

Culture, Politics & Japanese Whaling

**Perspectives of Japanese youth & what
these might portend for the future**

By

T. Julia Bowett BSc. MSc.

University of Tasmania

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A handwritten signature in black ink on a light yellow background. The signature is stylized, appearing to read 'T. J. Bowett' with a large, circular flourish at the end.

Tanya Julia Bowett BSc. MSc.

Date 7th June 2011

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any tertiary institution, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Tanya Julia Bowett BSc. MSc.

Date 7th June 2011

Abstract

The contemporary whaling debate is one of the most complex and intractable issues of international environmental politics. The debate is multi-dimensional, with a large diversity of anthropological and ecological facets, and involves a myriad of international governments, environmental actors, and environmental non-governmental organisations. In recent years, the schism between anti- and pro-whaling actors has expanded, resulting in a great deal of political unrest, international distrust, and controversy over social rights.

Japan is currently the world's third largest economy, with a large presence and responsibility in international development and environmental matters. It is also the most prominent whaling country in the world. This research examined the attitudes of young Japanese people on issues related to whaling (an area of research that is conspicuously lacking), in a bid to generate greater knowledge and understanding of the suite of issues crucial to the resolution of the whaling controversy.

The study set out to answer two research questions: 1) What are the predictive factors that formulate the attitudes of young Japanese people on whaling issues?, and 2) Of these predictive factors, which make the most significant contribution to the whaling attitudinal model of Japan's youth? Using an online and paper-based questionnaire, 529 useable surveys were completed by Japanese students (between 15-26 years old) from May to December 2007. Factorial analysis, correlation and regression models and content analysis were used to identify relational predictors underlying the attitudes of young Japanese people on whaling issues. An approval of whaling exists amongst participating students, with two constructs standing out as contributing most to this affirmation: an approval of the consumption of

whale meat by Japanese children; and an acceptance of the pro-whaling rhetoric commonly deployed by the Japanese Government and associated media.

To determine the cultural significance of whaling in Japan and how and why it came to be the world's most prominent pro-whaling nation, an historical overview of whaling in Japan is provided as well as an examination of the nation's religious belief structures; Shinto, Buddhism, Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism, with reference to nature and Japanese exploitation of it.

With this in mind, discursive analysis on the current pro-whaling policies of the Japanese Government and its behaviours, both within and outside of the International Whaling Commission, is provided. It is argued that under the current method of anti-whaling campaigning, the anti-whaling movement will not diffuse in Japan, that young Japanese, despite having a low rate of whale meat consumption, consider the activity as valid and symbolic of the uniqueness of their culture and that the extreme actions of anti-whaling protests groups lack resonance with this cohort. A three-pronged approach, detailing ways in which anti-whaling actors may more effectively obtain their objectives, is provided.

Given the relatively fast pace at which the whaling debate is evolving, the information obtained has predictive value for how the wider Japanese population might come to regard whaling in the near future, particularly amongst Japan's future leaders.

Acknowledgments

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List of Acronyms

ACE CRC	Antarctic Climate & Ecosystems Commonwealth Research Council
ACE Japan	Association for Cultural Exchange (Japan)
AHSC	<i>Ad Hoc</i> Scientific Committee (within IWC)
ASW	Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling
AT	Antarctic Treaty
ATS	Antarctic Treaty System
BAG	Buenos Aires Group
BWU	Blue Whale Unit
CC	Conservation Committee (within IWC)
CCAMLR	Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
CLA	Catch limit algorithm
CPUE	Catch per unit effort
COT	Committee of Three (Douglas Chapman, Kay Radway Allen, Sidney Holt)
DPJ	Democratic Party of Japan
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
EFA	Exploratory Factor Analysis
FAO	UN Food and Agriculture Organisation
HNA	High North Alliance
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICR	Institute of Cetacean Research (Tokyo)
ICRW	International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisation
IKAN	Iruka and Kujira (Dolphin and Whale) Action Network (Japan)
IMAS	Institute for Marine and Antarctic Studies (University of Tasmania)
IOS	International Observer Scheme
ISP	Internet Service Provider
IUCN	World Conservation Union (formerly International Union for the Conservation of Nature)
IWC	International Whaling Commission (called the International Commission on Whaling until 1975)
JARPA	Japan's Whale Research Program in the Antarctic
JARPN	Japan's Whale Research Program in the Western North Pacific
JEM	Japan Environment Monitor
JFA	Japan Fisheries Agency
JS-NET	Japanese Studies Network Forum
JWA	Japan Whaling Association
KMO	Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Test
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party (Japan)
MAFF	Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (Japan)
METI	Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (Japan)
MoF	Ministry of Finance (Japan)
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Japan)
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding

MSYL	Maximum sustainable yield level
MSY	Maximum sustainable yield
NAMMCO	North Atlantic Marine Mammal Commission
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NMP	New Management Procedure
NOAA	National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (U.S.)
ODA	Overseas Development Aid
RMP	Revised Management Procedure
RMS	Revised Management Scheme
SC	Scientific Committee (within IWC)
SEEPS	Society for Environmental Economics and Policy Studies
SSCS	Sea Shepherd Conservation Society
STCW	Small Type Coastal Whaling
SWG	Small Working Group (within IWC)
SG	Support Group (SG)
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

Chronology of Global Whaling and Significant Japanese Historical Events

ca. 14,000-300 B.C. (Jōmon Period)	Evidence suggests possible existence of dolphin/porpoise hunting in Japan resulting from excavations of artefacts from the Mawaki site, Noto, Ishikawa prefecture. Vertebral plates of large cetaceans are used as mats in the making of pottery in the northwest and southwest of Kyushu from the middle to late Jomon.
ca. 300 B.C. - 250 A.D. (Yayoi Period)	Whaling scene depicted on the outside of a jar used in a burial found at the Harunotsuji site on Iki island.
ca. 250 A.D. (Kofun Period)	Establishment of strong military states centres around military clans.
ca. 538 - 710 A.D. (Asuka Period)	Introduction of Buddhism.
675 A.D.	Emperor Tenmu devoutly embraces Buddhism and issues the proclamation of the Prohibition on Hunting and Eating Meat. Cetaceans are excluded from the proclamation.
ca. 710 - 784 (Nara Period)	Final period of classical Japanese history. Considered to be the peak of the Japanese Imperial court noted for its art, poetry and literature. Political power in the Imperial court is in the hands of powerful aristocratic families, especially the Fujiwara clan. The end of this period sees conflicts between ruling clans turn into civil war from which emerges a society led by samurai clans, under the political rule of the shogun.
794 - 1185 (Heian Period)	
ca. 1100 - 1200	Nichiren Daishonin, the son of a fisherman in Awa, establishes a new sect of Buddhism. In 1930, the Soka Gakkai (value-creation society) is founded in Tokyo based on his teachings.
1100	Basque whalers of southern Europe begin hunting whales from shore in the Bay of Biscay. They are considered the first large-scale commercial whalers.
1185 - 1333 (Kamakura Period)	The peak of popularity for a Buddhist sect known as Pure Land Buddhism.
1274	First Mongol invasion of Japan.
1333 - 1573 (Ashikaga or Muromachi Period)	
1543	Portuguese ships land on the Japanese island of Tanega.
1568 - 1600 (Azuchi - Momoyama Period)	
1570	Port of Nagasaki opened to overseas trade.
1587	Japanese shogun, Toyotomi Hideyoshi bans Christianity in Japan and orders all

Christians to leave.

1600 - 1867 (Tokugawa or Edo Period in Japan)

- 1600** Commercial whaling begins in the northern hemisphere using sailing ships and hand-thrown harpoons. Serial depletion of whale stocks begins, targeting mainly slower swimming species such as right, sperm, and humpback whales.
- 1603** Tokyo replaces Kyoto as the administrative centre of Japan.
- 1627** Japan bans contact with foreigners and closes its ports except for limited trade with Holland.
- 1730** The first legally recognised futures market opens in Japan.
- 1800 - 1900** Tokyo serves as the shogun's power seat.
- 1820** The first American whaling ship from Brighton, Massachusetts enters Japanese waters.
- 1825** Japan issues an edict that spells out what would happen to uninvited guests: 'Should any foreigners land anywhere, they must be arrested or killed'.
- 1841** William Whitfield, captain of the whaling ship *John Howland* from Fairhaven, Massachusetts, picks up five castaways from Japan's Torishima Island, including a boy named Manjiro, who returns with Whitfield to Fairhaven. Manjiro later returns to Japan and translates Nathaniel Bowditch's 'The New American Navigator,' known to mariners as the 'seaman's bible'. In 1854, Manjiro acts as an interpreter for Commodore Matthew Perry.
- 1853** Commodore Perry reaches Japan. Japan opens its ports to trade with the west after 250 years of isolation.
- 1868** Emperor Meiji ascends the throne and assumes power. The Meiji Restoration re-establishes the authority of Japan's emperor and heralds the fall of the shoguns. The feudal clan system is abolished and industrialism starts. Japan opens itself up to the west, thereby obtaining the benefits of western technology. The boy emperor Mutsuhito—later known by the name Meiji—becomes the political leader replacing the Tokugawa shogunate. The social and political changes during the Meiji period (1868-1912) began in the late Tokugawa period, but are only formalised with the creation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889.

1868-1912 (Meiji Period)

- 1894** The First Sino- Japanese War erupts due to a dispute with China over control of Korea. Japan defeats China in the Battle of Pyongyang.
- 1904** Russo-Japanese War begins.
- 1910** The Japanese army invades Korea.
- Introduction of diesel engines, fast catcher boats and exploding-tipped harpoon cannons allow fast-swimming rorqual whales to be targeted for the first time.

1914	The Emperor of Japan sides with the Allies and declares war on Germany in World War I.
1922	The Washington Disarmament Conference comes to an end with the signature of a treaty forbidding fortification of the Aleutian Islands for 14 years. The US, UK, France, Italy and Japan sign the Washington naval arms limitation.
1926 - 1989 (Showa Period)	
1930	The Soka Gakkai (Values Creation Society) is founded on Buddhist principles. By 1999 the organisation is present in 8 million Japanese households.
1931	Ten years of comparative peace ends when the Japanese army invades Manchuria without its own government's consent.
1932-1968	The Chisso Corporation, located in Kumamoto Japan, dumps an estimated 27 tons of mercury compounds into Minamata Bay. The name 'Minamata Disease' is coined in 1956 to identify villagers suffering dizzy spells with trouble walking and speaking. Growing numbers fall into convulsions, waste away and die.
1932	The Blue Whale Unit (BWU) is adopted by whaling nations, encouraging the hunting of larger species. This economic-based quota gives no consideration to the biology or population size of whale stocks.
1934	First Japanese factory ship, the <i>Tonan Maru</i> heads to the Antarctic.
1935	The Tsukji fish market opens in Tokyo. It grows to become the largest fish market in the world. In 2004, Ted Bestor authors <i>Tsukji: The Fish Market at the Centre of the World</i> .
1937	Japan invades China.
1941	Japan bombs Pearl Harbour. The United States declares war on Japan.
1945	World War II ends. In August, General Douglas MacArthur is named Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Japan. Whaling resumes fuelled by post-war industrial boom, new technology and surplus ships and equipment.
1946	The International Whaling Commission (IWC) forms to regulate whaling and maintain whale stocks.
1949	Antarctic 'Whaling Olympics' race to hunt whales begins fuelled by the BWU quota system and a limited hunting season.
1950-1970	Japan stages an economic miracle with a growth rate of 9.2 per cent in the 50's and 10.7 per cent in the 60's.
1951	Japan becomes a signatory to the ICRW.
1960 - 1980s	Large scale illegal and unreported whale hunts occur. An estimated 90,000 whales, including 46,000 humpbacks are killed by the Soviet fleet alone, whilst only reporting 80,000.
1963	Humpback whaling is banned in the Antarctic.

1964	Whaling nations informally set quota of 8,000 BWU deliberately targeting fin and sei whales (as blue whaling had become commercially unviable).
1965	IWC establishes complete protection for blue whales. Pirate whalers continue to hunt blue whales to sell to the Japanese market.
1970-1980	Composition of the IWC changes to become more conservation-minded as more non-whaling nations join the organisation.
1979	IWC bans pelagic whaling in Antarctica except for minke whales. The Indian Ocean is declared a whale sanctuary.
1982	Under pressure from conservation nations, the IWC finally votes in favour to implement a moratorium on commercial whaling (previously rejected since 1972). Japan, Norway, Iceland, Peru and the USSR object and so are not bound by it.
1986	The moratorium takes effect. Japan increases its lethal scientific whaling program in the Antarctic.
1992	Iceland leaves the IWC but rejoins in 2002 lodging an immediate objection to the moratorium.
1994	The Southern Ocean Whale Sanctuary is established by the IWC. Japan expands its lethal scientific whaling program to include whales in the North Pacific Ocean.
2000	Japan diversifies its whale hunt to include Bryde's and sperm whale along with minke whales.
2002	Japan expands North Pacific hunt to include sei whales and increases the North Pacific quota of minke whales.
2003	The Japanese whaling fleet kills 400 minke whales during a five-month scientific expedition in Antarctic waters.
2005	Australia leads 15 countries including Britain, France and Germany in a protest against Japan's plans to expand its annual whale hunt. Japan announces a dramatic increase in its research whaling quotas in the Antarctic, to 935 minke whales annually. Beginning in 2006, the catch is to include endangered fin whales and from 2007, endangered humpback whales.
2006	The St. Kitts & Nevis Declaration is passed at the 2006 IWC meeting reaffirming <i>inter alia</i> , the part-purpose of the Commission to manage the sustainable harvesting of whales. This is the first vote in which pro-whalers win a majority since before the moratorium was established in 1986.
2007	IWC Chair Dr. Bill Hogarth appoints a panel of 3 external experts to attempt to deal with the substantive issues dividing the organisation. These are Professor Calestous Juma, Ambassador Raul Estrada-Oyuele of Argentina, and Ambassador Alvaro de Soto of Peru. The three year <i>Future of the IWC</i> process begins.

- 2008** The Japanese Government presents an option for an alternate convention to manage the sustainable harvest of whaling known as the ‘Safety Net’.
- The *Future of the IWC* process gets underway with meetings of the Small Working Group and Support Group to discuss the substantive issues within the organisation.
- 2009 (August)** After nearly 50 years of unbroken rule, Japan’s Liberal Democratic Party is defeated in a landslide election by the Democratic Party of Japan (DJP). DJP Foreign Minister Katsuya Okada is outspoken in his party’s support for Japanese whaling activities.
- The IWC’s Support Group and Small Working Group meetings yield unsuccessful results on issues relating to special permit whaling and whaling under reservation.
- 2010** The IWC’s Chair’s Proposal (which is seen as more favourable to pro-whalers than anti-whalers) is rejected at IWC62 in Agadir, Morocco. The organisation enters a 12 month ‘period of reflection’ in which the core contentious issues within the Commission are not formally discussed.

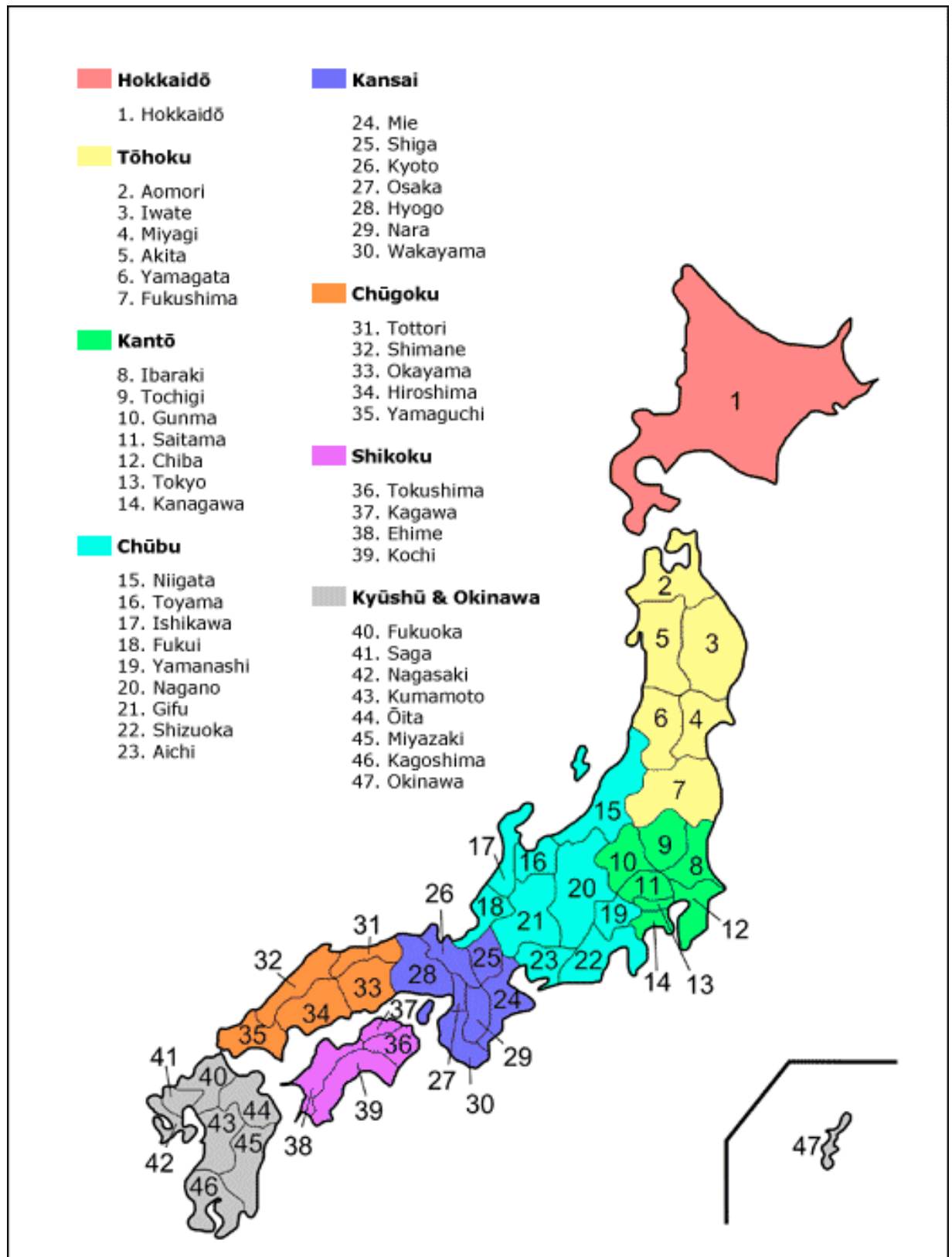
This timeline is adapted from Mulvaney (2003); Muller (2007); BBC News (2010) and *Timelines of History* (2010).

Author's Note

In this thesis, the order of Japanese personal names follows the western style, with the family name following the given name, except in the listing of authors of English and Japanese language works in the bibliography.

Macrons are included on long Japanese vowels except in the cases of place names and other words which are familiarly used in English (for example Tokyo not Tōkyō; Shinto not Shintō).

Figure 1. Prefectural Map of Japan



Source: CRN Japan (2010)

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Global Whaling History: An Overview

Why do humans hunt whales? In the early years of industrial whaling, the primary answer lay in the thick layer of blubber that insulated the mammal, maintaining core body temperature despite the often freezing ambient water temperatures encountered. The blubber consisted of a white, fibrous, fatty material filled with oil which when exposed to high heat, separated from the fibres and produced the liquid gold that was the main staple of the whaling industry (Francis 1990: 3). Whale oil was used as a lighting fuel before gas and electricity, a high quality lubricant, a cleanser in the woollen textile industry, and a basic ingredient in the manufacture of soap and, in the twentieth century, margarine (Francis 1990: 3). But there were other products derived from members of the order *Cetacea*. Whaling has involved most of the 14 mysticete (baleen) species¹ which were hunted for their baleen plates made of protein keratin, a flexible but frayed, bristly-like substance that hung like curtains, in some species, more than four metres long, from the upper jaw of the baleen whales. The substance acted as a filtration structure for the mammals, sieving krill, copepods and small fish, and was in great demand as a pre-cursor to plastic, spring steel and fibre glass. Another product of the hunt, whale meat, which was never in great demand in Europe or the United States (these whalers frequently threw whale meat back into the sea) was incorporated into the diets of, particularly, the Japanese and

¹ Whaling also involved many of the 28 or so medium to large-sized odontocetes (toothed whales) and numerous geographically distinct populations of these species (Reeves and Smith 2006: 82).

native inhabitants of Alaska (Eskimo) and the Canadian Arctic (Inuits) (Francis 1990: 3).

When exactly humankind started hunting cetaceans is a matter of some debate². As noted by Reeves and Smith (2006: 87), ‘numerous uncertainties surround the origins of “aboriginal” whaling operations, but it seems likely that the ability to kill and secure whales developed independently in more than one place and time’. Reeves and Smith (2006: 86) compile a timeframe of early whaling, in which islanders from the Aleutian Islands and nearby Kodiak Island were hunting whales from antiquity (which the authors describe as ‘since before 1000 A.D.’), as well as Arctic aboriginal tribes which were hunting cetaceans from Chukotka to Greenland, and temperate aboriginal tribes hunting around the rim of the North Pacific, also at the same time period. These aboriginal peoples hunted on a subsistence basis and would have mostly hunted using a hand-held lances and an array of floats to tire the harpooned whale or by herding the mammals into shallow bays and estuaries.

Mankind’s long history of whaling is marked most notably by changes in technology. Francis (1990: 19) suggests that the Basques who, since Neolithic times (ca. 4000 B.C.), inhabited the western Pyrenees where modern Spain and France meet, were the world’s first modern whalers due to their adaption in the eleventh century of whaling techniques that hunting in open water required. The Basques commenced large-scale commercial hunting in the Bay of Biscay of right whales (*Eubalaena glacialis*), also known as the Biscayan right whale (known as the southern right whale [*Eubalaena australis*] in the southern hemisphere), in the eleventh century

² A chronology of global whaling can be seen on page xvi.

(Francis 1990: 19). By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Basques had extended their whaling voyages beyond the Bay of Biscay, sailing north and west up the Atlantic coast of Europe as far as Iceland and Greenland (Francis 1990: 22). Further west, they discovered the rich feeding grounds of Labrador and northern Newfoundland, where they hunted mostly right whales but also took bowhead whales (*Balaena mysticetus*). Towards the end of the 1500s, the Basques began to retreat from the Labrador grounds as a consequence of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, which destroyed much of the Basque merchant fleet and because evidence suggests that the population of whales on the Labrador coast might have been declining as a result of over-hunting (Francis 1990: 26). As noted by Francis (1990: 27) 'The Basques hunted about three hundred animals a year and it was part of their strategy to kill mothers and calves wherever possible, because they were easier to catch'. More whale-rich waters needed to be found.

The island of Spitsbergen³ was discovered by the Dutchman Willem Barendsz in 1596 (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 95) and identified as a potential whaling ground by the British in 1607. Barendsz made another significant find in the Arctic waters around Spitsbergen; an enormous number of bowhead whales (*Balaena mysticetus*) which were, however, in the 200 hundred years following their discovery, hunted to extinction (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 96). Utilising the expertise of the Basque whalers, the British also began whaling, and in 1611 their first whales were killed in the Arctic for commercial purposes (Francis 1990: 31). After an initial monopoly,

³ Spitsbergen is significant in modern whaling history. The area constituted a training ground for operations in the Antarctic. It is here that the first serviceable steam boiling plant, a new flensing technique, and a new method of transporting oil were tried out and, importantly, catching was carried out in daily contact with the ice under climatic conditions very similar to those that were to be found by Antarctic whalers (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 96).

around 1914 the British were forced to share the whaling grounds around the west coast of Spitsbergen with the Dutch. Over the next three decades, Dutch and English permanent settlements began to arise around the north western and southern coasts of Spitsbergen. One of these was Smeerenburg, on the southeast corner of Amsterdam Island, Spitsbergen, which flourished during the 1630s and 1640s and reached a summer population of several thousand whalers. It was at this time that the bowhead whale began to disappear from the coast around Smeerenburg, resulting in whalers needing to extend their range further afield (Francis 1990: 40). The site closed completely around 1671.

The decline of Smeerenburg induced a change in Arctic whaling techniques and technology as a matter of necessity. Reeves and Smith estimate that, during the 'Basque-style' era, (which spanned over five centuries), hundreds of thousands of balaenids, specifically the bowhead and the north Atlantic right whale, were killed (2006: 89). For the whalers operating around the coast of Spitsbergen, the consequential decline meant that they were required to move away from the archipelago and seek their prey near the ice edge on the high seas. As a consequence, whalers no longer took the time to bring their blubber back to shore for processing. A Basque whaling captain, Martin Sopite, was the first whaler to boil blubber on the deck of his ship (despite the fire hazard) over a small brick furnace (Proulx 1986: 24). In the seventeenth century the Dutch became the foremost whalers in the world, learning from the Basques and subsequently driving them from a highly lucrative industry which became 70 per cent Dutch owned (Francis 1990: 41). Dutch whalers had begun arriving in large numbers in the Davis Strait, west of Greenland after 1720. This area had vast cetacean populations, which also rekindled an interest in

whaling on the part of the British, who had failed to make the transition from shore whaling to deep-sea whaling and had all but ceased operations when the bowheads disappeared off Spitsbergen's west coast. During the 1750s, with the help of government subsidies, the British whaling fleet was afloat once more and by the end of the century, had completely eclipsed their Dutch rivals (Francis 1990: 55).

Across the Atlantic, on the shores of New England, colonists from the *Mayflower* began the American whaling chapter and by the 1640s had evolved from the salvaging of oil from dead stranded whales to venturing out in open boats to hunt right whales migrating along the coast. Evolution continued over the next two centuries, resulting in a huge flotilla of sailing ships hunting whales to the fleet's maximum capacity. As witnessed so frequently in global whaling history, coastal migrations of whales started to decline, occurring along the east American coast in the early 1700s. Whalers moved further offshore, exploiting the Grand Banks off Newfoundland, entering the Gulf of St. Lawrence and penetrating the Davis Strait where they discovered the larger, fiercer, deep-water cetacean species, the sperm whale. These 'Yankee' whalers also moved south and hunted in Bermuda and the Bahamas Banks. With increasing technical innovations, the need to return to land to process whales gradually diminished. Ships grew larger and voyages got longer but the actual killing equipment was still fairly primitive; whales were still being killed with hand-held weapons such as harpoons and lances and processed with knives and axes. The eighteenth century saw the whaling fleets of America and Great Britain both occupying the Atlantic, but at different ends. The British hunted the bowhead whales in the Arctic and the Americans hunted the sperm whales to the south (Francis 1990: 61). The Yankee whalers, restricted by regulations issued by the

British Government which deemed the Americans a threat to their northern waters, extended their hunting grounds to the south and east, visiting the Azores and Africa. The 1770s saw American whalers off the coasts of Brazil and Argentina and around the Falkland Islands – their monopoly extending from Tierra del Fuego back up to Greenland and east to sub-Saharan Africa (Francis 1990: 62). The American Revolution in the 1770s saw the crash of the Yankee whaling industry as British warships attacked unarmed whaleships and destroyed the whaling port of New Bedford. Whaling ceased in New England for three years and finally died an early death. Leaping onto the misfortunes of the American whaling fleet, the British moved into the vacuum and dominated the industry for the ensuing fifty years.

The Pacific Ocean was the next target for whalers and in January 1789 the British whaleship, *Emilia*, rounded Cape Horn, taking its first sperm whale on 3rd March 1789 (Stackpole 1972: 127). Moving on to Australia, the British again hunted sperm whales off the New South Wales coast and after the East Asia Company relaxed its shipping monopoly, southern Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania (then Van Diemen's Land) were exploited. Tasmania became a prized jewel in Australia's whaling crown, with the Derwent River in Hobart teeming with southern right whales calving from May to October each year. The high density of cetaceans around Tasmania formed the basis of a healthy shore whaling industry, resulting in the building of 35 shore stations in Tasmania alone during the 1820s and 1830s (Francis 1990: 75).

The return of peace to Europe in 1815 saw whaling activities on the increase, especially in the Atlantic, which quickly resulted in the decimation of sperm whale stocks. Ships were forced to extend their voyages further into the Pacific and Indian

Oceans, along the shores of Arabia and on to the coast of India. It has been estimated that between 1804 and 1876 whalers killed 225,521 sperm whales (Starbuck 1964: 99) and, during the height of the Pacific fishery, 5,000 were slaughtered in one year alone (Francis 1990: 78). Domination of the global whaling industry ebbed and flowed between the re-emerging American fleets and the British throughout the nineteenth century, exploiting pre-existing whaling grounds and gradually discovering new ones such as the 'Off-Shore Grounds' 1,000 miles off the Peruvian coast in the mid-Pacific, the Hawaiian Islands by 1819, and Japanese south-eastern waters by the following year. Whaling activities hit their peak in the Indian Ocean by 1845, with 90 American and three dozen British vessels cruising through the Mozambique Channel and around Zanzibar, the Seychelles, Mauritius and Madagascar (Wray and Martin 1980: 214). The French discovered the rich whaling grounds of what is now British Columbia in 1835, preparing the way for Captain Thomas Roys to sail through the Bering Strait in 1848 and open up the wealthy bowhead whale stocks there to the Americans (Francis 1990: 111).

The replacement of whale oil with illuminants derived from turpentine (camphene) and, in industry, the use of fish and seed oil as lubricants, dealt the whaling industry a blow which was exacerbated by the discovery of petroleum in 1859 (Francis 1990: 111). As a result, the whalers shifted their focus from the sperm whale to the bowhead and right whales (possessing great quantities of baleen and producing more oil than sperms whales), in part due to changes in women's fashions that increased the demand for baleen. Thus, excluding the hunts for the smaller gray whales

migrating from the Bering and Chukchi seas to the Baja Peninsula⁴, a shift to the Arctic waters to follow the bowhead and right whale species was observed during the middle of the nineteenth century.

The decade of the 1860s saw the machinery of the Industrial Revolution applied to the whaling industry, thereby changing its character forever. What became known as ‘modern whaling’⁵ began in 1869 and saw the hunting of whales aided by the invention of the steam engine, which was first installed in a whaling ship in the British fleet around this time, whilst the inclusion of explosives into harpoons and dart-guns dramatically increased the ease by which whales were killed. Whale oil, no longer used for lighting, found a new use, as an ingredient in soap and margarine. A new group of whales swam into the sights of whalers – the rorquals (humpbacks, fins, blues and sei whales), previously ignored by whalers because their fast swimming speeds and their density meant they would instantly sink when killed. The first modern catcher vessel was built in 1863 near Oslo. The *Spes et Fides* (Hope and Faith) was steam-driven, steel plated, and came with a harpoon canon mounted on the bow. This last addition, which fired a harpoon with a grenade screwed into the tip, was the brainchild of Norwegian sea captain, Svend Foyn, incorporating also the American invention of ‘rubber rope’ to absorb the shock of large seas and straining

⁴ The invention of the bomb-lance revolutionised the California gray whale hunt. An explosive missile about 21 inches long and armed with a time-delay fuse was designed to be launched by a shoulder gun. It caused massive internal injuries and sometimes instant death. With the help of this invention, the area named Scammon’s Lagoon (off the Baja Peninsula) in 1858, was, within a decade, virtually devoid of Pacific gray whales. Along the rest of the Californian coast gray whales also started to decline rapidly. It is estimated that by the mid-1870s only about 2,000 California gray whales remained from a pre-whaling stock of 15-20,000 individuals. This resulted in the majority of shore stations closing down, with the last station closing at the turn of the twentieth century (Francis 1990: 120-122).

⁵ The most comprehensive work on modern whaling is almost certainly Tønnessen and Johnsen (1982), a monumental history which covers in great detail the technical, economic, commercial and political history of modern whaling. This work does not, however, touch on any of the biological issues surrounding the management of whales.

whales, and steam-driven winches to haul sunken whales off the sea bottom onto the ship. Foyen was later to become the patriarch of Norwegian whaling, with his innovations used in the exploitation of whaling grounds off Iceland (1880s), the Faeroe Islands and Newfoundland (1890s), and the Shetland Islands and Spitsbergen after the turn of the century (Francis 1990: 178). Indeed, ‘modern whaling began as a Norwegian industry and expanded as a Norwegian industry’ and ‘Norwegian was the universal language of whaling...’ (Jackson 1978: 162).

The new innovations in the whaling industry brought about the familiar story of over-hunting, which occurred all around the North Atlantic as well as off the coast of Africa. The new-style whaling industry simply over-expanded. In the modern-day context, there was but one final frontier that was left to be exploited: the Antarctic⁶.

Not long after the re-discovery of South Georgia by Captain James Cook aboard the *Resolution* in 1755, American seal trappers used the island, exploiting the large numbers of fur-bearing seals there in the 1780s (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 147). But it was not until many years later that whalers came back to the area. The Norwegian whaling captain, Carl Anton Larsen, who had been combing the Weddell Sea since 1892 looking for right whales, upon finding two large cauldrons for the boiling of seal blubber used by the American sealers, called the island Grytviken (Cauldron Bay) (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 147). At the same time that Larsen was seeking out southern right whales, four Scottish ships, all with auxiliary engines and a total crew of 130 hands, were also seeking the same species in the same area.

⁶ Three main pioneers are synonymous with the early days of Antarctic whaling: C.A. Larsen, Christen Christensen and Adolf Andresen. For a detailed account of the activities and movements of these characters, see Tønnessen and Johnsen (1982), Chapter 10.

Neither Larsen nor the Scottish whalers found their desired southern right whale quarry⁷ but rorquals were noted as plentiful. The first humpback whale was killed in the Straits of Magellan in 1903 by Adolf Andresen (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 157). In 1905 Andresen launched a new whale catcher and, with a newly acquired floating factory, operated around the South Shetlands, Deception Island becoming the first whaling centre of the Antarctic (Holt 2000: 75). In 1905, the British Governor of the Falklands Islands offered South Georgia as a whaling centre, and shepherds from the Falklands set sail for South Georgia to exploit the whaling grounds. On their arrival they were astonished to find an Argentine whaling company managed by Larsen already operating there (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 158).

In the 1912-13 season, 62 fast catcher vessels and one converted factory vessel killed four times as many whales in the Southern Ocean than in the traditional northern whaling grounds (Francis 1990: 191). In that season alone, 10,760 whales were processed in southern harbours, consisting mainly of humpback whales, with such a rate of exploitation resulting in their virtual extinction by 1918 (Jackson 1978: 276). Turning their attention to the largest of the great whales, blue whale stocks were decimated from an initial pre-whaling estimate of 150,000 to the most recent estimate of 2,300 in 1997/8 (IWC 2009a). By the 1930s, the floating processing vessels had been transformed into what is now recognised as the pelagic factory ship which characterises Antarctic whaling. Limitations were still experienced in the size of the great blue whale and the inability of winches to lift the 100 ton carcasses from the sides of the boat, but this problem was solved by a Norwegian whale gunner,

⁷ The Scottish artist William Burn Murdoch, in a book illustrated by himself, provides a detailed account of the Scottish expedition to Antarctica.

Petter Sørre, who came up with the idea of inserting a slipway into the stern of the factory ship so that carcasses could be hauled up the ramp for processing (Francis 1990: 201).

As whale oil was no longer needed for lighting or lubrication and its addition to soap and margarine gave the products a fishy and disagreeable odour, the oil needed to be treated in some other way to turn it from fluid oil into hardened oil in order for it to be used again. The process of hydrogenation did exactly this; saturating the oil with hydrogen and hardening it, which caused the end product to lose its fishy odour. Occurring in the decade before the First World War, an extremely useful by-product of hydrogenation for this time was glycerine which played an important role in the manufacture of explosives (Francis 1990: 204). However, consumers still resisted one product from cetaceans; whale meat. Despite the meat being rich in nutrients, whale meat never became part of the mainstream western diet, in part because of its oily character and fishy odour, despite war-time campaigns promoting 'sea-beef' (Francis 1990: 204). After the war, any market for whale meat completely collapsed; the exceptions were Japan and Norway, where canned and fresh whale meat continued to sell (Francis 1990: 204).

By 1931, there were 43 factories operating in the Antarctic, serviced by a fleet of 285 catcher vessels. The heyday of Antarctic whaling was in 1937-38, when almost 55,000 whales were killed, a record tonnage that has never been equalled (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 330) (Table 1). Whales were harvested like any other resource and before the Second World War the international whaling community gave little consideration to their conservation. Indeed, conventional wisdom, as stated by 'those in the know' in a report to the giant soap-making firm of Lever Brothers in 1928

that ‘there was no likelihood of a shortage of whales generally’ (cited in Jackson 1978: 213), resulted in a virtual unregulated slaughter of cetaceans. The leading whaling nations did, however, start to hear voices concerned about the future of a very profitable industry and an international movement to control the hunt before its imminent destruction slowly gained momentum.

Table 1. World Catch and Pelagic Antarctic Catch 1926-1939⁸

	World Catch		Pelagic Antarctic Catch	Shore stations	Fl. f.⁹	Catchers	Percentage of world catch		
	Whales	Barrels					Norway	Germany	Japan
1926/7	24,215	1,191,922	30,270	34	22	233	57.8	0	0.4
1927/8	23,593	1,321,313	733,912	31	20	222	60.5	0	0.4
1930/1	43,210	3,701,668	3,385,189	13	43	285	62.6	0	0.4
1931/2	13,171	925,293	686,355	11	8	103	3.1	0	2.2
1932/3	28,928	2,606,421	2,401,879	12	22	189	50.5	0	0.8
1937/8	54,902	3,641,314	3,250,064	37	35	357	32.1	10.2	11.6
1938/9	45,783	3,011,813	2,709,281	16	37	362	28.4	12.4	16.5

1.1.1 The Emergence of Whaling Regulation

Throughout most of its history, the whaling industry has continued to sequentially deplete various stocks; to hunt the target species until sufficient numbers could no longer be found before moving to the next most desirable species.

Norway passed the first law to regulate whaling in 1929. The Norwegian Whaling Act was deemed a landmark piece of legislation and used as a template for numerous future international regulations, the first of which was the Geneva Convention of 24th September 1931. The Act prohibited the killing of right whales, all calves of any

⁸ The figures for the numbers of shore stations may be subject to correction, as the Japanese are included in some years but not in others. Table adapted from Tønnessen and Johnsen (1982: 330).

⁹ Fl. f is an abbreviation for ‘Floating factory’.

species, and any female in the company of a calf, and set a minimum length for all species below which no animal was to be killed (Francis 1990: 208). In addition, it required factory ships to carry inspectors and keep accurate records and encouraged the use of the whole whale carcass to minimise wastage (Francis 1990: 208). Annual whaling statistics were published as a requirement of the Act and, most significantly, it created a role for scientists in the formulation of whaling policy (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 365).

In 1930 the League of Nations drew up proposals based on Norway's whaling law, and in the following year the Geneva Convention for the Regulation of Whaling was adopted by 26 nations, signalling the beginning of industrial self-regulation. This regulatory regime was, however, ineffective in terms of setting realistic restrictions on whaling and was also optional; Germany, the Soviet Union and Japan opted not to sign the convention (Francis 1990: 209). Heavy capitalisation of various whaling industries in the years following the First World War led to intensive hunting, which resulted in an oversupply in the whale oil market by the early 1930s, a subsequent drop in market prices, and further depletion of species such as the blue, humpback, and right whales (Heazle 2006: 37). The Germans and Japanese were major whaling powers at this time, and both nations had ambitions for expansion. Nazi Germany consumed large amounts of margarine and, desiring to be self-sufficient in terms of whale oil, joined the Antarctic fleet in the 1936-37 season (Francis 1990: 208). At this stage, the Japanese had already been in the Antarctic for two seasons, with meat from their hunts as well as exported whale oil helping to fund their military incursions into Manchuria and China (Francis 1990: 209). Neither of these two nations were interested in signing agreements that would limit their respective

whaling industries and by the 1930s they constituted approximately 30 per cent of the world catch (Francis 1990: 210).

There was considerable resentment between signatories of the Geneva Convention and those 'outlaw' nations who were seen to be flouting regulations abided by others. Thus, in 1937, a meeting in London saw delegates from the major whaling nations organise in a bid to improve the Geneva Convention conditions. Again, however, despite minimum lengths being set for blue and fin whales, the capture of sexually immature whales still occurred, and the open season that was established in the Antarctic from December 8th to March 7th was too long to effect any potential stock increase (Francis 1990: 210). Negotiations continued over the next few years with little or no impact on whaling regulation. Indeed, in 1938 the Japanese refused to attend any meetings where the agenda included discussions aimed at limiting the hunt, and the Germans refused to discuss quotas. A decade of negotiation, discussion and regulation had resulted in a doubling of the kill and an intensification of the hunt, as can be highlighted by the record season of 1937-38 in which 55,000 whales were killed (Francis 1990: 210).

1.1.2 World War II and the Blue Whale Unit (BWU)

The Second World War gave global whale stocks a much needed respite from hunting. Most vessels became victims of wartime conflict and those that did not were pressed into service as oil tankers, servicemen and equipment transport or supply vessels. However, whaling did not cease entirely and in Antarctic waters an estimated 20,585 whales (of which 1,038 were sperm whales) were killed between 1940 and 1944 (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 492). Whaling also continued in

Europe and as noted by Tønnessen and Johnsen (1982: 476) ‘War is a *force majeure* and in those times of dire necessity the law was broken with reference to international agreements on whaling’. In 1940, Norway was suffering from a shortage of protein and fats which resulted in the government receiving many applications from small cetacean hunters to catch larger cetaceans. A number of concessions were made and a large number of cetaceans were caught illegally and in violation of the London Agreement (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 477). Towards the end of the war, it was assumed that, due to reduced hunting, the world’s whale stocks would have made a comeback, setting afoot plans to supply an oil- and food-hungry world with cetacean products. A quota termed the Blue Whale Unit (BWU) which was introduced in 1932 (intended to avoid a recurrence of the 1931 drop in oil prices that had been caused by the overproduction of whale oil; Heazle 2006: 209) would oversee through the next three decades, the virtual annihilation of numerous whale species. Because whale species do not all produce the same quantity of oil, the industry came up with a measure of equivalency so that one whale might be compared to another in terms of oil yield (Knox 2006: 464). The standard unit was the amount of oil obtained from a single, average sized blue whale. This hypothetical average quantity equalled one Blue Whale Unit, which in turn equalled 2 fin whales, 2.5 humpbacks or 6 sei whales. In 1944, the annual quota was set at 16,000 BWU (producing 1.6 to 1.7 million barrels of oil), meaning that whalers could kill 32,000 fins, 40,000 humpbacks, 96,000 sei whales, or some other combination of the four (Francis 1990: 211). During the Antarctic season, the various fleets were required to radio in their catch (which could not be independently verified) to the Bureau of International Whaling Statistics in Sandefjord, Norway, each week (Heazle 2006:

40). Once the whalers came close to filling the BWU quota, the Bureau would announce the closing date for the season. The effect of this system was to create what has become known as ‘the whaling Olympics’: the fleets killed as many whales as possible in the shortest possible time. Small (1971: 91) described the situation succinctly:

The Antarctic quota put every floating factory in a race against time with all other expeditions...Financial success could be had only by killing as many as possible as quickly as possible before the order to stop whaling came out from Sandefjord. Factory ships and catchers alike worked twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, weather and whales permitting, until the season was over. Pelagic whaling in the Antarctic was so exhausting and hectic that the whaling men aptly dubbed it “The Whaling Olympics.”

