

**Trust, mistrust and
citizen vigilance in
radioactive waste
management policies: a
historical analysis of
four forerunner
countries**

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History of Nuclear Energy and Society

HoNESt project

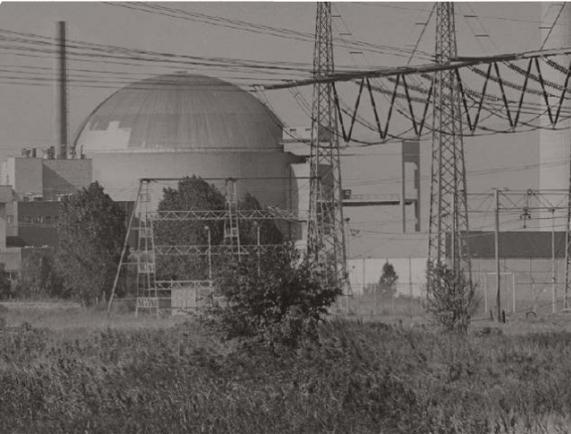
- History of interaction between nuclear sector and society
- Historians & social scientists
- 20 countries studied
- History of public engagement since WWII
- September 2015 – February 2019
- 23 partner institutions
- Coordinator: Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Albert Presas i Puig)
- Funded by Euratom
- www.honest2020.eu



RWM policy and the “participatory turn”

- Trust-building as a “silver bullet” supposed to solve the problems of local citizen **acceptance & acceptability**
- Partnerships
- Social Licence to Operate
- OECD-NEA: Forum on Stakeholder Confidence





Key questions

1. Historical legacies
2. Interaction between various dimensions of trust in shaping RWM policy
3. Potential downsides of trust and the corresponding virtues of mistrust, especially in the form of 'civic vigilance'



