chairperson voted because approval and disapproval were same number.</p>

### 3 Attempt to interpret Ikego forest conservation movement from a viewpoint of Identity Politics

#### 3-1 Nature conservation movements and Identity-Oriented Movements in Japan

Performing participant observations on "Ikego Forest Conservation Movement" and other nature conservation movements to try to sympathetically understand challenges these movements were facing, I have observed following realities surrounding nature conservation movements: ① nature conservation idea hasn't been firmly fixed in Japan ; ② citizen groups and movements haven't been recognized as a "valid organization", i.e. there exists no nature conservation group in Japan which has significant social impact and earns high respect such as Sierra Club in U.S. Since nature conservation movements conflict in most cases with highly sensitive diplomatic policy and economic policy, it is difficult to build up alternatives by movements. When people try to launch a movement according to "nature conservation idea" under these situations, the movement has no choice but to take the form of "handmade" movement to start from scratch by explaining the validity of the contents of assertion. I believe it causes such phenomenon set out up to 1-3 that member's emotional obsession with the movement identity and the participation in the movement will embroil personal histories.

#### 3-2 Attempt to perform identity politics analysis based on Post-Colonial theoretic approach

##### 3-2-1 Application of "paradox of subjects" theory to Ikego forest conservation movement

Given that there was no choice for Ikego movement but to be turned into Identity-Oriented one as described in 1-3, then, is it appropriate to perceive that breakup and impasse of the movement and inadequate transfer to the second term movement couldn't be avoided?

Makoto Oda has pointed out in his "In order to protest colonization of living world - Reconsideration of "grass-roots affairs" in transverse aspect-" that "symbolic control theory" argued by Bourdieu overlooked a possibility to result in a conclusion other than

"Paradox of subjects" due to its dichotomy between the two scheme.

According to the indication by Oda, Ikego forest conservation movement may be interpreted as follows. From a viewpoint of something like Bordieu's, Ikego forest conservation movement had been supported by "women" who are, different from men, sensitive and emotionally react especially to nature and children (this is an essentialist idea). They got a tremendous sympathy, denying "old politics by men".

However, their lack of understanding about diplomatic policy was pointed out by "men's" side and they were criticized as "it was a movement by ladies who lunch after all". In such a case, what they can do is either ① to insist that destruction of environment could be stopped only through "women's" point of view, or ② to make an effort to learn knowledge of diplomatic policy like "men" do. In the case of ①, they remain to be politically incompetent, and in the case of ②, they are put under the lee of "men's" knowledge.

If I dare to replace the words, it may be understood that general citizens who agreed with Ikego forest conservation movement insisted to "call off" adopting the former ① position, and former mayor Sawa was forced to adopt the latter ② position because of her duties as a mayor.

However, Oda explains these falls were caused by adopting the position of essentialist, and in fact there is another way, that is to add "transverse aspect".

##### 3-2-2 Ikego forest conservation movement and transverse "Bricolage Strategy"

Modification of identity and the process of forming of collective identity, which were occurred to each member within the first term movement, contained a possibility to take "Bricolage Strategy"(Note3). In fact, it could have been possible to form a movement identity that is seemingly a "cryptic nature conservation movement" which was about to be created by "women" who were "agonist", "gentle", "conservative", "with public awareness", "not left leaning", "not labor movement", "new", "energetic", "calm", "savvy", and "lived in relatively high status housing area" (like those who have self-defining elements which are seemingly

contradictory or extraneous from a conventional point of view). Actually, in "Citizen Concerto - Trajectory to Zushi city mayoral race" written by participants in the movement, what the participants in the movement did during their visit to White House was described as "they had the leeway even to bring KIMONO with them to play a traditional Japanese woman" and "femininity" (or "to be Japanese") such as the episode they changed their jeans to "dress up" in order to meet Prime Minister Nakasone, i.e., what they played intentionally with a sense of amusement is depicted seriously and squarely not from essentialist point of view.

It resulted in, however, leading their own self definitions to even more restricted realm to cause the split into "full-time housewife" and "part-time housewife". It may be understood that ① a process that the distance between intellectuals group was broadened by their belief with validity, which was equal to or superior to the statement by intellectuals with expertise, based on the behavior as "full-time housewives", i.e., "full-time citizens" to protect "living", and ② a process to be fell actually in "paradox of subjects" by such self control that "liver" didn't need to take responsibility for the judgment of "politics such as National security" were overlapped, behind the process that the movement's assertion against opponents was turned into "withdrawal of the plan" after many twists and turns.

The possible existence of Bricolage Strategy mentioned above has a significant meaning for analytical methodology. By assuming that Bricolage Strategy had a potential to excel the "full-time housewife" type of self control, it may be said that the problem of obsession with identity at cultural phase and weakness of political aspect of so called "new" Social Movement should not be directly reduced to "day-life protection" type feature of movement participants, but should be understood according to the mental and cognitive process which may arise in every single participant (note 3).