Thus, the BWU quota system was a total failure. As it was not based upon any scientific knowledge of cetacean populations and did not consider individual populations, least of all sub-populations, global whale stocks once again began to crash.

1.1.2.1 The Washington Conference (1946) and the International Commission on Whaling (1949)

Acknowledging the spread of whaling world-wide and the subsequent decline in whale stocks, 15 whaling nations came together at a US-initiated conference in Washington D.C. at the end of 1946 to revise the previous agreements on whaling and establish guidelines for the future regulation of the hunt. The International Whaling Convention (or the Washington Convention as it is often called) consists of five parts: 1) the *Final Act*, containing formulas and recommendations; 2) as an *Addendum*, the Dutch proposal aimed at the Norwegian crewing law¹⁰; 3) the

¹⁰ Towards the end of World War II, Norway, in a bid to re-establish the *status quo* of the early 1930s when they and the British ruled the whaling grounds, forbade Norwegian seamen to take jobs with any

International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (ICRW¹¹), which consists of the eleven articles of the main agreement; 4) the *Schedule*, containing all actual regulating provisions, what and where whaling will be carried out, and where it is banned; and 5) the *Protocol for the Regulation of Whaling* (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 500). The purpose of the ICRW, as set out in its Preamble, is for ‘Recognising the interest of the nations of the world in safeguarding for future generations the great natural *resources* represented by the whale stocks’ (ICRW 1946a). The Preamble continues by stating the need ‘to establish a system of international regulation for the whale fisheries to ensure proper and effective conservation and development of whale stocks...’ and the need to govern ‘the orderly development of the whaling industry’. Unlike the Convention, the Schedule is flexible, since it must allow for changes to sanctuaries and hunting seasons, and the protection of species and stocks deemed endangered (Heazle 2006: 45). However, the Schedule cannot be altered without the consent of a three-quarters majority of the members present and voting at a meeting of the International Whaling Commission (IWC) (IWC 1950, Article III: 10).

1.1.3 The International Whaling Commission

One of the measures adopted by the Convention was the creation of the International Whaling Commission (IWC) in 1948¹². The establishment of the intergovernmental IWC was intended to herald a new era in whaling, one that transformed the

foreign whaling expedition unless its country of origin was involved in whaling before the war. As the Japanese and Germans were not expected to return to the whaling grounds after the war, this left the Norwegians and British to share the annual quota.

¹¹ See Appendix I for the full text of the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (ICRW) (1946).

¹² Initially called the International Commission on Whaling (ICW), then International Whaling Commission (IWC).

unregulated, indiscriminate hunt to an orderly harvest, thus ensuring the continued survival of all cetacean stocks under its charge – it was to be the organ by which the conditions outlined in the ICRW preamble were to be carried out.

The creation of the IWC was an important step towards institutionalising international co-operation in that nations with a vested interest in or a connection with a natural resource (whales) delegated authority to a permanent commission. In the post-war years, international co-operation was strongly promoted and successfully established, most notably in the form of the United Nations itself, and its various specialised agencies. However, the IWC was to be an independent organ and not a sub-division of the United Nations Organisation.

The main purpose of the IWC's annual meeting is to review the existing Schedule and to make changes where necessary in accordance with the wishes of three-quarters of voting members (each contracting government of the IWC nominates a Commissioner who is entitled to one vote at the annual meetings). Meetings are attended by contracting states, observers of non-member states, intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) such as the European Community and the Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources (CCAMLR) and NGOs such as Greenpeace International and World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). Membership of the IWC has been in flux since its inception, with many additional signatories and some states deciding to opt out. Brazil, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway and Sweden all resigned and re-joined between 1946–1979. More recently, Iceland withdrew (in 1992) but was re-admitted, under considerable confusion and protest, in 2002.

Article V paragraph three of the ICRW states that any amendment to the Schedule:

...shall become effective with respect to the Contracting Governments 90 days following notification of the amendment by the Commission to each of the Contracting Governments except that (a) if any government presents to the Commission objection to any amendment prior to the expiration of this ninety-day period, the amendment shall not become effective with respect to any of the Governments for an additional ninety days; (b) thereupon, any other Contracting Government may present objection to the amendment at any time prior to the expiration of the additional ninety-day period, ... and (c) thereafter, the amendment shall become effective with respect to all Contracting Governments which have not presented objections but shall not become effective with respect to any government which has so objected until such date as the objection is withdrawn (ICRW 1946*b*: Article V).

This 'escape clause' (as termed by former IWC Secretary Ray Gambell, cited in Heazle 2006: 47) is widely regarded as one of the structural flaws within the IWC, along with the lack of any dispute resolution process. Another weakness is the Commission's limited power to amend the regulations once they have been adopted. The Preamble to the Convention recognises the interest of all nations in preserving for coming generations the great natural source of raw materials that whales represent and deplores the fact that over-harvesting has jeopardised this source. The next section, however, states: 'it is recognised that it is the common interest to achieve the optimum level of whale stocks as rapidly as possible without causing widespread economic and nutritional distress'. It concludes by stating that there is an agreement 'to conclude a convention to provide for the proper conservation of whale stocks and thus make possible the orderly development of the whaling industry'. It is these last two conflicting concepts, whale conservation and whaling economics, that,

some commentators have suggested, render the Commission powerless, leaving it unable to perform the tasks assigned to it¹³.

To aid the Commission, three permanent committees were set up; the Scientific Committee (SC), which investigates biological and scientific matters and reports accordingly; the Technical Committee, which deals with the whaling laws and regulations of various countries, reports violations of the Convention, monitors catching methods, and, most importantly, proposes figures for the global quota and other restrictive measures on the basis of considerations other than purely scientific ones (commonly in the plenary sessions); and the Finance and Administrative Committee, which deals with budgets, the subscriptions of member countries, and staff matters¹⁴.

By the time the Commission was constituted in 1949, the British and Norwegians had re-built their fleets and were joined in Antarctic pelagic whaling by the Netherlands, Japan and the Soviet Union. The Antarctic quota was still set at 16,000 BWU and, despite some regulations borrowed from previous agreements (gray whale protection, humpback whale protection in certain areas, the banning of killing calves and females with calves, minimum lengths for certain species, and so on), the hunting of whales continued in an almost ‘business as usual’ fashion, with inspectors on factory ships taking relaxed approaches to their duties. Robertson (1954: 276), a doctor aboard a British expedition, observed ships whaling before the official

¹³ For a detailed examination of IWC policy changes, focussing specifically on the impact of political and economic imperatives on the production and interpretation of scientific research and advice, see Heazle (2006).

¹⁴ At its 55th meeting in 2003, the IWC adopted the ‘Berlin Initiative on Strengthening the Conservation Agenda of the International Whaling Commission’ (Resolution 2003-1) and established a Conservation Committee. Several whaling nations opposed the establishment of the Conservation Committee, including Japan.

opening of a season and using gunners who routinely harpooned undersized and protected animals. In the 1950s, hunting mainly focused on three species – the blue, fin and humpback whales. Each of these species, despite warnings from the Commission's Scientific Committee, was hunted to the point of extinction in the Antarctic, where the majority of whaling operations occurred (Allen 1980: 12-14). The IWC had little power over the activities of its own member states and no power over illegal whalers operating in non-member flagged nations. The most notorious of these was the Greek shipping magnate, Aristotle Onassis, who, after making a deal with post-war Germany to avoid the restrictions of the Potsdam Agreement¹⁵, was able to convert an ex-German tanker into a whaling ship (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 532) and, after refusing to be bought out of the whaling industry by the British and Norwegians (unhappy about sharing the small whaling quota with another party), launched the factory ship, *Olympic Challenger*, in 1950. Crewed mainly by former Nazis and some Norwegians (in violation of the Norwegian 'crew law'), the ship was registered as Panamanian (then not a signatory to the Washington Convention) (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 535. The *Challenger* crew killed every whale that it encountered, regardless of size and protection status, and many with calves, falsifying records of the catch in a bid to disguise their violations. The result of the flouting of every IWC regulation was a cargo of 126,522 barrels of oil at the end of the Antarctic 1950-51 season. In 1954 Onassis sent the *Challenger* into the newly accorded 200nm exclusion zone off the Peruvian coast to hunt sperm whales, invoking action from the Peruvian navy and airforce which, after a brief show of

¹⁵ The Potsdam Agreement (2nd August 1945) forbade the building of German ships in excess of 1,500 gross tons. Onassis managed to by-pass this agreement by converting pre-existing vessels into factory ships.

military force, commandeered the vessel, and escorted it into port. The Peruvian Government imposed a \$3 million fine upon Onassis, which was duly paid in less than five days from the Lloyd's of London fleet insurance money, allowing the *Challenger* to return to hunting. However, the reputation of Onassis was catching up with him. At the end of 1955, the crew of the *Challenger* confirmed the fears of many within the whaling industry, that at least half of the whales caught by the *Challenger* were caught illegally, leading to the *Challenger* being sold to a Japanese company in early 1956 for \$8.5 million (Francis 1990: 219).

By 1959 whale stocks were still plummeting and the IWC was close to dissolution, with no whaling nations admitting to a problem and each refusing to compromise, let alone sacrifice, any of what they deemed their rightful share of the global whale resource. Possible solutions such as limiting the number of factory ships taking part in the hunt and dividing up the Antarctic quota between nations, though sound in theory, were unviable because, in terms of the Charter, the IWC was powerless to enforce either. With negotiations at their worst since the inception of the Commission and with several nations leaving or threatening to leave the IWC, the five Antarctic whaling powers (Britain, Norway, Japan, the Netherlands and the USSR) intensified their efforts between 1958 and 1962, rushing fleets dramatically closer to the annihilation of certain whale stocks. The second largest catch in history was seen in the 1960-61 season, when 41,289 whales were killed (Birnie 1985 (1): 256).

But the 1950s and 60s saw the cost of whale oil decline. At the same time whales were becoming increasingly harder to find, and the cost of whaling had inflated to approximately \$20 million per expedition. Of the 'Big Five' whaling nations only

Japan and the Soviets were not perturbed by this, the Soviets because their fleet was state-run, whilst the Japanese were profiting from the sales from whale meat, a product that remained unpopular in the United States and Europe (Francis 1990: 222). Gradually, the other three nations left the whaling industry, 1963 seeing the last British expedition, followed by the Dutch the following year, whilst the Norwegian fleet came back from the Antarctic for the last time in 1968. Pelagic hunting was thereby abandoned to the USSR and Japan but, with the IWC banning the hunting of blue whales in the Antarctic in 1965 and the north Pacific in 1966, and with humpbacks already protected¹⁶ the focus turned to the fin and sei whales, with the smallest rorqual, the minke whale, added at the end of the 1960s. These pickings were, however, meagre, and attention soon returned to the northern hemisphere and the sperm whale, which the Soviets hunted around the Kamchatka Peninsula and the Kuril Islands whilst the Japanese exploited Bering Sea whales.

During the first three decades of the International Whaling Commission's existence, almost 1.5 million whales died, more than in any equivalent period of history (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 680). With whales a common resource, and each whaling nation owning as much or as little as the next, there was no incentive to curb individual hunts. Whalers took as many whales as they could, knowing that if they

¹⁶ Data exist that show the blue whale population prior to the 1961-2 season as being between 930-2,790, with fewer still in 1962-3, when the sustainable yield was 0-200, but 250 whales were still killed, or approximately one-third of the total (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 614). Humpback whale populations provided a similar outlook with one sub-population (Group IV) needing 80 years to restore stocks to the maximum sustainable yield level, provided that hunting ended immediately, and another sub-population (Group V) needing 16, 26 and 32 years to restore stocks to the level where they could support an annual and continued catch of respectively 100, 200 and 300 animals (Tønnessen and Johnsen 1982: 615). In light of these data and other supporting data from the Scientific Committee Report, the Committee of Three (COT) marine scientists, Douglas Chapman, Kay Radway Allen, and Sidney Holt, warned in their Final Report to the IWC in 1963 that there was no longer any justifiable doubt of the 'serious danger of extermination' currently facing blue whales and some humpback populations (IWC 1964: 38).

did not, other whaling rivals would. Indeed, some experts argued that by the 1950s whale populations were so depleted that it made more economic sense to hunt whales to extinction and then reinvest the capital elsewhere rather than farm them sustainably, whilst letting them slowly renew themselves. The scientific advice that continued to urge lower catch limits on the ground that blue, fin, and humpback whale stocks were still being depleted (Heazle 2006: 38) continued to be opposed in the name of ‘scientific uncertainty’.

Towards the end of the 1960s, then, only the Japanese and Soviet fleets were still operating as large-scale pelagic whalers, though several other countries were hunting from coastal stations, despite familiar warnings from various scientists. But a swing from this ‘whalers-club’ into an IWC more attuned to whale conservation was beginning to be observed. This was partly due to the collapse of Antarctic whale stocks, to a substantial change in the composition of the IWC membership¹⁷, and to the decrease in demand for cetacean products – but the most potent reason for the shift was the rise of a new, energised global movement. Environmental awareness and groups that ardently promoted environmental protection and species conservation burst onto the scene and into the IWC in the early 1970s, mounting a potent ‘save the whales’ campaign against pelagic whalers.

Greenpeace started off as an 80 foot wooden fishing boat named the *Phyllis Cormack* and a crew of mostly long-haired hippies flying peace symbols, one of whom was

¹⁷ Although the IWC was initially dominated by whaling states, it rapidly incorporated an increasing number of non-whaling and anti-whaling states in the 1970s and 1980s. The number of member states increased from 14 (1972-73) to 39 (1983-84), including many anti-whaling states (for example New Zealand and the Netherlands). By 1983, 28 of the 39 member states were non-whaling states (Day 1987: 97; Peterson 1992: 176-178). By 2003 there were a total of 51 member states, including several newly recruited Caribbean nations that were sympathetic to whaling. Currently there are 88 members within the IWC.

Paul Watson, a merchant seaman from New Brunswick, who was to become spearhead of a formidable anti-whaling protest group¹⁸. Knowing that their size, speed and funding could by no means match the massive Japanese or Soviet whaling fleets, Greenpeace's weapon of choice was the media. Whalers had previously operated in relative obscurity, hunting in isolation and secure from the eyes of the world. Almost immediately after the first anti-whaling protest by this tiny band of campaigners, the world saw the first images of whaling; bloody, torturous scenes of some of the world's largest animals dying, often a long agonising death. By placing themselves in front of the exploding harpoons of the hunters – showing the willingness to risk their lives for the sake of these 'majestic sentient beings' – the protesters brought the world out of its whaling slumber and into a new phase of cetacean conservation. This increased global awareness of the plight of cetaceans led to the adoption of significant legal measures outside of the IWC in the 1970s. For example, the U.S. Congress passed two pieces of domestic legislation in regards to the protection of whales: the Marine Mammal Protection Act (1972) and the Endangered Species Act (1973) (Hirata 2004).

1.1.4 Whaling in the Post-Moratorium Years

The discussion of a moratorium on commercial whaling began in 1972 when, at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, the world community was challenged to be more responsible with the way it treated its 'natural

¹⁸ Paul Watson, one of the founders of Greenpeace, left the organisation to create the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society (SSCS), considered the most militant anti-whaling non-governmental organisation. To date, Paul Watson and members of the SSCS claim to have sunk ten fishing and whaling vessels which they deemed to be operating illegally. For a concise biography of Paul Watson and history of the SSCS see Khatchadourian (2007).

capital' (Friedheim 2001) and subsequently passed a ten year moratorium on commercial whaling as a result of intense campaigns by environmentalists and the U.S. government (Wong 2001: 14). Although the IWC rejected the Stockholm resolution, the threat of a whaling moratorium was enough to soften the resolve of some of the hardline whaling nations; the BWU was replaced by stock-by-stock quotas, international observers were placed on every factory ship, and the entire Indian Ocean was declared a whale sanctuary. The New Management Procedure (NMP) (Andresen 1989; Aron *et al.*, 1999) introduced by the Commission in 1974 was seen to be the start of a fresh and more cohesive cetacean management strategy, in which all stocks are classified into one of three categories on the advice of the SC:

- i) **Initial Management Stocks**, which may be reduced in a controlled manner to achieve MSY (Maximum Sustainable Yield) levels or optimum levels as these are determined.
 - a. **Designated as:** those over 72 per cent of the original stock size; catch limits are always set below MSY to ensure that the stock is not reduced below 60 per cent, the MSY level.
- ii) **Sustained Management Stocks**, which should be maintained at or near MSY levels and then at optimum levels as these are determined.
 - a. **Designated as:** those between 54-72 per cent of the original stock size; catch limits are again set below MSY, the degree below depending on how far below the MSY level the stock is.
- iii) **Protection Stocks**, which are far below the level of Sustained Management Stocks and should be fully protected.
 - a. **Designated as:** those below 54 per cent of the original stock size; no catches are allowed on such stocks (IWC 1976: 25).

With simple safeguards designed to allow for a greater margin of error in estimates in favour of whale stocks, the NMP promised to be an effective scheme, but it soon proved to be as ill-founded as previous management attempts (de la Mare, 1986). The main flaw within the NMP was its requirement for precise biological data and

population estimates that were neither available nor considered achievable (Donovan 1995).

As a result of this flaw in the NMP, a moratorium on commercial whaling was pushed ever closer to reality by anti-whaling governments and NGOs. Finally, in 1982 the Schedule to the ICRW was amended by a three-fourths majority of IWC member states to include Paragraph 10(e), thereby establishing a moratorium on all commercial whaling (Heazle 2006: 152). Votes for the moratorium were 25 in favour, 7 against (Brazil, Iceland, Japan, Korea, Norway, Peru, and the Soviet Union, of which Japan, Norway, Peru and the Soviet Union formally objected to the motion), and 5 abstentions. The moratorium was to take effect in the 1986-87 whaling season and was intended to halt commercial whaling for ten years, in which time the IWC and its Scientific Committee would make a comprehensive assessment of whale stocks and develop sustainable catch limits. The first stage of a comprehensive assessment was achieved in 1994 with the acceptance by the Commission of the Revised Management Procedure (RMP)¹⁹. The RMP, developed by Dr. Justin Cooke, uses an algorithm²⁰ that introduces a quantified 'precautionary response' or principle²¹, erring on the safe side in case of scientific uncertainty. Instead of relying on traditional mathematical models of the dynamics of whale populations (as used by the NMP), the RMP uses a formula which is tested in a 100-year computer simulation of a regulated whaling operation, to see whether it ever

¹⁹ For the history of the RMP see IWC (2010a).

²⁰ For a detailed explanation of the algorithm selected by the IWC to calculate 'safe' catch limits for baleen whales see Cooke (1995).

²¹ The precautionary principle is a loose set of guidelines intended to help policy makers manage scientific uncertainty in the course of developing environmental policies and to avoid consequences science may be unable to foresee (Heazle 2006: 154-157). The principle played an important role in the 1982 moratorium as anti-whaling proponents used it successfully to lower the Commission's tolerance of scientific uncertainty in whale management (Heazle 2006: 155).

causes accidental depletion of the virtual whale stock (Holt 2000), whilst also considering the model's total catches and year-to-year variation. The RMP does, however, also run into problems in terms of the origin of the data needed to run the model. Most data were obtained via previous whaling operations – some were suspect just for that reason – or by comparing the catch per unit effort (CPUE) statistics with the apparent decline of an exploited stock. CPUE indices, however, are considered to reveal large changes in whale numbers but conceal slower changes; thus, they are now regarded as unreliable (Holt 2000). But whales can be counted, and have been for decades during their migrations, as has been the case, for example, with the gray whales along the Alaskan, Californian and Mexican coasts. These visual surveys are usually carried out by vessels or light aircraft travelling along transects or in a grid fashion. However, whales can only be counted if they are seen during daylight hours and with vessel movements being subject to weather conditions, this method, though useful to estimate whale numbers, is not without its flaws. Acoustic listening and echo-ranging methods are also now being used by some nations, but few are conducted on a large-scale. Another flaw in the RMP is the way in which it is intended to be applied to discrete populations of whales, but for each species, in each ocean region, there may be two or more morphologically indistinguishable, partially-mixing sub-populations²². Knowledge about these sub-

²² An example of a partially mixing sub-population is the J stock and O stock of North Pacific minke whale (*Balaenoptera acutorostrata scammoni*). J stock is depleted and has been protected since 1986 but continues to be killed as fisheries 'by-catch'. O stock is more abundant and hunted by the Japanese under special permit scientific whaling. The stocks are genetically distinct but visually indistinguishable, with removal of J stock individuals likely to have a serious deleterious effect on the sub-population. For more detail regarding J and O minke stocks and their presence in the Japanese market, see Lukoschek *et al.*, (2009).

populations is still in its infancy. The RMP is, however, effective in accounting for high levels of scientific uncertainty with a low level of risk²³.

Despite being accepted by the IWC, the RMP has not yet been implemented because it awaits the agreement of a Revised Management Scheme (RMS) which is to establish the compliance framework under which the RMP is to operate. The RMS package was to incorporate other elements intended to ensure the safe resumption of whaling, including: a) a comprehensive assessment (stock numbers, carrying capacities, productivity and population trends), b) the RMP, which consists of the catch limit algorithm (CLA: the methodology for calculating catch limits) and the terms and conditions of its use, c) international observer and monitoring schemes – yet to be completed – intended to monitor catches made under the RMP and to ensure that products from illegal catches are not made commercially available (Cooke 1995; Heazle 2006: 159). Disagreements over the conditions of the RMS are still present with pro-whaling governments, in particular Japan, Norway and Iceland, complaining that anti-whaling governments, who are demanding stricter inspection and monitoring procedures and more consideration for animal welfare issues, are acting outside of the terms of the ICRW, thus delaying the implementation of the RMP.

1.1.4.1 The Current Situation in the IWC

While some species and stocks of whales have no doubt been exploited to dangerously low levels, the scientific justification for the moratorium was, and still

²³ For an explanation into the internal workings of the RMP and its dealing with scientific uncertainty, see Holt (2000: 73-88).

is, highly controversial, including within the Scientific Committee of the IWC itself, which has never endorsed the blanket ban (Kalland 1998). Key whaling states never embraced the more conservationist stance that exists in the organisation today. Norway, for example, never withdrew its objection to the moratorium (as did the then USSR, Peru and Japan, bowing to pressure from the willingness of the United States and European Economic Community to apply economic sanctions²⁴) but resumed commercial whaling in 1993 following a brief suspension of coastal whaling operations. Iceland rejoined the IWC in 2002 and resumed whaling in 2003, and in 1992 Norway and Iceland led the way in forming the North Atlantic Marine Mammal Commission (NAMMCO), a regional institution serving largely as a platform for challenging the IWC-sponsored moratorium (Hoel 1993).

At the time of writing the IWC consists of 88 members, a slim majority of which are anti-whaling, spearheaded (in particular) by Australia and the United Kingdom and to a lesser degree, New Zealand and the United States. The pro-whaling side is led (in particular) by Japan, Iceland, and Norway, with states such as China, Korea and Russia operating in the pro-whaling periphery. As highlighted by Iliff (2008), pro-whalers as a group want whales to be recognised as just another marine resource available for sustainable harvest like other marine species. This was clearly enunciated in the St. Kitts and Nevis Declaration²⁵ passed in 2006 at the 58th IWC

²⁴ Under the 1979 Packwood-Magnuson Amendment to the Magnuson Fishery Conservation and Management Act, the US threatened to immediately end Japan's fishing quota in the U.S. 200nm Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) if Tokyo continued commercial whaling. Since Japan's economic interests in the U.S. EEZ were substantial, Tokyo signed the Murazawa-Baldrige pact in 1987 to drop its objection to the IWC moratorium in exchange for a *quid pro quo* of being allocated a fishing quota in the U.S. EEZ (Sumi 1989; Wong 2001: 14).

²⁵ The St. Kitts and Nevis declaration expressed the majority view at the 58th meeting that the IWC should return to its true purpose of fostering sustainable harvesting of whales, in accordance with the original intent of the ICRW; this is 'to provide for the proper conservation of whale stocks, and thus

meeting (IWC 2006a), in what was called a *normalisation* process of the commission. The pro-whalers do not want a moratorium on commercial whaling, seeing this as unscientific, unjustified and contrary to the letter of the ICRW (Aron *et al.*, 2000). Opposing both the Indian and Southern Ocean whale sanctuaries, the pro-whalers argue that if catch quotas are set at a sustainable level per population, there is no need for sanctuaries. Japanese whaling is currently conducted under a 'special permit' for scientific purposes in the Antarctic and north-west Pacific (these programs are known as JARPA II and JARPN II respectively and are discussed later in the chapter), Norway is continuing its whaling under the 'objection' provision of the Convention²⁶, and Iceland carries out a small whaling program under both special permit and objection provisions²⁷. Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling (ASW)²⁸ is permitted by the IWC under fairly subjective criteria, in that any quota granted must be of cultural importance for the particular community and not for commercial gains. Several commentators have pointed out the illegitimacy that ASW poses within the ICRW. Whereas quotas in commercial whaling are based on complex mathematical models and extensive scientific research on whale stocks, quotas in ASW are calculated from people's perceived nutritional, cultural and social needs (cf. Huntington 1992: 14). This has institutionalised a paradoxical management practice

make possible the orderly development of the whaling industry' (Full text of the ICRW 1946 in Appendix I).

²⁶ Norway exercised this right in the case of Schedule clause 10(e) which established the zero catch limit moratorium.

²⁷ Iceland carries out minke whaling under special permit for scientific purposes, and commercial minke and fin whaling under the objection provision.

²⁸ Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling (ASW) is defined as 'whaling for purposes of local aboriginal consumption carried out by or on behalf of aboriginal, indigenous or native peoples who share strong community, familial, social and cultural ties related to a continuing traditional dependence on whaling and the use of whales' (Donovan 1982: 83).

that can authorise hunting of endangered stocks while prohibiting hunting of more robust stocks²⁹ (Frøvik, cited in Kalland 2009: 109).

When the IWC permitted ASW in 1981, preferential treatment was given to aboriginal peoples. Considering the injustices inflicted upon them in the past, few voiced any objections to what seemed to be an attempt to put things right (Kalland 2009: 109). Under these conditions, the Government of Japan has, for several years, put in requests that the four coastal whaling communities of Abashiri, Ayukawa, Taiji and Wadoura be permitted a special relief quota of 50 minke whales each for small type coastal whaling (STCW). The IWC has repeatedly rejected the Japanese requests on the ground that the whaling contains a commercial element, and is therefore in violation of the moratorium³⁰ (Friedheim 2001: 135).

In 2005, Japan raised tensions within the IWC by announcing plans to target fifty humpback and fifty fin whales in the Antarctic during the 2006-07 season (Chair's

²⁹ An example is the West Greenland bowhead hunt where Greenlanders are allowed to hunt two bowhead whales each year between 2008 and 2012. The IWC currently estimates the population of west Greenland bowheads to be between 430-2,940 individuals (IWC 2009) and is listed in Appendix I of CITES as threatened with extinction (CITES 2009).

³⁰ The topic of ASW is a highly controversial and politicised one within the IWC. In 1977, the IWC placed a moratorium on Alaskan bowhead whaling as the bowhead was considered the 'most endangered of all species despite forty years of protection from industrial exploitation' (Birnie 1985: 485). However, the moratorium only lasted for half a year because of strong pressure from the United States, where authorities, whilst believing that the hunt was not sustainable, demanded a period of grace 'to allow time for Eskimo attitudes to change' (Birnie 1985: 501). In order to secure support for its position, the U.S. had to accept that ASW should include Greenland's catches of minke, fin and humpback whales and the Soviet Union's catches of gray whales. Japan expected a return of the favour for its support of the Inuit request, but after quotas were secured for the Inuit, the U.S. government was no longer interested in a compromise (Birnie 1985: 501) and worked towards a global moratorium on commercial whaling knowing that its own catches were no longer threatened. Japan sees it as contradictory that, while the hunting of minke whales in Japanese waters is prohibited, the Alaskan Eskimos are allowed to harvest bowhead whales each year, despite this species being considered exceptionally endangered. The Japanese Fisheries Agency (JFA) has maintained that those Japanese whaling villages have suffered undue hardship (Kalland and Moeran 1992; Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Fisheries [MAFF] 2002b). More recently, Japan has modified its approach to these yearly requests for STCW quotas for the outlined four communities, domestically adopting the Taiji Declaration at the 5th Summit of Japanese Traditional Whaling Communities in Taiji. The Declaration was discussed at the 2006 IWC annual meeting (58th IWC Meeting 2006 Press Release Day 2).

Report IWC 2006b). Humpback whales are increasingly recognised around the world as iconically representative of the Order *Cetacea*. Being highly recognisable by their large pectoral fins; their frequent breaching from the water during magnificent displays; their curious nature bringing them into contact with boats; and well-known for the melodious songs produced for communication, this species is probably the most familiar to humans. Consequently, a large whale-watching industry has emerged worldwide in recent times, none more so than in Australia where the whale-watching industry was worth \$31 million in 2008 (Department of Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts 2010), that is mainly supported by humpbacks migrating along the eastern and western coastlines.

Pro-whalers charge the anti-whaling members of the IWC of following the agenda of the conservation NGOs in their own countries in the belief that there are votes to be won from taking an anti-whaling stance (McTaggart 2001). The ‘hard-line’ anti-whalers take a preservationist attitude towards whaling and reject any discussions of sustainable-use, constantly pushing for a permanent moratorium and/or a world-wide whale sanctuary (Whales Need US Coalition 2007).

1.1.5 The Evolution of Whaling in Japan

The history of Japan’s whaling is a lengthy one, dating back to prehistoric times³¹. It is estimated that primitive forms of whale hunting started to occur in Japan during the Jomon period, approximately 9,000 B.C. (Ohsumi 2004: 83). A large quantity of dolphin bones were found within a shell midden excavated from a site in Mawaki, in Noto, Ishikawa prefecture, in 1982, and this is thought to be the oldest evidence of

³¹ A chronology of significant dates pertaining to whaling in Japan can be seen on page xvi.

the human use of cetaceans in Japan (Hiraguchi 2002: 23). Whales and dolphins that were stranded were utilised and those individual animals that were close to the shore were preyed upon by coastal villagers in wooden rowing boats. Vertebral plates of large cetaceans were used as mats in the making of pottery in the north-western and south-western parts of Kyushu from the Middle Jomon to the Late Jomon period and a whaling scene depicted on the outside of a jar used for burials in the later Yayoi period (approximately 300 B.C - 300 A.D.) found at the Harunotsuji site on Iki Island (Hiraguchi 2002: 24) is frequently used as proof of early human use of larger cetaceans.

During the Asuka period (end of the sixth century to the first half of the seventh century), the Emperor Tenmu devoutly embraced Buddhism, and issued the proclamation on the Prohibition on Hunting and Eating Meat in 675, issued primarily for the resource management of land animals (Ohsumi 2004: 83). As it was prohibited to hunt and eat certain terrestrial animals, and with the regarding of cetaceans as a kind of fish³², people were permitted to hunt them (Ohsumi 2004: 83), leading to the development of whaling and the culture of eating whales in Japan that has come to be known as *gyoshoku bunka* (Hirata 2005).

With the rise of the military class around the tenth century, a fleet of catcher boats that resembled a naval force pursued whales cooperatively, and speared their quarry with recently developed hand-held harpoons. By the beginning of the Edo Period, whaling was becoming an organised activity and in 1606 developed into an industry in Taiji, Kishu (currently known as Wakayama Prefecture). Today, this area is

³² The Japanese view of whales as a type of fish is reflected in the Japanese writing system. The kanji character for whale (*kujira*) includes the radical that means fish (*uo-hen*) (Hirata 2004).

regarded as the birthplace of Japanese commercial whaling, with the Taiji Whale Museum dedicated to Japan's whaling history. In this area, and indeed in all coastal towns where whaling was conducted, numerous shrines and temples commemorate the lives of whales taken and of those whalers who died during the hunts. Feelings of gratitude for the sacrifice of the whales' lives are manifested in the building of tombs and pagodas for the repose of their spirits (Ohsumi 2004: 91), such as those seen in Figure 2), and a variety of rituals and memorial services that are unique to Japan in terms of global whaling traditions are conducted, in some towns, on a daily basis. Although Antarctic whaling is a modern activity for the Japanese, the practice of tomb building and the conduct of memorial services continues, with rituals still being observed today. Rituals associated with whaling occur both onboard boats and on shore, and include annual boat-purification rites, together with taboos and rituals associated with ensuring good luck and turning away bad luck.

Figure 2a. (Left) A shrine dedicated to whale fetuses interred in the 17th century in Nagato, south-west Honshu. Figure 2b. (Right) 'Whales Memorial Plate' (1692) of Oumi-jima Island, Nagato-shi, Yamaguchi prefecture.



Source: BBC News (2007) (left); Google Images (2008) (right).

When the Tokugawa Shogunate closed the country to foreigners in 1612, it prevented Japanese whalers from advancing to pelagic seas where western whaling fleets were enjoying so much success. This led to a shift of focus to coastal whaling and hand harpooning, with the use of nets being incorporated into whaling practices in 1675. Nets were set in whaling grounds, and once whales had been driven into them by rowing boats, they were speared. This proved to be a highly effective catch method and soon spread to western parts of Japan. The whale carcasses were then towed ashore to land stations and processed for food, oil, and fertilisers. It was during the Edo years (1600-1867) that cultural ceremonies were further developed and certain whale products became Japanese cultural icons. These included the use of baleen plates for Bunraku puppets, netsuke (miniature carvings used as toggles to fasten a small pouch or purse to the kimono sash) and in the production of ukiyoe prints.

The Japanese way of processing whales is unique. The whole whale carcass is utilised, unlike western modes of whaling which have a high level of wastage – oil being the only product deemed worthy of keeping. ‘Red meat, tail meat, briskets, ventral grooves, skin, fluke (tail), and cartilage were all eaten as food. Various internal organs such as kidneys, livers, tripe, and small intestines, besides being enjoyed as delicacies, were used to make various medical supplies’ (Ohsumi 2004: 89). Just as with European and American whaling, ‘whale oil was extracted from the blubber and bones and, in the Edo period, used as lamp oil and insecticides’, with the Japanese also using whale products in margarine, soap, and explosives in the modern whaling era (Ohsumi 2004: 90).

Japanese coastal whaling suffered in the latter half of the nineteenth century as whale stocks began to decline from about 1820, due to the rapid appearance and spread

of western whalers using more advanced technology. But the late 1860s saw the emergence of Japan from a feudal society to a modern industrial power, and gradually, via the introduction of Norwegian whaling technology, Japan's whaling industry was resurrected. As modern coastal whaling spread throughout Japanese coastal communities, the capital gained provided the basis for Japanese excursions into the Antarctic and pelagic whaling in 1934-35 season with the *Tonan* whaling fleet. The Pacific War forced Japan to give up whaling in the Antarctic in 1941 with their six factory ships requisitioned by the Imperial Navy. All were subsequently sunk (Ohsumi 2004: 86).

Following its defeat in the Second World War in 1945, Japan resumed Antarctic whaling, with the help of its U.S. occupiers, initially returning to pelagic whaling in the Ogasawara Islands and in the Antarctic later the same year. In 1951, Japan became a signatory to the ICRW, and under the management of the IWC Japanese whaling again began to flourish. As the IWC realised in the 1960s that certain Antarctic whale stocks were in massive decline, quotas were slashed and stricter regulations were enforced, including the banning of humpback whaling in 1964 and blue whaling in 1965. As western whaling nations pulled out of the Antarctic due to the difficulties of funding expensive whaling expeditions which were producing diminishing yields, Japan remained immune from such pressures, reaping rewards acquired from the sale of whale meat, mainly from fin and sei whales. To ensure a constant whale meat supply, Japanese operators also went to Brazil, Chile, Peru, the Philippines and Canada and revived or set up new shore operations. By the early 1980s, anti-whaling nations became the majority inside the IWC and gained voting control within the body. With the 1982 moratorium, Japan lodged an official

objection which, under pressure from the United States, was withdrawn in 1985 (as we have seen, this was done to protect the northern sea fisheries within the U.S. Exclusive Economic Zone), and Japan was forced to cease all commercial whaling activities in 1987.

After the moratorium took effect, the Japanese Government used science as the basis for their arguments to continue whaling, under Article VIII.1 of the ICRW³³, a provision that allows governments to issue permits to its own nationals for scientific research. Whale meat which is a 'by-product' of the lethal scientific program is then sold on the domestic market as a requirement set forth also in Article VIII of the ICRW. As well as the controversy of the implementation of the RMP, whaling for scientific research has been and remains one of the major controversies within the IWC. In the view of Japan, the most active issuer of permits to conduct research (both lethal and non-lethal) on whales, the research is scientifically valid and completely legal. But in the views of anti-whaling governments and NGOs, Japan is using science to exploit a 'loophole' in the moratorium and continue whaling (Heazle 2006: 175).

For Japan, whaling for scientific purposes is conducted in the context of the 'Japanese Whale Research Program under Special Permit in the Antarctic' (JARPA) and, since 1994, in a corresponding programme for the Northwest Pacific (JARPN)³⁴. Japan also maintains small scale coastal whaling activities hunting

³³ Article VIII.1 of the ICRW allows 'Contracting Governments' to issue special permits to its nationals for whaling for scientific purposes. Such catches are not subject to IWC control.

³⁴ In 2002, JARPN was extended to JARPN II; similarly, JARPA was expanded by a second phase in 2005 named JARPA II. From 2008 onwards, the catch quota from both programmes will yield up to 1,415 whales annually (Sand 2008), consisting of 935 minke (*Balaenoptera acutorostrata* and *B. bonaerensis*), 50 fin (*Balaenoptera physalus*) and 50 humpback whales (*Megaptera novaeangliae*) in

species not subject to the ICRW (Baird's beaked whales and pilot whales). The research area for JARPA is in the Antarctic, south of the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific Ocean (35°E. to 145°W.). The research objectives of JARPA are, *inter alia* : 1) to further knowledge on basic cetacean biology, 2) to understand and elucidate whale stock conditions and, 3) to improve whaling management regulations (Ohsumi 2004: 96). Japan's program of scientific whaling has grown steadily, alongside the country's yearly and, to date, unsuccessful attempts to lift the moratorium. The ICR, under the supervision of the Japanese Government, is the primary body responsible for undertaking Japan's scientific whaling programs. Created in 1987, the institute is a non-profit foundation under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF). It receives government grants and entrusts whaling to a company called Kyōdō Senpaku, which is the core survivor of the Japanese whaling industry. The progress of Japan's scientific whaling programs has been far from smooth, with early criticism coming in June 1992, at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro. Here Japan came under severe foreign pressure from other countries and NGOs to stop not only research whaling but also the use of large-scale driftnets for squid and tuna fishing (Miyaoaka 1999).

Japan's Fisheries Agency (JFA), with the support of at least some of the major politicians (the Diet³⁵ has a powerful whaling caucus called the Parliamentary League in Support of Whaling) and the fishing industry, are the prime movers in

JARPA II and 220 minke, 50 Brydes (*Balaenoptera edeni*), 100 sei (*B. borealis*) and 10 sperm whales (*Physeter macrocephalus*) in JARPN II, although 50 humpbacks were not taken in the 2007-08 and 2008-09 seasons.

³⁵ The Diet is Japan's national legislative body, consisting of an Upper and Lower House, or House of Councillors (*Sangiin*) and House of Representatives (*Shugiin*).

shaping Japan's whaling policy. Under the Japanese legal system, marine mammals and other marine creatures in its territorial waters are excluded from the regulations of the Wildlife Protection and Hunting Law, but come under the jurisdiction of the JFA (the main public voice in the international arena) and the Fishery Resource Conservation Law (Miyaoka 2004: 44). The JFA is supported by many pro-whaling NGOs, such as the Japan Whaling Association (JWA) and the All Japan Seamen's Union (Danaher 2002).

When discussing Japanese whaling policy it is important to note the Government's actions in regard to other international conventions, such as the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES)³⁶. Danaher (2003: 163) maintains that Japan is always looking for legal avenues within CITES and the IWC through which 'use' is not prohibited entirely (relating the Government's motivations to the nation's lack of natural resources, a heavy reliance on seafood and a large population of affluent consumers) when stocks can sustain such use. The Japanese emphasise the scientific evidence that some stocks can be harvested at a specific rate, whilst anti-whaling groups argue that there should be zero harvesting regardless of whether the wildlife can be utilised sustainably. Though 'Japan is wary of listing species on Appendix I, and seeks to raise the burden of proof for listing or encumbers the process of listing a species' (Danaher 2003: 163), it accepted CITES in August 1980 (CITES 2008a). In the early 1990s, Japan held reservations on 14 species of CITES Appendix I species (more than any other

³⁶ Whales caught on the high seas are regarded as 'trade' under CITES Articles 1(c) and (e). International trade in endangered species is regulated by means of listing species on three different Appendices, each requiring different regulation. All species of whales are listed on Appendix I or II (Jabour *et al.*, 2007).

country). Currently, Japan holds 12 reservations against Appendix I species including *Balaenoptera acutorostrata* (northern minke whale), *Balaenoptera bonaerensis* (Antarctic minke whale), *Balaenoptera borealis* (sei whale), *Balaenoptera edeni* (Bryde's whale), *Balaenoptera physalus* (fin whale), *Physeter catodon* (sperm whale), and *Berardius bairdii* (Baird's beaked whale) (CITES 2008b). According to Koyama (cited in Danaher 2003: 165), Japan disagrees with the CITES Secretariat that these whales are in fact threatened, and therefore maintains reservations on them as a matter of principle, rather than because it wishes to trade in their meat or other by-products. The Japanese Government may well use scientific uncertainty as the basis for its CITES cetacean reservations, but the whale meat trading avenues should not be ignored. In June 2008, 60 tonnes of fin whale meat from Iceland and approximately five tonnes of minke whale meat from Norway was imported by Japan (BBC News 18th November 2008) but remained in Japanese customs until its release to the market in November 2008, when the Japanese Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI) granted an import license³⁷ (ABC News 20th November 2008). As Laila Jusnes, a spokesperson from the High North Alliance (HNA) which represents whalers, sealers and fishermen around the Arctic, stated: 'It's a legal import and a legal export, and in future might give access to a market that's really big for both Norwegian and Icelandic whalers' (BBC News 18th November 2008).