**High-trust
societies**

**Low-trust
societies**

**Finland
Sweden**

France

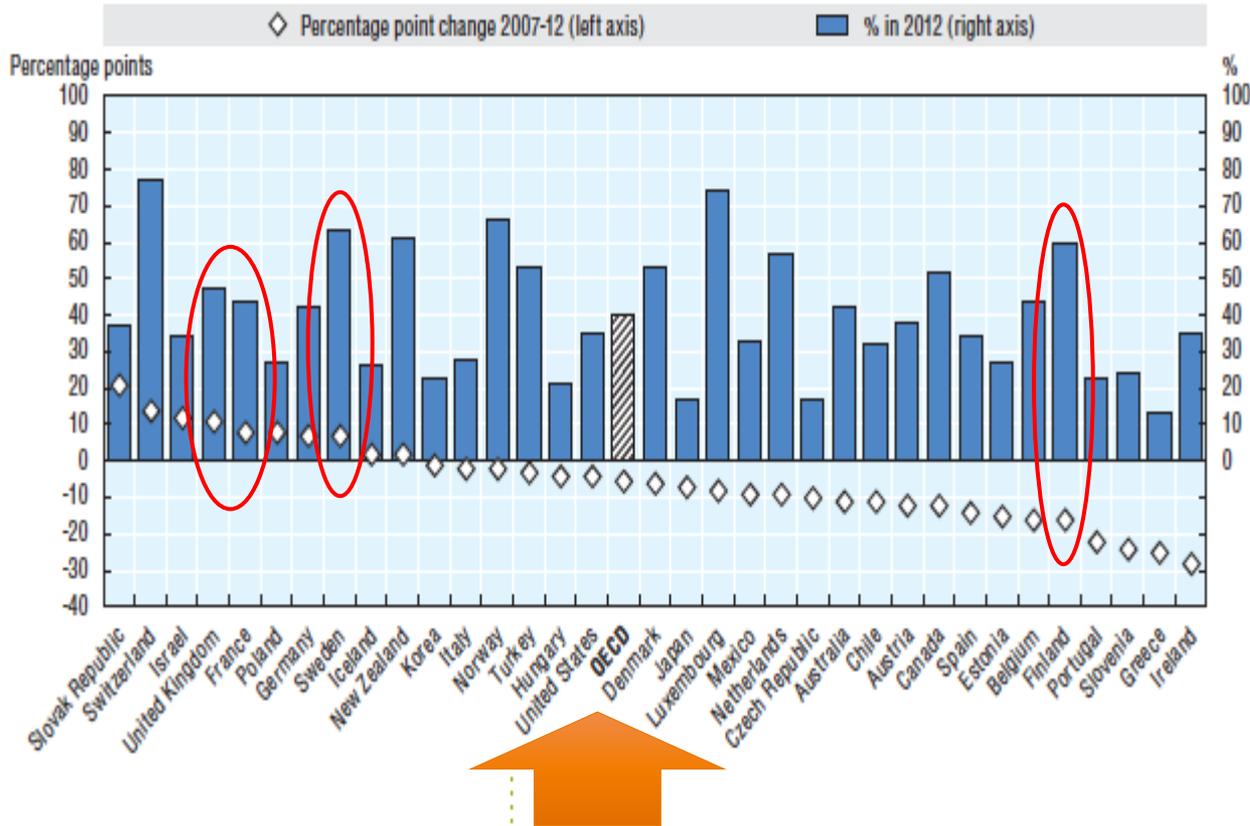
UK

**Forerunners in repository
planning and implementation**

**Contrasting case, forerunner in
participatory approaches**

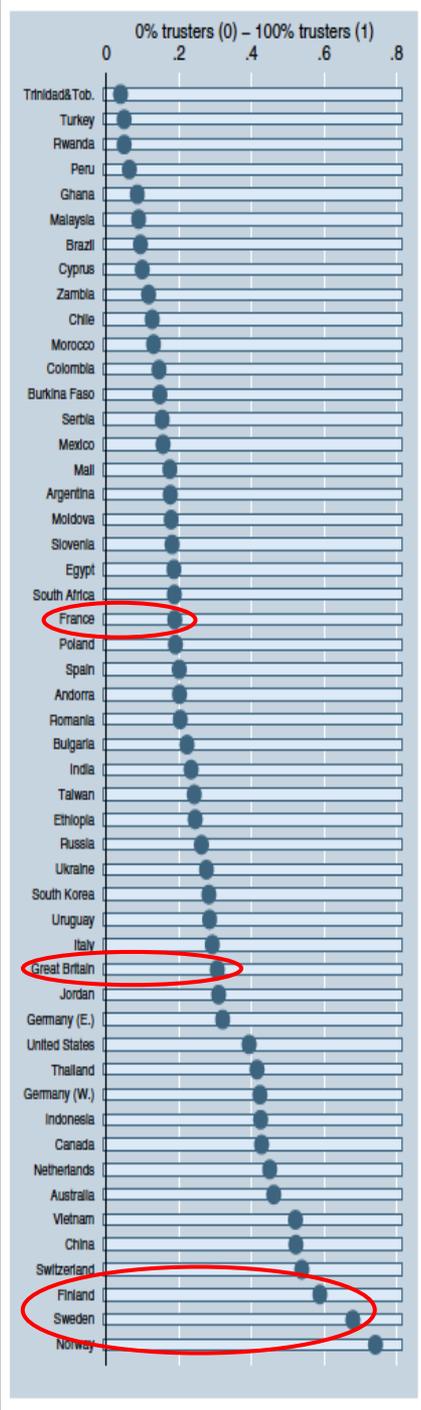
Trust: national surveys

Figure 1.1. Confidence in national government in 2012 and its change since 2007
 Arranged in descending order according to percentage point change between 2007 and 2012



OECD 2013. Governance at glance. (percentage of “yes” answers to the question: “In this country, do you have confidence in each of the following, or not? How about national government?”)

Delhey et al. 2011. Answers to question: “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?”



