Strategies and Framing of a New Anti-dam Movement: A Case Study in Kesennuma, Japan

OBITANI Hiroaki

1 Introduction

Since the mid-1990s, tree-planting activities conducted by NGOs/NPOs and private enterprises have been growing nationwide in Japan. The Forestry Agency’s research illustrates that the number of voluntary associations for forest conservation or reforesting had shown a sharp rise from 200 in 1995 to 1,165 in 2003 (Rinyacho 2005). There seem to be some reasons such as emerging global environmental problems like global climate change and deforestation, or the uprisin public concerns about voluntary activities. According to the public opinion polls investigated yearly by the then Management and Coordination Agency, the percentage of those considering natural environment deteriorating increased sharply from 1987 to 1990, which was the duration of “the bubble economy” in Japan.

With rising tree-planting activities nationwide, fishing people’s tree-planting movements have also shown remarkable increase in number. To take a simple example, their movements had been conducted in 20 prefectures from 1988 to 1997, following the early movements in Hokkaido and in Miyagi (Zenkoku gyogyokyodokumiai 1998). Most of them have planted and nurtured broad-leaved saplings in the vicinity of upper reaches of a river, aiming to restore the ecological linkage between the forest, the river, and the sea. This paper focuses on “The Forest, the Darling of the Sea” movement (FDS), which is the early riser among these fishing people’s tree-planting movements and then has succeeded in drawing strong public attention. Oyster farmers in Kesennuma Bay, initiated this movement in 1989, made an appeal to the public opinion for participation in their activity to conserve the ecosystem of the river and restore the ecological linkage by means of reforesting the upper reaches of the Okawa River.

From the sociological viewpoint this study considers three main points: (1) against what social backgrounds did FDS emerge, we will examine chiefly at local/national level for the reason that it seems an essential preliminary work for better understanding of the next question; (2) how it has grown and transformed through the interaction with the social environment, considering the fact this movement was started by small number of oyster farmers in the countryside; (3) what meanings and significance can be found from this movement. We will also make it clear in what points this movement is “new” in the history of Japanese environmental movements.

To explore these points, we chiefly draw upon resource mobilization theory, which focuses on the critical role of resources, strategies, and formal organization in the rise of social movements. It is true that some sociologists have repeatedly expressed criticisms to resource mobilization perspective, to quote Melucci’s statement, “Resource mobilization models regard such action as mere data and fail to examine its meaning and orientation.” (Melucci 1989: 21-22). However,
in one of the today’s main streams in the terrain of social movement study, linking political opportunities, resource mobilizing structures, and framing process, as emphasized by McAdam et al. (1996: 7), is supposed to be a useful approach for a fuller understanding of social movement dynamics.

This paper focuses on the linkage between resource mobilization and framing as well as framing itself so as to clarify the meaning and transformation of the movement. The term “framing” can be defined as the linkage or conjunction of individual and SMO (social movement organization) interpretive frameworks, following the definition presented by Snow et al. (1986: 467). In our case study framing will be pointed out as a key factor in empowering the organization’s mobilizing potential and engendered the “positive circulation” of resources and strategies.

2 Social Backgrounds

2.1 The Looming Dam Construction Project and the Oppositional Protests

The 20th century saw a rapid increase in large dam building worldwide. By the end of the last century, there were over 45000 large dams in over 140 countries. The period of economic growth following the Second World War saw a phenomenal rise in the global dam construction rate, lasting well into the 1970s and 1980s (World Commission on Dams 2000). Figure 1 shows the number of multi-purpose dams planned and constructed in Japan from 1950 to 2000. There is a steep increase in the number of planned dams after the middle of 1960s, which corresponded with the high economic growth era of Japan. At its peak, nearly 30 multi-purpose dams were planned yearly in the period from 1968 to 1974.

As dam building accelerated after 1960s, social movements against dams became more intensely, widespread and vocal. In the most case local residents living in the dam site area have so far initiated anti-dam movements. However, due to the passage of time, not a few movements have declined as a result of the difficulty involved in overcoming the problem of broadening their support base.