³⁷ Iceland, Japan and Norway are all Parties to CITES, however, each has exercised its right to use the objection procedure (Article XXIII), in relation to *Balaenopteridae* species (such as minke, humpback, fin) meaning that they are exempt from trade restrictions on these whales. These reservations essentially keep the market for whale meat of these species open among states that wish to trade (Jabour *et al.*, 2007).

Each year, Japan presents its pro-whaling arguments in a consistent fashion, as does the anti-whaling faction, and tends to leave the IWC meetings without having achieved its desired goals. At present, Japan receives support from a (marginal) minority of pro-whaling nations, and it continues to stand behind its policies despite considerable foreign criticism. In various arenas, including the IWC, international media and numerous governmental and non-governmental bodies, there exist several well-documented arguments and counter-arguments proposed specifically by Japan to support its pro-whaling stance.

1.2 The Anti-/Pro-Whaling Parry/Riposte (with Reference to Japan)

Since the early 1980s, and in response to the changing face of the IWC from wildlife ‘cartel to conservation and on to compassion’ (Harrop 2003), Japan has been attempting to alter the structure of the IWC in four main ways. The first is by strengthening solidarity with long-time whaling nations like Norway and Iceland while working to obtain the understanding of the more neutral countries, in the IWC. The second is by recruiting as many new member nations as possible that are willing to show understanding and acceptance of Japan’s whaling policy - for this purpose, aid is extended selectively to these countries to ‘persuade’ them of the merits of the Japanese argument on the sustainable use of marine resources. The third is by seeking to get as many of these new members as possible to vote with Japan at annual IWC meetings. The fourth is to weaken and isolate anti-whaling forces (Morikawa 2009: 83). Below are more detailed explanations of the methods employed by Japan to obtain the above four goals.

The Need for Science

As suggested by Gillespie (2005), no members of the IWC argue that they have the right to hunt an endangered species to the point of extinction, with some nations arguing that provided it is theoretically possible to hunt a species without threatening its overall conservation status, the hunt should proceed (2005: 181). There is now a cogent argument that some discrete whale stocks could sustain controlled commercial harvesting (Aron 2001), and pro-whaling members of the IWC insist that there is a duty under its charter to lift the moratorium to allow whaling (under the Revised Management Procedure (RMP)). Anti-whaling members and NGOs equally

vehemently insist that too little is known about whale populations and their recovery rates to allow a recommencement of whaling (Friedheim 2001).

Heazle (2006) writes that scientific uncertainty is one of the IWC's most intractable problems. The protectionist strategy is to use scientific uncertainty by demanding more proof that whale stocks are robust enough to justify the RMP's implementation which, in turn, implies the need for more research, thereby providing the Japanese with some justification for issuing scientific permits (Heazle 2006: 176). But, as Heazle (2006: 176) highlights, the problem 'is not simply that more information is needed, it is, rather, what kind of research is needed and what kinds of questions need to be answered'. On the premise of the need for science, Japan's scientific whaling program has grown steadily in recent times, with the government stating that lethal sampling is needed for, *inter alia*, data on pollutant concentrations and feeding ecology investigations and the collection of genetic samples for determining population structure (Government of Japan 2002). As a counter to this research justification, many scientists opposed to scientific whaling propose that the genetic material could more easily be gained by using non-lethal biopsy techniques and via the collection of faecal matter (Clapham *et al.*, 2003; Gales *et al.*, 2005). Furthermore, a 1997 IWC review of Japan's scientific whaling reported that the Japanese research has failed to meet its stated objectives and that the data derived were 'not required for management' (IWC Scientific Committee Report 2007a SC/59/REP 1). Noting the other values that are involved in the whaling debate, Butterworth (1992: 532) states that: 'the real debate in the IWC has been between countries wishing to preserve industries, employment and a food source based on whales, and others wanting these animals classed as sacrosanct'. Under the terms of

Article V of the ICRW, all decisions on the management regulations of whales are to be based on scientific findings, but the vast difference between the two motivations highlighted by Butterworth, and the difficulty in *scientising* intangible desires to preserve whales, has led to these hidden agendas being played out on the back of arguments concerning scientific uncertainty and the need for more science.

Cultural Imperialism

In recent times, the Japanese Government and several commentators supporting whaling have characterised the actions of anti-whaling actors as a manifestation of western cultural imperialism over eastern ideals, often portraying Japan as a ‘victim’ of a larger, predominantly Judeo-Christian, anti-whaling hegemon. ‘Some Japanese pro-whaling advocates see the whaling controversy as a struggle between “meat eaters” (regarded mainly as Anglo-Saxon) and “fish-eaters” (the Japanese) and even link the controversy to racism and cultural imperialism’ (Hirata 2004). The anti-whaling movement is viewed by the pro-whalers as a cultural infringement being imposed on one group (which is branded as morally inferior) by another group (which reversibly, has the anti-whaling moral high-ground) (Friedheim 2001). One Japanese IWC commissioner argued at the 1989 IWC meeting ‘that the meat-eating culture was taking advantage of the IWC to destroy the fish-eating culture’ (Stedman 1990: 157-158) (cited in Hirata 2004). ‘According to this view, it is hypocritical to claim that that it is morally wrong to kill certain mammals such as whales, but acceptable to kill others such as kangaroos (in Australia), fox (in Europe), and baby cattle (in the US)’ (Hirata 2004). This argument maintains that any culture has the right to exercise a set of cultural practises as long as those practises do not lead to

over-harvesting or extinction (Browne 2001; Corliss 2002). The Japanese Government defends its whale-eating culture by arguing:

The consumption of whale meat is not an outdated cultural practice and ...eating beef is not the world standard...For many cultures, in other parts of the world, the consumption of beef, or pork is unacceptable. Clearly, the acceptance of other cultures' dietary practices and the promotion of cultural diversity is as important as saving endangered species and the promotion of biological diversity. If the consumption of whale meat does not endanger whale species, those who find the practice unacceptable for themselves should not try to impose their view on others (MAFF 2002a) (cited in Hirata 2004).

Some Japanese authors have compared the eating of whales and Buddhism in Japan to Hinduism and the non-eating of beef and to the non-eating of pork in Islamic culture. Kalland (1993a) made an early surmise when referring to this issue:

...unlike in traditional totemic societies – as found among the aborigines in Australia and Indians in North America, where prohibitions extend only to the group with that particular totem – and unlike the Hindus, who in no way try to impose the prohibitions of killing and eating cows on the rest of Mankind, whaling protectionists try to make the prohibition universal. In their zeal they continue a form of western cultural imperialism initiated by Christian missionaries.

Hiraguchi (2002: 44) argues that the taboo on eating these meats by these religions has been observed for so long because they are suited to the regional environments; as in the taboo does not overly affect the people that practice it. In support of a pro-whaling argument for Japan, Hiraguchi (2002: 44) states that 'the same reasoning applies to whaling... in that former whaling nations that are now anti-whaling procured animal protein by stock raising and they hunted whales mostly for whale oil'. When whale oil declined and was subsequently replaced by synthetics, they withdrew from the whaling industry (Hiraguchi 2002: 44). The author notes that Japan is an archipelago which is highly mountainous and unsuited for stock breeding, meaning that Japanese people have always needed to rely heavily upon marine

resources for animal protein.

Anti-whaling advocates counter the cultural imperialism argument in a variety of ways. Environmental NGOs that campaign against Japanese whaling also highlight their protest actions against Icelandic and Norwegian whaling operations, and thus maintain that the discriminatory claims of Japan are unfounded.

In addition, for several years anti-whaling advocates have claimed that Japan is not only whaling under the ‘guise of science’, but also uses the ‘cultural need’ argument to give strength to its pro-whaling case; knowing that anti-whaling governments may well be reluctant to oppose Japanese cultural claims for whaling for fear of being labelled culturally insensitive or, worse, racist. Anti-whaling environmental NGOs argue that pelagic whaling is not a traditional activity of cultural importance to Japan, emphasising that Japan’s first excursion into the Antarctic happened only 74 years ago, in 1934. It is often suggested by anti-whaling actors that the underlying motivation for Japan’s scientific whaling is to keep vessels in working order and staff trained up whilst the government continues to push for the moratorium on commercial whaling to be lifted. In a paper presented at an international symposium on the history of Antarctic whaling, Dr. Ohsumi, the ex-Institute of Cetacean Research (ICR) Director, stated that ‘the program [JARPN] also serves to maintain and develop whaling techniques that take long training to acquire’ (Ohsumi 2004), revealing that the claims by anti-whaling proponents may have some foundation.

The ‘Whales Eat Fish’ Argument

Japan’s Fisheries Agency has, for some time now, claimed that some species of whales eat more fish than humans and that increased harvesting should be

undertaken to protect these stocks³⁸. These findings, produced from Japan's ICR as a result of analysing the stomach contents of harvested whales, are yet to be supported by the IWC Scientific Committee. Current literature is in support of the Scientific Committee, and there are many critics of the 'single species' approach to whale management, some of whom cite the lack of appropriate data, especially abundance and trophic data, as the greatest hindrance in the development of this argument. The 'whales eat fish' argument has not been endorsed within Australian scientific institutions, with a statement from the Institute for Marine and Antarctic Studies (IMAS) and the Antarctic Climate and Ecosystems Commonwealth Research Council (ACE CRC) in 2007 stating:

The 'whales eat fish' argument cannot be sustained as a rationale for culling whales. The *fishery—top predator—target species* 'food chain' model on which the argument is based is overly simplistic, especially in the marine environment. While it can be said with absolute certainty that some whales *do* eat some fish – fish generally eat more fish than whales do. The veracity of the argument largely depends on the species of whale, where it feeds and the fish species targeted by fisheries (and whales), among other things. For example, baleen whales, such as humpback and fin whales do not eat fish at all and toothed whales, such as sperm and pilot whales eat several species of fish as well as squids and other animals. Any potential link from whales to fish targeted by fisheries is a complex marine food web in which there are an estimated 28 million pathways. There is no substantiated evidence that removal of whales will affect the amount of fish available for harvest by humans (Jabour 1997).

Once again, it appears that scientific uncertainty, as was used in the 1960s to reject lower quotas on certain whale stocks, is being used again, this time by the Japanese, who cite gaps in the data on interspecies competition to justify scientific whaling.

³⁸ Numerous media releases from the Institute of Cetacean Research and Japan's Fisheries Agency (JFA) cite the need for lethal sampling of whales 'to collect data on the competition between whales and fisheries' and frequently claim that the consumption of marine resources by whales is 3 to 5 times that of human consumption. Pro-whaling rhetoric repeatedly refers to this issue as one of importance to 'world food security' (ICR Media Release 28th February 2002; Fisheries Agency Media Release 16th March 2002; Fisheries Agency Media Release 27th February 2003).

The Superwhale Phenomenon and other Anti-whaling NGO Tactics

Menninger (1951: 44) observed that there was a growing tendency in modern society to treat certain animals as totems which, according to Kalland (1993a), might have been caused by man's need to compensate for being alienated from nature. Pro-whaling actors have charged anti-whaling groups, particularly environmental NGOs, with the promotion of misinformation to garner support for their anti-whaling cause. Firstly, there is the construct of the 'superwhale', which rests upon the globally widespread view of whales as sacrosanct and charismatic. It contends that all whales are intelligent and friendly and notes that they are the largest mammals on earth, which given, it follows that it is barbaric to kill them. According to Kalland and Moeran (1992: 8), this constitutes an 'image of a "superwhale" – the largest animal on earth (applicable only to the blue whale), has the largest brain-to-body weight ratio (i.e. is intelligent, the bottle nose dolphin), is friendly (the gray whale), has a pleasant and varied song (the humpback whale) and is endangered (the bowhead and the blue whale)'. Kalland and Moeran (1992: 6) contend that 'many environmentalists have used this conceptualised 'superwhale' as a metonym for the environment as a whole'. As Sidney Holt, a leading anti-whaling campaigner has admitted (1985: 12): 'saving the whale is for millions of people a crucial test of their political ability to halt environmental destruction'. The Japanese Government is quick to point out that not all whales are endangered; species such as the southern hemisphere minke whale which is the main species hunted by JARPA II, are abundant, although there is currently no agreed abundance estimate in the IWC for the species. Japanese Government officials maintain that environmental NGOs use the 'all whales are endangered' and need ecological protection argument as a fear

tactic to add weight to their anti-whaling campaigns, with one suggestion being that the tactic is purely a device to raise revenue through increasing membership (Komatsu and Misaki 2001: 119). Japanese Government officials also seek to deflect these morality-based discourses by referring to anti-whaling actors as ‘misinformed’ and ‘over-emotional’ when the latter promote every whale species into the ‘superwhale’ category and exaggerate the so-called existential threats to all cetaceans.

Vote Buying and Overseas Developmental Aid (ODA)

Within the IWC itself, there have been a number of accusations related to the recruitment of member states purportedly for the acquisition of various incentives from existing IWC members. Environmental NGOs have frequently raised concerns over the actions of Japan in influencing IWC votes by using its overseas aid budgets as a bargaining tool with several African, Caribbean and South Pacific island countries that receive such aid (Greenpeace 2001). There are currently nine Caribbean states in the IWC. In 1986, after the moratorium was established, Japan began giving significant financial and technical aid to these Caribbean countries as well as paying their IWC membership fees (Danaher 2002). Japan releases its Overseas Developmental Aid (ODA) mainly through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry (METI), the Ministry of Finance (MOF), and the Economic Planning Agency. According to White (cited in Danaher 2003: 163), Japan, through the MOF and its ODA program, was successful in influencing several Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) signatories, mainly developing Asian, Caribbean and

African countries, in the vote about whether to resume the ivory trade at the 10th CITES Meeting in Zimbabwe in 1997. Danaher (2003: 164) writes that this tactic was ‘clear at both the annual IWC Meetings in 2000 and 2001, where Japan “encouraged” a bloc of six Caribbean countries to support its successful stance against establishing a whale sanctuary in the South Pacific’. To counter these accusations, officials from Japan’s Fisheries Agency claim that their ODA-induced incentives are no different from countries using military threats to get what they want (Komatsu 2001). At IWC meetings, the majority of Caribbean member states are vociferously supportive of Japan’s sustainable-use of non-endangered cetaceans attitude, mainly because, as anti-whaling NGOs would say, the Japanese Government helps fund various public institutions in the Caribbean states such as schools, hospitals and fish processing plants and vessels. Danaher (2002) suggests that this is why these countries support the lifting of the whaling moratorium despite development aid pressure or the threat of trade sanctions from the United States aimed at winning anti-whaling votes. In addition, Japanese officials frequently cite the threat of the anti-whaling position to the food security of these Caribbean nations. In an interview in 2007, Joji Morishita (Japan’s IWC Commissioner) stated³⁹:

For fragile economies [referring to those of Caribbean nations], the food security issue is very serious. One side is the involvement of the sustainable use and principle of sustainable development...Only eight species of animals and 15 species of plants are feeding 90% of the world population. For those who are producing those eight it is good business. But think how fragile that is. If one of the eight, or two with bird flu and BSE suffer, then it is the fragile developing countries that suffer.

³⁹ Interview with Fishing News International (1st October 2007).

Presenting this angle as a case for whaling is, for the Japanese, quite a successful one, with small nations, not only in the Caribbean but also in Africa and the South Pacific, recognising the potential for food shortages in a world where populations are increasing and where three-quarters of commercially caught species are over-exploited or exploited to their maximum.

One spin-off that has possibly resulted from these accusations of ‘vote-buying’ is the campaign for secret balloting⁴⁰ on IWC proposals. Japan has stated that smaller member nations fear being bullied by larger states and has asked that anonymity be granted for all IWC votes, however anti-whaling governments and NGOs repeatedly highlight the need and importance of transparency within the organisation, possibly fearing that anonymity will lead to an increase in ‘vote-buying’ (referred to as ‘bribe-taking’ in anti-whaling discourse).

Even at the last (2010) IWC meeting in Agadir, Morocco, the IWC was plagued with accusations of bribery and corruption. In the days leading up to the meeting, the British newspaper, the *Sunday Times*, made allegations that the Vice-Chair of the IWC, Anthony Liverpool⁴¹, had accepted free flights and had his hotel bill paid for by the Japanese Government (ABC News 21st June 2010). At the time of writing it is unclear whether these allegations have any foundation, with an investigation by the IWC still being undertaken.

⁴⁰ The case for voting secretly on matters of substance at the IWC is yet to be adopted by the IWC. In 1997, Japan argued that the Rules of Procedure should be changed to allow for secret voting on most matters, suggesting that it was necessary to move from transparency, whereby a country’s vote on an issue is a matter of public record, ‘to protect the sovereign rights of contracting government in the democratic process. Governments [are] being subjected to undue pressures’ (IWC 1998 48th Annual Report, p.43).

⁴¹ In addition to being the IWC’s Vice-Chair, Anthony Liverpool is also the IWC Commissioner for Antigua and Barbuda, a long-standing pro-whaling country.

1.3 Summary

This chapter has provided a history of both global whaling and Japanese whaling, thereby introducing the main actors and issues central to the international dispute over whaling in the twenty-first century. Some of the issues noted above are central to the current climate of large-scale distrust and miscommunication. Acknowledging the dysfunctional nature of the growing schism between anti- and pro-whaling nations, an intersessional IWC meeting was convened in London in March 2008⁴², the purpose of which was not to negotiate the issues that were the fulcra of disagreement within the IWC, but quite simply so that the member states might learn how to communicate with one another once again. This intersessional meeting saw the beginning of a process that became known as the *Future of the IWC* process whereby, at the *miniaturisation* recommendation of Ambassador de Soto⁴³ of Peru, several members of the IWC formed a Small Working Group⁴⁴ (SWG) of 33 members with near equal representation in terms of views, geography and economy, to negotiate the most contentious issues in a more intimate environment (Iloff 2010). However, despite having a Support Group⁴⁵ for assistance in the preparation of

⁴² The purpose of this meeting was not to ‘launch into negotiations on substantive issues where major differences among IWC members exist’, because it was decided that it would be ‘more fruitful to take a process-orientated approach and to seek ways to improve how negotiations within the IWC are conducted’ (Draft Agenda for London Intersessional Meeting March 2008 is available at <http://www.iwcoffice.org/_documents/commission/future/IWC-M08-1.pdf>).

⁴³ Ambassador de Soto of Peru was one of the three external experts the IWC commissioned to advise the organisation on ways in which it might solve the major disputes between its members. De Soto had 25 years of experience working for the United Nations including having major roles in peace negotiations and an involvement in the process of establishing the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) (Iloff 2010).

⁴⁴ The Small Working Group consisted of Antigua and Barbuda, Argentina, Australia, Benin, Brazil, Cambodia, Cameroon, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Côte d’Ivoire, Czech Republic, Denmark, Germany, Republic of Guinea, France, and Iceland.

⁴⁵ The Support Group contained equitable geographic and socio-economic representation with members from Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Brazil, Cameroon, Germany, Iceland, Japan, Mexico, New Zealand, St. Kitts and Nevis, Sweden and the USA all participating.

material, the SWG turned into a microcosm of the IWC, with negotiations not yielding desired solutions. The *Future of the IWC* process was halted after it was agreed at the IWC meeting in 2010 that a 12 month ‘period of reflection’ was needed during which members were not to discuss the contentious issues of the organisation (namely whaling under special permit via Article VIII.I and commercial whaling under objection).

With the polarization of the IWC, the moratorium is likely to remain in place for the foreseeable future, needing a three-quarter majority to be overturned, and with communications at their worst since the moratorium’s installation, it is clear that different approaches are needed if this international environmental issue is to be resolved and the IWC is to again function effectively.

Within the whaling debate, Japan is the clear pro-whaling protagonist. To address why this may be the case, the next chapter goes ‘back to basics’ and examines the evolution of environmental thought in Japan. Japan’s main religious traditions are examined, with special focus on Buddhism, Shinto and Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism. Discussion focuses upon how these religious beliefs have evolved and how they have shaped modern-day environmental thinking in Japan, with special reference to the current whaling sentiment prevailing in Japan today. The chapter examines closely the work of Ruth Benedict, a social anthropologist and Arne Kalland, a well-known commentator on international environmental politics.

The chapter also examines previous research into Japanese attitudes on whales and whaling. Young Japanese people’s attitudes to the natural environment and whaling issues are prefigured, and the value of studying this cohort in the context of this

research project is demonstrated. The chapter concludes with the objectives of this research, namely to generate greater knowledge and understanding of the attitudes of young Japanese on issues crucial to the resolution of the whaling controversy. To this end, the study aimed to answer the following questions:

- 1) What are the predictors that formulate the attitudes of young Japanese people on whaling issues?
- 2) Of these predictors, which make the most significant contribution to the whaling attitudinal model of Japan's youth?

Chapter 2 Japanese Environmental Thought and Practice, and its Relevance to Attitudes Towards Whaling

Any attempt to understand the Japanese must begin with their version of what it means to 'take one's proper station'. Their reliance upon order and hierarchy and our faith in freedom and equality are poles apart... Japan's confidence in hierarchy is basic in her whole notion of man's relation with his fellow man and of man's relation to the State and it is only by describing some of their national institutions like the family, the State, religious and economic life that it is possible for us to understand their view of life (Benedict 1946: 43).

In 1944, Ruth Benedict, a cultural anthropologist, was commissioned by the U.S. Government to observe and analyse the Japanese national character, in order to help predict how the Japanese would act in the post-war era. As America planned to rebuild the Japanese state along more liberal democratic lines, there was a need to know how the Japanese would react in the face of defeat in the Second World War, to the changing role of the Emperor, and to the political tutelage of their American occupiers. The resulting report from Benedict's observations was, at the time, one of the most revealing and detailed accounts of the internal workings of the collective Japanese psyche. Compiled into a work entitled *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946), Benedict stresses that a westerner wanting to learn about the Japanese and understand collective Japanese behaviour should, firstly, stop thinking like a westerner and, secondly, he or she should explore all aspects of Japanese culture and society, no matter how apparently insignificant.

Many observations made by Benedict in her work can be extrapolated to current Japanese attitudes towards whales and whaling policy, thereby assisting the western world to more effectively negotiate international whaling agreements. A large majority of the western world does not currently understand how the Japanese can hunt and kill mammals that most deem awe-inspiring and, therefore, untouchable.

Many wonder why a nation that has Buddhism (particularly Zen) and Shinto as the predominant religious traditions continues to hunt whales. To many it seems incongruous that these two systems of religious belief, in which the relationship between humans and nature is posited as one of harmony and co-existence, can openly tolerate the (frequently long-suffering) deaths of marine mammals.

However, current Japanese behaviour towards whales and whaling is, as this chapter will demonstrate, a product of a combination of historical events, cultural constructs, tenacious social norms and various other components of Japanese life that can seem quite alien to a western sensibility.

This chapter explores various components of Japanese culture, both historical and contemporary. Benedict's report is examined and is linked to literature examining Japanese religious traditions and belief systems, along with a consideration of Japanese environmental behaviour and values, the latter drawing upon the works of Arne Kalland. The intention is to explicate relevant aspects of the dominant Japanese values paradigm, so that anti-whaling governments will be better equipped to devise policies that conduce towards rebuilding relationships in the forum of international whaling policy, a situation that has evaded the International Whaling Commission (IWC) for three decades.

2.1 The Religions of Japan

In 1967, historian Lynn White described Christianity as ‘the most anthropocentric religion the world has ever seen’, positing environmental degradation as consequential upon the teaching from Genesis in which God gave humans dominion over the earth and licensed ‘man’ to ‘exploit nature for his proper ends’ (White 1967: 1205). According to White, environmental degradation accelerated when Christianity triumphed over pagan animism, and the guardian spirits or *genius loci* of streams, springs, hills, rocks, trees and other natural phenomena no longer commanded the protective respect (White 1967: 1205) accorded to them in pagan times. The consequence of this was that ‘Christianity made it possible to exploit nature in a mood of indifference to the feelings of natural objects’ (White 1967: 1205). Toynbee (1972) also attributed environmental crisis to monotheistic religions, which, in his view, removed the constraints on human greed.

White’s thesis sparked debate among theologians, philosophers, geographers, historians, scientists, ecologists and others on the effect of global religions on the natural world and possible theological responses to environmental degradation. Since that time Eastern pantheistic religions have been looked upon as less condoning of environmental exploitation than Judeo-Christian value systems. For example, Murota (1985: 105), when referring to religious belief systems in Japan (pre-eminently Buddhism and Shinto) argued that:

The Japanese view of nature is quite different from that of westerners...the Japanese people considered themselves to be so integrated with nature that they could not identify it objectively as a separate entity...People in western cultures, on the other hand, view nature as an object and, often, as an entity set in opposition to humankind. western cultures have attempted to satisfy the needs and desires of their people by conquering nature with the help of technology.

Similarly, Yasuda (1990: 2-4) contrasted Europe's 'civilisation of deforestation' with Japan's 'forest civilisation' by highlighting the wide range of measures introduced to preserve Japanese forests in the preindustrial age. Yasuda also presented Japan's animist heritage (which is embedded in Shintoism, where every grove and every tree is believed to be imbued with the spirit of the divine) as a 'grand model' which could 'offer an answer to the pressing issue of how to preserve the global environment, and how to let nature and man co-exist' (Yasuda 1989: 7-8).

Support for the environmentalist credentials of Oriental religions came not only from Asian scholars. Kalland (2002) noted that Japanese perceptions of nature have 'been taken as an example of a holistic-organic approach to nature; as an alternative where man and nature meet in a harmonious unity of mutual respect, complementarity and symbiosis'. Weller and Hsiao (1998: 84) argue that westerners have encouraged an objectification of nature by positing either an ecocentric priority to nature or an anthropocentric subordination of nature to culture. Both ideals set up a contrast between culture and nature. This dichotomisation of culture and nature is, however, alien to Japanese thought (Kalland and Persoon 1998: 5). In explaining why Japan did not develop a tradition of materialist theorising, such as that which appeared in the west, Saigusa (1973: 373) cites the closeness between nature and humanity in Japan, whereas in the west, humanity was viewed as the conqueror of nature, with nature itself deemed an objective material reality existing in opposition to the human subject. There is also a widespread belief that Asian people need very little in the way of material goods, as epitomised by the ascetic recluse who subsists on the bare minimum needed to uphold life functions. Hence, an ascetic way of life, based on elaborate religious systems such as Buddhism, Daoism and Hinduism, or based on a

combination of such systems with indigenous ways of life, is said to characterise a number of Asian societies (Kalland and Persoon 1998: 3). This ascetism is also expressed through the simplicity of art forms as, for example, in Japanese gardens, poetry and architecture, which are seen to reflect the high degree of sensitivity towards nature found in Japan (Asquith and Kalland 1997). It is these generalised images, with their roots in Orientalism⁴⁶ (Said 1979: 3), that have induced westerners to look to Asian value systems for solutions to environmental problems.

Such generalised impressions constitute stereotypes. Nevertheless, respect for nature has undoubtedly been part of many Asian cultures, and is integral to most religious systems (Kalland and Persoon 1998: 3). Restrictions were placed on resource exploitation, and certain species of animals and plants, even entire localities, were regarded as sacred and accorded special protection. Religious observances and rituals might also have reduced resource use, as, for example, when taboos connected with births and deaths prevented Japanese fishermen from fishing for weeks at a time (Kalland 1995a: 49). As observed by Kalland and Persoon (1998: 3), nature and the moral order became intimately entwined.

Nature, and the way it is perceived by people, can also initiate other human emotions such as nationalist pride. An example is given by Knight (1997) who posits that forests are an important element to the Japanese national identity. This becomes particularly rewarding when such values are praised by people beyond Japan, as is

⁴⁶ According to Said (1979: 1), Orientalism is the way in which Europeans (particularly the British and French) ‘come to terms with the Orient based on the Orient’s special place in European western Experience. The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe’s greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other’.

the case with western images of oriental perceptions of nature, or what Lohmann (1993) termed ‘Green Orientalism’. Appropriating ‘Green Orientalism’ has ‘given rise to self-confidence, pride and nationalism in Japan, where the much-praised Japanese attitude towards nature – epitomised by their “love of” and living “in harmony” with it – has become an important part of the *nihonjinron* (the theory of Japanese uniqueness) phenomenon’ (Kalland and Asquith 1997). As Pedersen (1995: 272) observes:

By offering to the world what they hold to be their traditional, religious values, local peoples acquire cultural significance. When they speak about nature, they speak about themselves. They demonstrate to themselves and the world that their traditions, far from being obsolete and out of touch with modern reality, express a truth of urgent relevance for the future and the Earth.

2.1.1 Shinto

Shinto is the most ancient and pervasive religious influence in Japan and is the name given to the indigenous elements of Japanese religion which can be traced back to pre-historic times. Though much of Shinto may have been imported, it is Shinto that is associated with the mythology of Japan’s creation and the supernatural ancestors of Japan’s imperial line (Hendry 1995: 117). It is also Shinto that is said to be the foundation of Japan’s identity as a nation (Hendry 1995: 117). Modern-day Shinto has been described as ‘a variant of simple and primitive shamanistic animism common among rice farmers of monsoon Asia, with a characteristic belief in ubiquitous spirits and ancestor worship’ (Fukui 1992: 203).

During the Meiji Restoration (1868-1912), Shinto became Japan’s state religion. It was elevated above Confucianism, but the core Confucian doctrines (discussed in

2.1.3) were retained in order to continue harnessing nationalism to mobilise support for tasks set by the state (Fukui 1992: 204). In 1906, approximately 190,000 shrines around the country were consolidated so that, as a rule, every village had one shrine (Fukui 1992: 203). During the years leading up to and including the Second World War, Shinto doctrine developed and was propagated by a specially created state Shinto office, which sought to inspire Japanese people with nationalistic fervour. The promotion of Shinto helped combat and quash the radical, often Marxist-inspired, labour and peasant movements that arose in the wake of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). State Shinto was eventually dismantled by the Allied Occupation, it being deemed responsible for much of Japan's pre-war and wartime aggression (Hendry 1995: 117).

In Buddhist doctrine one talks about 'Buddha-nature' in all entities, while in Shinto (literally meaning the Way of the *Kami* [or Spiritual Forces]), which in reality is an ethnic mixture of tribal religions, one talks about *kami*, a supernatural power or spirit that can reside in anything and that gives a person feelings of awe (Kalland 2002). To understand Shinto one must understand the concept of *kami* and disregard the preconceptions evoked by the word *god*, which is often used to translate *kami*. In Shinto, monotheism, the concept of one absolute god who is the creator of both nature and human beings, does not exist (Shinto Online Network Association 2005).

Some Japanese now view Shinto as superstition, however manifestations of Shinto are evident all over Japan in the form of shrines that are frequently the focal point within individual residences or townships. Shrines and the buildings that house them are maintained by local people, who in turn come under the protection of the particular *kami* who is remembered there. In general, Shinto is concerned with

notions of pollution and purity, evident in the rituals undertaken when visiting a shrine (these involve the washing of the mouth and hands). The washing rituals purifies a person from the pollution of the outside world.

In Shinto mythology, the *kami* pair, *Izanagi* and *Izanami*, are said to have created the archipelagic Japanese islands and all the elements within them (such as rivers, mountains, animals, flowers, and trees, as well as elemental forces such as fire). The pair also procreated *Amaterasu no mikoto*, the Sun Goddess, and her brother, *Susanoo no mikoto*, the impetuous god of storms⁴⁷. The rivalry between the two gods is well documented in Japanese mythology. When *Susanoo* was ordered to leave heaven by *Izanagi*, he visited his sister to say goodbye. The visit turned into a furious argument during which the storm god, *Susanoo*, destroyed his sister's rice fields and hurled a flayed pony (an animal sacred to *Amaterasu*) at her loom, killing one of her attendants. It can thus be postulated that, because *Amaterasu*, a benevolent *kami*, and *Susanoo*, a mischievous if not malevolent one, are deemed divine beings, many Japanese do not brand acts defiling the natural world as necessarily wrong: 'Shinto myths relate that *Susanoo* wreaked havoc in his sister's rice fields, implying that similar actions contrary to the general good of the world of nature might still have some divine sanction via *Susanoo*'s example' (Selin 1997: 299).

An interesting aspect of religious beliefs in Japan is the way in which Japanese people use them interchangeably, depending on the situation. For example, 'Shinto is divorced entirely from dealing with the dead, because at this time families turn to the other major religion, namely Buddhism' (Hendry 1995: 119). Generally speaking,

⁴⁷ A basic tenet of Shinto is that *Amaterasu* and *Susanoo* parented the imperial line and were the ancestral stock of all its human subjects.

Shinto 'is associated with celebrations of life and its development, with the harvest [of natural resources] and fertility, and with house-building and the community' (Hendry 1995: 119).

Although Shinto may not overtly promote the same level of peaceful, harmonious living between humans and their natural world as Buddhism, Shinto philosophy is still considered to be, at least in the eyes of westerners, an Oriental spirituality that is less invasive than many Occidental religions. In response to the question asked earlier: why is it that Japan, a nation predominantly practising Shinto, Buddhism or both⁴⁸, has witnessed many anthropogenic environmental disasters⁴⁹ and, more specifically, continues to promote the killing of whales, Tucker (2003: 165) suggests that the Japanese 'have tolerated egregious abuses' of the natural world because Shinto mythology describes the destructive actions of *kami* such as *Susanoo's* on the rice fields as part of Japanese life. In Japanese society the material and spiritual worlds are not separated. All objects exist in the spiritual realm, so if destructive actions are performed by *kami* (such as flooding), then, by rights, they can also be performed by Japanese people without fear of personal retribution. What this suggests is that the Japanese have tailored certain religious traditions to coincide with moral and practical convenience.

An additional characteristic of Shinto that is notable when discussing environmentally-relevant behaviour of the Japanese people is the performing of

⁴⁸ Shinto is a non-exclusive religious tradition, and many Japanese practise both Buddhism and Shinto.

⁴⁹ There are many examples of pre-modern environmental degradation in Asia. In Japan, forests were depleted during the period 600-850 and again in 1570-1670, which were periods characterised by extensive building activities (Totman 1989: 3). Japan is the single largest buyer of tropical hardwood in the world and Southeast Asia is by far its largest supplier (Wong 1998: 132).

ceremonial rites and rituals. Shinto *kami* are neither good nor bad *per se* but can manifest as benign or harmful depending on the treatment they receive (Blacker 1975: 41). Thus, there exists a kind of contractual relationship between people and supernatural beings (see Davis 1992: 241). The *kami* need affection and nourishment from human beings and, as long as the proper rites are performed and offerings given, the deities will bring health and happiness to the worshippers, protect them against the wrath of nature and provide them with, for example, bumper catches of fish and harvests of various natural products in return (Kalland 1995b: 243-257). Thus, memorial stones have been present at Japanese whaling ports dating back to the seventeenth century; and memorial stones at Japanese slaughterhouses, marine product markets, and even animal testing facilities have been erected in the twentieth century. The Japanese ceremonies for animals that have been killed are referred to as *ireisai* and *kanshasai*, which roughly translates as ‘comforting of the soul’ and ‘giving of thanks’ respectively (Asquith 1983). Thus, deep gratitude is felt towards the slaughtered whales, which are deemed as ‘giving up their lives to save the lives of Japanese people’ (Ohsumi 2004: 88). Any wastage is deemed ‘grievous’, in keeping with a culture of utilising all the animal, and Japanese pro-whaling authors and whalers criticise western-style whaling for its high level of wastage. Finally, the psychological benefits of being able to attribute a poor catch to religious factors rather than a fisherman’s own deficient skills are considerable. It means that there exists an avenue for ‘saving face’, a concept that is central to Japanese society and one that will be examined in greater detail in Chapter Five.

It could be suggested, therefore, that due to the religious philosophies of Shinto (and Buddhism as discussed later), the observances of various rites (asking deities for

protection from hostile environmental forces) and the conduct of ceremonies (asking deities to provide bountiful harvests), Japan could be seen as having a close spiritual ‘connectedness’ to the natural world; however, this close association with nature does not necessarily imply that Asians have an ecocentric perspective of nature that stands in contrast to a western anthropocentric perspective (Kalland and Persoon 1998: 5). Likewise, the notion that Asians live in ‘harmony’ with nature does not necessarily mean that nature is protected, as ‘harmony’ does not also imply environmental stasis. Broch (1998: 212) argues that as long as good and evil forces are in equilibrium (much like the East Asian balance of *yin* and *yang*), and whilst this cosmic balance is not upset, people are free to alter the composition of flora and fauna in innovative ways. Kalland and Persoon (1998: 6) conclude, then, that there is nothing in Asian religions that conduces to environmentally friendly behaviour any more than elsewhere; other commentators even note that there is no such thing as an Asian perception of nature (Callicott and Ames 1989: 1-21; Bruun and Kalland 1995: 1-24). Indeed, the environmental track record of Japan does not demonstrate an overriding reverence for nature, with widespread environmental abuses in evidence and an apparent indifference toward sound resource conservation and management practises (Sun 1989; Broadbent 1998: 4-12, 361-367), such that Japan’s history of environmentally damaging practises has led one commentator to label them ‘environmental terrorists’ (Sneider 1989).

2.1.2 Buddhism

Buddhism was introduced into Japan from China (through Korea) during the Asuka period (end of the sixth century to the first half of the seventh century). Traditional Buddhist cosmology sees the world as subject to creation and disintegration, and

that humans similarly experience cycles of death and re-birth (*samsara*)⁵⁰. All living creatures are sacred and endowed with a soul. Thus, as *everything* has Buddha-nature and, therefore, the potential to harbour supernatural powers, all creatures, animate and inanimate, are on the same level. In traditional Buddhism everything is seen to be connected through everything else in a web of interdependencies, both spatially and temporally, through the laws of cause and effect (*karma*). In the original Indian religion, a Buddha was a person who achieved enlightenment through the sustained practise of asceticism. In classical Indian 'Pure Land' Buddhism, a person who attained enlightenment through ascetic practises (such as yoga, which was performed to release Man from reincarnation, thereby allowing him to reach *nirvana*) would pass into the 'Pure Land' after death (Yamaori 2003).

The Japanese, however, reinterpreted death-focused elements of classical Buddhism to align with existing native traditions and beliefs. To understand why this occurred, the religious landscape of the archipelago prior to the arrival of Buddhism needs to be examined. The 'elegies in the *Man'yōshū*, the anthology of poems from the sixth to eighth centuries, show that the Japanese at that time believed that souls went to the tops of mountains after people died' (Yamaori 2003). The concept of mountaintops as resting places for the spirits of the dead is the Shinto view of the afterlife (Yamaori 2003). This would later develop into the idea that departed spirits dwell in the mountains and forests, where they become the *kami* of Shinto belief (Yamaori 2003). Thus, when Buddhism was introduced into Japan, the Japanese did not adopt the concept of going to the 'Pure Land' after death as they already had a belief

⁵⁰ Buddhism is similar to Shinto in that both religious systems see everything as interconnected; Buddhism through reincarnation and Shinto through polytheistic worship of deities that exist in all entities.

system that placed the souls of the dead in the mountains in the form of Shinto *kami*.

However, writes Yamaori (2003), Buddhism attached comfortably to these existing Shinto concepts:

The mountaintops were construed as the Pure Land, and the spirits of the dead climbed to these peaks, where they achieved the status of buddhas and *kami* at the same time. The Japanese belief system of the time allowed for this kind of melding of cultures, and the steep mountains and deep forests provided the perfect natural backdrop for the syncretic beliefs that emerged...This was the basis for the blended Shinto-Buddhist faith that exists in Japan to this day. It is a characteristic of Japanese ancestor worship that the spirits of the dead are seen as both buddhas and Shinto *kami*. Eventually this led to the idea of the dead as *hotoke* - something that goes beyond the Shinto concept of the *kami*, but that is not a buddha in the Indian sense. The veneration of these *hotoke*, spirits drawing on Buddhist and Shinto tradition, developed over time into the ceremonies carried out to pacify the spirits of the deceased. Once the general form of these pacification ceremonies became fixed, it remained largely unchanged through the medieval and early modern eras (Yamaori 2003).

In terms of harvesting from the ocean, fishermen have regularly performed these memorial services (*kuyō*) for their catch in order to help the fish (and whales) be reborn into a higher existence and in order to show gratitude to them for giving themselves up for human consumption (Kalland 1995b: 243-257). In Japan the whale was seen as manifestation of *Ebisu*, the patron deity of fishing (Kalland 2009: 155), with modern Japanese beliefs maintaining that whales sacrifice themselves for the benefit of humans. In return, whalers are obliged to utilise the carcass to the fullest - waste is seen as an insult to the whale - and take care of their immortal souls. The most elaborate *kuyō* were those performed for whales, each animal receiving a memorial tablet with a posthumous name (Figures 3a, b) (Kalland and Moeran 1992: 152-155).

Figure 3a. (Left) A Buddhist *kako-cho* (a death register roll of whales). The *kako-cho* is a set of death register rolls carrying the posthumous Buddhist names of every whale taken by past whaling operations, recorded in the chronological order of their deaths. Figure 3b. (Right) A Buddhist *ihai* (a memorial tablet that holds posthumous Buddhist names of every whale).