Trust, mistrust, and trust-building

Type of trust/mistrust	Social	Institutional	Ideological
Description	Generalised Particularised	Diffuse support Specific support	Legitimacy of and support to meta-level institutions
Sources of trust	Competence Sincerity		Worldviews, visions
	Normative predisposition in relation to an institution or an individual (trust)		
	Predictability, based on previous experience (confidence)		
Trust-building	Independent bodies of control and oversight Participatory governance Stepwise decision-making Voluntary opt-in and opt-out Partnerships Community benefit schemes Broadening of debate to strategic questions (e.g. energy policy)		

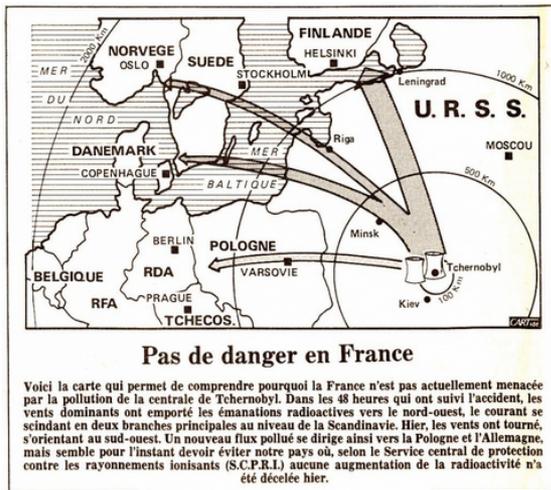


Trust-building measures

	Finland	Sweden	France	UK
Municipal veto	Yes	Yes	No	Uncertain
Participation, dialogue	EIA, public hearings	Multistakeholder dialogue projects	CNDP	CoRWM; WCMRWP
Economic support	Tax benefits; modest “private” support agreement	No tax benefits; significant value-added programme	Tax benefits; mandatory economic support; industry support	Promise of community benefit packages
Independent bodies of control and oversight	No	National Council on Nuclear Waste; support for counter-expertise	National Review Board; CLIS; HCTISN; counter-expertise organisations	CoRWM



Negative (FRA & UK)



- Long-established institutional mistrust, including mistrust **towards** citizens (FRA & UK)
- Feelings of repeated betrayal & broken promises (FRA: Bure selection, socioeconomic benefits...)
- Accidents and suspicions of cover-up (FRA Chernobyl; UK technical difficulties & scares)
- Tradition of opacity & civilian-military link (esp. FRA)
- UK: mediocre track record of domestic nuclear industry

Positive (FIN & SWE)

9

- Long-standing institutional and ideological trust in public and private-sector actors and institutions
- No accidents (FIN), no broken promises
- Referendum on phasing out nuclear (SWE 1980)



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Social

Generalised
&
Particularised

Institutional

Diffuse
&
Specific/particularised

Ideological

Broader beliefs of
appropriate
relations between
state, market,
democracy,
authoritarianism..

Success in
building
institutional trust

=

contingent on
long-established
social trust and
mistrust
relationships

Particularised social trust amongst RWM policy actors:

- foundation of a trust-based and collaborative style of regulation in Finland and Sweden
- foundation of internal cohesion within the nuclear “establishment”



- “us vs. them” perceptions and mistrust of the state among the local population (FRA)
- mistrust of “nucleocracy”

Reciprocal social mistrust between the waste management experts and local citizens (UK in the 1990s)

Success in building
institutional trust

=

contingent on
long-established
ideological trust
and mistrust

Ideological and institutional trust/mistrust

Nordic trust-based democracy and consensual regulatory style:

- ideological trust in national and local-level representative democracy
- public interest collaboratively defined & defended by state bureaucracy and local authorities

vs.

UK liberal mistrust-based democracy and regulatory style

- ideological trust in the market AND 'community'
- entrenched institutional mistrust of the 'Big Six' and government's RWM policy

vs.

France: expert-centred regulatory style

- trust-based collaboration amongst an 'inner circle' of experts
- adversarial relations between the state and the civil society



Role of counter-
expertise, NGOs =
feeding mistrust,
as civic vigilance

Absence of a
Nordic model

Downsides of
trust

Virtues of mistrust: “civic vigilance”

The Nordic paradox?

- trust in the state (bureaucracy and politics) => mistrust of deliberative democracy

Sweden

- active and vigilant NGOs and municipalities
- National Council on Nuclear Waste
- dialogue, technical counter-expertise
- dynamic interaction between trust and mistrust
- compatibility with the traditional trust-based regulatory style?

