

regionalism and multilateral diplomacy. He argues that, while China needs to take care to assuage neighbours' fears of what the 'peaceful rise' really means, China's commitment to economic development and greater integration with regional institutions will prevent tensions from reaching 'unmanageable proportions' (p. 172). Heazle adopts a similar view, arguing that the economic benefits enjoyed by China and Japan provide a degree of protection from serious deterioration in relations between the two countries. Nonetheless he notes the challenges facing China and Japan in the shape of nationalist sentiment, security issues (including energy) and an unchanging foreign policy strategy in Japan.

The final two chapters of the book turn to the concept of regionalism in East Asia, and the role of South Korea in the regionalist project. Michael Wesley's stance is that the poor relationship between China and Japan represents 'a significant, and possibly fatal, retardant to the process of regional consolidation' (p. 208). He points to the emergence of a 'competitive regionalism' between the two countries in the lead up to the East Asia Summit of 2005 as evidence for this, in addition to 'enduring Sino-Japanese hostility and rivalry' (p. 218). David Hundt's analysis of the attempts of the RoK government 'to promote a sense of regional shared interest in order to head off a renewed bout of great power rivalry' (p. 223) offers a fresh perspective on Northeast Asian politics, and highlights the problems facing South Korea as it attempts to balance the challenges presented by North Korea, China, Japan and the US.

One of the strengths of the book is its coverage of many aspects of the

China-Japan relationship from a variety of perspectives. It is, as one would expect from the nature and timing of the project, somewhat locked into the sense of gloom that pervaded discussions of Sino-Japanese relations in the mid-2000s, a mood which changed quite considerably in the wake of Koizumi's term of office. There does also tend to be a degree of overlap between some of the chapters. Nonetheless, this is a most useful volume for students of Sino-Japanese relations, and for this reason would benefit from a paperback edition to make it more widely accessible.

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Daniel P. Aldrich, *Site Fights: Divisive Facilities and Civil Society in Japan and the West*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY, and London, 2008. 254pp.

NIMBY: Not in My Back Yard. An acronym that joined the political lexicon in the 1980s, NIMBY refers to the growing political contradiction of advanced industrial democracies trapped between two incompatible positions in the electorate. On the one hand, most citizens desire the net benefits of technology, infrastructure and energy to secure a more peaceful, prosperous and economically stable society. On the other hand, few citizens openly welcome the local costs and negative externalities associated with these public goods – costs such as noise pollution, environmental degradation and resource depletion. Daniel P. Aldrich, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Purdue University, examines these contradictions in a masterful work designed to analyse *how* states navigate this political minefield with the least

amount of resistance to their long-term national goals.

Aldrich employs the term *public bads* to refer to local projects that 'bring with them diffuse benefits but highly focused costs' (p. 4). Nuclear power plants might provide a cheap, stable source of environmentally friendly electric power to a wide consumer base, but 'those communities closest to the facilities suffer most from disruptions involved in construction – and any accidents or catastrophes' (p. 3). Dams offer quiet, non-polluting sources of hydroelectric power, but local communities are flooded out, displacing homes and hectares of farm land. Airports usher invaluable transportation interconnections to domestic and international destinations, but 'noise, fear of accidents, vibration, and possible air pollution' trouble local residents.

How, Aldrich asks, do states 'site' these puzzling public bads? The book's basic argument is that states are always and everywhere a 'Machiavellian' actor in selecting sites and responding to civil society's organized opposition. Technically feasible locations are important, to be sure, but states target only those areas in which civil societies are judged to be relatively weak and malleable. Site fights will likely ensue, but Aldrich argues that states use several reliable strategies from time-honoured tool-kits designed to squash public resistance.

States with weak civil societies will rely on coercion and 'hard social control' such as land expropriation, police action against protestors and information censorship. Where civil societies are stronger, states deal in the art of incentive inducement through grants, educational programmes and award ceremonies. Somewhere in the middle – what the author calls 'moderate levels of

civil society' – state agencies will provide smaller incentives to host communities. Thus, Aldrich finds civil societies and the state agencies in constant flux. States that previously relied on more forceful tactics for solving sociopolitical problems might find themselves eventually switching to softer social controls involving more persuasive rhetoric and public relations campaigns.