Hasegawa explains that the closed nature of Japanese policy formation institutions and processes limited the effectiveness of public expressions of opposition and obstructed any reforms that might enhance the power of social movements (Hasegawa 2004). In this closed political system, active opponents to development plans were burdened with enormous time, economic, material and psychological costs. In small remote locations such costs are inclined to be magnified, as oppositional advocates are typically highly
visible minorities who become socially isolated.

Examining our case, it was in February 1974 that Miyagi prefectural government office announced the plan to build the Niitsuki Dam for flood control and water supply of Kesennuma City. The proposed dam site, located in the middle of the Okawa River, was about 8 kilometers upstream from the river’s mouth. The local residents living in the dam site area started a protest movement against the plan immediately under the slogan of “Defend our ancestral lands!”

The residents publicly announced their protest against the local government’s action, and they also boycotted or walked out of the explanatory meetings now and then. Through their campaign in the 1970s, the movement members gradually realized the necessity of getting outside supporters in the central area of the city, which is located in the lower part of the river and has large population (about 60,000). Following the special feature articles on their opinion in a local newspaper in August 1984, they handed out leaflets explaining that the huge dam was unnecessary for Kesennuma City for the reasons; (1) the dam would destroy the precious natural environment, (2) it would also cause damage to the fishing in the bay as well as water pollution in the dam, and (3) the city had been losing population since 1980.

In spite of their earnest attempts like holding a symposium for the general public, they found it hard to acquire more supporters in the city. It seemed that one reason was the existence of the preconception about the protest movement, such as “Their protest is just based on selfishness,” or “Their real purpose is to get more monetary compensation.” Another is that people generally have shigarami (restrain) in their daily life, especially in such a rural area, so that they have difficulty in expressing their individual opinions clearly on the conflicting issue, since ignoring shigarami means breaking the social ties that are central to the members of the community in a small town (Yamamuro 1998: 202). Main business corporations and private organizations, such as nokyo (the agricultural cooperative association), or shoko kaigisho (the Chamber of Commerce) supported the project for the regional development. In sum, we may say that the protest group could not gain enough legitimacy of their “reasonable” claim, nor acquire full support at local level, which led to lack of social force to stop the project. However, emergence and success of a new movement provided new social opportunities for stopping the dam project. The proposed Niitsuki Dam was suspended in 1997, and finally stopped in 2000.

2.2 Features of Kesennuma Area

Kesennuma Area, facing the Pacific Ocean, is located in the northeast of Japan and mainly consisted of three municipal corporations: Kesennuma City, Karakuwa Town, and Murone Village. Kesennuma City and Karakuwa Town belong to Miyagi Prefecture, and Murone Village to Iwate Prefecture. Kesennuma City, which is over 100 kilometers away from the prefecutural capital Sendai, is the center of the local economic activities in this area.

In Karakuwa and Murone, primary industry has been the major industry since both became inhabited: fishery in Karakuwa and farming in Murone. In Kesennuma, which has been famous as one of the largest pelagic fishing ports in Japan, manufacturing industry and service industry were formed around fishing industry. However, these municipal corporations including Kesennuma have been confronted with a social problem of depopulation (figure 2). Almost half of them have drained away to larger cities during these last few decades, due to the decline in the primary industry and the shortage of employment opportunities.
3.1 Resources and Strategies

A tree-planting movement, which has been conducted chiefly by a small group of oyster farmers in Karakuwa Town, started in 1989. A leader of the group, making a living by fishing in the rich nature for almost 30 years, came to realize the ecological linkage between the forests and the sea. And his experiences of visiting some coastal areas of France in 1984 made him more sensitive about the ecosystem of the river\textsuperscript{11}. Moreover, the encounter with a leader of the residents' movement against the dam project definitely made him recognize the bad influence of the dam on their fishery.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Resources before action</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Tangible resources</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Funds</td>
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<tr>
<td>Facilities</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Intangible resources</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Business relationships</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social networks in the Okawa basin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social workers of Murone Village</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leader of the residents' movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>Owner of a shipping company</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local networks</td>
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Thus, the local governments have made the increase of employment opportunities and the revitalization of the local economy as the most important policy task. This has been the common policy task for the local governments located in the rural areas of Japan. As often stated, in such area, large scale public works like dam construction have been often considered the initiating explosives of the economic revitalization at local level, although it is true that the effect is temporary and unsustainable.