Finland

- Absence of constructive mistrust? Overtrust?
- deference to authorities, the rule of law, and the engineers in charge of the project
- mistrust of environmental NGOs
- passive municipalities



Finland pragmatic trust

- repository project appears as an inevitability
- legally correct and therefore legitimate process
- (extreme) trust in safety authority (& state bureaucracy)

France resigned trust & radical mistrust

- deep-seated reciprocal relations of institutional mistrust
- “us vs. them” (the local vs. “the state”)
- ideological trust in the state
- repository project as the ‘only hope’ for the region

Sweden genuine trust via constructive mistrust

- dialogue and counter-expertise as the basis of trust
- strong national-level social and institutional trust
- ideological trust in representative politics

UK ambiguous mistrust

- growing institutional mistrust of the ‘Big Six’
- long-standing ideological trust in “market fundamentalism” or “pro-market energy policy paradigm” **and** “community”
- ‘technocratic’ trust in government scientists **and** anti-nuclear discourses of mistrust in government scientists



The End



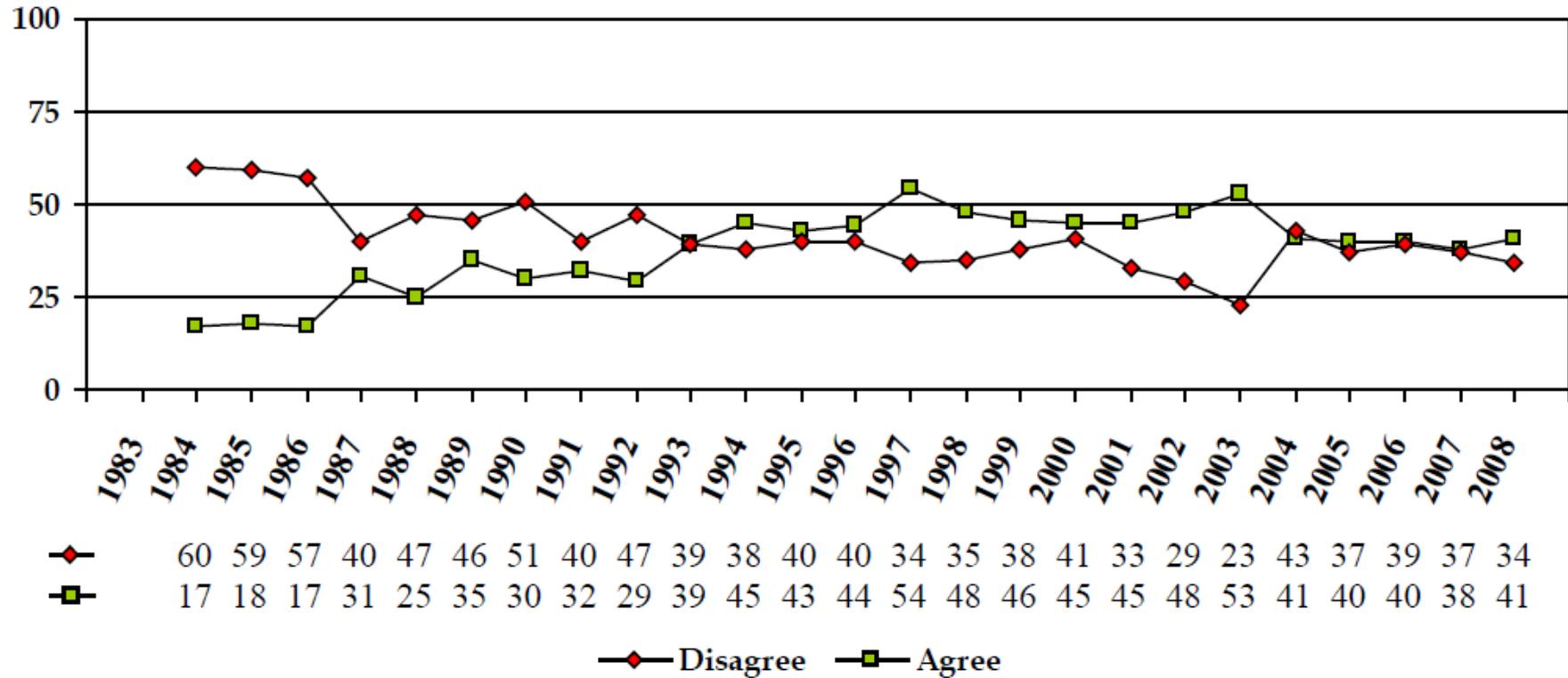
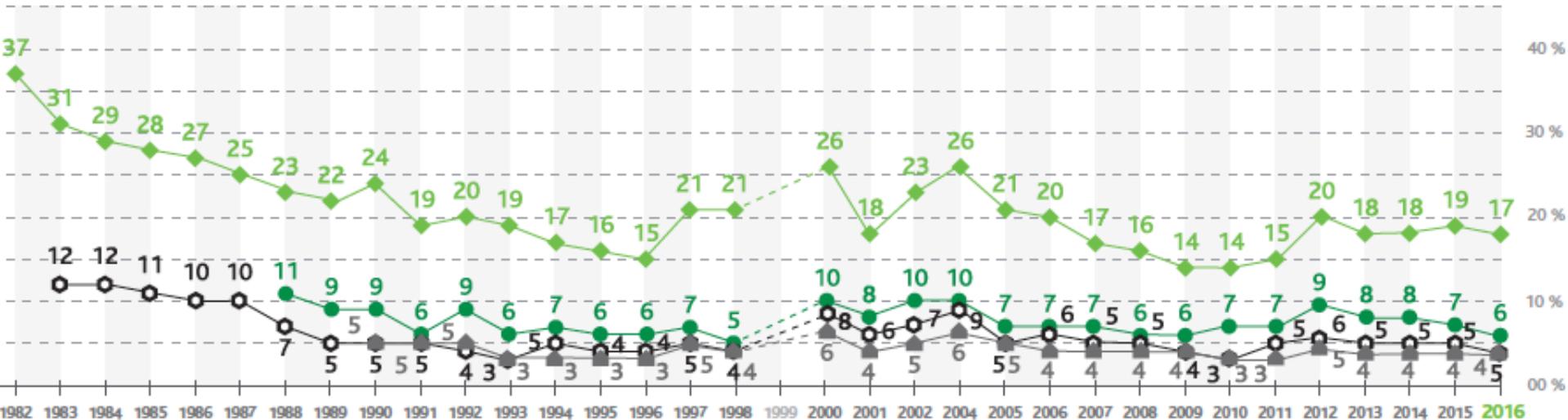