Source: Papers submitted to the International Whaling Commission by the Government of Japan (1997).

In several ways whales were (and sometimes still are) treated in the same manner as deceased human beings (Kalland 1995a). At each whale ‘funeral’, the whale’s posthumous name (*kaimyō*) is inscribed on a memorial tablet (*ihai*) and registered in the death register (*kakochō*) of a Buddhist temple (Kalland 2009: 156). At Ōshima, which was the main whaling ground in Fukuoka, northern Kyūshū, a festival (*kujira-matsuri*) was held annually to honour whales and thank them for sacrificing their lives (Kalland 1995a). At least 25 memorials and festivals (*matsuri*) are held every year in Japan to honour killed whales, with tombs and memorial stones for whales existing in at least 48 locations, from Hokkaido in the north to Kyushu in the south (Kalland 2009: 156). Kalland notes that: ‘a tomb at Kōganji (a temple dedicated to

whales in Yamaguchi prefecture) marks the burial site of whale foetuses and has been declared a national historical monument' (2009: 156).

Again, however, the central place of appreciation and respect for nature in Japanese culture poses dilemmas concerning the treatment of the natural environment. Indeed, Hay (2002: 116) asks why is it that many of the Asian countries that are most strongly influenced by Buddhism, Taoism, and Shinto are commonly 'the world's most aggressive plunderers of their own and others' environments. Buddhism, in particular, remains bedevilled by its tradition of quietism, and visitors to Buddhist countries frequently comment upon the complacent acceptance which greets the perpetration of the most appalling environmental destruction'. If traditional Buddhist philosophy promotes harmonious living between humans and the natural world⁵¹, why is it that ecosystem degradation and what the western world perceives as cruelty to animals (specifically, for our purposes, the harpooning of whales) exist in Japan?

There are several responses that can be made to this question. First, in 675AD, early in the history of Japanese Buddhism, Emperor Tenmu proclaimed the Prohibition on Hunting and Eating Meat. Although the hunting and eating of terrestrial animals was prohibited and deemed sinful, the harvesting of marine resources (including cetaceans) was specifically exempted. Cetaceans, as can be seen by the use of the Chinese character for 'fish' in the word 'whale', were, and to some extent still are in modern Japan, regarded as large fish rather than mammals (Ohsumi 2004; see also Kalland 1993).

⁵¹ Acknowledging the first Precept which states: 'I undertake the rule of training not to do any harm to any living (breathing) thing' (Miranda, cited in Iliff 2002).

Secondly, Tucker (2003: 167) suggests that, because the Buddhist world emphasises endless creation and disintegration and the cycling of eternal energy, this can promote ‘a cavalier attitude towards the natural environment since, regardless of one’s efforts [in protection or conservation or even reduced exploitation] the world will inevitably disintegrate and then begin anew’. Tucker (2003: 167) also argues that the ‘Buddhist belief that attachment to things leads to suffering might also have vitiated wholehearted involvement in an environmental ethic geared towards conservation’.

Thirdly, Hay writes that Buddhism is one of those religions characterised in the west as ‘quietist: its injunctions lead to contemplation and worldly inaction rather than activity and intervention’ (Hay 2002: 95). Therefore, ‘when it comes to determining the public and private choice of ecologically relevant behaviour, the non-directive nature of eastern religious traditions renders them unsuited to serve as determinants of, or even moderators upon action’ (Hay 2002: 116).

These factors may contribute to current Japanese behaviour towards whales and whaling, however, it seems likely that an observation made by Benedict (1946) in her anthropological studies of the Japanese is of greater significance in explaining the apparent juxtaposition between Japan’s strong spirituality and its environmentally destructive practises. Benedict (1946: 191) argues that ‘Buddhist philosophy has gone farther in Japan than in any other nation in teaching that every man is a potential Buddha and that rules of virtue are not in the sacred writings but in what one uncovers within one’s own enlightened and innocent soul’. Later, Benedict (1946: 237) discusses the use of yoga in Buddhism and identifies the obstacles in Man’s pathway to *nirvana* as human desires. Through yoga and self-imposed

suffering, desires can be eliminated and the world of the flesh renounced, thereby ‘escaping the treadmill of human futility’. But, Benedict (1946: 238) points out, the Japanese do not have this dogma and see *nirvana* existing in the ‘here and now’. They do not deprive their senses of stimuli deemed to be pleasurable; indeed, it is ‘part of wisdom to enjoy the pleasures of the senses’, on the condition that they be sacrificed at times ‘to the serious duties of life’ (Benedict 1946: 238). Witness the importance the Japanese place on the composition of elegant verses (*haiku*), the ritual of tea ceremony, and ‘viewings’ of the moon and cherry blossom. Moreover:

...in the Japanese handling of the Yoga cult, not only are all self-tortures eliminated but the cult in Japan is not even one of asceticism. Even the “Enlightened” in their retreats, though they were called hermits, commonly established themselves in comfort with their wives and children in charming spots in the country (Benedict 1946: 238-9).

In any case, a man who becomes a Buddha, ‘need not set himself to attain the goal of absolute surcease by lifelong mortification of the flesh’ (Benedict 1946: 238). As can be seen, the more conventional Buddhist concept of *nirvana* may be accepted by Buddhist priests, but, in the post-war era, it has not penetrated popular Japanese culture. Also diverging from mainstream Buddhism, the Japanese do not entertain thoughts of a world after death – a tenet central to traditional Buddhist philosophy – despite the presence of gods in their mythology. Buddhism in Japan has taken on its own form, then, distinct from forms of Buddhism in other countries.

In this vein, Arne Kalland argues that the feeling for nature expressed in Japanese arts has little to do with a practical interest in preserving the natural environment and much more to do with a particular use of nature as a source of metaphor for spiritual and philosophical values. Natural features such as the cherry blossom or pine trees are appreciated because they represent the fleeting nature of life or the victory of

life over death. In this use of nature as a symbol, it matters little whether cherry blossom or pine trees flourish abundantly in the wild or are seen in the confined surroundings of an urban backyard (Kalland 1995b: 254).

Taken together, these observations help answer the question posed earlier: why Japan, as a nation deeply immersed within Buddhist traditions finds, the killing of marine mammals acceptable. To summarise, this is so because: a) the 675 Proclamation on the killing and eating of animals did not include marine resources (and whales were and still are, seen as large fish); and b), because Japan has tailored Buddhist values to fit the Japanese way of living, specifically by departing from the concept of *nirvana* that is common to all other variants of Buddhism⁵².

However, other Japanese religious beliefs need to be discussed, as these are also informants of Japanese behaviour toward the natural world.

2.1.3 Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism

The term ‘Confucianism’ is used for the Chinese cultural-philosophical tradition shaped by Confucius and his followers from the period of the Warring States (481-221 B.C.) to the Song dynasty (A.D. 960-1279) (Tan 2003). The principal sayings and teachings of Confucius are contained within the *Analects*.

⁵² The tailoring of Buddhism in Japan is also observed by Eliot (2002: 179): ‘The most salient feature of Japanese Buddhism is its intimate connection with the general condition of the nation, both political and social. It has vibrated in response to many and abrupt political changes, it has registered them in its sects and expressed in its art the special note of each’.

Confucianism was imported into Japan from China in the fifth century A.D (Fukui 1992: 204). In Tokugawa Japan⁵³ (1603-1867) it was Confucianism that served as the state religion, with its ideals of social order and harmony maintained by moral and benevolent rulers and their loyal, disciplined, and industrious subjects informing both the politics and society of the period (Fukui 1992: 204). More specifically, Confucianism highlighted the importance of Imperial loyalty and filial piety as essential for maintaining order in every facet of Japanese society and for nurturing sound moral conduct. For example, according to ‘Confucian precepts, an individual needs training in the virtues of benevolent action, loyalty and filial piety in order to participate properly in five basic relationships. These are those between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, and friend and friend’ (Hendry 1995: 126). Confucian dogmas played a particularly important part in the education of Japanese children, especially salient towards the end of the Meiji Restoration. Primary school children were taught to be loyal, cooperative, and industrious, as well as literate and able workers in the service of the state (Fukui 1992: 204). Confucianism became the basis for the growth of strong nationalistic feelings within young Japanese, leading to what Fukui (1992: 199-206) refers to as the nationalist/paternalist orientation of the Japanese state⁵⁴.

When discussing the influences that have helped shape modern-day Japan, Hendry (1995: 127) describes Confucianism as ‘male-orientated’ and ‘conflicting with

⁵³ An era of Japanese history during which the Tokugawa family, through Tokugawa shoguns, ruled a feudalistic Japan.

⁵⁴ It is important to note that in post-war Japan, the emperor cult, and all other forms of ultranationalist ideology, including Shinto and Confucian ideals, were condemned. Any reference to these was removed from school text books by the Ministry of Education in 1945. The degree to which they were removed successfully from the Japanese psyche, and a discussion on *management* and democratisation of the Japanese in regards to economic development, can be found in Fukui (1992: Chapter 8).

democratic ideals’, as well as ‘much more a moral or ethical system than a system of religious practice’ that ‘...has been drawn upon to build and support the ethics of both Buddhism and Shinto’.

Confucianism culminated in a Neo-Confucian revival in the eleventh and twelfth centuries which resulted in a new synthesis of earlier teachings. The term ‘Neo-Confucianism’ is often used to refer to the developments in Confucian thought from the Song dynasty (960-1279 AD) to the collapse of the Qing dynasty (1644-1911) (Tan 2003). Although originally a Chinese movement, Neo-Confucianism ultimately became a more pan-Asian movement, decisively affecting China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam and other East Asian societies in the modern period. In Japan, it was a dominant force during the Tokugawa period (1603-1867), often referred to as the *kinsei* (early modern) period of Japanese history.

Commentaries on Neo-Confucianism have been criticised for misleadingly positing a unified and normative movement, and commensurately eliding the reality of a diverse plurality of vibrant, competing schools of thought in China that included *Daoxue* (School of the Way), *Lixue* (School of Principle), and *Xinxue* (School of the Mind) (Tan 2003). Tan (2003) notes ‘these schools regarded Confucius as their inspiration and his teachings as a common cultural-philosophical heritage, but developed his ideas in innovative ways that he would never have recognized’.

A characteristic shared by both Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism is the absence of any creed or official dogma (Tan 2003). The traditional Confucian corpus is

identified with the Five Classics (*Wu jing*) that Confucius supposedly edited⁵⁵. Although the great Neo-Confucian philosopher, *Zhu Xi* (*Chuhsi*), formulated a canonical list of the Four Books (*Si shu*)⁵⁶, there was no official orthodoxy or ‘revealed’ dogma on how these Four Books or the Five Classics were to be interpreted. This paved the way for the emergence of diverse and novel creative interpretations, all claiming to be faithful to the teachings of Confucius himself (Tan 2003)⁵⁷.

Both Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism rely heavily on the presence of forests and mountains⁵⁸. Confucians and Neo-Confucians, following Confucius’ views on mountains and water, believed that morality involved right behaviour towards the natural world and humanity, and as a result, encouraged scientific interest in and ethical concern for the natural world (Tucker 2003: 169). Tucker (2003: 169) notes that Buddhism was not generally known for producing agricultural or environmental tracts that would promote a more harmonious symbiosis between humanity and the natural sphere. Instead, ‘it was Confucian and Neo-Confucian scholars who, in addition to admiring natural beauty and revering it spiritually, made the natural world in which they lived the focus of proto-scientific research designed to conserve the environment for future generations’ (Tucker 2003:169).

⁵⁵ Book of Poetry (*Shijing*), Book of History (*Shujing*), Book of Rites (*Liji*), Book of Changes (*Yijing*) and the Spring and Autumn Annals (*Chunqiu*). A sixth Classic, the Book of Music (*Yuejing*) is no longer extant (Tan 2003).

⁵⁶ *Lunyu* (Confucian Analects), *Mengzi* (Mencius), *Daxue* (‘Great Learning’) and *Zhongyong* (‘Doctrine of the Mean’) (Tan 2003).

⁵⁷ For a more detailed account of the evolution on Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism, see Tan (2003). For a more detailed account of the influences of Neo-Confucianism on the natural world in China, see Tucker (1991).

⁵⁸ Confucius (551-479 BC) writes in the *Analects* (Chinese: *Lunyu*; Japanese: *Rongo*, 6/12), the most authentic record of his thought, that ‘the wise person loves water, while the humane person loves mountains’, suggesting that early Confucianism linked moral concerns with ecological ones (Tucker 2003: 170).

However, as history has shown, despite a Confucian and Neo-Confucian heritage, Japan could not avoid environmental damage and, by the late seventeenth century, forests throughout the archipelago had been depleted due to over-exploitation resulting from a boom in the construction of castles and urban residences. Explanations of why Confucian and Neo-Confucian philosophy did not deliver environmental protection can be found in the writings of several Japanese thinkers during the Tokugawa period (1603-1867). During that period, the works of writers such as Andō Shōeki (1703-1761) continued to highlight the absolute absence of division between humans and nature (Norman 1949: 221), however, as the Tokugawa period progressed, it became apparent that Japanese writers had begun to view the role of humans as more prominent, unique and specialised within the human/nature relationship. For example, the works of Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691), a seventeenth century philosopher who is often cited as a good example of the conservationist attitude of pre-modern Japanese philosophy (Morris-Suzuki 1998:40), contain speculations on the idea that humans are something more than an undifferentiated part of the natural order. Likening the universe to a plum tree, Kamazawa writes:

The roots which are hidden in the earth are like the origins of the universe, the tree is like heaven and earth, the branches are like countries, the leaves are like the myriad things, and the flowers and fruits are like human beings. Both leaves and fruit are born of the one tree, but the leaves do not serve to make a tree. They are many, but they merely decay. Flowers and fruits are few, but they contain the whole tree within themselves. Therefore when they are planted in the earth they can become a great tree (Kumazawa 1971: 13).

Morris-Suzuki (1998: 41) notes that Kumazawa's plum tree, which recurs in much Tokugawa writing, is an image in which human beings are parts of a wider whole, but parts with a special role to play in the survival and growth of the whole.

Later, rural philosopher and botanist, Ekiken Kaibara (1630-1714), sought a universal principle in nature which, he considered, would provide a basis for human morality. Kaibara's search suggests that not only does a deepening awareness of and reverence for nature make human beings better people, but, at the same time, a richer understanding of the workings of nature also offers practical ideas for improving agricultural productivity (Najita 1987: 45-47). Such a shift in focus towards the material wellbeing of humans moved Japanese values towards more utilitarian considerations. Other writers defining the Tokugawa period followed suit. Thus, Miyazaki (1623-1697) writes: 'of all the myriad creatures of heaven, none is more esteemed than human beings. This is because human beings have inherited the spirit of heaven - a spirit which cares for and nurtures all creatures under heaven' (Miyazaki 1972: 84).

These examples describe a gradual transition in Japanese human/nature relationships, one in which humans increasingly placed themselves at centre stage. Morris-Suzuki (1998: 42) notes: 'by applying agricultural knowledge and techniques to the natural environment - by selecting seeds, grafting trees, fertilising the soil - humans were fulfilling the purpose of nature itself'. But the greatest of these purposes, according to writers such as Kaibara and Miyazaki, was to provide the basis for moral human conduct. According to a frequently cited Confucian maxim, until humans have food and clothing they could not be expected to behave with righteousness. Agricultural techniques, by increasing the abundance of nature, helped to create the foundations of human morality and, therefore, agriculture was, in Kaibara's words, 'the basis of government' (Miyazaki 1972: 73).

More recently, Broadbent (1998: 27) has suggested that Japan's Confucian heritage may be indirectly responsible for what he refers to as its Growth/Environment (GE) dilemma⁵⁹. Broadbent (1998: 27) suggests that Confucian moral teachings may have encouraged Japanese people to give credence to leaders more readily and less critically than in western societies, an aspect that has been discussed by several authors (Dore 1987: 85-101; Fukui 1992: 199-213; Okimoto 1989: 170). Broadbent (1998: 362) expands his views on this *non-environmental* Confucianist spin-off in modern-day Japan:

At first most people thought that [environmental] sacrifice was the necessary price of “progress”. Eventually, however, many came to think that the price as too high. Most people could not publicly articulate this feeling in civil society, the space of public discourse, due to strong norms against open, public criticism of leaders. Confucian norms reinforced the material patronage of the machine and rendered their voices inarticulate. Elite social hegemony placed most local command roles in the hands of conservative bosses who imposed their version of “harmony” on the community.

Thus, without the ferment of ‘hot’, widespread, involved debate in the local public sphere, discontent regarding environmental degradation remained muted; barely even articulated.

⁵⁹ Broadbent (1998: xiii) describes the Growth/Environment dilemma as the trade-off that exists between increasing jobs and profits whilst further destroying the environment, and *vice versa*.

2.2 The Japanese Taming of Nature

Several commentators have described Japanese attitudes to nature as tending to oscillate between two poles: nature in the wild, and domesticated or aesthetic nature which is seamlessly contained with culture (for example, Kalland and Persoon 1998: 5). Wild nature, or ‘nature in the raw’, does, however, appear threatening to most Japanese (Kalland 1995*b*: 243-257). Buruma (1985: 65) writes that many Japanese seem to feel abhorrence toward ‘nature in the raw’, and only by idealising or ‘taming’ does it become palatable and even loveable. The process of ‘taming’ leads to order, and because both order and purity⁶⁰ are unstable conditions, culture, nature – indeed civilisation itself – degenerates unless regularly rejuvenated. Thus, the ‘taming’ – or domesticating, acculturating, binding, wrapping – of nature is an ongoing process (Kalland 2002), which can be done ‘in various ways: from “violence” (as when hills are levelled to make rice-terraces, rivers harnessed to provide water for the fields, bays filled in to create urban space, or trees pruned for aesthetic purposes) to using nature as a means of contemplation and spiritual awakening, as well as an aid to reflect upon life and death’ (Kalland 2002). Thus, the taming of nature can be achieved by transforming it into culture, as seen in Japanese gardens where not a straw is ignored by diligent gardeners. Another way to tame nature is to come to terms with spirits that are believed to have power and influence over natural forces. Japanese spirits – such as those of ancestors, ‘hungry ghosts’, ‘wandering spirits’ or *kami* – which are believed to have power over natural forces, can be influenced and pacified by proper ritual acts towards them (Kalland 1995*a*:

⁶⁰ As previously discussed in this chapter, the relationship with ‘purity’ is one that is central to cultural and societal behaviours in Japan (see Hendry 1995: 119).

42). To most Japanese then, human beings can, depending on the context, both see themselves as part of nature, together with spirits, animals, plants and stones (an ecocentric view), and as uniquely superior to other creatures, with nature a potential resource to exploit (an anthropocentric view).

Another way in which nature is idealised in Japan is through a process coined ‘reductionism’ by O-Young Lee (1984), whereby certain favourable natural features are enhanced and others that are considered obstructive elements of nature removed from view. Such a process focuses on nature for aesthetic appreciation, and has its ultimate refinement in tea ceremonies and flower arrangements (Kalland and Asquith 1997), with other manifestations including literature, fine arts, and the creation of *haiku* and *bonsai*.

These arts go hand-in-hand with cultural rituals that serve, for example, to develop individual spiritual strength (*seishin*). The arts are viewed as ‘paths’ or ‘ways’ through life that are thought to have value for helping ordinary people cope with the demands and realities of everyday existence. They have been analysed by several authors, with various social and cultural interpretations derived. Kondo (1985), for example, writes about the symbolic structure of ‘the way of tea’⁶¹. Emphasis is placed upon how this highly ritualised version of host/guest interaction embodies the importance of *tatema*, the formal graces required to maintain harmonious interaction. During the various stages of the ‘ideal typical’ version of the ceremony, participants are led from the mundane world through physical and symbolic space to a ritual climax, and back again. Various other arts form part of the process, as guests

⁶¹ For a more comprehensive ethnographic account of the Japanese tea ritual, which also places it in a historical context, see Anderson (1991: 1-12).

move through gardens, into a particular form of architecture, and admire a scroll, a flower arrangement, and the pots in which the tea is served. Everything follows a formal, ritualised style and, as Kondo observes, ‘it is by becoming one with the rules that the possibility of transcendence lies’ (1985: 302).

A Japanese fear of nature can also be explained through reference to the emphasis placed in Benedict’s 1946 work upon the importance of hierarchy in Japanese society. Proper behaviour in familial and personal relations is dictated by age, generation, sex, and class. In ‘government, religion, the Army, and industry areas are carefully separated into hierarchies where neither the higher nor the lower may, without penalty, overstep their prerogatives’ (Benedict 1946: 95). Through living within and acceptance of one’s ‘proper station’, as Benedict refers to it, it is possible that the Japanese came to fear nature in the raw because it was uncontrollable and thus did not fit into caste or hierarchy. Just as the Japanese tailored various Buddhist, Confucianist and Shinto beliefs to suit their way of living, so, too (it can be argued), nature has been tailored, trimmed and tamed to fit within hierarchy, thereby releasing the Japanese from the fear of what cannot be controlled.

2.3 Environmental Campaigns in Post-Modern Japan

Following the Meiji Restoration of 1868, as Japan embarked upon a course of rapid modernisation in the form of westernisation, concern for the natural environment lessened as the new Meiji state presided over the beginnings of industrialisation by fostering polluting industries. Although it was anathema to many, the goal of the Meiji state was to match, if not surpass, the industrial prowess of the western nations that had imposed inequitable treaties on Japan during the mid-nineteenth century. A major push was made to develop steel and petrochemical industries, both of which are heavily polluting. Voices of protest against the noxious side effects were effectively ignored, though in the late 1870s widespread water pollution caused by the Ashio Copper Mine in Tochigi Prefecture resulted in a major ecological disaster and a political scandal that continued for decades, pitting farmers against private industry and the government.

The well documented history of pollution events in Japan has since focussed most environmental campaigns on pollution-specific problems and on issues of quality of life – not surprising considering the state's rapid industrialisation and urbanisation. The post World War II years saw atmospheric concentrations of sulphur dioxide (SO₂) rise from .015 parts per million (ppm) in 1960 to .060 ppm in 1965 (Broadbent 1998: 12), causing intense asthma and other respiratory diseases. Nitrogen oxide (NO₂, NO_x) air pollution stood at .005 ppm in 1960 but rose to .03 ppm in 1980 as cars increased in number (Broadbent 1998: 12). The most well known disasters include the mercury poisoning cases in Minamata and Niigata, cadmium poisoning in Tōyama, air pollution in Yokkaichi, red tides in the Inland Sea, powdered baby's

milk contaminated by arsenic, and PCP-poisoned cooking oil (McKean 1981: 72).

Kalland and Persoon (1998: 2) observe that environmental campaigns in Asia have always tended to have a local focus, in contrast to some of the larger western campaigns which have focussed on perceived problems in distant parts of the world (the anti-whaling campaign is a prime example). 'Asian environmental campaigns are usually responses to very concrete problems in people's immediate neighbourhoods' (Kalland and Persoon 1998: 2) and can usually be traced to a specific instance of environmental degradation or resource use conflict. If the observations of Kalland and Persoon (1998: 6) are correct, Japanese respect for nature is selective, with valuable and useful elements differentiated from useless or even harmful plants and animals. This, they say, explains why there has been a proliferation of small, localised groups established to solve neighbourhood environmental problems, while it has been difficult to mobilise the public to deal with environmental problems of a more transcendent nature (Kalland and Persoon 1995: 6). Thus, most environmental campaigns in Japan are run by citizen action groups: people who become involved in a cause for practical reasons and not out of some sort of idealism (Kalland and Persoon 1998: 2). Few such groups develop into what Dalton (1994: 17) calls 'environmental interest groups', defined as 'ongoing, institutionalised advocates for political action that reach beyond the concerns of a specific locale'. What characterises the Japanese environmental movement, then, is its fragmentation into thousands of small groups, each fighting to stop particular projects or to improve the quality of the local environment. Callicott and Ames (1989: 15) note a tendency in Asian societies to be guided by particularistic rather than universalistic norms - a tendency reinforced by Confucian precepts. Several

observers have stressed the primacy of particularism in Japanese culture (see DeVos 1973; Davies 1992: 28); rather than rallying under the banner of universalistic norms and abstractions, Japanese people mobilise to correct very concrete, immediate problems (Kalland and Persoon 1998: 15). Their environmental campaigns thus tend to be not only cause specific (for example, a particular pollution event) but also ‘Japan specific: some Southeast Asian rainforests, for example, have been depleted to accommodate the preference, among many Japanese, for disposable, wooden chopsticks’ (Tucker 2003: 166). More generally, Nishikawa (1980) has noted that ‘Japan has the interests of a developed nation, albeit one which is seriously lacking in natural resources’, whilst Fukuoka has observed (1993: 84) that ‘Japan is often criticised as overspending other countries’ resources’.

Historically, there has been little active support (apart from the Environment Agency, established in 1971) from politicians and bureaucrats in the post-Meiji era for social changes that might improve the quality of the environment in areas other than pollution abatement. This is largely because such social change and associated public policies are perceived to lock up resources which can otherwise be used to harness economic growth and maintain Japan’s ranking as a major world economy. The official view in Japan is that environmental resources exist to be exploited and not protected. Indeed, the ‘Basic Policy Statement on the Natural Environment’, which was formulated by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) government in 1973, took as its starting assumption the view that the primary value in nature is to provide the resources for human economic activities (Tsuru and Weidner 1989).

In recent decades there has been a growing awareness of a global ecological crisis, which has given rise to a new discourse on the connection between worldviews

and the management of natural resources (Kalland 2002). The present western worldview – which has been variously attributed to Judeo-Christian influences (White 1967), the scientific revolution (Merchant 1980) or the development of the market economy and the rise of capitalism (Devall and Sessions 1985: 45) – is seen as the root of the problem facing the world today. A new ecological paradigm, such as that proposed by Dunlap and Van Liere (1978), where human beings are seen as part of, and in harmony with, nature has been advocated (Kalland 2002). Inspiration for one new ecological paradigm has come from Eastern traditions and usually depicts humankind as an integral part of nature instead of separated from and needing to dominate it, a paradigm that has been labelled the ‘religious environmentalist paradigm’ (Pedersen 1995: 258).

Many authors have conducted surveys and interviews to try to determine whether such a paradigm has currency in Japan. For example, Kellert (1991) used surveys and in-depth interviews with fifty environmentally knowledgeable Japanese to conclude that the Japanese appreciation for nature tended to be ‘very narrow and idealised, primarily focussing on single species and lacking an ecological and ethical perspective’, and that ‘the Japanese public placed far greater value on satisfactions derived from control and mastery over nature’. In a survey examining Japanese perceptions of wildlife performed in 1987, Kellert (1991) found that, of twelve basic wildlife values, the most prevalent attitude among respondents was the ‘humanistic’⁶², defined as ‘primary interest in and strong affection for individual animals such as pets or large wild animals with strong anthropomorphic

⁶² The twelve wildlife values used by Kellert (1991) were: Naturalistic, Ecologistic, Humanistic, Moralistic, Scientistic, Aesthetic, Utilitarian-consumption, Utilitarian-habitat, Dominionistic, Negativistic, Neutralistic, and Theistic. Detailed definitions can be found in Kellert (1980a).

associations'. A link can be made from the above data to more recent data collected during the annual survey conducted by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR 2004). In the ICPSR Environment II survey in 2000, of 27 participating countries, Japan ranked 25th in the percentage of participants who were members of any group whose main aim was to preserve or protect the environment⁶³.

Broadbent (1998: 9-10) emphasises the importance of the political ideology of economic growth in modern Japan to an understanding of its response to environmental crises. While Japan's 'growth-environment dilemma' is inherently no different to that of other developing countries, Japan's pace of development, relatively small size and high population density have put special pressures on the environment: 'tragically, Japan's economic miracle produced a pollution debacle' (Broadbent 1998: 11-12). But as Vosse (2000: 6) observes: '...social movements [in Japan] in the broadest sense...have since the 1950's and particularly in the 1960's and 1970's frequently proven to be sufficiently influential to challenge the dominance of the political and economic elite...'. Thus, social and environmental activism during the late 1960s and early 1970s forced the Japanese Government to pass 'strict anti-pollution laws' and establish 'an environmental agency to enforce them' (Broadbent 1998: 14). Broadbent also points to successful efforts, which 'attracted international recognition,' to address the toxic levels of air and water pollution that occurred in Japan (1998: 15). In a world just awakening to the severe effects of environmental pollution in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Japan was

⁶³ Of the 1180 people surveyed in Japan by ICPSR in 2000 only 1.5 per cent were members of an environmental NGO. Only two countries (out of 27) scored lower than Japan in environmental NGO membership: Latvia (1.0 per cent, $n=1000$) and Russia (0.9 per cent, $n=1705$).

something of a pioneer in the area of technological pollution abatement. While these early attempts at pollution abatement were inadequate and superficial in many ways, and did not address the root causes of the environmental crisis, they did allow a relatively high standard of living for a large proportion of Japanese society to continue over the next few decades.

2.3.1 Japanese Youth and the Natural Environment

The 1990s saw a productive international debate on the social and economic factors motivating concern for the natural environment (Brechin, 1999; Brechin and Kempton, 1994; Dunlap and Mertig, 1995, 1997; Göksen *et al.*, 2002). This concern is both remarkably widespread (Dunlap *et al.*, 1993) and culturally diverse (Brechin, 1999) and is shaped by social conditions within nations (Ignatow, 2006).

Empirical investigation by Kellert (1991) found university educated Japanese to be significantly more interested, knowledgeable and appreciative of nature and animals, and also substantially less exploitative, than Japanese of limited educational attainment. He also found that elderly Japanese scored significantly higher on his Negativistic, Dominionistic, and Utilitarian attitude scales and substantially lower scores on the Naturalistic, Humanistic, and Knowledge scales, thus adding weight to the idea that older Japanese are more likely to be pro-whaling than their younger counterparts.

It is also possible that an anti-whaling culture may have emerged from the post-materialism of present-day Japan (the main argument of which is that liberal attitudes such as concern for the environment and the welfare of other people are predicated on economic growth and widespread material prosperity [Inglehart, 1990, 1995]),

given that the emergence of an anti-whaling norm originated in western nations in the early 1970s, when such countries were the wealthiest in the world. However, the post-materialist thesis is difficult to demonstrate empirically (Brechin 1999), with the variation in levels of environmental concern among individuals and nations remaining hard to describe and explain.

In contrast to the vigorous involvement of students in anti-imperialist political struggles in Japan during that earlier era, what Vosse (2000) found in his survey regarding the age demographics of the social and environment movement as of 1993-94 was that younger people aged 21 to 30 only accounted for 3.6 per cent of environmental organisation membership, with a large proportion between the ages of 50 to 70 years. This lack of youth involvement also contrasted with the environment movement in Europe and the U.S., where the average age of members was between 30 and 50 years of age with a relatively high percentage of members belonging to younger age cohorts (Vosse 2000: 208).

If the assertion of Ignatow (2006) is correct, individuals ‘may not have coherent beliefs about environmental issues generally but may instead pick and choose environmental problems to care about, more or less one at a time’. The way in which these issues are presented to the individual will make a significant impact on whether or not the individual ‘flies the flag’ for that particular environmental issue. For example, reports on whaling by the Japanese media often do not carry commentaries on the controversies surrounding whaling or anti-whaling sentiments. Instead, Japanese journalists tend to portray the whaling issue as one that is not controversial. They use non-emotive lexis with a more objective and scientific tone, and this has

the tacit effect of justifying whaling.

Buttel and Flinn (1974), Buttel (1987) and Klineberg *et al.* (1998) all reported a positive correlation between increasing concerns for environmental protection with levels of education attainment. However, in terms of Japanese attitudes to whaling, evidence for this theory is difficult to find. Numerous authors have documented possible reasons for the unsuccessful diffusion of the anti-whaling movement in Japan (Hirata 2005, Catalinac 2007, Danaher 2002, Ishii and Okubo 2007), but to these could be added the fact that studies of environmentalism recognize education's importance but assume it to operate at the level of the individual, whereas in Japan, identities are defined and promoted not through individualism but through an ethic of social solidarity. This solidarity starts at an early age. Rohlen (1983: 168) observes Japanese schools as teaching 'rhythms and segmentation of time which complement very neatly indeed the working order of industry and modern organisation', adding: 'they are best understood as shaping generations of disciplined workers for a technomeritocratic system that requires highly socialised individuals capable of performing reliably in a rigorous, hierarchical, and finely tuned organisational environment' (1983: 209). Thus, hierarchy and conformism typify Japanese culture and are reinforced through deeply rooted Confucian thought. Individual environmentalism would not emerge, then, without mass advocacy and official sanction. Furthermore, given Japan's love affair with economic growth, progress and technology advancement since the 1960s, the 'Dominant Social Paradigm' as defined by Dunlap and Liere (1978) has a sound footing, meaning that elements of the New Environmental Paradigm (NEP), the anti-whaling movement being one, remain unable to establish themselves.

The logic of Inglehart's theory of post-materialism (1995) would also lead one to expect a positive relationship between comparative affluence and environmentalism – and Japan is a comparatively affluent country. When seeking to determine the way in which culture influences environmentalism, Inglehart and Baker (2000) propose a framework for understanding in which they argue that, in spite of such transnational institutions as capitalism, advanced technology, and mass education, national cultures continue to shape citizens' values and attitudes. Huntington (1996: 47) has also surmised that 'the location of a nation (in one of a handful of world civilisations or cultural zones) would also shape an individual's environmental thought'. Ignatow (2006) notes 'although nations contain many cultural groups and traditions, according to this argument, one would expect to find variation in environmental attitudes across cultural regions in accordance with nations' internal cultural diversity'. With reference to Ignatow's (2006) cultural models of nature and society, in Japan one would expect the ecological model – which stresses interdependence – to flourish. However, the evidence presented does not show this to be the case.

2.4 Previous Surveys on Whaling Attitudes

Several authors have suggested that the controversy is not based upon whether or not whaling is sustainable⁶⁴ but is first due to principled discord over whether or not whales should be viewed as consumable resources, and whether whaling is morally acceptable (Motluk, 1996; Sigvaldsson, 1996; Hamazaki and Tanno, 2001).

A number of opinion surveys have been conducted that examine these contentions in both non-whaling (Australia, United Kingdom, Germany, United States) and whaling (Japan, Norway) countries. Freeman and Kellert (1992) reported that in the non-whaling countries (Australia, United Kingdom, Germany, United States) a majority of the public disapproved of the consumption of whale meat (93, 93, 79, and 88 per cent, respectively), and whaling even if properly regulated (66, 64, 60, and 55 per cent respectively); but in Japan and Norway less than half of the public disapproved of the consumption of whale meat (41 and 39 per cent, respectively), with the majority approving of whaling for human consumption (55 and 63 per cent, respectively) and of whaling, if properly regulated (64 and 74 per cent, respectively). In a more recent survey, conducted by the Japanese newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* (with an unknown number of respondents) in February 2008, 56 per cent of Japanese supported eating whale meat while 26 per cent were opposed. The newspaper found that males in their forties and older had the highest ratio of support for the use of whale meat for food (approximately 80 per cent), while the ratio of support for the

⁶⁴ Although currently a number of member countries agree that some whale species (for example minke whales) are abundant enough to resume commercial whaling in a scientifically sustainable manner (Gambell 1999: 189-190), delegates of some anti-whaling nations (United Kingdom) have declared that they would object to the resumption under any circumstances because they do not consider whales to be a consumptive resource and deem commercial whaling immoral (Aron *et al.*, 2000).

use of whale meat for food was lowest amongst women in their twenties and thirties, observing a ratio of 58 per cent and 41 per cent, respectively (*Asahi Shimbun* 2008)⁶⁵.

In 1987, 46 per cent of the Japanese public reported purchasing whale meat at least once during a five year period, while more than one quarter reported purchasing whale meat more than five times (Kellert 1991). In the same survey, only one per cent of Japanese respondents reported membership in one or more environmental or wildlife-related organisations, compared to eleven per cent of American respondents (Kellert 1991).

In 1999, a survey of the Japanese public was conducted by Britain's leading opinion research company, MORI, in partnership with the well-known Nippon Research Center in Japan⁶⁶. The survey found that approximately 55 per cent held no opinion or were neutral in regards to commercial whaling, while 14 per cent opposed whaling outright, and only 11 per cent of those polled supported whaling (Ipsos MORI 2000). More recently, Greenpeace Japan commissioned its own Japanese public opinion polls on whaling attitudes in 2006, in conjunction with the Nippon Research Center⁶⁷. The poll found that 69 per cent of Japanese did not support whaling in the high seas, 78 per cent were unaware that the seas around Antarctica are a declared

⁶⁵ Conversely, a poll commissioned by IFAW in the United States found that 83 per cent of voters were strongly opposed to Japanese and Norwegian whaling and nearly 70 per cent would strongly support the U.S. government in applying trade sanctions against countries continuing to kill whales. Furthermore, 73 per cent of U.S. voters would support a boycott of products from Japanese and Norwegian companies linked to commercial whaling (IFAW 2004).

⁶⁶ Interviews were conducted face-to-face throughout Japan between 17 November - 2 December 1999. Sample size consisted of 1185 Japanese adults aged over eighteen.

⁶⁷ The 2006 Greenpeace poll consisted of a sample size of 1047 randomly selected males and females between the ages of 15-59 years old. Data was collected via the Internet from the internet panels registered with Nippon Research Center between 2-9 June 2006.

whale sanctuary, and over 95 per cent of Japanese have rarely, not for a very long time, or never, eaten whale meat (Greenpeace Japan 2006). In 2008, Greenpeace Japan conducted another poll⁶⁸ that revealed 44 per cent of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the resumption of commercial whaling, whilst 31 per cent were ‘pro’ and 25 per cent ‘anti’ (Greenpeace Japan 2008). In addition, questions were asked about where the respondents thought whaling should or should not be carried out; resulting in 40 per cent of the ‘pro’ whaling group answering ‘whaling should be conducted along the Japanese coast but not the high seas’. Clearly no two surveys will produce identical results, however it is worth noting that the two Greenpeace surveys paint different pictures. The high *anti-whaling* percentage in the 2006 poll and the low *anti-whaling* percentage in the 2008 poll may stem from an increase in pro-whaling rhetoric by the Japanese Government and/or an increase in pro-whaling reportage in the Japanese media, or it could be the product of an unreliable surveying methodology. Either way, the discrepancy between the two polls should be noted.

Public opinion surveys have not only been undertaken by academics, the media and environmental groups. In December 2001, the Cabinet Office to the Prime Minister of Japan commissioned its own poll about Japanese people’s awareness of Japan’s whale-eating culture, and also of the threat the moratorium posed to fishery resources⁶⁹. The survey showed more than 75 per cent support for whaling managed in a rational and sustainable way. When asked whether scientific research was

⁶⁸ The 2008 Greenpeace poll consisted of a sample size of 1051 randomly selected males and females between the ages of 15-59 years old. Data was collected using the same method as outlined above between 18-23 January 2008.

⁶⁹ The overall sample size consisted of 5000 people, 20 years of age or older from all over Japan, with a total response obtained from 3435 people.

required to study the impact of whales on fisheries, 81.3 per cent said that such research was necessary or may be necessary, while only 6.9 per cent said that such research was not necessary or might not be necessary. More than 87 per cent of respondents said they had eaten whale meat (Japan Fisheries Agency 2002). These figures however, should be treated with caution, as some of the 18 questions appear to strongly bias the response. For example, Q.12 asked: 'Do you agree with the view that coastal whaling, which has social, cultural, and historical meanings in Japan, should be accepted if the whale resource is managed on [a] scientific basis and negative influence on the resource is avoided?' Put this way, it is not surprising that 41.6 per cent strongly agreed and 30.3 per cent moderately agreed (Japan Fisheries Agency 2002).

2.5 Research Objectives

Currently the world's third largest economy, Japan is a major world power, with a large presence and responsibility in international development and environmental matters. The research reported here will hopefully offer useful insights for those interested in the maturing of civil society, policy-making and environmentalism in Japan.

Surveys that have examined whaling attitudes have focused mainly on adults. Few focus on younger people, with research into the attitudes of young Japanese people on issues related to whaling conspicuously lacking. The purpose of this research is to generate greater knowledge and understanding of the attitudes of young Japanese on a suite of issues crucial to the resolution of the whaling controversy.

A survey-based study was undertaken to explore the attitudes of Japanese university students on whaling and whaling issues. Given the relatively fast pace at which the whaling debate is evolving, the information obtained has predictive value for how the wider Japanese population might come to regard whaling in the near future, particularly amongst Japan's future leaders. It is also hoped that the insights offered by this thesis and associated papers will contribute positively towards whaling diplomacy.

The study aimed to answer the following questions:

- 3) What are the predictors that formulate the attitudes of young Japanese people on whaling issues?
- 4) Of these predictors, which make the most significant contribution to the whaling attitudinal model of Japan's youth?

Throughout the survey - and indeed, throughout this thesis - when discussing the topic of whale meat consumption, the term ‘whale’ is used when referring to ‘whale products’, as opposed to ‘cetacean’ and ‘cetacean products’. This is because the Order *Cetacea* from which ‘cetacean’ is derived includes two suborders, one of which, *Odontoceti*, includes groups such as dolphins and porpoises. In Japan, there are large-scale coastal fishing activities that concentrate on the capture of these marine mammals, such as the annual dolphin drive in Taiji, eastern Honshu. The focus of this survey was to examine the attitudes of young Japanese people to whaling activities conducted mainly on the high seas, and it was therefore deemed more appropriate to use the word ‘whale’ rather than ‘cetacean’ when discussing consumption, so that participants’ thinking would be focussed upon the great whales and not dolphins and porpoises.

Chapter 3 **Methods**

3.1 **Research Design**

The study examines Japanese university students' perspectives on whaling and whaling issues and is considered innovative insofar as the cohort has not been studied before and is not being compared with another national grouping. For this reason, an inductive research strategy as defined by Babbie *et al.* (2003: 12) was employed whereby data was collected regarding Japanese students' attitudes towards whaling issues, observations were completed, the data examined, and a theory was then constructed to explain the relationships found among the variables.