3 Emergence and Growth of a New Environmental Movement

Some documents show us the local atmosphere regarding the dam project in the end of 1980s. In a leaflet published by the local government the then mayor stated that Niitsuki dam was the most important and biggest project for the development of the city. Against such an unfavorable wind, the new environmental movement initiated by small oyster farmers group had grown remarkably and succeeded in drawing strong public attention. To explore this point, we shall examine the developmental process of it with the aid of the analytic tools of resource mobilization theory in these two paragraphs. And as we stated in the introduction of this paper, the linkage between framing and resource mobilization will be focused on\textsuperscript{11}.

![Figure 2. Changes in population, Kesennuma Area (1960-2000)](Source: Population Census of Japan)
include money, facilities and means of communication etc. The latter chiefly consist of human resources, such as social network, organizing skills, or the unspecialized labor of supporters. The leader had a diversity of social networks from his business because he had been not only a fisherman, but also a wholesale dealer of oysters and scallops. At that time, he supplied about 10% of the hors d’oeuvre oysters in famous restaurants and hotels located in Tokyo. Thus, it is clear that he had strong business relationships with most of the oyster farmers in the local society. Through these social networks he explained to his fellow fishing people the predicted seriousness caused by the dam project. The fishing people were able to realize his appeal without difficulty, due to a common knowledge of the function of the forests and the ecosystem, which was based on their daily life and fishing.

What strategy did the leader select with these abundant resources? He stated that they found it hard to express their objection directly because it could cause serious confrontation with the local government and other business organizations. What was the common affair or common interest among all the residents in the basin of the Okawa River? The answer is “forest.” He believed it possible for them to plant trees at the upper reaches of the river without expressing any direct objection against the dam project.

In no time the group started planting trees in September 1989, with hundreds of the big fishing people’s flags arranged in the hills. These flags, fishing people in Japan has traditionally used in order to pray for a big haul, became a good symbol of FDS. In this phase, they held tree-planting festival and symposium each year as their main activities. They remarkable activities had been supported by the residents’ movement members and other volunteers resonating with the new catchphrase “The Forest, the Darling of the Sea.”

3.2 Outcomes of the Early Strategies

Their first strategy of “planting trees” led to several unexpected results. We are able to point out their newly acquired resources. First, they could achieve intimate relationships with the local government of Murone Village, which is located at the upper reaches of the Okawa River. An official worker of Murone felt this new movement would bring some good stimulus and outcomes for the rural village and then helped the leader of FDS to meet the village chief so earnestly. The leader proposed that they wanted to plant trees there in a token of their gratitude, because the upstream forests had been fertilizing their sea. His offer seemed so attractive that the then mayor decided to give permission to use some tree-planting sites in the village at no cost.

Second, there was a commitment of a local poet, who is also the residents’ movement leader’s wife. It was she that produced the attractive catchphrase “The Forest, the Darling of the Sea”. This is a unique phrase because in the daily life ordinary people had rarely imagined that the ecological linkage was so closely. Thus, this phrase gave not only a cognitive change about the river-system to the ordinary people, but also a new “frame” to the movement; this phrase linked “individual and SMO interpretive frameworks” (Snow et al. 1986: 467) regarding the Okawa River. Different from the conventional frame “Stop the dam,” this new frame could attract the strong public attention through the mass media. In no time this frame resonated throughout Japan and is frequently mentioned in elementary school textbooks. In the territory of social movement, this frame became popular and was often used among the later environmental movements and activities.

Third, there was favorable coverage of the mass media. Although this is an important subject, we shall have more to say about it later on.
We need mention here only that the core members of FDS rarely expressed their protest directly, and that the leader of FDS had full knowledge of the function of the mass media through his business. They frequently held a press conference regarding their activity.

Fourth, the informal support of the local residents' movement members should be paid attention to. Most of them earned their living by agriculture and forestry so that they were skillful at planting and some chores. This support was so essential for the movement that fishing people were not used to such operations in the hills. What is more important, the residents' movement members kept themselves in the background and supported FDS secretly, which was one of their important tactics.

As we have seen, FDS in this phase had grown with strong support of other actors, and established good relationships with the important actors. The informal and secret partnership between the fishing people and the residents' movement members should be also noticed. The two groups officially did their own part separately, but in reality a close cooperation existed between them with common philosophy against dam project. It is probable to say that this "informal collaboration" was a key point for stopping the proposed Niitsuki Dam.