Figure 14.

Residents of Eurajoki disagreeing and agreeing with the view that final disposal in the Finnish bedrock is safe (%) Based on data from the annual Energy Attitudes of the Finns (1983-2008) study.

ÉVOLUTIONS 1982 À 2016

Évolution depuis 1982 des % de réponses « oui »
à la question : « Accepteriez-vous de vivre près... »



- ◆ D'UNE CENTRALE NUCLÉAIRE
- D'UNE INSTALLATION CHIMIQUE IMPORTANTE
- ⬢ D'UN SITE DE STOCKAGE DE DÉCHETS RADIOACTIFS
- ▲ D'UN SITE DE STOCKAGE DE DÉCHETS CHIMIQUES



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Kommentar: Vet ej svar ingår i procentbasen. Frågeformulering: "Would you say you are very worried, fairly worried, not very worried or not at all worried about the way radioactive waste is managed in country?". Balansmättet utgör andelen ej oroad (inte alls oroad och inte särskilt oroad) minus andelen oroad (mycket och ganska oroad). Källa: International Nuclear Regulators Association (INRA), "Europeans and radioactive waste". European Coordination Office, 2002. Eurobarometer 56.2.



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Credibility and competence of nuclear-sector stakeholders

Institutional trust in France

CRÉDIBILITÉ