To successfully cover a range of topics that are regularly seen within the international whaling controversy, it was decided that data should be collected by way of a questionnaire. In the main, Australian media are firmly (and it seems passionately) anti-whaling; therefore, to avoid any potential bias from these anti-whaling reports, only Japanese students residing in Japan were chosen as the target cohort. The Japanese media differ greatly in their reportings on whaling, though having a distinctive government flavour, focusing on the economic consequences on whaling communities and industries and the cultural impact the moratorium's economic and cultural consequences on existing whaling communities and industries (Murata 2007). Thus, it was felt that the project should include some investigation into whether or not these views were reflected amongst Japanese students. In addition, it was considered that surveying university students would provide some insight into attitudes likely to emerge in the future in Japan.

As the chosen target cohort resided outside of Australia, a distribution method ensuring a high response rate whilst still being cost effective was needed. Electronic distribution in the form of an Internet survey was deemed to be the most appropriate method for this research project.

3.1.1 Internet Surveys

The use of the Internet for the distribution of electronic surveys has been an increasingly effective and accurate method for obtaining real-time data. Information gathering via the use of Internet surveys and interviews is so prominent today that researchers are studying its effects on response quality. Schaefer and Dillman (1998), for example, found that e-mail surveys achieved response rates similar to those of mail surveys but yielded better quality data in terms of item completion and more detailed responses to open-ended questions. It is with considerable long-term optimism that this form of surveying is regarded by Dillman (2007: 358), and for the following reasons, it was the preferred method of data collection for this research:

1. An electronic survey method has the ability to overcome international boundaries, which in other methods of surveying can be a significant barrier. Issues such as language and geographical separation were of great consideration in this project;
2. Web surveys are designed to provide a higher level of dynamic interaction between respondent and questionnaire. As the target cohort was Japanese university students, it was considered important that a high level of interaction was necessary to retain the interest levels of the participants;
3. Web based surveys have a ‘polished’ appearance, often enhanced by photographs. They can also provide survey capabilities far beyond those

available for any other type of self-administered questionnaire. It was felt that in order to obtain high quality data, a certain level of information needed to be provided to the students in order for them to make informed responses to the questions. An electronic interface is particularly useful in its ability to compact information whilst still maximising user friendliness;

4. Web based surveys provide a far more cost effective way of conducting a large international survey as they avoid the necessities of paper, postage, mailout and data entry costs (Dillman 2007: 352);
5. Because the target cohort resided outside Australia and was geographically dispersed throughout Japan, a web-based survey was deemed to be the most effective method at reaching the desired participants.

Dillman (2007: 353) cites the importance of social exchange elements, noting that the ‘use of Internet surveys for conducting high quality probability surveys is limited to survey populations with high rates of computer use’. In this project, social exchange was high because university students have knowledge and familiarity with the Internet and are computer literate. This, therefore, greatly increased the chances of the survey being completed as participation in the survey was made easier and simpler.

Other considerations relevant to the use of the Internet for this survey were quality of data and survey coverage. Widely advertised Internet-based surveys can attract response rates in the tens of thousands, but large numbers of respondents cannot substitute for good quality data and good survey coverage. As all the potential respondents had an e-mail address, the ‘good coverage’ criterion was fulfilled, and with regards to obtaining adequate quality of data, various filters were built into the

survey design (discussed later) to ensure only responses from the desired cohort were received.

3.1.2 Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire comprised ten sections of questions with an eleventh section consisting of demographic information and was designed to examine cultural, economic, ethical, scientific and social aspects of the present day whaling debate, as well as asking students about their personal experience with whale products. In addition, the survey sought to measure the impact of Japanese pro-whaling rhetoric that has increasingly been produced by the Japanese Government and associated media since the adoption of the 1982 moratorium on commercial whaling. The features of this pro-whaling discourse are numerous and well documented, such as the ‘cultural imperialism’ argument, the ‘whales eat too many fish’ argument, the ‘non-whaling countries use emotion instead of science’ argument, and the argument that portrays Japan as a ‘victim’ of non-whaling countries not understanding Japan’s whale-eating culture. A series of questions that specifically targeted these pro-whaling sentiments were contained within the survey.

Several Japanese students in Australia explained to the author that some students in Japan would not have a great deal of knowledge of Japanese whaling activities, with one observing that some would not even know that whaling is occurring in their country. It was therefore decided that before asking questions on whaling issues that required some prior knowledge (for example, scientific whaling, Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling [ASW], and the role of environmental NGOs in the debate) some preliminary text would be provided.

The use of drop-down boxes was incorporated in the survey for a number of reasons. Firstly, by hiding the answer options in a drop-down box the overall length of the survey was reduced. By compressing the questionnaire in this way, the overall appearance of the survey was refined, thus making it easier to visually digest. Secondly, the use of drop-down boxes allowed for immediate numerical coding for answers. For example, in a drop-down box containing answer options A-F, a number can be allocated to each letter (A=1, B=2, C=3 *et cetera*). Thus, when a completed survey was submitted, it arrived at a specified University of Tasmania e-mail inbox as a list of numbers equating to the answers that participant chose. The knock-on effect was to greatly reduce data entry time, as the numerical list of coded answers, already in a digital format, was cut and pasted directly into mathematical (Excel) and statistical software packages (SPSS). Thirdly, drop-down boxes allowed for a longer list of answer options to be provided for the respondent, increasing the strength and accuracy of the survey. The survey was tailored for its intended electronic distribution with the format of questions seen in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Question format using drop-down boxes to increase answer options and decrease survey length.

UTAS Home | Contacts Search UTAS Go

UTAS School of Geography & Environmental Studies

Internal Home

- School Community
- Community Engagement
- Undergraduate T&L
- Research
- Safety
- Professional Development
- Policies

Survey on Whaling Issues and Opinions

To answer the questions in this survey, please use the drop-down boxes at the end of the questions to select your choice.

Section 1 – Your Views

Whaling occurs for different reasons including for economical advantage (**commercial whaling**); for scientific research (**scientific whaling**); and to meet traditional, cultural and dietary needs in Indigenous communities (**Aboriginal subsistence whaling**).

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

1. "Whales that are not endangered can be killed to provide food for humans".
 Not Answered

2. "There is nothing wrong with harvesting whales if whaling is managed under strict international regulations".
 Not Answered

3. "I cannot imagine why anybody would want to kill anything as wonderful as a whale".
 Not Answered

4. I am opposed to the hunting of whales under any circumstances".
 Not Answered

A. Strongly Agree
 B. Somewhat Agree
 C. Neither Agree nor Disagree
 D. Somewhat Disagree
 E. Strongly Disagree
 F. Not Sure
 Not Answered

why the world's fish stocks are declining. Which one of the following do you think is most responsible for

isagree with the following statement?
 Certain whale species are decimating fish stocks and must be killed to ensure there is a plentiful supply of fish for human consumption."
 Not Answered

The appropriateness and correct use of response categories for each question were of utmost importance in the design of the survey. Attitudinal and belief questions typically rely on numerical quantifiers such as -3 to +3, 1-7, or 1-10 however these have been labelled as vague (Dillman 2007: 39). The use of quantifiers such as ‘strongly favour’ to ‘strongly oppose’, ‘high priority’ to ‘low priority’ and ‘agree’ to ‘disagree’ are more definitive and therefore their use in the survey was incorporated. The answer options varied from a 5-point Likert scale (‘Strongly agree’ to ‘Strongly disagree’ or ‘Very important’ to ‘Very unimportant’) to questions allowing only for finite ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ answers, such as Q.7 which asked ‘Have you ever eaten any whale products?’.

Each question did provide an option to answer either ‘Not sure’ or ‘No answer’. This provided an important enrichment of the research; it provided a capacity to identify the difference between topics that were unknown to students and topics that the students preferred not to answer, which added a further, albeit speculative dimension to the understanding of Japanese students’ perspectives on whaling.

3.1.2.1 Effects of Computer Equipment

As the features of a computer system and its various software combinations have an effect on the appearance of the survey, several issues surrounding computer equipment and differences in software were considered when designing the project’s web survey. Factors such as monitor size, screen display configuration, Internet service providers (ISP), telecommunications infrastructure (for example dial-up or broadband access) and age of hardware and software were all considered in the design of the survey. As the target cohort were all based within the confines of Japanese universities it was safe

to assume that all students would have access to computers with appropriate hardware connected to a broadband Internet service. In order to ensure that the survey would be viewed in the same format by all participants, it was embedded into the University of Tasmania website, the template of which provided standard viewing. As a final check on the visual appearance of the survey, several Japanese colleagues based in Japan were asked by the author to examine the survey using their own university equipment to ensure that the survey format was functional and user-friendly.

3.1.2.2 The Questionnaire

A number of different surveys on public attitudes towards whales and whaling were examined. All surveys discussed previously in section 2.4 *Previous Surveys on Whaling Attitudes* were reviewed, and their advantages and disadvantages evaluated. The former were retained, and in the creation of this survey more contemporary whaling issues were included.

Section 1 – Your Views

Section 1, entitled ‘Your Views’, consisted of six questions that explored some personal beliefs of the participant on whaling. For example, questions were asked that examined the degree of the participant’s utilitarian attitude towards whales (Q.1) and their view on the sustainable use of cetaceans (Q.2). As a counter to these questions, Question 3 aimed at assessing whether or not the participant anthropomorphised whales, and this was followed by a question involving a preservationist attitude towards whales (Q.4). The last two questions in the section complement one another by focussing on an argument frequently used by the Japanese Government in its justification of whaling – that of whales eating too many

fish and therefore posing a threat to economically important fisheries (Q.5 and 6). In summary, this section asks questions that cover the utilization and sustainable use of cetaceans, anthropomorphism and preservationist attitudes towards whales and food security.

Section 2 – Your Experience

These questions enquired into past and present consumption of whale products (Q.7 and 8) and into the intended frequency of consumption of whale products, should a plentiful supply exist (Q.9 and 10). They test the degree of interest in whale product consumption and provide an initial outline of each participant's personal experience with whale products. The findings provide useful insights when cross-checked with the survey answers and any subsequent comments. For example, if a participant had eaten whale meat before, and would want to eat it again, it could be assumed that the participant held a pro-whaling attitude and thus explain why the participant might reject the actions of environmental anti-whaling NGOs.

Section 3 – About Scientific Whaling

As we have seen, during the design of the questionnaire, it was frequently stated to the author by several Japanese colleagues (at the University of Tasmania) that students in Japan would have only very limited knowledge about whaling activities domestically, least of all facts regarding whaling for scientific purposes or Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling. Therefore, it was felt that before asking students their thoughts on whaling for scientific purposes, some background information was needed by participants. Acknowledging the potential for biasing results that providing information can create, it was decided that only a few basic facts about scientific whaling in Japan and the

International Whaling Commission (IWC) would be provided. Prior to Question 11, basic information on Japan's Whale Research Program in the Antarctic (JARPA) and Japan's Whale Research Program in the Western North Pacific (JARPN) was provided, along with a take number of 1,120 whales which were harvested for scientific purposes in the year prior to the questionnaire being taken. The purpose of Question 11 was to determine how many of the students had heard of either of the research programs. Information was also given on some non-lethal data collection methods prior to a question on this topic (Q.12). The purpose of Question 12 was to determine whether or not the students would prefer the option of non-lethal research techniques on cetaceans over the lethal sampling activities.

In order for the information to be as neutral and objective as possible, the supplied pre-question text was given to a variety of different sources ranging from Australian and Japanese scientists to Japanese students for review. The text remained in the third person to eliminate any perceived personal connection with the information from the author. For example, the pre-question text for Question 12 which relates to scientific whaling stated:

Scientists have differing views on whether only non-lethal methods (where the whale is not killed) should be used to conduct scientific research on whales. These non-lethal scientific research methods include: skin samples (that can determine different whale population structures) and satellite tags (that can monitor the movement of tagged whales across the oceans).

Section 4 – About Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling (ASW)

In a similar way to the handling of information provided for scientific whaling, information provided for Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling (ASW) was also vetted by

the same sources outlined above. Information was limited to fact-only text, including information on the uses of whale products as obtained from ASW and the well-documented request by Japan for an ASW quota of minke whales for four coastal communities (repeatedly made at annual IWC meetings). Questions 13 and 14 were included in the questionnaire to determine whether the students felt ASW was an acceptable activity.

Section 5 – Whale Watching

Ecotourism based on dolphins and whales (such as swim-with programs and whale/dolphin watching) are relatively new activities worldwide. They are, however, profitable and contribute to a rapidly expanding industry. It is currently estimated that whale watching could generate an additional 413 million USD (2009) in yearly revenue, supporting 5,700 jobs (Cisneros-Montemayor *et al.*, 2010). Together with the current estimates, this would bring the total potential for the whale watching industry to over 2.5 billion USD in yearly revenue and approximately 19,000 jobs worldwide (Cisneros-Montemayor *et al.*, 2010). Whale watching, however, has not developed on a large-scale in Japan. Why this is the case involves a number of associated reasons including cultural issues (where whalers do not want to replace a perceived traditional activity with one that is not), economic implications (relating to a lack of infrastructure required by this type of tourism), and the costs and logistics of the training of staff and procurement of whale watching vessels. Notwithstanding these factors, the concept of whale watching clearly also depends upon the consistent presence of whales along accessible coastlines near to the areas of tourism developments and a certain number of tourists willing to participate in this niche market. Section 5 asked whether the students agree with the replacement of whaling with whale watching in order to

determine the strength of any underlying cultural drive causing respondents to want whaling to continue (as opposed to an economic one) (Q.15). The section also asks whether students would like to go on a whale-watching trip themselves (Q.16), the answers providing insight into the future potential for Japanese participation in whale watching activities.

Section 6 – Whaling Policy

This section used questions that had been previously utilised by Freeman and Kellert (1992: 1-28) in their survey of public attitudes to whales in six whaling and non-whaling countries. In order to ascertain which of the whaling policy goals were most important to the students, seven goals were listed and students were asked to rank them in importance (Q.17i–17vii). The goals that were listed were ecological, economic, resource-use, animal welfare, social, environmental and cultural, with an illustration of each goal provided⁷⁰.

Section 7 – Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

This section provided some vetted text (as previously discussed) on anti-whaling NGOs, both Japanese and international, followed by a series of five questions aimed at exploring the knowledge, perceptions and personal experience of Japanese students with environmental NGOs (Questions 18–22). The questions asked whether the

⁷⁰ The potential whaling policy goals (and an example) that were presented to the students in Q.17 were: ecological goals (such as the roles whales have in ocean ecosystem management), economic goals (such as maintaining a profitable commercial whaling industry), resource use goals (such as maintaining supplies of whale products for human consumption), animal welfare concerns (such as considering the pain and suffering of whales when they are killed), social goals (such as maintaining jobs and the wellbeing of local people in coastal communities), environmental goals (such as protecting whales and their habitat from marine pollution or industrial activity), and cultural goals (such as maintaining whaling by aboriginal subsistence communities).

students knew of various environmental groups. A photograph was provided of an anti-whaling campaign and the respondent was asked whether the photograph either encouraged them to learn more about whaling issues (Q.20) or join an environmental group that campaigned against whaling (Q.21). In addition, a question asked whether the students had ever seen anti-whaling protests before, either on television, on the Internet, in newspapers or in person (Q.19). Murata (2006) noted the lack of reporting of anti-whaling activities by the Japanese media, thus this question was used to provide a clearer picture concerning this. It is important to note here that the results of Q.19 need to be handled with caution. If a low number of participants reported having never seen anti-whaling protests before, this may not be because the Japanese media infrequently report them, but because the participants have had no contact with, for example, the newspapers or news television programs that report them. Thus, discussion on these results will remain speculative.

Section 8 – The Younger Generation

The questions in this section were included to make inferences into the potential future consumption of whale products by Japanese students. Positive responses to Questions 23 and 24 would imply that there could exist a demand for cetacean products and suggest that these students might eventually promote the consumption of cetacean products to their children. Hence, the results from these questions could be used to tentatively predict whether a future demand for cetacean products could exist in Japan.

Section 9 – What about other countries?

This section included questions that were used to further understand the participants' views on whaling issues and how each participant perceives the stance of other

countries. A large number of media releases produced by the Institute of Cetacean Research (ICR) in Tokyo and the Fisheries Agency (JFA) of Japan have promoted several views concerning anti-whaling governments imposing an anti-whaling regime upon Japan. The media releases, supported by a large volume of other ICR and JFA literature and speeches, have frequently criticised anti-whaling governments for holding an emotionally-based opposition to whaling, framing the battle over whaling in a cultural imperialism context. Questions 25i–25xiii were included to determine the degree to which the participants agreed with specific Japanese Government pro-whaling rhetoric, the answers providing some basic insight into whether this rhetoric has filtered down to Japanese students and if the points have been accepted and repeated.

Section 10 – Sources of Whaling Information

As previously observed, several authors have noted the infrequency of reporting on whaling issues by the Japanese media as well as the lack of objectivity and transparency in the reports that are produced. Questions 26 and 27 asked whether the participants have encountered information on whaling issues in the Japanese media and whether Japan's media should report more frequently on the activity. Questions 28, 29 and 30 sought participants' views on the sources of information on whaling and the extent to which they consider these sources trustworthy.

Section 11 – About You

This section completed the survey and asked of the participants several items of personal information, including nationality, age, sex, Prefecture of birth, Prefecture where the participant has resided for the majority of his/her time, university, and

questions referring to any members of their family who are involved with whaling. It is important to note the premise behind the decision to split the students into the age categories that were incorporated into the survey (15-20 and 21-26). During the project and survey design it was considered that the inclusion of students below university age (school children between 15-17 years of age) might have usefully extended the scope of the criterion ‘younger’ within the target cohort. Thus, by making the age category 15-20 years old the survey could be distributed to both university students and school children – it would not have to be changed and would accommodate all ages from the youngest and eldest in the first age category. However, due to logistical issues, the survey was never distributed to school children and was confined to university participation, thus it is safe to assume that all of the participants that chose the first age category were aged between 17 and 20. The second age category (21-26 years of age) was so defined in order to accommodate older students, specifically those studying post-graduate degrees.

At the end of the survey, space was allocated for any comments the participants might like to make. This material gave the author access to participant’s attitudes at a depth that surveys cannot reach, thus enriching the survey findings. These comments became the subject of individual analysis using both manifest content and latent content (as outlined by Rubin and Babbie 2009: 244) to examine their substance and calculate the frequency of the concepts created by the comments. The methodology for the analysis of these comments is discussed later in the chapter (Section 3.3.5).

3.1.3 Research Advertisement and Information Sheet

As the survey was initially designed to be distributed electronically, a participant-

targeted advertisement setting out the research project was sent to Japanese academics. The advertisement contained approximately nine pictures from various sources. Some originated from the photographic gallery of Greenpeace International and others from Japanese pro-whaling websites. All photographs were used with permission from the relevant owners. The theme of these pictures varied from portraits of anti-whaling campaigns, captions showing measurements being carried out on a deceased whale, images of traditional whaling scenes observed during cultural whaling festivals in Japan, to an image of tinned whale meat, (a product that the students already might have encountered). Figure 5 shows the photographs contained within the research advertisement. The combination of photos were intended as ‘thought starters’ about whaling issues, and to canvass as many of the different perspectives involved in the present day whaling debate as possible. It was also hoped that this combination of themes within the photographs would present the research in a neutral and objective light. The research advertisement also contained a number of questions designed to stimulate the recipient’s interest in the research subject matter and convince him/her that it was worthy of support. For example, questions such as: ‘Why do so many nations around the world argue about whaling?’ and ‘Why does Japan face so much opposition to its whaling policies?’ and ‘What will happen if the ban on commercial whaling is lifted?’ were asked to create participant interest, possibly being questions that the students might have posed themselves.

Figure 5. The advertisement for the research project on the University of Tasmania website used to present and promote the whaling survey.

School of Geography and Environmental Studies - Windows Internet Explorer

http://www.geol.utas.edu.au/surveys/whaling_advert_eng.htm

File Edit View Favorites Tools Help

School of Geography and Environmental Studies


UTAS Home | Contacts

Search UTAS

UTAS School of Geography & Environmental Studies

Internal Home

- ▶ School Community
- ▶ Community Engagement
- ▶ Undergraduate T&L
- ▶ Research
- ▶ Safety
- ▶ Professional Development
- ▶ Policies



WHALING


- Why do so many nations around the world argue about whaling?
- Why does Japan face so much opposition to its whaling policies?
- For what purposes does whaling continue today?
- What is commercial, scientific and subsistence whaling?
- What will happen if the ban on commercial whaling is lifted?

To learn more about the international whaling debate and to have your voice heard about whaling issues, click on the web link below to an online survey. This survey is part of an independent research project from the University of Tasmania, Australia.

It is through communication and understanding that we can start to unite the world's different cultures

<http://www.geol.utas.edu.au/surveys/whaling.htm>

[Official letter of research legitimacy](#)
[Letter from UTas Director of International Services](#)



Start School of Geography ... Local intranet 100% 11:44 AM

The web address which housed the advertisement also contained two letters addressed to academic staff at Japanese universities (lecturers to whom the advertisement was originally sent), the first from the Head of School from the School of Geography and Environmental Studies at the University of Tasmania, and the second from the Director of International Services also from the University of Tasmania (Appendix III). The letters stated the research objectives and provided a rationale for the research, whilst requesting the co-operation of Japanese university staff and their students. Both letters were available in English and Japanese.

The research advertisement also acted as the page within which the participants could be directed to the survey itself via the Information Sheet. As with other survey pages, the Information Sheet was translated into Japanese and provided detailed information about the research project, the researchers in charge of the project and information about how to fill out the survey (Appendix IV).

The students were guided through the language selection page and to the Information Sheet associated with the survey. A prompt at the end of the Information Sheet existed to enable the participants to commence the survey, which was available in both English and Japanese.

The tone struck in the Research Advertisement, the Information Sheet, the pre-question text, and the survey questions themselves was paramount to the success of the project. Once text had been chosen for the above documents, it was reviewed by a number of Australian and Japanese academics with a diverse range of expertise⁷¹,

⁷¹ The survey was developed using the expertise and advice from staff and students from the School of Languages and Comparative Cultural Studies (University of Queensland), the School of Asian

as well as a number of Japanese students based in Australia. Reviewers were asked to consider the appropriateness of the text based upon its tone (ensuring the text would not be perceived as rude or impolite), its construction (simple or complex), the choice of language (formal or informal), the political content (ensuring the text was objective and neutral) and its scientific and factual content (ensuring the information provided by the text was accurate). Through this process, the survey and its related documents underwent ongoing modification over approximately six months.

3.1.4 Survey Distribution Method

The questionnaire was distributed to various Japanese universities throughout the islands of Honshu and Kyushu and was carried out between April and June 2007.

The distribution method for the survey involved three stages. Firstly, academic staff from various Japanese universities were contacted via a personalised e-mail (in Japanese), which explained the research in brief, provided the Research Advertisement and invited them to participate in the project. If a positive response was received by the authors, the University of Tasmania web link, complete with survey, was sent to those academics with a request that they forward the website to their students. After two weeks, if no response had been received from a particular academic recipient, a second reminder e-mail was sent which again enclosed the research brief, Research Advertisement and invitation to participate in the project. If after an additional two weeks no response had been obtained the staff member was contacted directly via a telephone call and asked if participation in the project was

Languages and Studies (University of Tasmania), the School of Geography and Environmental Studies (University of Tasmania), the Institute for Marine and Antarctic Studies (University of Tasmania) and the Australian Antarctic Division.

possible. With the help of a Japanese colleague, telephone calls were made to eight Japanese academics from the six designated universities on 7th May 2007. These telephone conversations proved to be an invaluable tool, for several reasons. Firstly, it became possible to create a rapport with the staff who had received e-mail requests, and it gave an opportunity to pose questions or express concerns or any difficulties that staff might have had with the survey and its distribution. Secondly, it served to increase the number of completed surveys that were returned by students. Lastly, it reassured staff that the project was legitimate.

Selection of universities and academics was based on a number of criteria. Firstly, at the time of data collection, the University of Tasmania had established Memorandums of Understanding (MOUs) on international research collaboration and co-operation and sharing of academic information with six universities in Japan. The universities affiliated with the University of Tasmania as official exchange partners and possessing MOUs were:

- Kansai Gaidai University (Hirakata, Osaka);
- Kinjo University (Hakusan, Ishikawa Prefecture);
- Kitakyushu University (Kitakyushu, Fukuoka Prefecture);
- Mie University (Tsu, Mie Prefecture);
- Nagoya University of Foreign Studies (Nagoya, Aichi Prefecture); and
- Sugiyama Jogakuen University (female only) (Nagoya, Aichi Prefecture).

Staff within these six universities were randomly selected, thus ensuring that the pool of potential participants generated would include a wide variety of academic backgrounds. In addition, staff who were already research colleagues of the author's supervisory team were contacted in their respective universities and asked for their cooperation in distributing the survey amongst their students. These universities were Nanzan University in Aichi Prefecture and Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto

Prefecture.

3.1.4.1 Website Security and Survey Filter

As the surveying method used the Internet, a variety of security and confidentiality issues were raised. The Internet has various in-built capacities to identify and trace its users, therefore in order to maintain the anonymity and confidentiality of the survey participants, when a survey was submitted, it was sent to the Information Technology Department at the School of Geography and Environmental Studies at the University of Tasmania, as an email. Once this email was detected by the Information Technology Department network, the contents of the e-mail but not the sender's details were forwarded to the author and delivered into a specified e-mail inbox. By using this method, at no stage during the data collection period was the identity of any individual revealed to the author.

It was understood that as the survey became more widely known, the data set could have been biased or non-representative if completed surveys came from non-target cohort recipients. To counter this, surveys were rejected on a number of different criteria. If the demographic information was not fully completed, if the age of the participant was over 26, or if the recipient documented a university that was not one of the above eight, the survey was disregarded in the data set proper. As the discriminatory factors above were known only to the author, it is safe to assume that the students would have filled in the demographic information correctly. In this way, the data was filtered to maintain its integrity, accuracy and representativeness.

3.1.5 Broader Survey Distribution Methods

Within the first four weeks of distribution it was clear that the survey was not reaching its target cohort of Japanese students, with only 88 useable surveys completed despite a response rate of 58.3 per cent⁷². A back-up method was then deployed to obtain a higher rate of survey completion. This involved two strategies. Firstly, the use of Internet academic bulletin boards was employed. Secondly, a trip to Japan to visit universities and collect data was organised.

3.1.5.1 Japanese Academic Bulletin Boards

On 25th April 2007, the survey was advertised in a broader and more public arena. Though still within academic circles, the research was advertised on a number of Japanese academic Internet bulletin boards specifically for lecturers, researchers, and students. These were Japan Studies Network Forum (JS-NET), SSJ-Forum, and The Society for Environmental Economics and Policy Studies (SEEPS) websites.

JS-NET is a website that has been created for those conducting research in Japanese studies to support the networking of Japanese specialists and to enable easier access to information in the field. The website provides news on conferences, lectures, seminars, calls for papers, publications and websites in the field of Japanese studies. It was created by The Japan Foundation and edited by the Japan Association for Cultural Exchange (ACE Japan). SEEPS is a scientific association which aims to contribute to the theoretical and empirical research of environmental economics and policy studies;

⁷² Although the response rate was high, the number of hits to the website containing the survey was low (151). Possible reasons why the website received only a small number of hits include the invitational e-mail being mistaken for spam mail by Japanese recipients, the international aspect of trying to coordinate a low budget survey from overseas, and a culture of hierarchy, wherein cooperation occurs mainly within already established relationships.

to improve communication and contacts between teachers, researchers and students in environmental economics and policy studies; and to promote international scientific cooperation in environmental economics and policy studies. It has a mailing list which is comprised mainly of academics and students and other scientific practitioners. An introductory letter was written by the author, which was then forwarded to a Japanese academic and frequent contributor to the mailing list who introduced the author and the research on behalf of himself and asked for the cooperation from fellow Japanese colleagues in distributing awareness about the research project. The research project was advertised as presented in Figures 6 and 7.

Figure 6. An advertisement for the research project as posted on the SSJ Forum Internet bulletin board.



Figure 7. An advertisement for the research project as posted on the JS-NET Internet bulletin board.

JAPANESE STUDIES NETWORK FORUM (JS-Net)
This website was created for those conducting research in Japanese studies to support networking of Japan specialists and to enable easier access to information in the field.

Search This Website
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An Online Survey on Japanese Whaling Attitudes
Organized by The University of Tasmania, Australia
The whaling debate is currently one of the most widely discussed environmental issues among members of the international community. Different ideas about the conservation and protection of whales and the future of whaling are well known but poorly understood.
Researchers at the University of Tasmania, Australia, have designed a study that explores the opinions and values that young Japanese people have about whaling in order to better understand the perspectives that they hold.
In order to obtain data, researchers at the University of Tasmania are now asking for expressions of interest from staff members at Japanese universities for involvement of their students in this online survey. The survey is anonymous and confidential and is available in both Japanese and English.
Should you wish to become involved in this research or have any other inquiries, please contact Ms. Julia Bowett.
For further information:
Ms. Julia Bowett (PhD Candidate)
School of Geography & Environmental Studies
University of Tasmania, Australia
E-mail: tjbowett@utas.edu.au
Tel: +61 3 6226 2484
April 25, 2007

Calendar of Events
April 2007
SUN MON TUE WED THU FRI SAT
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8 9 10 11 12 13 14
15 16 17 18 19 20 21
22 23 24 25 26 27 28
29 30

Events by Month
May 2007

Archives
October 2005
November 2005
December 2005
January 2006
February 2006
March 2006
April 2006
May 2006
June 2006
July 2006
August 2006
September 2006
October 2006
November 2006
December 2006
January 2007

Job Announcement: Assistant/Associate Professor in Japanese Studies
Graduate School of Social Sciences, Middle East Technical University, Ankara
Middle East Technical University's Graduate School of Social Sciences anticipates making a

Despite the research being posted simultaneously on three bulletin boards it did not lead to the increase in numbers of completed surveys required to obtain a sufficient and, therefore, accurate and reliable sample size. The author was contacted by a number of academics in Japan who were interested in the project, but this did not translate into the desired level of involvement in survey distribution. No useable surveys were obtained using this method, which meant that a more direct

approach was needed. This involved the author visiting universities in Japan to meet with staff and students on a more personal level.

3.1.5.2 Visits to Japanese Universities

Between 30th June 2007 and 18th July 2007, the author and a Japanese interpreter visited four different universities and presented to eleven separate classes around the Tokyo area and northern Honshu. These universities were Gakushuin University, Nihon University, Tsuda College for Girls and, in northern Honshu, Tohoku University. These universities were selected through a process of networking amongst academics who had published works in areas associated with this research, such as environmental theories, international policy and law and research in the biological and social sciences. An initial contact was made with Dr. Richard Wilcox, a lecturer at Gakushuin, Nihon, and Tsuda Universities, and from this contact introductions to fellow colleagues in additional universities were obtained. Through this ‘snowballing’ recruitment technique the author was able to make contact with eleven classes of Japanese students. Many of the academics involved in the distribution of the survey taught at several different universities; in fact, it was not uncommon for one lecturer to teach classes in up to six different universities per week. This proved to be of great value to the research design, with staff agreeing to distribute the survey across several universities. The sample pool was thereby diversified, allowing surveys to be obtained from a wider range of participants than originally anticipated.

The survey was transformed from a web-based survey into a paper booklet format (Appendix II), and in all cases except Tohoku University this was distributed to the

students by their lecturers prior to the arrival of the author to their university. There was, therefore, no risk of the author influencing the outcomes of the survey responses. When visiting these universities, the author collected all surveys and subsequently presented a one hour power-point presentation on whaling history and current whaling politics, followed by a questions and answer session. At Tohoku University the students had not completed the survey prior to the arrival of the author and thus were allocated time within a class to do so. The students were briefed on the aims of the research and then allowed to complete the survey. After all surveys were collected, the same one hour presentation was given followed by a questions and answer session.

The outcome of the web-based survey collection method, the electronic bulletin board distribution, and the visitations to Japanese universities, was 529 useable surveys from 18 different universities within 11 Prefectures across Japan.

3.2 Methodology Recommendations

Many lessons were learnt from the methodological journey that was undertaken to collect data for this project, and as such a number of recommendations are made.

The web-based survey method was not a wholly successful strategy for obtaining completed surveys, and it is speculated that this is due to the following reasons. Firstly, it is possible that the initial e-mail and invitation to become involved in the research was perceived by Japanese recipients to be spam e-mail. The author had no previous email contact with the selected academics, so no rapport or relationship had been established. Prior acquaintance with the staff contacted in Japan would probably have ensured a greater distribution of the survey to students. Given the widely acknowledged structure of order within Japanese society – one characterised of hierarchy and established relationships, coupled with the apparent controversy that surrounds the whaling debate – these factors would have militated against the survey's wide distribution. The staunch anti-whaling position of Australia is also widely known in Japan. It is therefore possible that the survey, originating as it did from the University of Tasmania, might have been perceived with suspicion or thought to emanate from a particular political agenda. The use of electronic academic bulletin boards proved to be unsuccessful for possibly similar reasons; a lack of established relationships between researchers and the inherently controversial nature of the topic.

Meeting students and staff on a one-on-one basis proved to be the only approach that enabled the author to obtain a sufficient number of useable surveys. The Question and Answer sessions augmented insights regarding the attitudes of Japanese students

on whaling issues (discussed later). It is recommended that any future research that entails contact with Japanese academics involve direct communication either through meetings or telephone calls, as e-mails and letters received from a researcher not known to the staff personally are unlikely to establish effective working relationships.

Due to the particular methodology employed by this research project a good deal was learnt about Japanese language protocols and about the hierarchy inherent within Japanese society, especially apparent in professional circles. As the research evolved certain elements became increasingly important to the success of obtaining data. Particular communication conventions, mannerisms, and ways of addressing Japanese people were integral. For example, upon the sending of the second follow-up email, acting as a reminder to some academics and an initial invitation to become involved in the research, a Japanese colleague remarked that even though it may seem effective as a means of obtaining data for the project, in Japan it was not customary to send a second e-mail to the same recipients as it might be construed as implying an inability on their part to adequately perform the task requested. This was highlighted by an e-mail the author received a day later from a Japanese professor who stated that she was unsure why she had received the e-mail invitation a second time, as she thought she had dealt with the matter adequately upon the initial receiving.

3.3 Data Analysis

The structure of the initial analysis of the survey data was similar to the format presented by Hamazaki and Tanno (2001) who performed exploratory statistical analyses on the whaling public opinion survey of Freeman and Kellert (1992: 1-28). The present work augments that appraisal of whaling attitudes in Japan by focussing on younger Japanese people.

3.3.1 Factor Analysis

As the data set was relatively large and consisted of a number of different variables it was decided that the best way to handle it was to reduce or summarise the data using a smaller set of factors or components. Factor Analysis is a technique that looks for ‘clumps’ or groups among the correlations within a set of variables, something that is impossible to do with the naked eye (Pallant 2007: 179). The intention of the project, it will be recalled, was to answer the following research questions:

- 1) What are the predictive factors that formulate the attitudes of young Japanese people on whaling issues?
- 2) Of these predictive factors, which make the most significant contribution to the whaling attitudinal model of Japan’s youth?

Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was chosen as the most appropriate technique as this method is specific to gathering information about the interrelationships among a set of variables. Confirmatory Factor Analysis was dismissed as this particular method is used to test specific hypotheses or theories concerning the structure underlying a set of variables (Pallant 2007: 179). In regards to sample size, the number of completed useable surveys was 529, well over the 300 that is deemed ‘comforting’ for factor analysis by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007: 613). Some authors

suggest that it is not the overall sample size that is of concern but the ratio of subjects to items. Thus, Nunnally (1978: 421) recommends a 10 to 1 ratio, with others suggesting a 5 to 1 ratio (see discussion in Chapter 1 of Tabachnick and Fidell [2007]). In the case of the factorial analyses performed in this project, the ratio between cases and items was 529 to 1, satisfying the ratio criteria more than adequately.

The answers to several selected survey questions were subjected to the Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) (Principal Component Analysis with Varimax rotation) in order to obtain a baseline understanding of any underlying concepts and interrelationships. The survey questions that were excluded from the EFA were the questions that provided finite answers (such as ‘Yes’, ‘No’ and ‘Not Sure’) and questions that sought information on personal experience of whale products (Questions 7-10). All of the remaining questions in the survey were subjected to an initial EFA. This analysis identified five constructs:

1. *approval of whaling;*
2. *intangible motivations of whaling;*
3. *whale conservation;*
4. *maintaining the whaling industry;*
5. *and, acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric.*

A sixth construct, the *approval of the consumption of whale meat by Japanese children*, was created by calculating the mean scores of two questionnaire statements relating to this topic. Several of the questions were anti-whaling and needed to be reverse coded (Questions 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13) to allow the analysis to focus specifically on positive attitudes to whaling.

To ensure that all data sets were suitable for factor analysis, Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin

(KMO) tests (Kaiser 1970, 1974) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity (Bartlett 1954) were both performed, in addition to inspections of correlation matrices (to examine the strength of the correlations among items). When using the KMO measure of sampling adequacy, the data sets were handled using the criteria suggested by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007) who stipulated .6 as the minimum value for a good factor analysis. The Bartlett's test of Sphericity also needed to be significant ($p < .05$) for the factor analysis to be considered appropriate.

3.3.1.1 Constructs Created by Exploratory Factor Analysis

All questions with a Likert scale and their responses were subjected to individual Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFA). For example, all questions relating to the students' attitudes towards whaling were contained within their own EFA. All questions that related to the objectives of the International Whaling Commission (IWC) were contained within their own EFA; likewise all questions relating to pro-whaling rhetoric were contained within their own EFA. Upon examination of the factor loadings⁷³ produced by each EFA, questions that did not fall within finite groups were excluded from the overall construct creation⁷⁴.

A series of questions in the survey asked the participants to consider the importance of various goals during the formulation of whaling policy. These statements were

⁷³ According to Tabachnick and Fidell (2007: 649), 'the greater the loading, the more the variable is a pure measure of the factor'. Factor loadings in excess of .71 are considered excellent while loadings of .63 very good, .55 good, .45 fair, and .32 poor.

⁷⁴ For example, upon examining the factor loadings produced by the questions in Table 3 (Chapter 4), all questions, excluding Question 11 (which produced a loading of -.828) produced factor loadings in the positive and therefore could be grouped together to form constructs.

Question 12 produced a low factor loading of .335, however including this question within the analysis when creating the *approval of whaling* construct was allowed because the Cronbach's α value, needing to be $>.7$, was .88, indicating that the construct had a strong internal consistency (in accordance with DeVillis 2003).

also representative of the objectives of the IWC: ‘to provide for the proper conservation of whale stocks and thus make possible the orderly development of the whaling industry’. The questions that were factor analysed to determine the constructs based on the objectives of the IWC were survey questions 17i–vii (Appendix II).

Likewise, a number of questions were included in the survey that asked the participants to report their degree of acceptance of the rhetoric of pro-whaling advocates, in particular that produced by the Japanese Government. The associated questions that were factor-analysed were questions 6, 25i–vi and 25ix (Appendix II) and, based upon the groupings of their factor loadings, a construct or constructs were created.

3.3.2 Spearman’s Coefficient of Rank Correlation (r_s)

The constructs created by the Exploratory Factor Analyses were tested to ensure that they had a strong internal consistency by way of their Cronbach’s α values.

To examine the relationships among the variables and to provide a measure of how closely sets of rankings agreed with one another, a Spearman Coefficient Correlation (r) was used. The r values (ranging from -1 to $+1$) were examined, with positive values greater than .5 considered as representing good or strong agreements (Pallant 2007: 132).

3.3.3 Regression Analysis

The constructs created by the EFA could be identified as dependent (*approval of whaling*) and independent (*intangible motivations for whaling, whale conservation, maintaining the whaling industry, acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric and approval of the consumption of whale meat by Japanese children*) variables and were then subject to a multiple regression analysis to investigate the relationships between variables. The use of regression analysis would establish the causal effect of one variable upon another by estimating the quantitative effect of the causal variables upon the variable that they influence – for example, the effect that the *acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric* might have on the overall *approval of whaling*.

The *approval of whaling* construct (the dependent variable) was regressed on:

- the constructed variables identified using factor analysis;
- the approval of the consumption of whale meat by Japanese children; and
- the demographic variables: age and gender.

3.3.4 Inferential Examination of Data

The survey contained a number of questions that deviated from the use of the Likert scale in the answer categories. For example, questions that examined the consumption of whale products by the participants were included (Section 2 *Your Experience*), employing answer options that were finite categories (such as ‘Not at all’, ‘A few times’, ‘About once a month’). The results from questions such as these were graphed and, using a combination of these inferential statistics, exploratory relational statistics (Factor Analysis), and content analysis of the participant’s comments, a picture was able to be built up regarding the overall attitudinal make-up

of the data set.

3.3.5 Analysis of Japanese Students' Comments and Questions

The research design allowed for the collection of comments⁷⁵ from the participants through two different methods. Firstly, students were able to make written comments in the space allocated at the end of the survey and secondly, students were able to ask questions to the author directly during the Question and Answer sessions. As these two methods are very different (one obtained indirectly and through transcription, the other obtained directly by the author and verbally), they resulted in two different types of outputs (the survey produced more attitudinal-based statements, the Questions and Answers sessions produced more enquiries into topics in which the students were interested in). Thus, the results of the verbal communications from the Questions and Answers sessions are not considered formally in this document. Instead, the insights gained from these sessions informally contributed to the author's discursive analysis of the results in Chapter 5.

3.3.5.1 Written Survey Comments

Content analysis is essentially a coding operation where communications – oral, written, or other – are coded or classified according to some conceptual framework (Babbie 2009: 115). In order to content analyse the students' written comments, different attitudes to whaling (anti-, pro- or somewhere in between) must first be crystallised through a process of what Babbie (2009: 115) terms *conceptualisation*.

⁷⁵ All written comments made by the students have been documented in translated English. The only edits to these comments were made in the form of word insertions in square brackets (if necessary). Any comments with ambiguous meanings have been excluded from formal analysis.