We are now able to see that the character of FDS in this phase was "enlightening movement" to people living in the area. The core members of FDS realized the necessity to change the people's consciousness of "development". In actuality, the number of the planting trees was limited, so tree-planting activity seemed to be a symbolic action\(^\text{16}\). Among the core members the symposiaums on environment protection held after tree-planting festival were more significant.

### 4 Transformation of the Movement

#### 4.1 Developing Collaboration with the Upstream Area

A crucial turning point of FDS came in 1993: The fishing people's group started to collaborate with Murone Village formally so that FDS continued to broaden their support base more. We need to consider how the character of the movement underwent a transformation.

As mentioned already, it was 1989 that the oyster farmers started planting trees in Murone Village. Some residents in Murone, especially in the middle-age class, were inspired and began to consider the local characteristics of Murone. In a neighborhood association some residents making their living by rice farming had such strong sympathy with FDS's frame that they had participated in the festival from the early stage. A leader stated that they had gradually realized that planting broad-leaved trees in their village was not only for the oyster farmers, but also for their own rice farming, because broad-leaved forest would help hold a lot of water and keep the farming soil alkaline.

This recognitive change of younger members of the community developed into the local vitalization activities: (1) Reconstruction of a traditional watermill as the community's symbol, which had been used in daily life until the early days in the Showa era; (2) Planting broad-leaved trees to protect the riverhead and stabilize the flow of the river in collaboration with the oyster farmers. Since 1993 the tree-planting activities have to be carried out by the two main actors; oyster farmers group in Karakuwa and a neighborhood association in Murone. Constructing new collaboration had an important meaning for FDS: it made the local government of Murone possible to support FDS more actively, because the neighborhood association is one of the official organizations in the village.

The collaboration came about several new
resources. As Table 2 indicates, there were three kinds of tangible resources: a new site for planting, thousands of saplings, and money that was most important resource for their next strategy, as stated later. Some foundations and giant companies began to donate the latter two resources to FDS then, as the movement developed and became well-known nationwide. Moreover, intangible resources, including “conscience constituents” and helpers of the tree-planting festival, were obtained.

4.2 New Strategies and Transformation of the Movement

The leader and his fellow oyster farmers got an idea of environmental education for children and students as a volunteer work. He stated they realized that the environmental education for children was the essential activity in order to attain their goal. Through their activities the fact became clear that even those, who live in Murone only 10 kilometers or so away from the bay, had few chances to be aware of the sea in their daily life. This fact showed them the necessity of the next strategy.

According to their next plan, they would invite students to their oyster farms, and have them learn the ecological linkage between the forests and the sea through the field trip and actual experience. Their newly activities attracted the mass media coverage in no time. Turning to the role of the mass media in the process of movement, it has often been discussed in the study of social movement (Jenkins 1983; Katagiri 1995; Zald 1996; McAdam 1996). As we have seen, the favorable mass media coverage was an essential resource for FDS, which held tree-planting festival as its main strategy, to get supporters beyond the area. However, it's an undeniable fact that the mass media always look for new objects because “news must be novel and interesting” (Jenkins 1983: 546). Thus, it seems reasonable to suppose that their new activity environmental education obviously had an impact to draw attention of the mass media again. Taking Asahi Shimbun for example, the number of the news items on FDS rose sharply from 1993: from 2.5 items per year (1989-1992) up to 12.2 (1993-1998).

Figure 3 shows the linkage between resources, strategies, and framing of FDS around 1995. In this phase, the “positive circulation” of resources and strategies was engendered. Especially, the role of the mass media should be noticed: it was the “driving force” of this circulation. A growing number of articles on environmental problems in

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**Table 2. Newly acquired resources**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>New resources</th>
<th>Provider</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sites for tree-planting Funds ($15,000,000)</td>
<td>Murone local government foundations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thousands of saplings (each year)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intangible resources</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscience constituency</td>
<td>A neighborhood association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helpers of the tree-planting festival</td>
<td>Murone local government</td>
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</table>
the press, which has been observed remarkably since the latter of the 1980s, also led to the favorable coverage of FDS. Starting environmental education activities underwent a transformation of the character of FDS; the movement became softer as it put a great deal of effort into the new activity. In Murone a neighborhood association started *suisa-matsuri* (watermill festival) as part of the tree-planting festival. At the *suisa-matsuri*, the residents sold the local traditional products like foods and handicrafts, and the children perform their traditional entertainment. Part of the profit of the sale has been spent for the association's activity.