To enhance his arguments, Aldrich marshals an impressive array of primary and secondary sources culled from his extensive fieldwork in Japan and France. He uses newspaper accounts, 104 personal interviews and strikingly original datasets of 500 Japanese localities for the decisions involving nuclear power and airports culled from political, facility, demographic and geologic surveys.

There are many thought-provoking lessons to be learned from this careful study, and Aldrich provides a checklist of rival explanations of facility siting in Japan to be tested. Neutral *technocratic criteria* obviously exclude geologically inappropriate locations, but other factors are equally important. Placing sites in locations dominated by the *political opposition* (i.e. towns and villages represented by socialists and communists) may have found passing currency in past studies, but the author finds no supporting evidence for such allegations. *Environmental racism* – siting controversial facilities in regions dominated by ethnic, racial and religious minorities – might exist in the United States, but Aldrich's statistical tests uncovered no evidence of clear attempts to site nuclear power, airports and dams in Hokkaido and Okinawa, areas known for their minority populations. Siting public bads in *economically depressed regions* in the hope of increasing jobs for the local population also fails to persuade in the author's view.

Only two explanations find statistical support: *political intervention* and the *characteristics of civil society*. The former is pork-barrel politics at its finest, with the author acknowledging that sometimes politicians do make a difference in the siting process. The latter depends on the solidarity and organizational strength of the voluntary groups themselves.

Four additional chapters flesh out these arguments thematically through extended case studies: the siting of airports (chapter 3), dams (chapter 4) and nuclear power plants (chapters 5 and 6). Of these chapters, the last two are the most telling, as they focus more on the changing characteristics of post-war civil society. Japan and France, the world's largest consumers of nuclear power, adopted different tactics to implement policy based on different levels of local organization. The author correctly notes that, despite Japan's deep-seated anti-nuclear feelings in the wake of the Second World War, the state never attempted to use police violence or other forms of direct coercion to site its nuclear facilities. In the 1950s and 1960s, Japan's undeveloped civil society allowed the state to construct power plants virtually unhindered. In the 1970s and 1980s, increased opposition to nuclear power – foreign and domestic – forced the state to change strategies by offering a series of soft social controls and incentives to persuade host communities to accept their plans. In contrast, the French government has been able consistently to marginalize whatever highly disorganized anti-nuclear opposition existed by using coercive measures, with the support of public opinion.

Interestingly, Aldrich's book is not the first major work in English to show

that NIMBY battles in Japan vary based on the bargaining environment. S. Hayden Lesbirel's *NIMBY Politics in Japan: Energy Siting and the Management of Environmental Conflict* (1998) also used statistical analysis and case-study narratives to demonstrate that decision-makers picked their battles carefully. The subtle differences in both scholars' findings are telling by dint of emphasis. Whereas Aldrich sees the state trying to minimize transaction costs through pre-emptive engagement tool-kits dependent on the characteristics of civil society, Lesbirel sees the pace at which civil society responds to siting issues largely determined by the state's (and utility company's) *choice* of strategies.

One lingering quibble with Aldrich's book is that the dataset takes us only to the mid-1990s. What has changed since then, and why? What has stayed the same? One suspects that the role of the internet and mobile communication – a 'Battle of Seattle'-type world in which global networks instantly link tens of thousands by cell phones, instant messaging, GPS, PDAs and laptops – will provide new grist for the mill for future researchers in testing Aldrich's hypotheses.

Overall, *Site Fights* is an important contribution to the study of civil society in Japan with much to offer scholars researching environmental politics, energy economics, public policy and comparative regulatory policy.

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Soo im Lee, Stephen Murphy-Shigematsu and Harumi Befu (eds), *Japan's Diversity Dilemmas: Ethnicity, Citizenship, and Education*, iUniverse, Lincoln, NE, 2006. xxv + 249pp.