This process starts with the outlining of what one wants to observe (for example, a pro-whaling attitude) then brings together several apparently related factors that are often thought to typify the phenomenon in question. For example, when one thinks of what a pro-whaling attitude or behaviour may consist of, one might think of images of people eating whale meat or of whalers actually hunting whales. Similarly, when one is asked to think about what constitutes an anti-whaling attitude or behaviour, one might think of images of anti-whaling campaigners or of non-consumptive uses of cetaceans such as whale watching. The term for these mental images is *conception* and through communication an overall *concept* is eventually deployed that is defined by Kaplan (1964: 49) as encompassing a *family* of conceptions and encapsulating these collective images. It was this method that was used to determine whether the written comments of the students were either anti- or pro-whaling. In some cases, comments were easily identifiable as either anti- or pro-whaling. An example of each can be seen below, in respective order:

I found some information of the questionnaire were new to me and some are not. I would like to involve anything I can [sic] in order for protection of whale [sic] (S008).

I personally oppose the whaling ban because each country has its own culture, such as eating dog in South Korea (S531).

During the process of conceptualising the comments as anti- or pro- whaling, latent coding was used to designate further sub-categories. Latent coding is a sounder and effective method than manifest coding (the analysis of visible surface content) for tapping the underlying meaning of communications (Babbie 2009: 338) and was particularly useful when applied to this data because of the complexity and multi-dimensionality of issues that surround whaling. Thus, latent coding allowed the comments to be analysed for classification as either anti- or pro-whaling and

further sub-categorised. For example, a comment such as: ‘It is bad to hunt whales that are endangered, can be rare or about to be extinct species. However, I agree with whaling the other species’ (S125), was first categorised as pro-whaling and subsequently placed within a category entitled ‘Sustainable use of cetaceans’, which was defined as ‘Students who felt that whaling was acceptable as long as there was not an existential threat to the survival of cetacean populations’. Another example of sub-categorisation is the comment: ‘I want to eat whales. Foreigners should eat whales as they are tasty’ (S210), which was categorised as pro-whaling and sub-categorised into ‘Wants to eat whale meat’ and defined as ‘Students who want to eat whale meat or who approve of the promotion of whale meat eating’.

Using the combination of conceptualisation and latent coding, all comments were allocated to one or more of 43 sub-categories. Categories covered all topics that were raised by the students, but were not mutually exclusive. An example of a comment that could be placed into several sub-categories was:

Whaling is supporting local culture as well as food culture. As long as whales are not forced to become extinct, sustainable whaling is necessary. I don’t understand emotional argument about whaling. Why is it cruel to kill whales and not cow or pigs? (S309).

This was categorised as a pro-whaling comment but covered a number of issues related to the whaling debate. The first line emphasises a connection between whaling and Japanese culture (‘local’ and ‘food culture’) placing it into a sub-category entitled ‘High cultural value’, defined as ‘Students who felt that whaling was of cultural/traditional value and significance’. The second line refers to sustainable whaling as ‘necessary’ providing that the threat of extinction is avoided, utilises the sub-category ‘Sustainable use of cetaceans’, as defined above. In the third

line the participant expresses a lack of understanding of the emotive side of whaling issues, placing it within a sub-category entitled ‘Too many emotions/ emotional involvement’⁷⁶, defined as ‘Students who referred to emotional involvement or too much emotion involved in the whaling debate’. And lastly, the question that concludes the comment refers to an inequality in terms of how animals are viewed consumptively, placing the comment into a sub-category entitled ‘Equality of animal life’. Thus, it can be seen that this one comment can be placed into four sub-categories based upon content, tone and personal expression.

The method outlined above handled the data qualitatively, the results of which are examined in Chapters 4 and 5. In order to represent the data quantitatively, the frequency with which the 43 sub-categories were referred to was calculated and plotted using the radar graphs seen in Section 4.2 of Chapter 4. The quantitative representation is an important aspect of the analysis because, although the conceptualisation and latent coding processes provide great depth for discursive purposes, there were comments that could not be placed into either anti- or pro-whaling categories. For example:

These whaling issues are not only about whales. These issues are also related to small animals like plankton. I would like to review the issue considering all aspects of the ecosystem and not just one species (S409).

Comments such as these could not be classified as either anti- or pro-whaling though they are still amenable to discussion. This comment was placed into a sub-category

⁷⁶ Unless supported by the overall content of the comment, when a participant referred to ‘emotions’ it was assumed to be emotions negatively involved in, or influencing the whaling debate. This is a viewpoint that is highlighted by the Japanese Government in their criticisms of *emotional* anti-whaling proponents and their calls for rationality, objectivity, and scientism to determine decisions within the International Whaling Commission.

entitled ‘Ecosystem approach’, defined as ‘Students who felt that when considering the management of whales, other organisms or trophic levels in the marine ecosystem should also be considered’. These types of comments were also presented visually within the radar graphs of calculated frequencies (how often the students referred to the topic), seen in Section 4.2.

One aspect that needs to be considered is the subjectivity by which the comments were assigned. The author was the sole assignee of categories, albeit the comments were examined numerous times to cross-reference and ensure the consistency of the categorisations. However, to reduce ambiguities, categories were only created if the reference to them was clear and undeniable. Their definitions remained simple in construction and a reflection of the participants’ comments. This resulted in the creation of 43 categories from 74 comments. All categories and definitions are presented in Appendix VI. The handling and cataloguing of the comments was made more efficient and accurate with the use of the software package *Nvivo 8*, particularly because many comments were assigned to several sub-categories.

When it came to the analysis of the radar displays, some concepts were very similar but were placed distantly from one another depending on how many times they were referenced. Therefore, in discussing the content of the comments, the author analysed the overall picture that the radars displayed to build up a general picture of the top twenty whaling related concepts and 21-43 ranked concepts, rather than looking at the position of each individual concept.

The results of the study will be presented in Chapter 4 as follows: the inferential statistics will be presented first with the factor analyses of the attitudinal constructs

shown, followed by the Spearman correlation and regression models. The middle part of the chapter will be concerned with graphical displays of the survey questions that used non-Likert scale response categories. The final section of the chapter is dedicated to the content analysis of the written comments made by the students at the end of the survey.

Chapter 4 Results

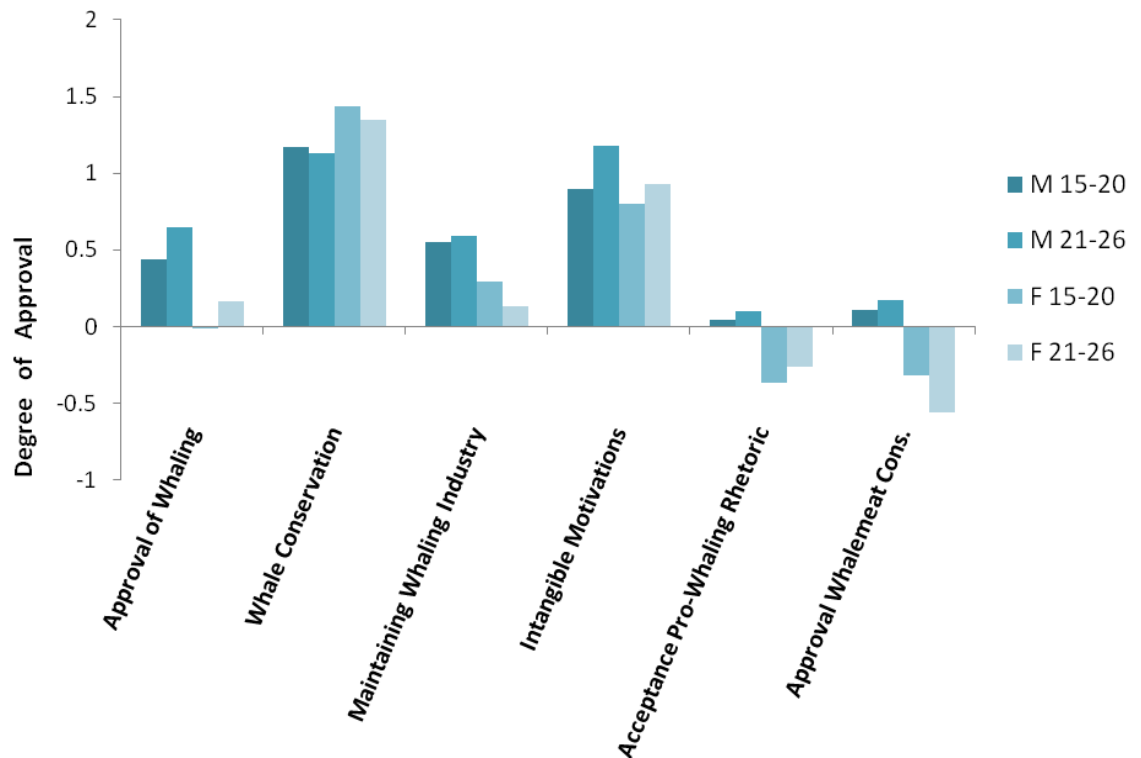
4.1 Statistical Analysis

4.1.1 Attitudinal Construct Creation

To establish a baseline understanding of whaling attitudes amongst Japanese students, analysis first consolidated associated statements into underlying concepts by applying Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) (Principal Component Analysis with Varimax rotation). Where underlying concepts and associated statements were identified a calculated mean score of the associated statements created an index of the concept. The EFA identified five constructs:

- 1) *approval of whaling* defined as the ‘approval of regulated whaling for non-endangered whales’.
- 2) *intangible motivations of whaling* defined as the ‘maintenance of whaling based on non-material human benefits’.
- 3) *whale conservation* defined as the ‘conservation of whales from a whale-centred perspective’.
- 4) *maintaining the whaling industry* defined as the ‘sustaining of the whaling industry based upon economic criteria’.
- 5) and, *acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric* defined as the ‘acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric as produced by Japanese pro-whaling advocates’.

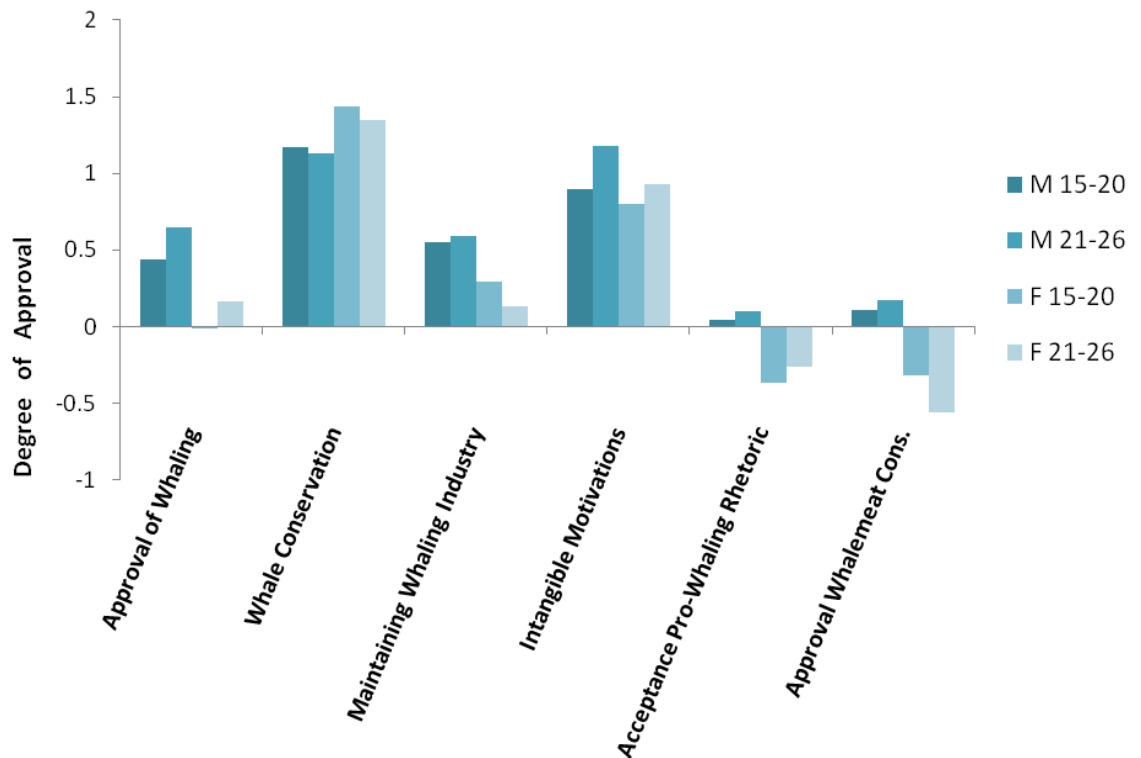
A sixth construct, *approval of the consumption of whale meat by Japanese children*, was also created by calculating the mean scores of two questionnaire statements relating to this topic. Mean scores were also calculated for the remaining five constructs and are displayed in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Calculated Mean Scores of Japanese students' attitudes on whaling ($n=529$).

4.1.2 Inferential Statistics on the Attitudinal Constructs

Males: On examining the means for the male participants, *approval of whaling* increased with age (Figure 8). The corollary also applied: a decrease in the *whale conservation objective* was observed. For males, increases were also observed in the four other constructs with increasing age, with the largest difference between the two age categories being the *intangible motivations for whaling* construct highlighted in Figure 8.

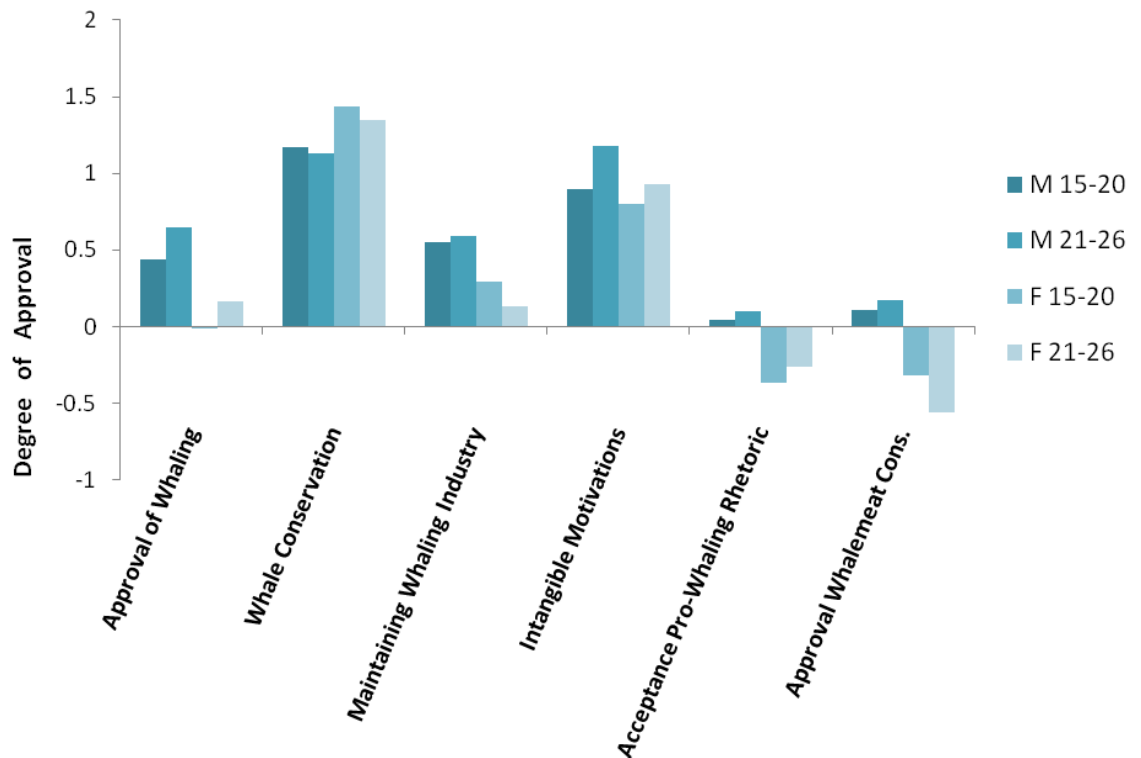
Females: *Approval of whaling* also increased from the lower to the higher age categories in the case of the female participants (although this was less than in the case of the males). Again, the corollary applied: a decrease in concern for *whale conservation* was also seen as the females grew older. In addition, the older female

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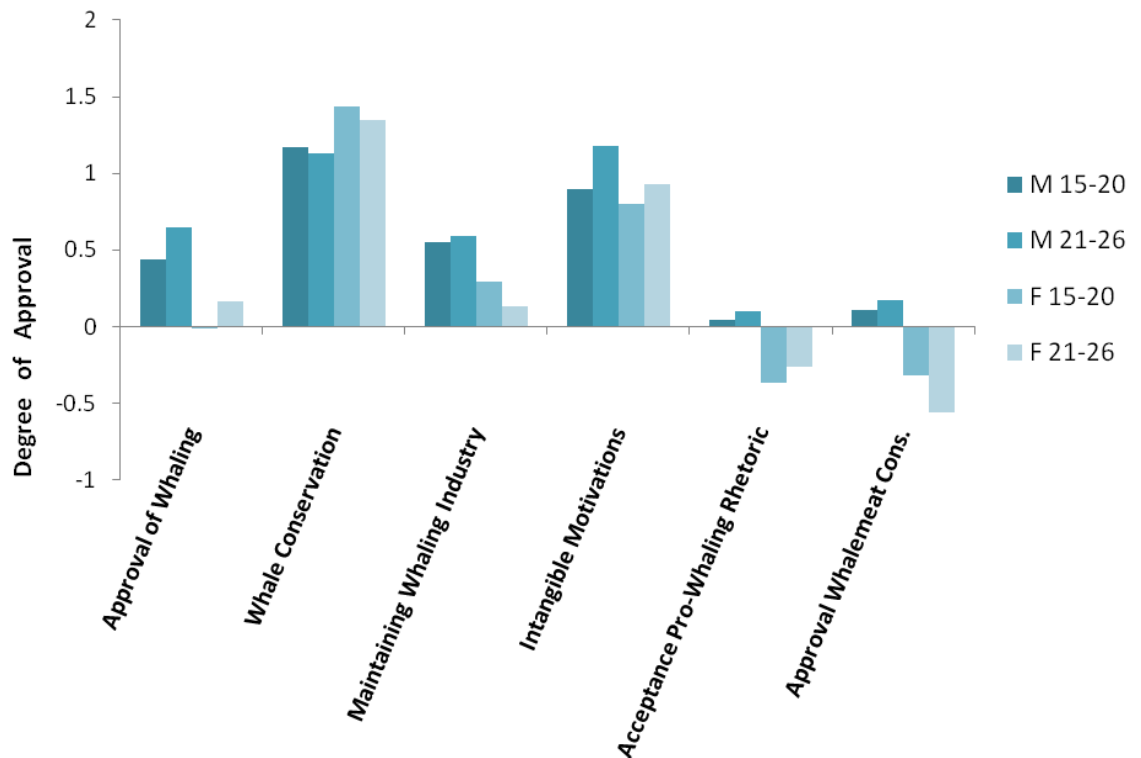
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participants viewed whaling for cultural and social purposes to be of greater importance than did their younger counterparts (Figure 8). The largest difference between the two age categories was for the *approval of the consumption of whale meat* construct, as highlighted in Figure 8.

A difference between the genders existed when examining the responses to the *maintaining of the whaling industry* construct. Female responses decreased in their approval of whaling for the benefit of the whaling industry, whereas those of males increased.

Interesting to note are the means obtained for the *acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric*. Overall, females disagreed with statements related to pro-whaling rhetoric; however the level of disagreement for older females was less than that of their younger peers. Males were more accepting of pro-whaling rhetoric, and they became more accepting as they grew older (Figure 8). The two genders differed entirely in their responses to statements relating to the approval of the consumption of whale meat by Japanese children. Females did not approve of whale meat consumption, with the older females having a greater degree of disapproval. Males did approve of whale meat consumption, with this approval increasing with age (Figure 8).

4.1.3 Approval of Whaling

Two factors emerged from the initial Exploratory Factor Analysis and these indicate positive attitudes to whaling amongst the Japanese students (Table 2). All questions

with the exception of Q.11⁷⁷ loaded on the first factor, with this factor explaining 45 per cent of the variance. Several of the questions were anti-whaling and needed to be reverse coded (questions 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13) to allow the analysis to focus specifically on positive attitudes to whaling.

The second factor explained 10 per cent of the variance and consisted of Q.11 and cross-loading questions 5, 8, 12, and 13. Of interest are the items that make up this second component. The positively loaded items are all associated with anti-whaling, sentiments which contrast with Q.11, which is negatively loaded (-.828). This factor highlights the bifurcation between pro- and anti-whaling attitudes. However, investigation with Q.11 removed from the analysis resolved to only one factor, thus suggesting that Q.11 is the major force in the development of the second factor. Only the first factor was used in further analysis as it best represented a positive whaling construct (Table 2). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) value was .911, identifying the data set as suitable for factor analysis based upon the greater than .6 rule for a KMO (Pallant 2007: 181). The Bartlett's Test of Sphericity was significant (< .05), also supporting this data set's suitability for factorial analysis (Pallant 2007: 181).

The results in Table 2 show that the Japanese students did not differentiate between purposes of whaling, such as for cultural and social motivations, or economic and scientific needs. In terms of the analysis, this factor was named '*approval of whaling*' using Hamazaki and Tanno's (2001) definition: 'approval of regulated whaling for non-endangered whales.' This concept became a dependent variable in a

⁷⁷ Q.11 asked: "To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: 'Aboriginal subsistence whaling should be allowed when based on traditional, cultural, and dietary needs'." Participants were given background information on Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling prior to answering this section.

regression analysis, with the rest of the identified concepts (discussed below) treated as predictor variables.

Table 2. Varimax Factor Loadings for the statements for the *Approval of Whaling Construct*. [Note: All factor loadings reported above were obtained after reverse coding of questions 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13.]

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?		Factor loadings		
		1	2	3 ⁷⁸
1.	Whaling is part of Japanese culture and should be allowed to continue	.791		.762
2.	If a whale species is not endangered, small coastal communities in Japan, who previously hunted these animals, should be allowed to return to whaling	.787		.687
3.	Whales that are not endangered can be killed to provide food for humans	.743		.762
4.	I am opposed to the hunting of whales under any circumstances	.735		.785
5.	I cannot imagine why anybody would want to kill anything as wonderful as a whale	.696	.350	.776
6.	Aboriginal subsistence whaling (by Aboriginal, native or Indigenous peoples) should be banned	.681		.667
7.	There is nothing wrong with harvesting whales if whaling is managed under strict international regulations	.669		.667
8.	Commercial whaling should be banned	.611	.448	.731
9.	Scientific whaling should be banned	.600		.655
10.	Whaling has been part of Japanese culture, but is no longer necessary as part of modern-day Japanese society	.575		.604
11.	Aboriginal subsistence whaling should be allowed when based on traditional, cultural and dietary needs		-.828	-
12.	Only non-lethal methods should be used to conduct scientific research on whales	.335	.597	.530
13.	If it is possible, whale watching should replace whaling in whaling towns	.526	.584	.701
Percentage of variance explained		45	10	48.7
Cronbach α		.88	n/a	.90

⁷⁸ The factor loadings in the third column show the change in loadings that exist in component 1 when Q.11 is excluded from the factor analysis.

4.1.4 Objectives of the International Whaling Commission (IWC)

A series of statements in the survey asked the participants to consider the importance of various goals during the formulation of whaling policy (Table 3). These statements were also representative of the objectives of the IWC: ‘to provide for the proper conservation of whale stocks and thus make possible the orderly development of the whaling industry’.

Again using Exploratory Factor Analysis, three factors emerged in this suite of questions (Table 3). The statements that loaded on the first factor emphasized the cultural and social goals of whaling, and were named ‘*intangible motivations for whaling*’ (the maintenance of whaling based on non-material human benefits). The second factor emphasized not only the conservation of whales, but also placed emphasis on the welfare of the whales themselves (via animal welfare and the environmental and ecological role of whales). This factor was named the ‘*whale conservation objective*’ (conservation of whales from a whale-centred perspective). The third factor emphasized economic and resource-use goals, a human-centred perspective. This factor was named the ‘*maintaining the whaling industry objective*’ (sustaining the whaling industry on economic criteria).

Both the KMO (.631) and the Bartlett’s Test of Sphericity ($< .05$) identified the data set as being suitable for factor analysis based upon Pallant (2007: 181). A low Cronbach’s alpha score was obtained by Factor 2 (.51); this however is reported to be a common occurrence with scales fewer than ten items (Pallant 2007: 181).

Table 3. Varimax factor loadings for statements representing the objectives of the IWC.

How important or unimportant do you consider the following goals when whaling policy is being established?		Factor loadings		
		1	2	3
1.	Cultural goals (maintaining whaling by Aboriginal subsistence communities)	.904		
2.	Social goals (maintaining jobs and the well-being of local people in coastal communities)	.879		
3.	Environmental goals (protecting whales and their habitat from marine pollution or industrial activity)		.828	
4.	Animal welfare concerns (considering the pain and suffering of whales when they are killed)		.699	
5.	Ecological goals (the roles whales have in ocean ecosystem management)		.661	
6.	Economic goals (maintaining a profitable commercial whaling industry)			.876
7.	Resource-use goals (maintaining supplies of whale products for human consumption)			.837
Percentage of variance explained		34.7	21.3	14.4
Cronbach α		.82	.51	.69

4.1.5 Acceptance of Pro-Whaling Rhetoric

Participants were asked to report the degree of their acceptance of the rhetoric of pro-whaling advocates (in particular that of the Japanese Government), rhetoric that has increased in volume since the moratorium on commercial whaling came into effect. When associated statements were factor-analysed only one factor emerged, which can be seen represented by statements 1-8 in Table 4. Again, an acceptable KMO (.846) and Bartlett's Test of Sphericity ($< .05$) was obtained, identifying this data set as being suitable for factor analysis in accordance with Pallant (2007: 181). The Cronbach's alpha scores for all of the factorial analyses (excluding Factor 2, Table 3) were above .7, indicating that the internal consistency of the constructs was adequate in accordance with DeVillis (2003).

Table 4. Varimax Factor Loadings for the Acceptance of Pro-Whaling Rhetoric.

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?		Factor loadings
		1
1.	Some countries that oppose whaling are treating Japan unfairly	.799
2.	Countries that oppose whaling do so because they do not understand Japan's whaling culture	.775
3.	Countries that oppose whaling are misinformed about whaling issues	.765
4.	Countries that oppose whaling do so because they are racist towards Japanese people	.741
5.	Countries oppose whaling because they want to impose their whale conservation policies upon Japan	.728
6.	People in non-whaling countries use emotion more than scientific data to support anti-whaling campaigns	.708
7.	Whaling is a traditional activity that I associate with Japan	.526
8.	Certain whale species are decimating fish stocks and must be killed to ensure there is a plentiful supply of fish for humans	.437
Percentage of variance explained		48.38
Cronbach α		.847

4.1.6 Relationships among the Construct Variables

Table 5 explores the relationship among the five predictor construct variables where a Spearman coefficient correlation was used. The analysis indicated that the *whale conservation* construct had a low but positive correlation to the *maintaining the whaling industry* ($r = .065$) (not significant) and *intangible motivations for whaling* ($r = .187$) (significant) constructs but low negative correlations to the *acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric* ($r = -.172$) (significant) and the *approval of the consumption of whale meat* ($r = -.178$) (significant) constructs. All other correlations were positive and significant, with the highest correlation between the *acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric* and *approval of the consumption of whale meat* constructs ($r = .524$).

Table 5. Spearman correlation coefficient (r) among construct variables. (**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)).

	Objectives of the IWC				
	Whale conservation	Maintaining Whaling Industry	Intangible Motivations	Acceptance Pro-Whaling Rhetoric	Approval whale meat consumption
Whale conservation		.065	.187 (**)	-.172 (**)	-.178 (**)
Maintaining Whaling Industry			.356 (**)	.318 (**)	.417 (**)
Intangible Motivations				.329 (**)	.295 (**)
Acceptance Pro-Whaling Rhetoric					.524 (**)

4.1.7 Regression Model of Construct Variables

Table 6 examines the degree to which *approval of whaling* was correlated with other elements using a multiple regression model, where *approval of whaling* (the dependent variable) was regressed on:

- the constructed variables identified using factor analysis;
- the approval of the consumption of whale meat by Japanese children; and
- the demographic variables: age and gender.

Overall, the regression parameter that made the strongest unique contribution to explaining the approval of whaling (the dependent variable) was the *approval of the consumption of whale meat* construct (.398). However, it is notable that the *acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric* construct also contributed positively to the overall approval of whaling by the students (.213). In the regression model (Table 6), the *whale conservation* construct was negatively correlated with the *approval of whaling* construct, supporting the results from the Spearman correlation. Though within an overall context of support for whaling, the negative parameter seen for females indicates that they nevertheless tended to disapprove of whaling more than males and those aged 21-26 were more likely to approve of whaling than those aged 15-20.

Table 6. Standardised Multiple Regression Coefficients on Approval of Whaling ($p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.0001$)**

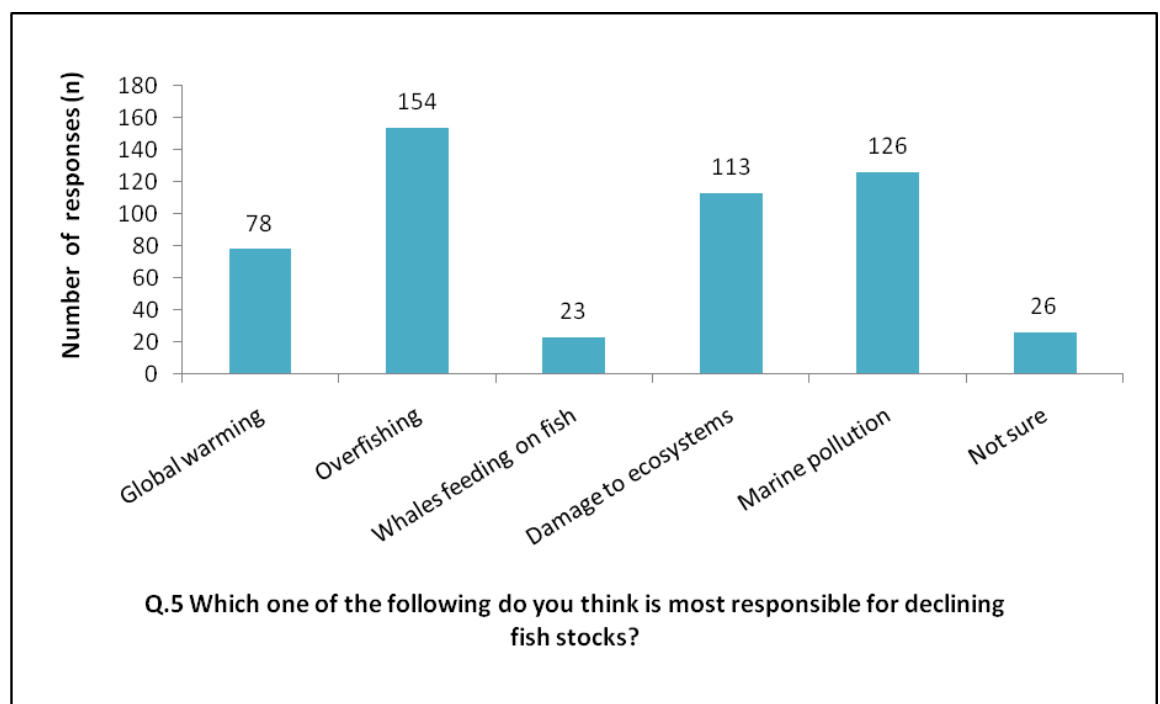
Predictor variables	Dependent variable: Approval of Whaling
Female	-.127***
Age 21-26 years old	.106**
Whale conservation ⁷⁹	-.092**
Intangible motivations whaling	.172***
Maintaining whaling industry	.087*
Acceptance pro-whaling rhetoric	.213***
Approval consumption whale meat	.398***
F	90.53
R ²	.561

⁷⁹ As the IWC's whale conservation objective could be understood as either 'for whaling: conserving whale stocks in the interests of the long-term sustainable maintenance of the industry' or 'against whaling: conservation of whales *from* threats of whaling', it is understood that participants in this study might have interpreted it either way. However, while the first interpretation would complement the IWC's whaling industry maintenance objective, resulting in a positive correlation between the two objectives, the second interpretation would contradict this, resulting in a negative correlation. On examination of Table 5, there exists a very weak positive correlation (.065); however there is a negative correlation between the *whale conservation* construct and the *acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric* and the *approval of the consumption of whale meat*. This suggests that the students did indeed interpret the *conservation* objective in opposing ways. However, upon examining the regression model and observing the negative result that exists between the *whale conservation* objective and the *approval of whaling*, it seems reasonable to assume that the majority of the participants interpreted the objective as 'against whaling'. This is supported by the negative correlation seen in the regression model between the *whale conservation* objective and the *approval of whaling* (-.092 Table 6).

4.1.8 Examination of Additional Survey Questions

The survey contained a number of questions that did not operate on a Likert scale but instead used answer options that were finite categories. In the section entitled *Your Experience*, Question 5 asked participants what they thought was the most responsible for declining global fish stocks, and proffered the response categories as: ‘Global warming’, ‘Overfishing’, ‘Whales feeding on fish’, ‘Damage to ecosystems’, ‘Marine pollution’, and ‘Not sure’. It can be seen from Figure 9 that the largest percentage of participants selected ‘Overfishing’ (29.6 per cent), followed by ‘Marine pollution’ (24.2 per cent) and ‘Damage to ecosystems’ (21.7 per cent). The category least selected, and one that is being increasingly pushed by the Japanese Government, is the ‘Whales feeding on fish’ option (4.4 per cent) (Figure 9).

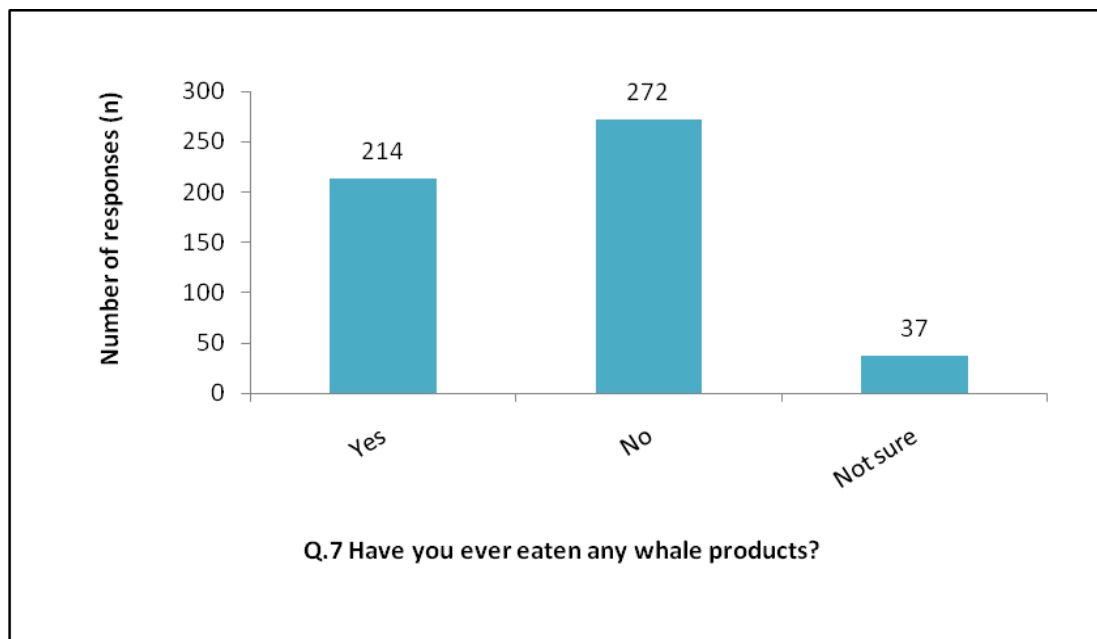
Figure 9. The responses from Q.5 relating to the possible reasons for global fish stock decline ($n= 520$).



Four questions from this section sought data on the personal experience of the participants with whale products (Q.7-10)⁸⁰, with the responses used to generate inferences about the degree of consumption of whale products in Japan.

It can be seen in Figure 10 that of the 523 participants, 40.9 per cent had eaten whale products, 52 per cent had not and 7.1 per cent were not sure (Q.7). The results from Q.8 show that of the 40.9 per cent who had eaten whale products before, the majority were unable to determine whether they had in the last six months (53.6 per cent) (Figure 11).

Figure 10. The responses obtained from the *Your Experience* section of the survey examining past consumption of whale products by Japanese students ($n= 523$).



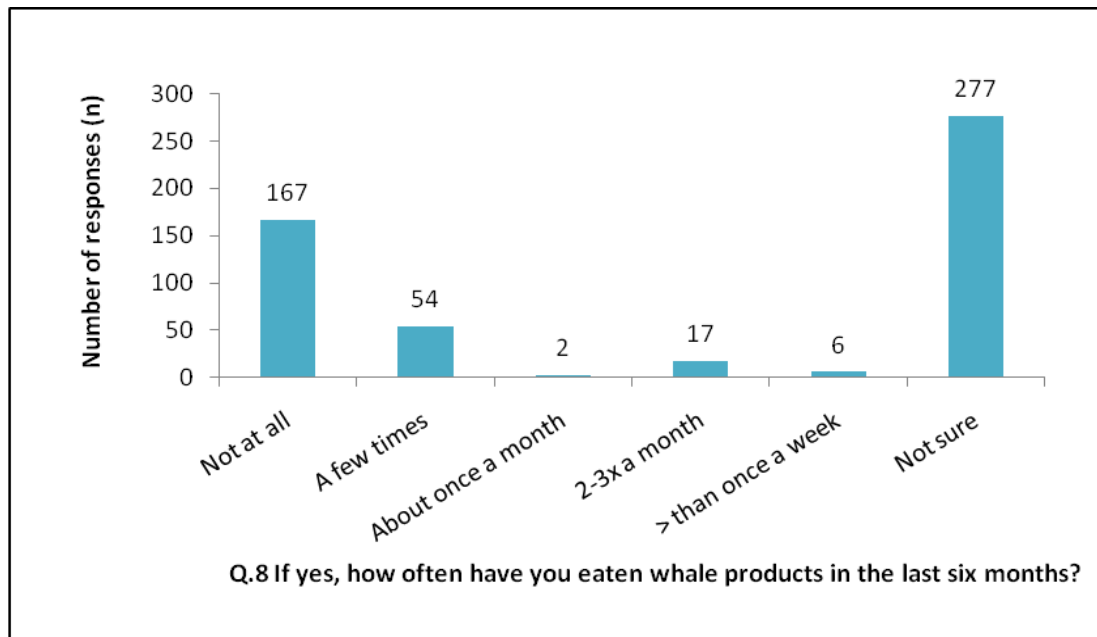
⁸⁰ Q.7 'Have you ever eaten any whale products?'

Q.8 'If yes, how often have you eaten whale products in the last six months?'

Q.9 'Are whale products readily available to you?'

Q.10 'If whale products were readily available to you, how often would you eat them?'

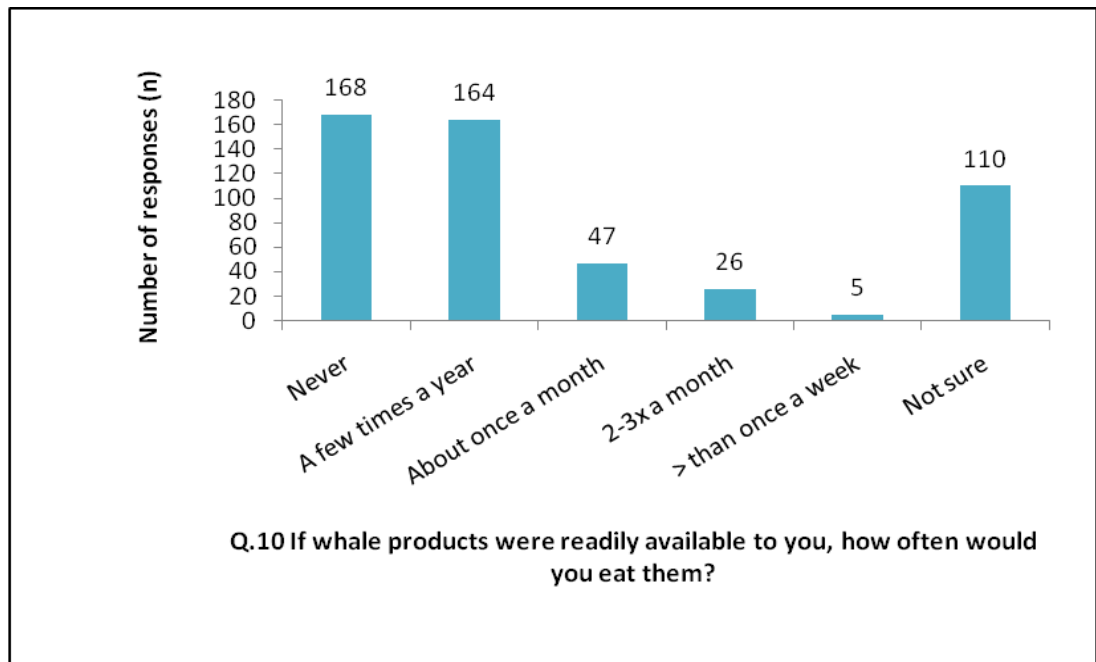
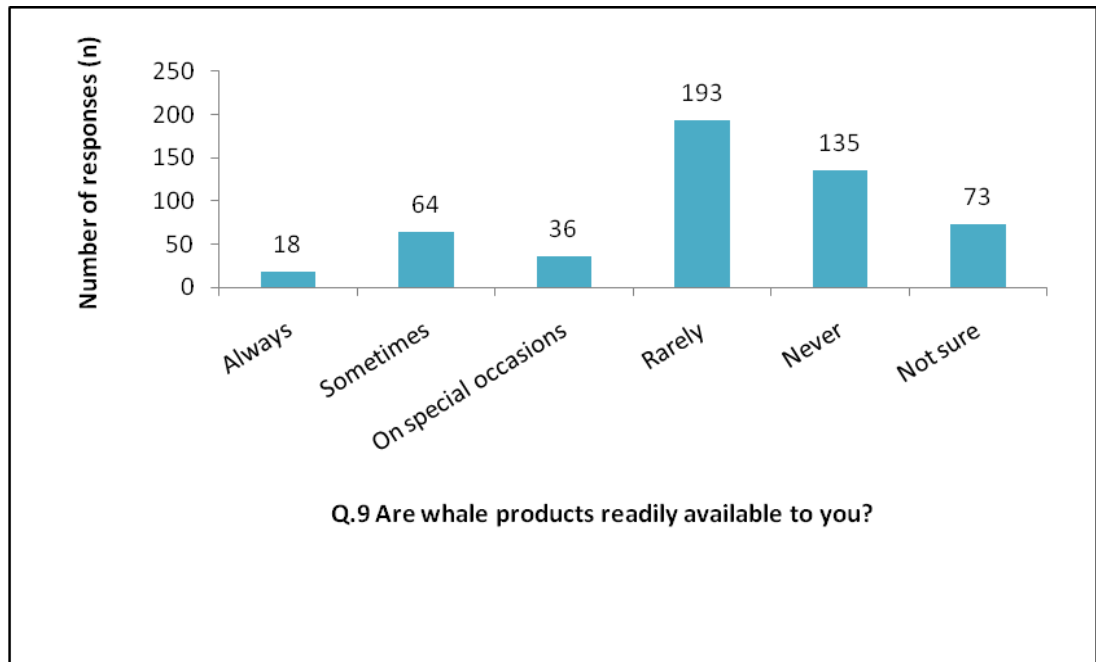
Figure 11. The results from the *Your Experience* section of the survey examining how often students have consumed whale products in the last six months ($n=517$).