In this phase, we can find the important changes in FDS. First, there was the increase of the participants in the tree-planting festival. That is, it amounted to 500-600 participants; in the early stage it was about 200 participants. Second, the symposiums, which had been held once a year and aimed to educate and enlighten the local people, closed in 1993, and other new festival (*suisa-matsuri*) started in 1995. The symposiums included a latent message against the dam construction project, which would destroy the ecosystem of the river. This is the key to understanding the transformation of FDS.

In the early stage, the leader and other members had a goal to stop the project before anything else through their activities. After FDS received more supporters from other areas including large cities, the oyster farmers group started to collaborate with Murone Village in 1993. As a consequence, FDS have, to large extent, become a "local revitalization activity" of Murone Village which had a problem of depopulation. Contrasting with the early stage, hundreds of participants from various areas enjoyed the *suisa-matsuri* and actually planted thousands of saplings on the hills.

It is probable that these new circumstances transformed FDS's character: from "watershed protection movement" to "environment and resource creation movement." In concrete FDS has begun to create new local resources: making rural area Murone famous nationwide, inspiring several new local vitalization activities in the village, and creating new environment by planting trees. FDS, of course, has not lost its former character completely; but it has become just part of the movement. From this point of view, one may say that FDS has acquired multi-strata characters in this stage. Such transformation of character and the suspension of the dam project in 1997 led to the loose relationship from the close affiliation between the oyster farmers group and the residents' movement in the early stage.

After the announcement of the suspension of the project in 1997, the prefectural policy on management of the Okawa River had been discussed in the advisory committee set up by the Miyagi prefectural government. The committee consisted of 11 members including a leader of the residents' movement. In May 2000, the advisory committee submitted a final report on the issue to the Governor that they should cancel the project of the multipurpose dam, and finally the project was stopped in the end of the year.

### 5 Concluding Remarks

As can be observed in the above paragraphs, this paper examined these three points: (1) against what social backgrounds FDS started and emerged; (2) how it has grown and transformed through the interaction with the social environment; (3) what meanings and significance can be found from this movement. As for the first point, we looked at social context of the emergence of FDS at local and national level: the rising sense of crisis among the oyster farmers caused by the dam construction project; the growing public concerns about the global
environmental problems and voluntary activities.

And then, we explored the developmental process and transformation of the movement in terms of the resources, strategies, framing, and relationships with other actors, in order to clarify the second question. As a consequence, it becomes clear that the main factor of its development against an unfavorable wind in Kesennuma City, consisted in the construction of the attractive framing "The Forest, the Darling of the Sea" and their timely strategies, based on good relationship with other actors including the residents’ movement members and the mass media. As McAdam acutely pointed out, "In seeking to manage the demands of this highly fluid and often hostile environment, the principal weapon available to the movement is its strategic use of framing process. That is, in trying to attract and shape media coverage, win the support of bystander publics, constrain movement opponents, and influence state authorities, insurgents depend first and foremost on various forms of signifying work." (McAdam 1996: 340).

In addition to the effectiveness of their framing and strategies, we should notice some events gave the legitimacy to the movement. In this case the movement members followed the local and historic ritual to show the link between the upper reaches (the forest) and the coastal area (the sea). Moreover, their activities have been introduced in the authorized textbooks of elementary and junior high school, which helped legitimize the frame and their activities. Considering the above discussions on this case, focusing on the linkage between framing and resource mobilization seems fairly effective to analyze the developmental process of social movement in Japan, although it is true that we need further investigation and a quantitative analysis on social movements.

Here we should remember again the role of the mass media in figure 3, where it functioned as a driving force of the "the positive circulation" of resources and strategies. It is probable that mass media was an essential actor, not only to spread the frame of FDS nationwide, but also to arouse public opinion and push the local/national governments to stop dam projects sequentially in the end of the 20th century of Japan.