#### 4 Consideration of how to study nature conservation movement in Japan

Some environmental movements in Japan have such idea that citizen/resident, urban/local, rational/emotional, modern/feudalistic, western/oriental (or uniquely

Japanese) are overlapped with artificial/natural to rescue the latter by the latter' s' category. Amid the endless natural environment destruction, if orient or women were treated not as a "material" but as an "essence" of bricolage, there will be high risk to burden the difficulty similar to that experienced by movements led by "full-time housewife" or "women", even though such statement that "intrinsic Japanese" (or "intrinsic oriental") "emotion" and "history" have significant meaning for developing natural environment conservation could play a role of social function to some extent.

In addition, the risk that researchers could enhance these processes isn't so low. That is because it has become common for movement participants to ask researchers for opinions or to immediately feedback mass media's treatment to the process to form movement identity, under Reflective Society.

Easy identification of movement could bring it to impasse with political incompetence, lead to split or undermine solidarity with other movements.

In consideration of further basic problem assuming a modern view of nature in which nature is autonomous, relationship between nature thereon and human society, it can't be so easy to restore the integrity at once by reviving what existed in the past for re-establishing relationship between nature and human society. Just like a case where two autonomous spheres are to be overlapped, it would rather be required a steady work to overlap each segments of both spheres one by one which have been made a slit respectively. This work is able to be performed only by analytic and subjective recognition and it also becomes possible not by matters that could be obtained in the past, but by more modern consciousness. Only in such a patient work, various history and culture indigenous to Japan or to orient could be used as indispensable materials for important reference points or bricolage.

#### 5 Supplementary consideration in relation to analysis method of Social Movements

Dilemma which is emerged in the course of identity formation as mentioned in 4 holds true not only with the case of Ikego movement as we've already reviewed above. It could be said for other movements that

collective identity of movement is inseparably connected to personal identities of participants, as long as the conditions are met. Any movements supported by every single member with mental process, and especially in a movement in which members are called into question their sense of value; they participate in the movement revising their own personal identities. The impact of the mental process of members on the political direction of the movement is too significant to be ignored. Therefore, a point of view to connect mental aspect with political aspect is indispensable to analyze Social Movements, but only descriptive studies have been performed as experimental study up to now, even though we can find such theories that treat cultural aspect as a parameter for a political process, and experimental studies based on these theories. It seems to be suggested as a direction to perform studies that both Environmental Sociology study and Social Movements study should take mental and personal aspects into consideration and form a working hypothesis that is applicable to experimental studies as well.

## Conclusion

In Ikego case, one of the difficulties is caused from their Identity Politics. They needed to consist on their Movement's Identity in order to save their legitimacy among troublesome circumstance as each private person as much as a social movement. This strategy conducted them to essentialistic identity politics and split of the groups at first term movement, and evasion of using resources of preceding movement at second term movement. These difficulties are sharing among a lot of Nature Conservation Movements in Japan. However when we recognize that they could choose "bricolage strategy", we notice that their political weakness can be avoidable.

## Notes

Note1: The study has been initiated in 1988 under the mentorship of professor Yasoi Yasuda while I was attending master's course of environmental science study in Tsukuba University Graduate School, and subsequently continued under the mentorship of professor Minoru

Nakata, professor Jun Kainuma and professor Yasushi Matsumoto while I was attending sociology doctoral course in Nagoya University Graduate School of literature science. The report is discussed mainly based on the research on Ikego US military housing units construction protest movement that has been continued until now, as well as participant observation on Nagaragawa estuary barrage protest movement from 1992 to 1993 and on Aichi Expo protest movement from 1997 to 2008, and in addition, other knowledge obtained as a member of multiple nature conservation groups including Wild Bird Society of Saitama and Nature Conservation Society of Japan since 1982.

Note2: In social movement theory, personal history hasn't been referred to so much, except for the case in descriptive study. In particular, internal aspects that directly relate to the movement tend to be passed undetected as a mere scandal. But it could be said that researchers would have experiences to get some "understanding" by comprehending especially leaders' mental processes, while researches are actually performed to understand the movement process. In order to form a compelling hypothesis according to the reality as possible as can be, or to make sociology study contribute to be of help for nature conservation movement to solve environmental issues, I believe we should make an effort to internalize even these level of procedures in the study without quitting them.

Note3: "bricolage strategy" is used herein according to my own concept and different from that of "transverse aspect" argued by Oda. Oda distinguishes "strategy" standing at modern enlightenment point from practical "tactics", and "transverse aspect" is regarded to belong to the latter. However, I intend to figure out any possibility to conquer such political incompetency of the nature conservation movement that has been pointed out, and takes "strategy" in consideration because I understand that every single specific practice is put a seal of intentional choice in "reflexive modernization".

\*This paper is based on the report of 'Consideration of the difficulty of nature conservation movement in Japan—Mainly on identity politics seen in "Ikego Forest Conservation Movement" at "East Asia International



Symposium of Environmental Sociology” oct.2008, and re-focused on the political weakness of “New Social Movements” .

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