Importantly, the answers to Question 9 (which asked about the availability of whale products to the participants) mostly centred on the negative (37.2 per cent cited that whale products were ‘Rarely’ available and 26.0 per cent cited that whale products were ‘Never’ available) (Figure 12).

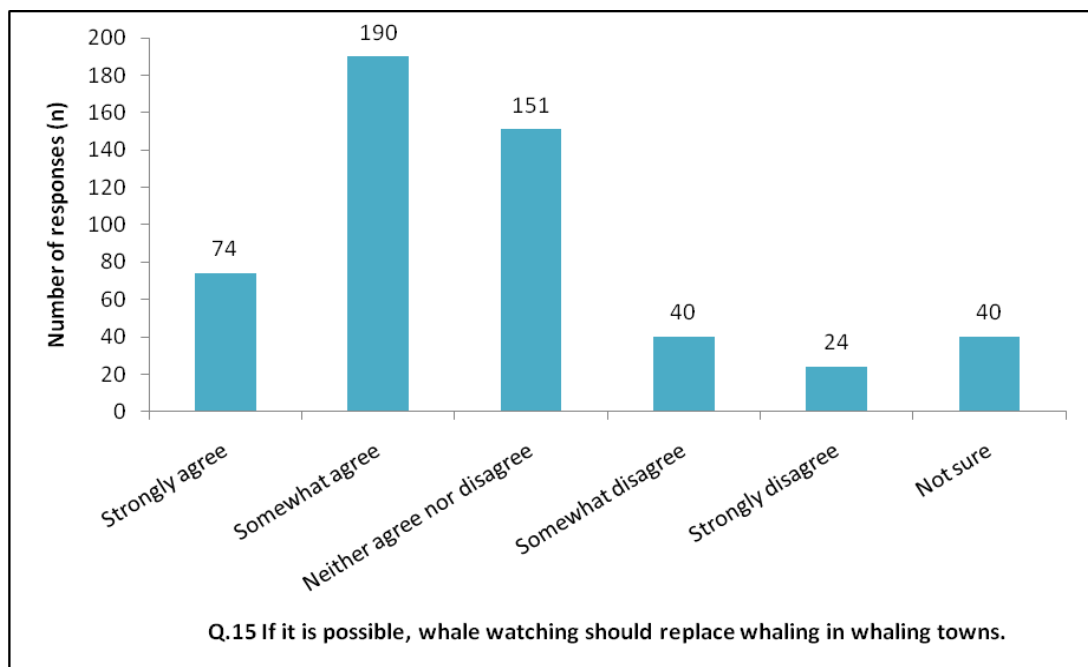
Finally, perhaps some of the most revealing results were obtained from Question 10, in which 32.3 per cent of participants stated that they would ‘Never’ eat whale products even if they were readily available to them, 31.5 per cent cited that they would eat whale products ‘A few times a year’, and a large percentage, 21.2 per cent stated that they were ‘Not sure’ how often they would want to eat whale products even if they were readily available (Figure 12).

Figure 12. The responses obtained from the *Your Experience* section of the survey examining availability of whale products and desire of whale product consumption by Japanese students ($n= 519, n= 520$ respectively).



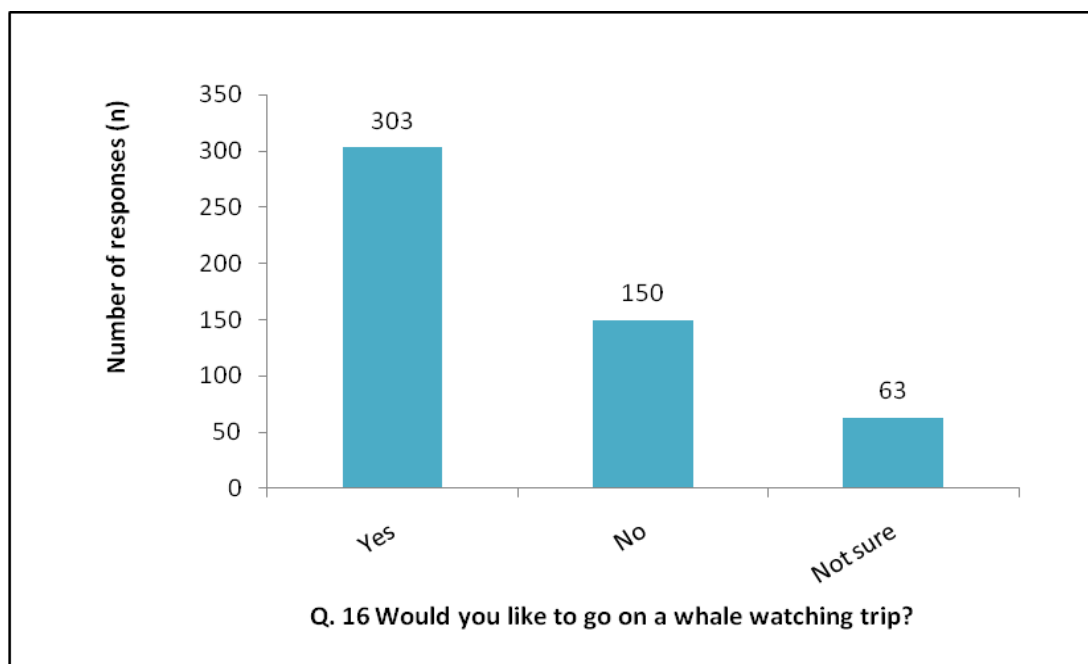
The survey also included a section relating to *Whale Watching* in which participants were asked their thoughts on the activity (Section 5). Figure 13 displays the results obtained from Question 15, showing that a high percentage of students felt that whale watching should replace whaling (Strongly agree = 14.3 per cent, Somewhat agree = 36.6 per cent), though a significant percentage of students were unsure when answering this question (Neither agree nor disagree = 29.1 per cent) (Figure 13).

Figure 13. Responses obtained from the *Whale Watching* section of the survey (n= 519).



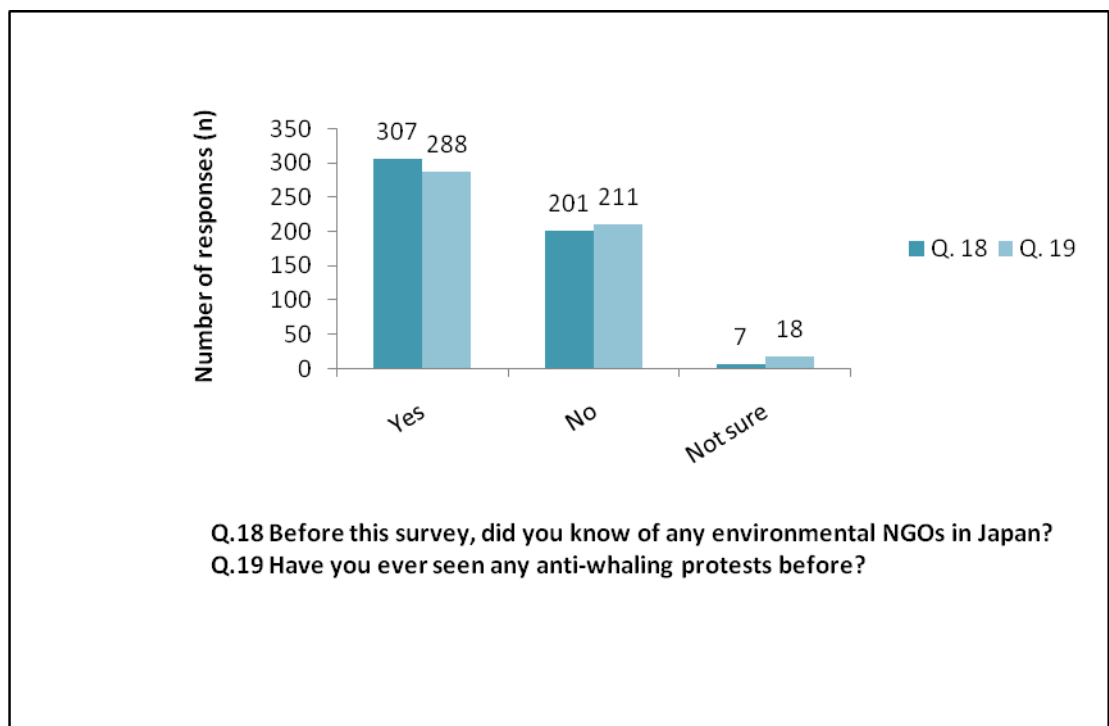
Question 16 asked whether the participant would like to go on a whale watching trip. A clear majority answered ‘Yes’ (58.7 per cent), ‘No’ answers were fewer (29.1 per cent), and the ‘Not sure’ option attracted the lowest support (12.2 per cent) (Figure 14).

Figure 14. The responses obtained from the *Whale Watching* section of the survey ($n= 516$).



The survey contained a section entitled *Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)* (Section 7) and aimed to examine the knowledge about and attitudes of Japanese students towards these groups. Question 18 asked: ‘Including any of the organisations above (see survey ‘Section 7’ pre-question text), before this survey, did you know of any environmental NGOs based in Japan?’. Of the 515 participants, 59.6 per cent answered ‘Yes’ to knowing Japan-based environmental NGOs, 39.0 per cent answered ‘No’, and 1.4 per cent answered ‘Not sure’ (Figure 15). Question 19 asked: ‘Have you ever seen any anti-whaling protests before (for example, on television, the Internet, in newspapers or in person)?’. Of the 517 participants, 55.7 per cent answered ‘Yes’, 40.8 per cent answered ‘No’, and 3.5 per cent answered ‘Not sure’ (Figure 15).

Figure 15. The responses obtained from Questions 18 and 19 regarding environmental NGOs ($n=515$, $n=517$ respectively).

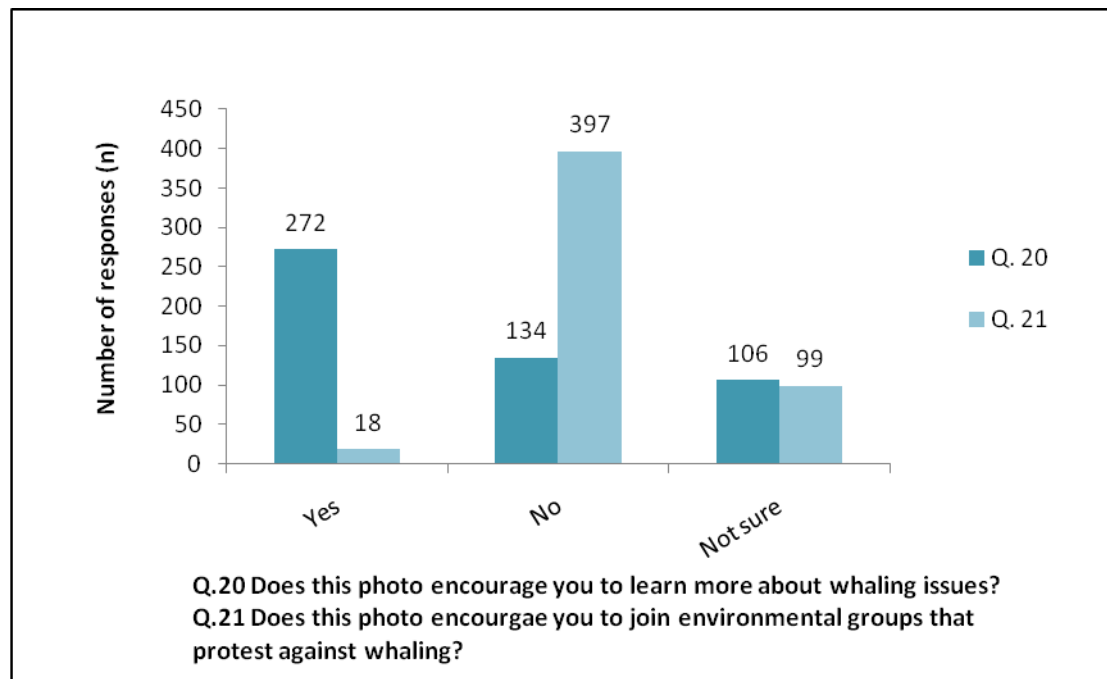


Two questions in this section were also associated with a photograph of a Greenpeace International anti-whaling campaigner. Question 20 asked: ‘Does this photo encourage you to learn more about whaling issues?’. Of the 512 participants, 51.4 per cent answered ‘Yes’, 25.3 per cent answered ‘No’, and 20.0 per cent answered ‘Not sure’ (Figure 16). Question 21 asked: ‘Does this photo encourage you to join environmental groups that protest against whaling?’. Of 514 participants, 3.4 per cent answered ‘Yes’, 75.0 per cent answered ‘No’, and 18.7 per cent answered ‘Not sure’ (Figure 17). Only one participant answered that they were already a member of an anti-whaling NGO.

Figure 16. The photograph of an anti-whaling campaigner used to examine participant responses to anti-whaling protests.

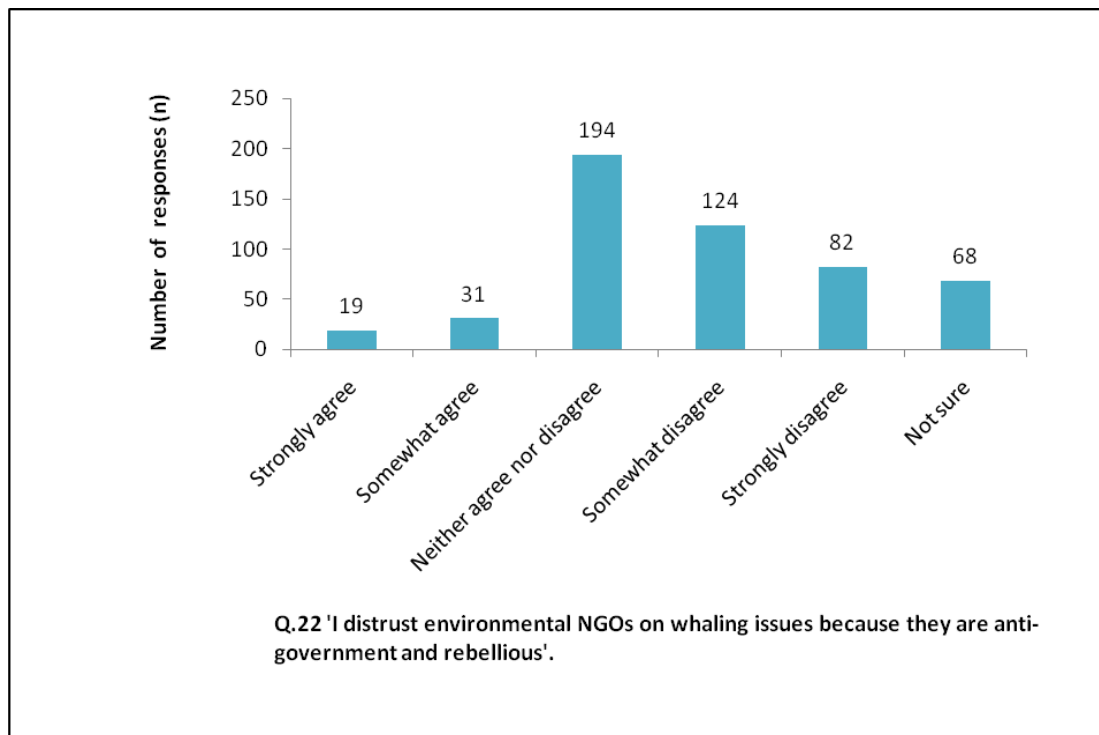


Figure 17. The responses obtained from Questions 20 and 21 regarding environmental anti-whaling NGOs ($n= 512$, $n= 514$ respectively).



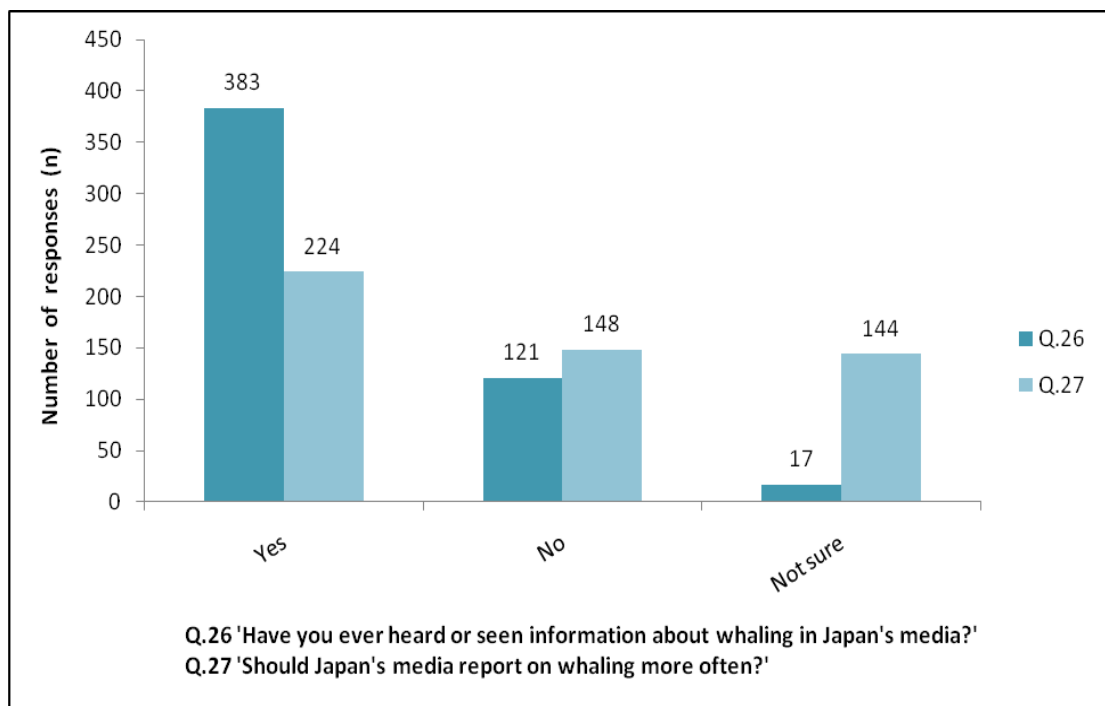
The final question in this section, Question 22, examined the level of agreement with the statement: 'I distrust environmental NGOs on whaling issues because they are anti-government and rebellious'. Of the 518 participants, 9.6 per cent agreed with this statement (3.6 per cent + 6 per cent), 37.4 per cent answered that they did not agree nor disagree, a total of 39.7 per cent disagreed with the statement (23.7 per cent + 16 per cent), and 13.1 per cent answered 'Not sure' (Figure 18).

Figure 18. The responses obtained from Question 22 regarding environmental NGOs ($n=518$).



The penultimate section of the survey, entitled *Sources of Whaling Information*, included questions that examined where the participants might have acquired information on whaling and anti-whaling campaigning (Section 10). Question 26 asked: ‘Have you ever heard or seen information about whaling issues in Japan’s media?’. Of the 521 participants, 73.5 per cent answered ‘Yes’, 23.2 per cent answered ‘No’, and 3.3 per cent answered ‘Not sure’ (Figure 19). Question 27 asked: ‘In your opinion, should Japan’s media report on whaling issues more often?’. Of the 516 participants, a majority answered ‘Yes’ (43.4 per cent), 28.7 per cent answered ‘No’, and 27.9 per cent, a significant figure because of its near-match to the ‘No’ response, answered ‘Not sure’ (Figure 19).

Figure 19. The responses obtained from questions relating to the Sources of Whaling Information ($n=521$, $n= 516$ respectively).



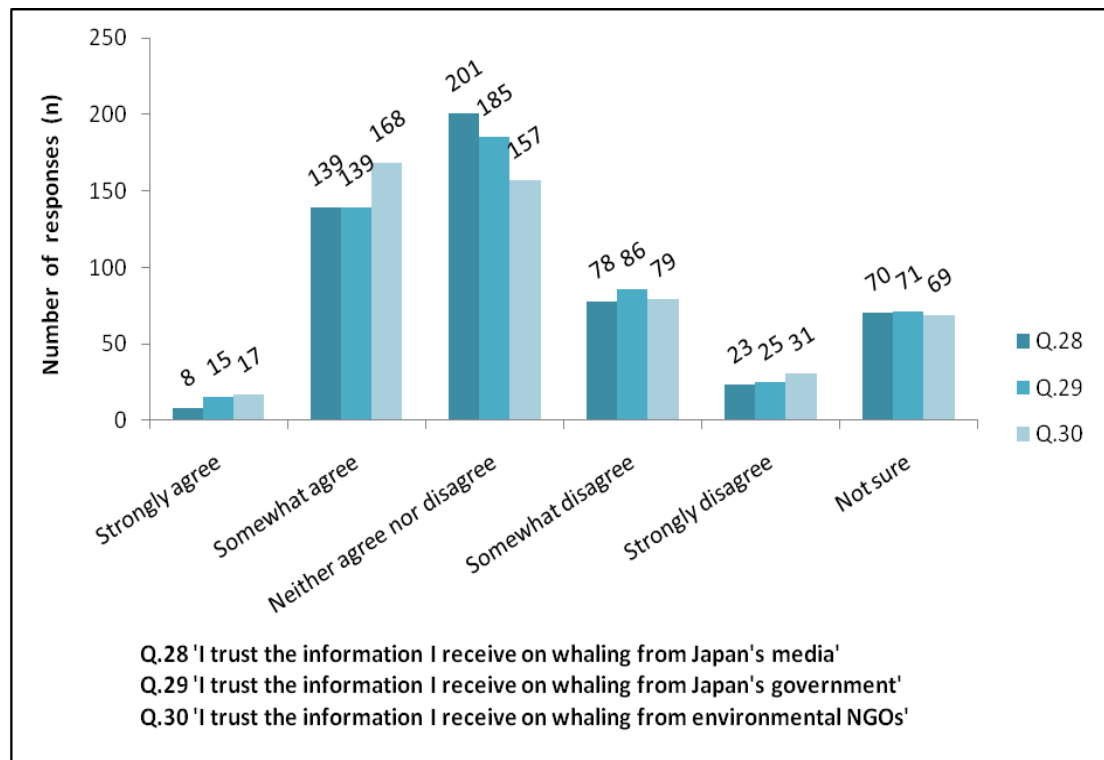
Within the same section (Section 10), participants were asked to consider how trustworthy various sources of information were when discussing whaling issues. When it came to regarding the Japanese media as a trustworthy source of information on whaling issues (Q.28), of the 519 participants, 28.3 per cent (8+139 respondents) agreed, a majority of 38.7 per cent neither agreed or disagreed and 19.4 per cent (78+23 respondents) disagreed with the statement that Japan's media was a trustworthy source of information relating to whaling issues (Figure 20).

When it came to regarding the Japanese Government as a trustworthy source of information on whaling issues (Q.29), of the 521 participants, a majority of 35.5 per cent (185 respondents) neither agreed or disagreed with the statement, with 29.6 per cent (15+139 respondents) agreeing and 21.3 per cent (86+25 respondents) disagreeing that the Japanese Government was a trustworthy source of information on whaling issues (Figure 20).

When it came to regarding environmental NGOs as a trustworthy source of information on whaling issues (Q.30), of the 521 participants, a majority of 35.5 per cent (17+168 respondents) agreed with the statement, whilst 30.1 per cent (157 respondents) neither agreed or disagreed and 21.1 per cent disagreed with the statement (79+31 respondents) (Figure 20).

It is interesting to note that the 'Not sure' option was selected in virtual equal frequencies for questions 28, 29 and 30 (13.5, 13.6, and 13.2 per cent respectively) (Figure 20).

Figure 20. The responses obtained from Questions 28, 29, and 30 regarding the perceived trustworthiness of sources of whaling information ($n= 519$, $n= 521$, $n= 521$ respectively).

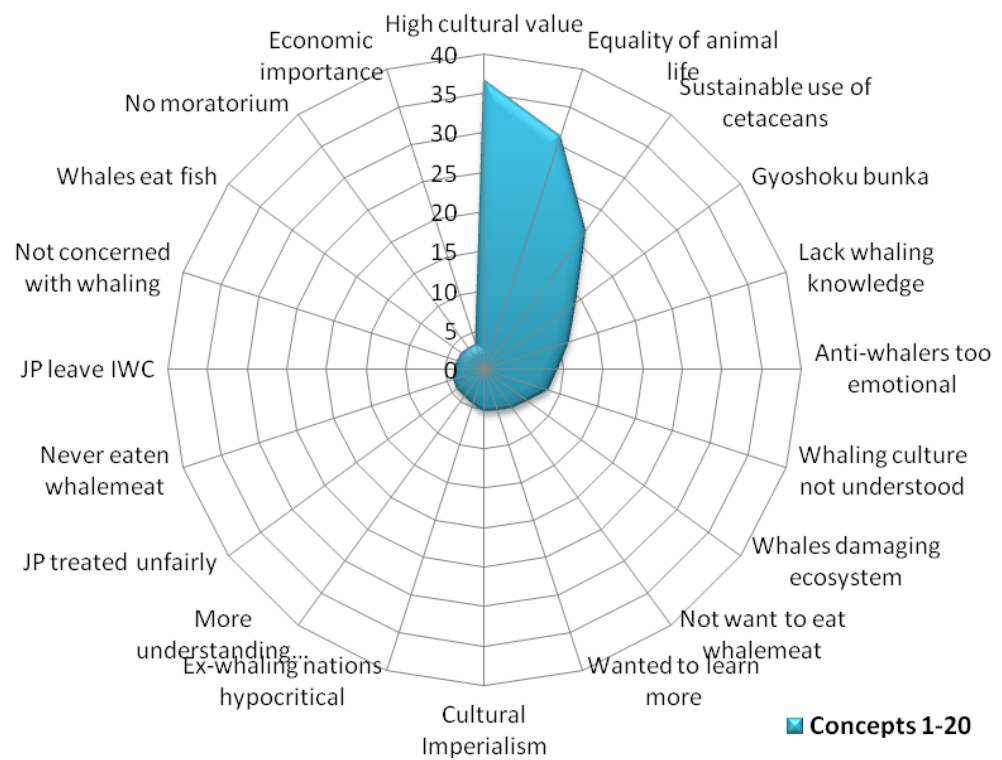


4.2 Content Analysis of Comments Given by Japanese Students

A *Comments Section* was contained at the end of the survey, allowing the participants to express any additional thoughts regarding whaling and associated issues. Of the 529 surveys, 74 students made comments, and the contents of each such response were analysed and categorised using the process described in Section 3.3.5 of Chapter 3. The definitions of the categories that the written comments were assigned to can be found in Appendix VI.

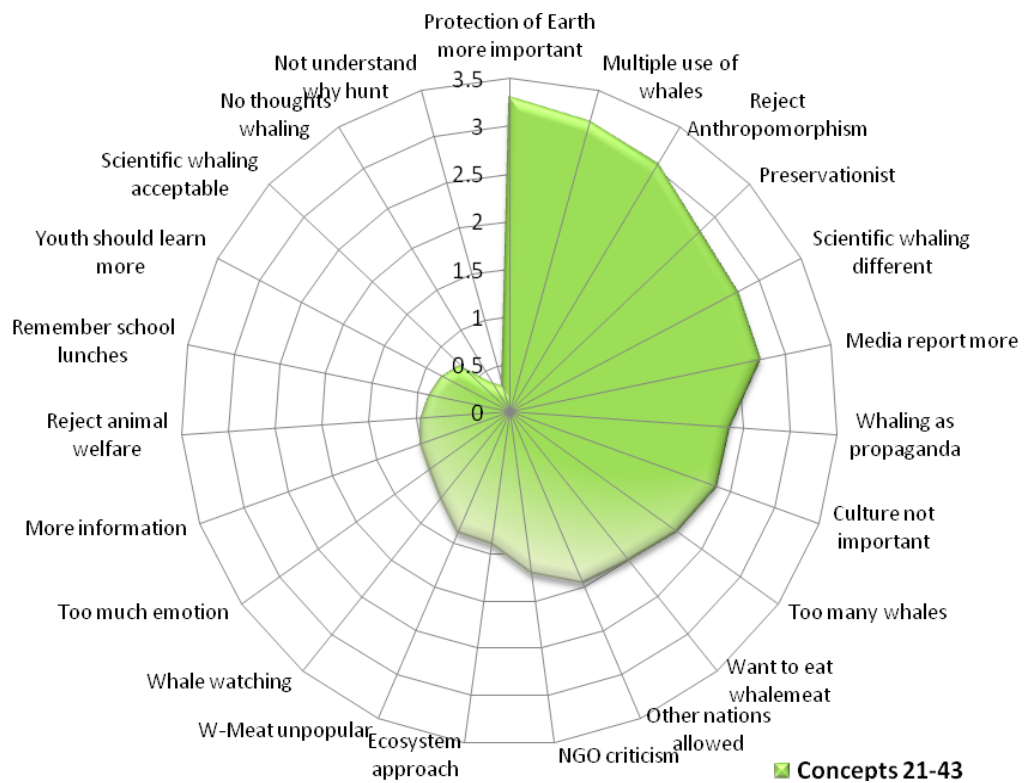
The frequencies of the concepts raised in the comments were calculated and plotted using radar graphs. The top twenty concepts referred to by the participants can be seen in Figure 21, with the most frequently occurring concept labelled ‘High cultural value’ and defined as ‘students who made reference to a particular cultural and/or traditional aspect associated with Japanese whaling or who referred to these terms in a positive relational context with Japanese whaling’. From the predominance of this concept, others were referred to with decreasing frequency, down to the twentieth most frequently cited concept, one labelled ‘Economic importance’ and defined as ‘Students who felt that whaling was important for economic purposes’. Concepts were plotted in a radial fashion, with the most to least frequently cited organised clockwise (Figures 21 and 22).

Figure 21. The top 20 most frequently referenced topics raised by Japanese students in the comments section of the survey.



The results shown in Figure 22 display concepts ranked 21-43 as referred to by the participants in the comments section. The concept at the apical point of the radar is one labelled as ‘Protection of Earth more important’ and defined as ‘Students who felt that the protection of the Earth should be a higher priority that the protection of whales’. The definitions of the remaining comment categories can be found in Appendix VI.

Figure 22. The topics least referenced by Japanese students in the comments section of the survey.



4.3 Discussion of Results

Chapter 5 will be separated into three sections. The first section, entitled *Explanation of Results*, will outline the major findings (described as ‘Outcomes’) from this study, including a discussion of their meaning. The results from the correlation model (Table 5) and regression model (Table 6) will be evaluated first, as these exploratory statistics give the most powerful insight into the relationships between the constructs that make up an approval of whaling sentiment in Japanese students. Thus, to be discussed first will be the contribution of the approval of the consumption of whale meat by Japanese children, followed by the remaining constructs in the descending order with which they contributed to the overall approval of whaling (i.e. the acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric, the intangible motivations for whaling, the maintenance of the whaling industry and, lastly, whale conservation). In each case, not only will the regression model be examined, but so too will other supporting evidence, such as the results of the inferential statistics and content analysis of the comments made by participants at the end of the survey. The latter part of the section will consider an examination of the other factors that make-up the radar graphs of the topics most frequently raised by students in the comments section of the survey.

The second section, entitled *The Pro-Whaling Views of Japan’s Government*, will outline some of the author’s suggestions for why the Japanese Government is so determinedly pro-whaling and the significance of this study’s findings for the future of Japan’s pro-whaling policies.

The third section, entitled *Where to from here? Morikawa’s Scenarios*, will focus on the recent work of Jun Morikawa’s *Whaling in Japan: Power, Politics and*

Diplomacy (2009). In this book, Morikawa outlines four possible scenarios as to how the international debate on whaling may evolve, focusing particularly on potential policy options for the Japanese Government. These four scenarios will be analysed and discussed in light of the results of this study along with recent events within the international whaling policy forum.

Chapter 5 Discussion

5.1 Explanation of Results

The first research question that this study set out to answer was:

- 1) What are the predictive factors that formulate the attitudes of young Japanese people on whaling issues?

To achieve this, a survey was created that covered several topics within domestic and international debates over Japanese whaling. Through a series of Exploratory Factor Analyses, it was found that the survey questions formed six distinct constructs. This technique allowed the author to answer the research question above. Observation of the mean scores graph (Figure 8), which represents the inferential data points, allows a clear picture to be painted of how each construct was viewed by the participants. The graph allows readers to quickly determine which of the constructs had the highest and lowest level of approval with the Japanese students.

This step in the methodology does not identify any relational causality between the constructs, but constitutes an important step to answering the second research question:

- 2) Of these predictive factors, which make the most significant contribution to the whaling attitudinal model of Japan's youth?

The analyses which were used to answer the second research question (in particular the regression model) represented exploratory data points and allowed the author to make judgements and predictions on the relationships between the six variables (plus the two demographic variables) when applied to a general population.

As a result of these analyses and a content analysis of the observations made by students in the comments section of the questionnaire, Table 7 below shows the major findings from the study, and is followed by a discursive examination.

Table 7. Summary of major findings of results.

No.	Outcomes	Where to find results
1.	Approval of whaling in both genders increases with age.	Mean scores graph (Figure 8)
2.	Males approve of whaling and of the consumption of whale meat more than females.	Regression model (Table 6) Mean scores graph (Figure 8)
3.	The constructs that contribute the most to the overall approval of whaling are 1) approval of the consumption of whale meat (.398) and 2) acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric (.213).	Regression model (Table 6)
4.	The intangible motivations for whaling (representing the employment and wellbeing of local whaling communities and the maintenance of aboriginal subsistence whaling for cultural purposes) was supported by both genders and increased with age.	Mean scores graph (Figure 8)
5.	The most frequently cited topic raised by the students in the comments section was that whaling was considered to have high cultural value.	Radar graph (Figure 21)
6.	Of the 43 different viewpoints raised by students in the comments section, 26 could be considered as pro-whaling, 3 as anti-whaling and 14 as neither pro- or anti-whaling.	Radar graphs (Figures 21 and 22).

Outcome 1: Approval of Whaling in both genders increases with age

There are many possible reasons (some acting at an individual level, others acting at a larger collective level) why approval of whaling existed among the participants and why approval increased with age in both genders.

On the question of why an approval of whaling exists in the first place among Japanese people, there is a common view that whaling is seen as an important component of Japan's cultural heritage (Nagasaki 1994), with many Japanese

believing that they have a unique whale-eating culture (*gyoshoku bunka*) (Hirata 2005). The concept of *gyoshoku bunka* was the fourth most referenced topic raised by participants in the comments section of the survey (Figure 21 and Table 8). The concept of *gyoshoku bunka* is one that is paramount to the ‘cultural imperialism’ argument (discussed in more detail in Outcomes 2 and 4) that is well known within the whaling debate. The cultural imperialism position holds that whaling is part of Japan’s heritage and therefore exists embedded within Japanese culture. The Japanese Government has repeatedly stated that any attempt to deny this, particularly from the western anti-whaling nations, is tantamount to cultural imperialism in the form of outsiders trying to impose alien cultural norms at the expense of Japan’s cultural heritage.

In addition, although not always the case, research suggests that younger people are more environmentally concerned than older people (Klineberg *et al.* 1998; Arcury and Christianson 1993). Gifford (2001: 61) suggests three possible interpretations of this trend, of which the first two are relevant to this thesis. The first relates to the possibility that as we age we become less concerned about the environment: this is a **true age effect**. The second relates to the possibility that something important happened to a particular generation that did not happen to another generation. This is a **cohort effect** and is not due to aging but to events that had more impact on one age group than another.

A combination of these two effects could be shaping current attitudes to whaling in Japan. For example, the jump in approval of whaling from the younger participants to the older participants seen in this study could be the true age effect. The cohort effect

could be used to describe why many Japanese people around the age of 50-60 are supportive of whaling because during post Japan's post World War II years, whaling was financially and logistically supported and encouraged by the occupying allied forces of General MacArthur. Whale meat was seen as the salvation of a generation of starving Japanese⁸¹, thus, these experiences and memories could represent a close affiliation with whale products and a generation of Japanese people. While it is true that the younger Japanese surveyed in this study would be relatively free of these cultural perceptions, the existence of these ideals in older generations and the structure of Eastern environmental values (combining traditional values based upon the honouring of parents and family security) will assist their transmission to younger generations of Japanese. The era effect is related to the observations of Eiser *et al.* (1990) and Schultz and Stone (1994) who documented lower environmental concern in individuals with conservative political views or in areas where authoritarianism is common. Japan is a country known for both conservatism in politics and, to a greater degree than in most western nations, social authoritarianism, with the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), a conservative, pro-growth party governing Japan for most of her history as a modern democracy⁸². With regards to the environment, the growth-at-all-costs policies of the LDP even undermined human rights efforts to compensate victims of industrial pollution or of environmentally destructive construction projects sanctioned by the state (Vosse 2001: 251-253). Once we add in Japan's Confucianist heritage (which encourages people to give credence to their leaders more readily, rests

⁸¹ Some 250,000 people attended the 'Food May Day' protests in front of the Imperial Palace on 19 May 1946. In response to this crisis the revival and expansion of all whaling types (coastal and pelagic) was promoted with the support of the allied powers (Morikawa 2009: 29).

⁸² The opposing left party, the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), defeated the centre-right conservative ruling coalition (the LDP and New Komeito Party) in a general election held on 30th August 2009.

upon a firm hierarchical structure where knowledge, age and power form social and cultural apices, and which promotes technology which is seen to enhance the benefits of nature), together with Confucianism's penchant for inciting nationalism (a characteristic that also probably increases with age), we have a coherent explanation for why whaling approval increases with age.

Outcome 2: Males approve of whaling and the consumption of whale meat more than females

The sex of an individual plays an important role in their environmental concern and behaviour. Zelezny *et al.* (2000) conducted a review of six studies that used the New Environmental Paradigm (NEP) Scale to measure environmental attitudes. Descriptive analysis showed that four of the six studies found that females expressed significantly greater (NEP) environmental concern than males, with no studies finding males to have a significantly greater NEP environmental concern than females. In terms of environmental behaviour, Zelezny *et al.* (2000) identified thirteen published studies since 1987, nine of which reported significantly more female participation in pro-environmental behaviours than male.

Socialisation factors have been used to explain why females tend to exhibit greater environmental concern and behaviour (Unger and Crawford 1996; Wilkinson and Kitzinger 1996). Individuals are shaped by gender expectations within the context of cultural norms. Females across cultures are socialised to be more expressive, to have a stronger 'ethic of care', and to be more interdependent, compassionate, nurturing, cooperative and helpful in care giving roles. Males, on the other hand, have been socialised to be more independent and competitive (Zelezny *et al.* 2000).

But it is not necessarily the case that participants who approve of whaling and the consumption of whale meat are indifferent to environmental imperatives. Participants who approved of whaling and whale meat consumption may rather approve of whaling because they see it as an activity that is culturally important, and that this is stronger than pro-environmental values. This is closely linked to the concept of *gyoshoku bunka*, discussed in Outcome 1. As can be seen from the results of this study, whaling is construed by the participants as culturally important. The inferential statistics (Figure 8) show that whaling based on intangible motivations had the second highest approval rating from the student participants, whilst the most frequently referenced topic in the comments section of the survey was that whaling had a ‘high cultural value’ (Figure 21). Why males approve of whaling and the consumption of whale meat more than females under these circumstances may be linked to the male tendency for greater patriotism and the perception that banning whaling would inhibit an important and unique Japanese expression and therefore exists as a threat to the Japanese-ness of individuals. Again, Japan’s nationalism promoting Confucianist heritage probably strikes a greater chord with males, contributing to an explanation for this outcome.

Outcome 3: Constructs that contribute the most to overall approval of whaling

The exploratory factor analysis identified factors that underpinned an *approval of whaling* construct (research question 1). The model identified six predictors from the statements posed to the students and explained 56.1 per cent of the variance in the *approval of whaling* construct. Of these variables, two contributed the most; these were the *approval of the consumption of whale meat*, which made the largest single contribution (beta = .398), and the *acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric*, which

also made a statistically significant contribution ($\beta = .21$) (research question 2).

The positive correlation between the *approval of whaling* and *approval of the consumption of whale meat* (.398 Table 5) indicates that the students who view whales as a resource for consumption also approve of whaling. Whilst the correlation model shown in this study does not identify any causal relationships between the constructs, the regression model can predict the relationships between the six variables (plus the two demographic variables). For example, those who approve of the consumption of whale meat by Japanese children or accept pro-whaling rhetoric will be more likely to approve of whaling.

When examining both the regression model (Table 6) and the inferential statistics (Figure 8), it is seen that males approve of whaling and of the consumption of whale meat more than females, though the *approval of whaling* in both genders increases with age. When the *approval of whaling* construct is broken down into more specific categories, the categories that have the most impact on its affirmation are, firstly, the *approval of the consumption of whale meat* and, secondly, the *acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric* as produced by both the Japanese Government and the Japanese media (Table 6). It is important to note, firstly, that this result was not observed when examining the mean scores of the constructs (Figure 8), in which an approval of whale meat consumption was low in males and negative in females; however, the Spearman correlation and regression models said otherwise.