Let us now turn to examine the favorable coverage of mass media from another angle, which is the third question: in what meanings the case of FDS was and still is "new." Three points seem to be helpful in attempting to sketch out this subject. (1) The practice and creativity of the movement; as be often discussed, the conventional environmental movements in Japan tended to be limited in their thematic concern or devote themselves only to presentation of an object, and could not exhibit alternative proposals adequately (Hasegawa 2004). In contrast, the tree-planting activity of FDS was the very alternative action for the management of the river basin. (2) The future-oriented character of the movement; the watchwords, such as "protect forests for the future generation" or "plant trees for the Earth" are held commonly among participants of the tree-planting festival, which was verified through our participant observation. (3) The expressiveness and uniqueness of their movement style; during the tree-planting festival, the members of FDS emphasized fishing people’s identity with hundreds of fishing people's big flag on the hills.

In most of large-scale development projects, we can find “marginal” residents, such as the fishing people and oyster farmers in this case, who have no direct and effective countermeasures like local resident’s veto to vacate or sell their own land, although there is undoubted precience of the harmful effect on their living environment by the project. This case also shows us one success model of the new environmental movements conducted by such “marginal” actors, which succeeded in acquiring legitimacy for demanding...
environmental protection as the interested parties.

Notes
1) This fieldwork had been conducted since 1998 to 2002.
2) See, for example, Freeman (1979), Jenkins (1983), and Katagiri (1995). Rothman and Oliver (1999) examine the anti-dam movement in Brazil with the theoretical frameworks of mobilizing structures, political opportunities, and framing.
3) According to the second plan announced in 1986, the total expense of the project was ¥34,000,000,000.
4) 65 organizations joined in the promotion alliance of the Niitsuki Dam.
5) Taking an example, this area had lost 38.4% of younger generation aged 15 to 24 years during 1985-1995, which shows remarkable depopulation, compared with those of two prefectures as a whole: In Miyagi, an increase of 9.4%; In Iwate, a slight gain of 0.3%.
6) Concerning framing, Snow pointed out as follows: "...the reasons why some show up and others do not, and why some achieve greater and enduring success, have to do not only with changes in opportunities and the expansion and appropriation of societal resources, but also with whether frame alignment has been successfully effected and sustained." (Snow et al. 1986: 478).
7) See (Hatakeyama 1994).
8) In a presentation during the second symposium held by the fishing people’s group in 1990, Professor Matsunaga from Hokkaido University pointed out that the riverine input of organically bound iron probably played an important role for supporting phytoplankton growth in the Kesennuma Bay, and that dam would prevent the supply of the iron through his research in the bay. As a consequence, this presentation, which gave FDS the scientific legitimacy, became an important resource for the movement. For further details of his theory, see (Matsunaga et al. 1998).
9) With regard to this cooperation, we can point out social control. On account of planting trees in Murone in the next prefecture Iwate, which had no interests in the dam project, the fishing people’s group could evade the social control by the authorities.
10) For example, one of the later tree-planting movements used the phrase “The Hill, the Darling of the Sea.” As far as we know, tree-planting movements in Shizugawa, Miyagi, in Tokoro, Hokkaido, and in Amakusa, Kumamoto have been using the same phrase as FDS did.
11) The number of the saplings was under 100 each time.
12) For further details of the growing number of articles on environmental problems, see (Kankyocho 1997).
13) According to the national government’s statement, one of the main reasons of the suspension was that the whole agreement of the local people had not been obtained for decades.
14) On the sociological case study in Maki Town, Japan, see Takubo (1997).

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Abstract

Since the mid-1990s, tree-planting movements initiated by fishing people have been growing nationwide in Japan. Most of them have planted and nurtured broad-leaved saplings in the vicinity of upper reaches of a river, aiming to restore the ecological linkage between the forest, the river, and the sea. This paper focuses on "The Forest, the Darling of the Sea" movement, started by oyster farmers in Kesennuma Bay, Miyagi Prefecture. This movement is one of the early tree-planting movements and then succeeded in drawing strong public attention.

From the sociological viewpoint this study considers three main points: (1) against what social backgrounds this movement emerged; (2) how it has grown and transformed through the interaction with the social environment; (3) what meanings and significance can be found from this movement. To explore these subjects, we chiefly examine resources, strategies and framing of the movement. Especially, the relationship between framing and resource mobilization should be noticed.