Returning to *gyoshoku bunka*, the Japanese Government promotes this concept a great deal and uses it frequently to spearhead their pro-whaling campaigns. Within the Institute of Cetacean Research (ICR) there exist two sections, relatively unknown

to outsiders, that undertake promotional activities. These are the By-Product Disposal Section and the Public Relations Section. The former is engaged in marketing activities within Japan to achieve the smooth distribution, sale and consumption of large quantities of whale meat obtained through research whaling (Morikawa 2009: 42). It works in cooperation with Kyodo Senpaku (the company contracted to carry out ‘scientific’ whaling) and the Commerce and Marketing Division of the General Food Policy Bureau in the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MAFF). The Public Relations Section is engaged in the creation and distribution of various publicity materials to promote whaling and popularise whale meat eating, as well as planning and holding conferences and events (Morikawa 2009: 42).

The ICR is also involved in educational activities teaching whale ecology and whaling history in elementary schools across Japan, providing whale meat, written materials and teachers who help children prepare and taste whale meat dishes during school lunchtimes. The ICR has also worked with the Japan Whaling Association (JWA) to produce and distribute various advertising pamphlets, one of which is entitled *Protecting and Enjoying Whale Meat - Let's Cook! A Delicious Family Whale Meat Cookbook*. The ICR also coordinates with the Fisheries Agency, Kyodo Senpaku, the Japan Whaling Association and local governments to hold massive events promoting whaling and the eating of whale meat (Morikawa 2009: 43). The intention of these collaborations was made clear by the head of the Distribution Section at Kyodo Senpaku when the organisation submitted a plan to a fast food chain in Hakodate City, Hokkaido, which began selling whale burgers in June 2005: ‘We want young people to eat whale and we want those who eat whale to come

together in Hakodate' (*Asahi Shimbun*, June 2005, cited in Morikawa 2009: 43). The ICR is the research institute that is responsible for the lethal sampling of whales for scientific purposes, however, the effect of the activities detailed above does not indicate an organisation that is acting independently of government or is scientifically objective. The above examples suggest overtones of political sponsorship. Thus, as can be seen, the Japanese Government and the ICR, the research agency responsible for the lethal sampling of whales for science, are heavily involved in a public relations campaign to promote the continued eating of whale meat in Japan.

The promotional behaviours of the ICR may well contribute to the *acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric* construct that was supported by the students. In addition, the Japanese media (which has a robust critical sector but one that is far from mainstream), may also contribute to this phenomenon. It has been documented that the Japanese media lacks independence, with an over-close relationship with government (McArthur 2006) existing in the form of the *Kisha-Kurabu* (reporters' club) present in every ministry and government agency⁸³. The *Kisha Kurabu* act as 'in effect, cartels, fixing the distribution - and often the value - of the information they glean' (Whiting 1986). McNeill (2001) and Asano (2004) both note that most Japanese media are censored to favour the *status quo* and systematically embody an anti-environmental, far right ideology. Murata (2007) reports that articles about whaling in the Japanese press are written in a factual style (although 'factual' can also disguise a presentation that is essentially 'evaluative'), using non-emotive lexis tending to reflect official statements made by the Japanese Government. Media

⁸³ For a detailed explanation and analysis of the *Kisha-Kurabu* system, see Hall (1998).

articles attempt to convey a sense that whaling is not a threat to whale populations and is not a contentious issue. In reporting on this ‘uncontentious’ issue, Japanese journalists achieve two things: firstly, by making the pro-whaling discourse sound pre-eminently objective and logical they are more likely to convince their readers that the Japanese Government’s actions regarding this issue are justifiable; and, secondly, by not reporting on the cases produced within anti-whaling nations, the Japanese public is kept in the dark about why the rest of the world is opposed to the continuation of whaling.

This situation was clearly outlined in an interview conducted by Richard Wilcox for doctoral research in 2001 with Nanami Kurasawa, the Director of Iruka and Kujira (Dolphin and Whale) Action Network (IKAN), one of the largest NGO’s in Japan that campaigns against whaling. Kurasawa stated: ‘media reports are mainly from the government controlled industry of information, so in this [whaling] season we have to deal with those one-sided, highly biased reports’ (Kurasawa 2001).

This content manipulation by the Japanese media, and its alignment with the government in its reporting, helps explain why an acceptance of pro-whaling rhetoric contributed significantly towards the approval of whaling by the Japanese students who participated in the study.

Outcome 4: Intangible motivations for whaling supported by both genders and age groups

Some correlations observed in this study highlight some of the contentions over whaling, whilst other correlations suggest that the difference is not only in attitudes to whaling, but also about whaling objectives, such as the IWC’s Aboriginal Subsistence Whaling (ASW) objective, represented in this study as the *intangible*

motivations of whaling construct.

The *intangible motivations for whaling* construct represented the maintenance of employment and wellbeing of local whaling communities as well as the maintenance of aboriginal subsistence whaling for cultural purposes and was supported by both genders, with greater support registered by the older students (Figure 8).

It can be posited that the support of *intangible motivations for whaling* reflects the Japanese Government's 'cultural imperialist' argument (discussed in Outcome 1). This voice has been growing louder since the moratorium came into place. During the initial years after the moratorium was adopted in 1982, whaling nations used mainly ecological and economic arguments (particularly focussing on the loss of employment within whaling communities that resulted from the moratorium) against the decision (Kalland 2009: 181). In the IWC, it is not surprising that economic arguments carry little weight where many of the delegates come from countries with millions of people out of work. They claim, correctly, that Iceland, Japan and Norway are affluent societies that can easily compensate any economic losses imposed on their whalers (Kalland 2009: 181).

As previously discussed in Chapter 1, since the late 1980s cultural values have come more to the fore in the pro-whaling argument, with the Japanese Government trying to use ASW to obtain a whale quota. Japan was particularly spurred on by developments at the IWC meeting in 2002. The IWC had repeatedly rejected the Japanese request for a quota of 50 minke whales on the ground that Japan's coastal whaling contained a commercial element and thus violated the moratorium. Japanese delegates tried a new tactic at the 2002 meeting and led a bloc of Caribbean states to

try to reject the United States and Russia's request to renew aboriginal whaling quotas for Alaskan Inuits and Russia's indigenous Chukotka people. Their efforts were, however, unsuccessful. Japanese delegates at the meeting pointed out that they had no intention of hurting the indigenous people in the Arctic, but they insisted that they needed to end the 'double standard' of the anti-whaling IWC members who would not allow Japan to whale. Masayuki Komatsu, Japan's alternate commissioner to the IWC and a senior bureaucrat in the Japanese Fisheries Agency at the time, expressed his frustration with the U.S. Government, which adamantly opposed Japan's hunt of minke whales under the coastal whaling scheme but promoted the indigenous whaling rights of the Inuits in Alaska at the 2002 IWC meeting:

Japan is tired of asking year after year for 50 minkes from an abundant stock for our traditional coastal whalers only to have the United States vote against it; yet we have always supported the Alaskans taking almost 280 bowhead whales (MAFF 2002a media release).

The Japanese Government now uses the 'cultural argument' as a major component of its pro-whaling case, frequently (and successfully) using it to recruit Caribbean and South Pacific island nations to their cause by suggesting that the white 'cultural imperialist' western anti-whalers are imposing their views, policies and will upon a 'suppressed' Japan – the notion of western occupation one not new to many of these nations. Japan has successfully exerted pressure on various developing countries, mainly from Asia, the Caribbean and Africa, where much Japanese Overseas Development Aid (ODA) is directed. This was evident at the IWC meetings in 2000 and 2001 where, in response to petitions from Australia and Greenpeace calling for support for a global whale sanctuary, Japan said it would use its ODA program to boost the number of countries supporting its approach to whaling (*The Daily Yomiuri*, January 2000: 15). Japan successfully 'encouraged' a bloc of six

Caribbean nations to support its stance against establishing a whale sanctuary in the South Pacific.

It is apparent that the Japanese public echoes the ‘cultural imperialist’ voice of their government. There is evidence of resentment to what is perceived to be western interference in Japan’s traditional behaviours, creating a widespread view that international criticism of Japan’s whaling practice is a form of ‘Japan bashing’ (Hirata 2005). Indeed, so aware are the Japanese of international pressure they have a formal name for it: *gaiatsu* (‘external pressure’ or ‘protest from the outside’). The tactic of *gaiatsu* to bring attention to whaling (and more recently annual dolphin drives⁸⁴) raises many complicated issues regarding westerners telling non-westerners how to manage wildlife. The presumption of many western environmentalists is that without pressure from the outside, no progress will be made to reform Japan’s environmentally destructive patterns. However, the success of tactics such as *gaiatsu* is questionable, as highlighted by IKAN’s Director, Nanami Kurasawa:

Generally the controversy on whaling is accepted as a conflict of interests between Japan and western countries. Those who support whaling argue that the conflict is between Japanese who try to maintain what they claim to be their cultural traditions, and westerners who not only lack understanding of other cultures but also impose their cultural values on others. On the other hand, there are arguments that Japan is an “environmental predator” or behaving like a “gang of thugs” who continue environmental degradation for the sake of optimal use and bully domestic environmental and conservation groups to “keep silent” on the issue. There are also arguments on whether the habit of eating whale meat is really a tradition and if the government allows anything or legitimizes it, it is named a “tradition.” But

⁸⁴ In February 2009, a documentary entitled *The Cove* was released which detailed the annual killing of dolphins within a national park at Taiji, Wakayama, Japan. The film reports that 23,000 small cetaceans are killed every year in Japan most using the method of herding and driving the animals into a small cove and killed using held-held spears, clubs and knives. The film was praised for raising awareness of the practise and won several awards including the U.S. Audience Award (Sundance Film Festival) and the Academy Award for Best Documentary Film in 2010. Information available at <www.thecovemovie.com>.

it must be understood also that the labelling of Japanese as “environmental predators” or other not so endearing terms is certainly making the problem worse. It is clear that it must be the choice of the Japanese people which is indispensable in solving the problem of whaling. From this we have to shift the focus of discussion from “Conflict between Japan and anti-whaling westerners” to “Conflict between the advocates for industrial development and exploitation and the advocates for environmental protection.” From this focus we need to pave the way for a fair discussion within our own country (Kurasawa 2001).

This being so, it may well be that the activities of hard-line environmental NGOs such as the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society (SSCS) are actually hardening the attitudes of Japanese people, creating, what has been termed by Blok (2008), as an *anti* anti-whaling attitude. For several years, vessels from the SSCS and Greenpeace have travelled to the Southern Ocean in a bid to stop or hinder Japanese whaling activities. Greenpeace prefers a peaceful, non-contact type of protest using carefully placed banners whilst exploiting the global mass media to broadcast graphic photographs and video of usually, bloody whaling scenes. The SSCS utilises a very different style of protest. Ramming vessels, fouling propellers and throwing butyric acid bombs are common behaviour for volunteers of the SSCS. However the situation escalated on 15th January 2008, when two activists from the SSCS’s vessel, *Steve Irwin*, boarded (without permission from the Japanese crew) a Japanese whaling vessel. The Japanese subsequently detained the men for several days before handing them over to Australian authorities onboard the marine customs vessel, *Oceanic Viking*. Amid cries of ‘piracy’, ‘hostage-taking’ ‘terrorism’ and other such emotive language in the media and from the SSCS, the Australian and Japanese Governments (and possibly the Dutch⁸⁵) worked to defuse the situation (Jabour and Iliff 2009). Threats of legal action have not hindered the environmental NGO, and

⁸⁵ The *Steve Irwin* is an SSCS vessel but is registered in the Netherlands and flies the Dutch flag.

since that time the SSCS has continued its direct action campaigning against the Japanese. On 15th February 2010, New Zealand citizen Peter Bethune boarded (again without permission from the Japanese crew) the *Shonan Maru 2*. Peter Bethune's motivation for boarding was to make a citizen's arrest of the captain of the Japanese harpoon vessel for the attempted murder of six SSCS crew members aboard the anti-whaling campaigning vessel, *Ady Gil*, when it was struck by the Japanese vessel, and to present an invoice to the captain for the cost of the vessel. This time, instead of returning the crew member (Australian authorities were not present in 2010), the Japanese vessel returned to Tokyo with Mr. Bethune after the whaling season was over. On 2nd April 2010, Mr. Bethune was indicted on five counts, including illegally boarding a Japanese whaling ship and inflicting injury, forcible obstruction of business, destruction of property and violation of the swords and firearms control law (*Asahi Shimbun* 2010). Under Japanese law, boarding a Japanese vessel without legitimate reasons can bring a prison term of up to three years or a fine up to 100,000 yen (\$1200) (*Sydney Morning Herald* 12th March 2010).

Figure 23. Sea Shepherd Conservation Society activist Peter Bethune onboard the *Ady Gil* after a collision with Japanese whaling vessel *Shonan Maru 2*. The *Ady Gil* sunk several hours later.



Source: Sail-World.com.

The actions of Mr. Bethune were extensively covered by Japanese media. After hearing of the arrest, Foreign Minister Katsuya Okada slammed Sea Shepherd's repeated obstruction of Japan's whale hunt: 'I have expressed concern over and over again that Sea Shepherd's interference with our country's whale research program has been extremely pernicious' (*Japan Times Online* 2010). At Harumi Pier, the port at which the *Shonan Maru 2* docked in Tokyo, Peter Bethune was met by approximately seventy journalists and a small group of people from a 'conservative civic group'. The latter called for the preservation of the country's whaling culture and denounced Bethune's actions. Displaying images of Sea Shepherd members hampering the Japanese whaling fleet, as well as cans of whale meat, the activists demanded that Bethune be harshly punished (*Japan Times Online* 2010).

In this study, several participants made negative comments in the survey about the work of environmental groups. Statements such as ‘Greenpeace should respect the culture of other countries more’ and ‘Organisations like Sea Shepherd think they are here to protect nature, but that is a misunderstanding. They are arrogant in their methods of campaigning. They believe they are doing justice but they are not’, are indicative of a cohort of young people who feel resentment towards *gaiatsu*, (possibly contributing to Blok’s definition of an *anti* anti-whaling perception [2008]), and, a resistance towards the anti-whaling movement is thereby created.

This viewpoint is also held by several well-known Australian commentators on the whaling debate. Barry Cohen, the Australian Federal Minister for the Environment (1983-1987) wrote in 2009:

Japan will not be bullied into abandoning whaling...It’s become obvious they were none too pleased with Kevin Rudd’s threat, before the 2007 election to take them to the International Court of Justice. And the appalling behaviour on the high seas by Paul Watson and the Sea Shepherd has simply made the Japanese more determined to continue (Cohen 2009).

And at a conference at the Centre for International and Public Law at the Australian National University in Canberra, 15th April 2010, Anthony Bergin, Director of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI), made repeated references to the SSCS causing the DPJ to harden its whaling policies, adding that Australia should ban SSCS vessels from Australian ports, just as they have banned Japanese whaling vessels⁸⁶.

⁸⁶ The current Australian government (led by Julia Gillard of the Australian Labor Party) made a pre-election commitment in 2007 to ‘pursue a permanent end to all commercial and scientific whaling’ and a post-election commitment in December 2007 to ‘play a leading role in international efforts to stop Japan’s whaling practices’. This, plus the support for the SSCS in Australia, means that a banning of SSCS vessels from Australian ports is unlikely to occur.

The above discussion suggests why the *intangible motivations for whaling* are supported by both genders and age groups.

Outcome 5: ‘Whaling has high cultural value’ as most frequently cited concept by students

When examining Figure 14, it can be seen that the most frequently referenced concept in the comments section of the questionnaire was that whaling has ‘high cultural value’. This outcome is closely linked to whaling ‘intangibles’ (discussed in Outcome 4) as well as the *gyoshoku bunka* concept (discussed in Outcomes 1 and 2).

Many students thought whaling had high cultural significance, however their comments suggest that they did not always see themselves as participants in Japanese whaling culture. For example:

I disagree with some anti-whaling people who only have emotional opinions and ignore the culture and tradition of whaling. These people focus only on some specific types of whales that would be extinct, even though the population of some other species has increased. I think it is OK to catch whales if some people want to eat them (even though I do not eat whales).

And:

Some people in certain regions who are familiar with whaling culture look forward to getting whale meat from somewhere, for New Year. Especially middle-aged and older people are very happy when they get these meats. I think they may be sad when people say that Japan does not have a whaling culture.

And:

I did not think that whale meat was tasty when I ate it as a child. But for people who like whale meat like my parents, it is a pity they cannot eat whale products which they used to eat. Also, for a group of people who need whales as food, whaling ban means collapse of their life. Unless there is a way to change their situation, a ban from whaling from other countries should be impossible.

And:

I can't easily say that I am against whaling as there are people relying on whaling as a means of supporting their life.

And:

I was brought up in a mountain area so I don't know about Japanese whaling culture but whaling may be permitted to conserve culture. If we completely stop whaling, it's like forcing a religion on the Japanese and this is an arrogant act.

This is supported by the results in Table 8 (below), where the ninth most frequently referenced observation was of participants not wanting to eat whale meat themselves (highlighted in blue, Table 8).

From the emphasis placed by students on whaling as culturally significant, it would seem that any anti-whaling *gaiatsu* has only limited prospects of success. Anti-whaling NGOs clearly intended to change Japanese opinions to one of cetacean protection, but as Bailey (2008) points out, after 25 years the anti-whaling message has failed to congeal domestically. If the results of this study reflect the attitudes of Japan's youth outside of the sampled group, it is unlikely the anti-whaling movement will diffuse in Japan, and possible that the NGO use of *gaiatsu* will encourage an *anti* anti-whaling attitude.

The Japanese are fiercely protective of elements of their culture and whaling seems to be one such element. As such, two Japanese men spoke against scientific whaling in an article on Community Whaling in Ayukawa, Ishinomaki in the *Asahi Shimbun* dated 7th April 2008, in the hope that if Japan reneged on her annual hunt for 'scientific' purposes in Antarctica, coastal whaling may finally be accepted by the IWC and the international community. Ichio Ishimori of the Ishinomaki (a coastal

whaling town) City Council stated: ‘the large-scale research whaling that Japan conducts in the Southern Ocean attracts strong criticism and unnecessarily becomes the cause for undue criticism of coastal whaling.’ He went on to appeal to the Fisheries Agency for a reduction in research whaling in the Southern Ocean. The same article cites a comment from Ayukawa Whaling President, 72 year old Minoru Ito: ‘there is no need to capture so many whales. It’s enough if we can sustain our lifestyle and maintain the tradition in our communities’. These comments come from men who have been involved in whaling issues for a considerable time, and register a clear expression of the importance of the cultural motivations for whaling over its scientific purposes.

Outcome 6: Clear majority of pro-whaling perspectives raised by students in the comments section of the survey

If the Spearman correlation and regression models are examined along with the comments made by the students at the end of the questionnaire, there are frequent references to whale meat consumption and other concepts linked to the approval of whaling in the top ten points made by students (Table 8). An important point to make here relates to concept number nine (highlighted in blue, Table 8). The students frequently stated that they did not want to eat whale meat personally (supported by the results of Q.10 Figure 12), but approval for whaling domestically and for the intangible motivations for whaling was supported by both genders, with greater support registered by the older students (Figure 8).

Table 8. Top ten concepts raised by Japanese students in the comments section of the questionnaire.

Ranking	Top ten concepts raised by participants⁸⁷
1.	High cultural values
2.	Equality of animal life
3.	Sustainable use of cetaceans
4.	<i>Gyoshoku bunka</i>
5.	Lack whaling knowledge
6.	Anti-whalers too emotional
7.	Whaling culture not understood
8.	Whales damaging ecosystem
9.	Do not want to eat whale meat
10.	Wanted to learn more

This suggests that although the students do not have a taste for whale meat, they still believe that the activity of whaling should be allowed to occur in Japan.

As mentioned earlier, it is important to distinguish between eastern and western perspectives on whaling. Generally, the western viewpoint is that whaling is *anti-environment*. However, as this research (and others) has shown, the eastern viewpoint is that whaling is just another type of fishing and not an anti-environmental activity. This means that one must be wary of trying to explain the discrepancy between the two viewpoints as one belief system being more environmentally aware than the other. People of eastern heritage may be just as environmentally aware as westerners but still approve of whaling. This situation becomes clearer were we to ask whether westerners view fishing as *anti-environment*. There is clearly far more acceptance of fishing amongst westerners than there is of whaling. As we have seen, the Japanese view whales as fish (*uo-hen*)

⁸⁷ Definitions of each category used to define the comments made by students in the comments section of the survey can be found in Appendix VI.

rather than mammals, and when this is noted, Japanese perspectives become much more congruent with western views.

Furthermore, whaling, in the eyes of the west, has almost gone beyond environmentalism and turned into a human rights issue. By this I mean not only the rights of humans that have been affected by the moratorium, but the rights of the ‘whales-as-people’ metaphor that, according to Arne Kalland, is gaining increased traction. Kalland (2009: 28) suggests that because the majority of people have not experienced direct engagements with cetaceans, most people meet whales through representations from books, movies and photos. As a result, an image of a ‘superwhale’ (as discussed in Chapter 1) has emerged by lumping together traits found in a number of different species (Kalland 1992a, 1993). Kalland (2009), in explaining why so many people subscribe to this image, argues that cetaceans are animals that can easily be ascribed symbolic significance and that the superwhale is thus located at the centre of a whale-as-person narrative, a narrative that not only produces a powerful metaphor for a world that modern human beings allegedly have lost on our road to modernity, but also is central to the anti-whaling discourse.

This anthropomorphic transformation of cetaceans is almost non-existent in Japan, in part due to the non-emotive lexis used by the Japanese media when reporting on whaling which is then reflected by a public that treats whaling in a more objective, distanced and science-based manner. If the radar graphs are examined, it can be seen that the students frequently referred to animal equality (whales should not be afforded special treatment over other animals) (second most referred to concept, Figure 14). This is consistent with the observations of Derr (1997) and Hamazaki and Tanno (2001) who suggest that the source of the whaling controversy lies in

differing perceptions of the ethical and aesthetic status of wildlife rather than the science of the industry's management. The students also frequently stated that anti-whalers were too emotional (sixth most referred to concept, Figure 21). References to anthropomorphism and animal welfare issues (albeit in the negative) ranked very low in the frequency with which they were referenced (23rd and 38th respectively, Figure 22).

Just as Kalland's 'superwhale' metaphor is used in anti-whaling discourse, so too is Japan's non-anthropomorphic objective treatment of whaling translated into domestic policy by way of limiting the activities of environmental NGOs. In Japan, environmental NGOs struggle to obtain legal recognition as non-profit organisations and to get access to government documents and scientific and technical information (Schreurs 2002). This lack of recognition and legitimacy has marginalised environmental NGOs within Japan. Vosse (2000: 262) has observed that 'the lack of a specific NPO (non profit organization) law until 1998 must be considered as the main obstacle against a broadening of citizens organizations, in terms of their number, but even more important, in terms of their financial and human resources, and their recognition within the broader society'. Danaher (2003: 311) concurs: 'weaknesses of Japanese environmental non-governmental organizations have centred on their previous inability to achieve corporate legal status, and currently on the inability to achieve a tax law more conducive to encouraging public donations to these groups'. Wong (2001: 72) notes that 'most Japanese NGOs exist virtually on the verge of bankruptcy,' are understaffed and have tiny memberships in comparison to 'major groups in North America and Europe'.

An additional problem for groups trying to gain legal status is the government's strict requirement that such groups must serve the 'public benefit' in very clear and measurable ways (Vosse 2000: 264). Also, groups that apply for NPO status must deal with 'the difficult, time-consuming application process, and the fact that there are no clear legal guidelines.' Thus, groups which concentrate on a more holistic approach toward public consciousness raising may be easily dismissed as impractical for any number of arbitrary reasons and fail to gain NPO status.

Another technique of government-sanctioned marginalisation is, according to some commentators, also rife. Political intimidation by way of Japan's ultra-rightist crime syndicates is, it is alleged, quietly permitted by the political establishment to 'openly organize and demonstrate across the country, threatening and intimidating journalists, trade unions, socialists and other ideological enemies' (McNeill 2004), including, anti-whaling groups (Kurasawa, in Wilcox [2004]). Danaher (2003: 308) elaborates further: 'there is evidence of deliberate marginalisation of the environment movement in Japan which constrains its ability to effect policy outcomes'. A triumvirate⁸⁸ between Japanese bureaucracy, politicians and industry has, since the 1970s, deliberately created and/or maintained a number of obstacles within the overall governing structure which impede both the Environmental Agency and the environmental NGO community from having their legitimate proposals for policy formation incorporated into the decision-making process, even though the

⁸⁸ Several authors have documented a triumvirate existing between business, bureaucratic and political establishments which is perceived to dominant Japanese policymaking and gives little encouragement to ordinary Japanese people to show their dissatisfaction with certain policy decisions (Danaher 2003). In a similar vein, but more whaling-specific, Morikawa (2009: 119) refers to the relationships that exist in a 'small iron triangle of elite elements of the bureaucracy (the Japan Fisheries Agency), industry (the whaling and fishing industries) and political circles (LDP Diet members affiliated with the fishing industry)'.

triumvirate is not entirely anti-nature preservation, it (especially the bureaucracy) has great difficulty accepting that it should play less of a role in governance and allow the citizens a greater role in shaping public policy. This, as noted by Wilcox (2004), results in a powerful intimidation tactic against those who would seek to redress the many social and environmental ills that persist in Japanese society.

While Japanese people, both collectively and individually, cannot accept the actions of environmental groups, is perhaps not the cause behind the campaign that turns the Japanese away, but the way in which the campaign is organised. The actions of environmental NGOs in Japan, in particular anti-whaling NGOs, are seen as spontaneous, radical, and emotional. Extremes of emotional expression and their spontaneity are rarely experienced and certainly not natural to Japanese society. Deviation from the social norm, which is ordered, controlled, formal, ritualistic and ‘one with the rules’ (Kondo 1985: 302) is alien to the concept of *tatemae* as described in Chapter 2: 2.1.4. Thus, rejection of the ways in which some environmental NGOs conduct themselves pre-empt any real consideration of their arguments.

These factors help explain why the majority of topics raised by the students in the comments section of the questionnaire were predominantly pro-whaling.

It should be noted that, despite weaknesses, the environmental movement in Japan has persisted. Wong (2001: 69) offers an analysis on the Japanese Government’s policy of coping with a growing grassroots movement. She notes that NGOs in Japan have not traditionally been viewed with a sympathetic eye by the government, and that Japan’s ‘powerful bureaucracy has for the longest time viewed NGOs as a

potential threat or at least a nuisance.’ However, ‘the rising influence of NGOs and their recognition as legitimate actors in environmental conservation by national governments and multilateral organizations’ such as the United Nations, ‘has put pressure on the Japanese Government...to gradually concede’ a role for NGOs in policy making. Not only international pressure, but also domestic pressure for bureaucratic acceptance of NGOs has been increasing as Japanese people have gradually come to know the positive effects of NGO activities.

5.2 The Pro-Whaling Views of Japan's Government

Just as there are many positions on the whaling issue at the international level, the same is true domestically in Japan. So far evidence has been presented that shows the unyielding stance of the Japanese Government in promotion of a pro-whaling position. Evidence has shown that the Japanese Government:

- has restricted the activities of environmental NGOs through various avenues;
- has actively used a supposed independent scientific research institute (the ICR) to promote whale meat consumption in schools and other fora; and,
- within the IWC, has rejected several proposed compromises that would see scientific whaling placed under the jurisdiction of the IWC (instead of the current situation which sees governments issuing their own permits for scientific whaling).

However, questions such as ‘why does Japan continue in this unwavering pro-whaling fashion despite tremendous international opposition?’ and, ‘why is the continuing consumption of whale meat so important to the Japanese Government?’, have yet to be answered. Arguments surrounding animal welfare, cruelty, ethics and cultural imperialism have been well documented, however, it is the author’s opinion that the main underlying motivation for the Japanese Government’s actions on whaling since the moratorium, and particularly in more recent times, is national security, and national security in various forms.

Firstly, it is the author’s view that the Japanese Government perceives a whaling ban to be an existential threat to food security. This is also the viewpoint promulgated in Masayuki Komatsu’s book, *The Truth Behind the Whaling Dispute*, written in 2001. Komatsu is one of the most influential (and experienced) Japanese bureaucrats to

have worked within the whaling debate. He has been an alternate commissioner for Japan to the IWC as well as representing Japan at meetings of CITES and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO). The message behind Komatsu's book is loud and unequivocal: Japan wants access to marine resources for food, is concerned about access being limited, and if the world stops Japan from hunting whales, could it also stop Japan from exploiting other marine species using similar arguments? Supportive statements such as those below can be found throughout the book:

The problem of expected food shortage is getting more and more serious as we approach an unprecedented population level of ten billion in fifty years...The FAO will be charged with the task to prepare for the food security where every resource that is sustainably available could be utilised. Marine food resources are good example [sic] in this case, as they still allow for the higher production for sustainable utilization if placed under proper management (Komatsu 2001: 34).

Instead of being swayed around by the ridiculous assertions by these "environmentalists", we should get busy with the procurement of our own food supply in a sustainable manner. As you are aware, Japan has a very low level of self-sufficiency in food production. Our food supplies largely depend on the [sic] imports. Japan's degree of self-sufficiency ranks at the lowest level among the major developed nations (Komatsu 2001: 41).

It is our task to prepare a rational regime by which every human being could be fed satisfactorily. Under these circumstances, can we afford to abandon the idea of utilization of whale resources? The answer is "Absolutely Not!" (Komatsu 2001: 33).

Research material published by the ICR also contains similar messages: 'The whaling issue is a problem over food between whales and man'; and (with reference to scientific whaling) 'Data are also collected on the feeding habits of whales, since their numbers have increased considerably in recent years, and they consume a large amount of marine animals. This situation has led to competition with fisheries and could be affecting the balance of the marine ecosystem' and 'As whales are

increasing in number, their feeding behaviour could be severely affecting fisheries, which poses a grave problem' (ICR 2000). Komatsu (2001: 5) uses a more accusatory tone in relation to anti-whaling campaigns and food security:

It is also in their interest (western anti-whaling governments) to increase Japan's dependence on import from abroad for procurement of food resources by barring the means to harvest food resources at sea.

Catalinac (2007 unpublished) is one author to discuss the links between whaling and Japanese food security in detail. She defines 'securitisation' in this context as Japanese officials portraying opposition to whaling as an existential threat to both state sovereignty (constructed as the government's ability to provide food and resources for its people) and to the collective identity of Japan (constructed as Japan's whale-eating culture). In other words, the Japanese Government frames the anti-whaling position as a threat to the *Japanese-ness* of its people in order to promote and/or recruit pro-whaling support nationwide.

And Japan has reason for concern. In 2005, the average pelagic fish consumption per person was 16.26 kilograms per year (FAOSTAT 2010). As McCargo (2000: 11) notes, 'the Japanese like to claim that they eat everything produced by the sea, from whale meat, fish, shrimps and shellfish, to seaweed'. At CITES meetings Japan's Fisheries Agency's negotiators claim it is irresponsible not to be taking optimum amounts of marine resources, fearing that, if the precautionary principle⁸⁹ were

⁸⁹ The precautionary principle is a guideline in environmental decision making that has four central components: taking preventive action in the face of uncertainty; shifting the burden of proof to the proponents of an activity; exploring a wide range of alternatives to possibly harmful actions; and increasing public participation in decision making. The principle has become enshrined in international law, and is the basis for European environmental legislation. However, 'precautionary' decisions have been controversial, and the principle itself lacks clear definition. For a detailed overview of the use of the Precautionary Principle in the management of living marine resources, see Marr (2003: 134-183).

established in the whaling case, it could be applied to other species in the future as well. Thus, the Fisheries Agency continues to stress the legitimacy of sustainable use (*Shūgiin Nōrinsuisan Linkai Kaigiroku* 1987: 11).

Whether or not the feeding behaviour of whales threatens the viability of commercial fisheries (an argument that has yet to be proven), it is safe to assume that 90 years of industrial-scale overfishing certainly would and for a country that has a dearth of its own natural resources, that has a growing population of affluent consumers, and is so heavily dependent upon marine resources, it is likely the Japanese Government views whales as a food source to replace dwindling fish stocks and/or are a threat to dwindling fish stocks. Either way, in their eyes, it is necessary to secure the removal of whales from the foodchain. In addition, in financial terms, for Japan to retain its position of economic superiority in the world (now the third largest economy after the U.S. and China respectively), access to natural resources, not only oil and other fossil fuels but animal protein to feed the Japanese people – the cogs in the Japanese economic wheel – is essential.

But threats to national security come in other forms. Morris-Suzuki (1998: 35) argues that visions of nature are central to modern constructions of national identity and that, in defining themselves as citizens, individuals are encouraged to envisage a national landscape which extends far beyond the familiar scenery of daily life. Many Australians would recognise at least parts of Dorothea McKellar's poem, 'My Country', with its references to 'a sunburnt country' and 'A land of sweeping plains/ of ragged mountain ranges/ of droughts and flooding rains' (in Bambrick 1994: 15). It is possible to extend Morris-Suzuki's constructs of national identity to include not only visions of nature but experience of nature in a *culinary* sense. Thus, the

experience of *eating* whale meat has become part of what the Japanese people use to identify themselves as being Japanese. It has helped to shape their identity. The Japanese Government recognises the importance of this culinary-shaped aspect to national identity and therefore places strong emphasis on whale meat consumption and links to national identity (the Japanese-ness of people).

It is postulated that any threat to this Japanese-ness of people is also seen in the eyes of the government as a existential threat to national security. For example, Yonezawa Kunio (ex-IWC commissioner to Japan, Fisheries Agency Deputy Director-General and Vice President of Nihon Suisan⁹⁰) has argued:

For Japan to withdraw from the IWC might please extremists, but it would not necessarily help our concern for sustainable whaling or further our larger cause. The larger cause we stand for goes well beyond the immediate issues of whaling. It encompasses much broader questions, among which are the fundamental human right to use natural resources responsibly; mutual respect for divergent cultural and ethical values; freedom from the tyranny of the majority (Kunio 1994: 17).

Ohsumi has similarly noted, at a symposium on Antarctic whaling history, that scientific whaling ‘helps to carry and hand down the food culture of eating whales’ (Ohsumi 2004: 96).

What also plays into the Japanese Government’s hand is that the promotion of the ‘save our food culture from *gaiatsu*’ campaign is a highly effective way to garner support for pro-whaling policies and, importantly, gather momentum for an *anti* anti-whaling sentiment domestically, even if people have no desire to eat whale meat. In

⁹⁰ In 1976, Nihon Kyōdō Hogeī (the Japan Joint Whaling Company) was established by integrating the whaling sections of three major fishing companies (Taiyō Gyogyō, Nihon Suisan and Kyokuyō). Nihon Kyōdō Hogeī was later dissolved and reorganised into Kyōdō Senpaku – the company that is today contracted by the ICR to undertake all ‘scientific’ whaling activities for JARPA II and JARPN II – to avoid the image of commercialism in its research programs (Miyaoka 1999).

2005, the Manager of the Japan Fisheries Association, Masashi Nishimura, linked Japan's food security issues with world peace and multiculturalism. His article suggested that if whaling were to be banned or restricted, Japan would become a 'mono-cultural society':

...the solution to present food insecurity requires the conservation of biodiversity and an increase in food production resilience so that a shortage in certain foods can be made up for by another. Diversity in nutrition is essential. These can be achieved only with the existence of a diversity in food culture. Environmental movements we see today, however, go diametrically in the opposite direction. Their principal means is 'prohibition' and 'exclusion'. Taking fisheries, for example, they have either excluded or are pushing for exclusion of various fisheries starting with whaling, followed by high seas drift net fishing, use of shark fins, trawling and tuna longlining regardless of the insufficiency in scientific grounds. The exclusion of industry is combined with the exclusion of culture (Nishimura 2005).

Such sentiments almost certainly help foster domestic pro-whaling attitudes.

Just as anti-whaling arguments have been coined the 'anti-whaling norm' and its diffusion studied worldwide, pro-whaling arguments are, though antithetical in ideology, handled in a very similar fashion. Anti-whaling has been framed by environmental NGOs and anti-whaling governments using a variety of tools such as the cruelty and animal welfare aspect, by using the 'superwhale' phenomenon, and by nation states that require political legitimacy on matters environmental. Equally, the expanding pro-whaling 'norm' has been encouraged to grow by using the 'whaling is our culture' argument and 'the whales eat too many fish' argument, both different in concept but underpinning the same thing: the securitisation of whaling.

Another possible reason for the Japanese Government's staunch pro-whaling views may be, in part, answered in Ian Buruma's foreword of Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946): 'Japanese individuals know both guilt and

shame, but Japanese society lays less stress than western societies do on moral absolutes, and relies more on external sanctions for good behaviour’ (Buruma 2005: x). Furthermore, Buruma (2005: x) notes Benedict’s (1946) observation that ‘the Japanese are unusually sensitive to the opinion of others. Shame comes from not living up to social obligations’ but is dependent upon ‘the observations of others’. In this way, for the Japanese nationals who are involved in making decisions about whaling, from the politicians to the staff at the ICR and MAFF, it is possible that any movement away from current policy would be viewed as a backing down and, thus, a failure to live up to social expectations.

Ishii and Okubo (2007) point out that there is another incentive to continue the moratorium. Throughout the post-war period, Japan has seldom been able to say ‘no’ to the United States in diplomacy⁹¹, a stance that helps fuel *higaisha-ishiki* (victim consciousness), frustration and nationalistic reaction in Japan in relation to diplomatic issues, especially those involving the United States. The whaling issue is also used to relieve diplomatic stress among policy-makers in Japan because conflicts between Japan and the United States over a non-issue like whaling make no difference to the bilateral relationship (Ishii and Okubo 2007). Indeed, a politician of the (recently ousted) LDP who was a leading member of the Parliamentary Union on Whaling admitted that ‘whaling is one of the rare issues where Japan can explicitly assert her own views against the U.S.’ (Yamawaki *et al.*, 2000).

Ishii and Okubo’s (2007) observations are linked to a sense of national pride driven by the motivation that Japan needs to be seen as strong and independent at the

⁹¹ See Van Wolferen, cited in Ishii and Okubo (2007).

international level. At the first Summit of Japanese Traditional Whaling Communities, in Nagato in 2002, one scholar stated: ‘It appears that nation’s [Japan’s] success in whaling in the very competitive era of Antarctic whaling became a great opportunity for the Japanese people to regain their national pride and patriotism that they had lost because of the defeat in the war. Whaling was not just an industry, but it was a symbol for nation’s pride in Japan’ (Takahashi 2002: 64).

Equally, in 1999 Kazuo Shima, a former IWC Commissioner for Japan and former President of the Japan Marine Fishery Resources Research Centre asked:

Why then do the Japanese persist [with whaling]? Whaling certainly is not a profitable industry, even though the scarcity of whale meat has driven it from a cheap source of protein to a high priced commodity. It no longer provides much employment, particularly after the Japanese Government ordered all pelagic and large-scale whaling companies dissolved in 1986. The answer is both simple and complex. Pride is a large part of it. The Japanese have been badly treated: demonized and maligned (Shima 1999).

5.3 Where to from here? Morikawa's Scenarios

Jun Morikawa, in *Whaling in Japan* (2009), outlines four possible scenarios for the future of the Japanese Government's pro-whaling policies. A précis of the four Morikawa scenarios⁹² (written in italics) follows, along with the present author's assessment of each.

Scenario One: the status quo

In this scenario, Japan would maintain its existing policies. It would stay in the IWC and continue working towards the reopening of commercial whaling in the Antarctic and the Northwest Pacific. Efforts to build a majority of nations inside the IWC that are either pro-whaling or neutral, and implementation of an effective negative campaign against the anti-whaling factions, are vital to this option of remaining in the IWC whilst working to transform the organisation to suit Japan's priorities.

If the viewpoint of Ishii and Okubo (2007) is to be accepted, Japan's Fisheries Agency (JFA) is only pretending that it is committed to lifting the moratorium because the *status quo* surrounding the whaling issue allows Japan to continue whaling under Article VIII of the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (ICRW). If this assessment is correct, the *status quo* scenario is the obvious course of action until Japan is provoked into a more drastic course of action.

Nevertheless, whilst the *status quo* currently allows Japan to hunt whales for scientific purposes in the Southern Ocean and North Western Pacific, it does not

⁹² The four Morikawa (2009) scenarios can be found in full in Appendix X.

provide the Japanese Government with what it ultimately wants: to be able to hunt whales commercially and unrestricted in the area where they are most abundant, the Southern Ocean. While the author agrees that the *status quo* (which is what has been observed for the past few years) is likely to continue in the near future, it is clear that Japan will never be able to achieve the three-quarter majority of pro-whaling membership needed to have the moratorium lifted (equally, under the current clime of ‘vote-assisted payments’ Japan is alleged to be involved in, anti-whaling nations will not be able to achieve a three-quarter majority either, unless a mass exodus of members occurs). Thus, it is likely that the Japanese Government will look for other ways to end the *status quo*. These plans may well involve a concept called the ‘Safety Net’ initiative (discussed later).

Scenario One and Japan’s Youth: Because it would be harder for the anti-whaling world to ignore a greater, united Japanese pro-whaling voice than the quieter opposition that they face now, it is likely that we will see the Japanese Government actively trying to improve the level of public participation in whale meat consumption to obtain more secure and widespread internal support for the pro-whaling position. To facilitate this, the Japanese Government will continue to promote the consumption of whale meat domestically, as well as discrediting anti-whaling NGOs and governments through the increased use of pro-whaling rhetoric involving the ‘cultural imperialism’ and ‘whales-eat-fish’ arguments. In this way, it is possible that Japan’s youth will begin to have an increased affinity with whale products, whilst at the same time feeling more patriotic (in the face of the portrayed *gaiatsu* from anti-whaling actors) and sympathetic towards their government’s pro-whaling policies.

It would be hard for anti-whaling campaigners to counter-mobilise (against the well-connected and well-funded Japanese Government) to reach Japan's younger generations. As previously discussed, environmental groups have difficulty operating in Japan, whilst externally-based NGOs have the disadvantages of being the *outsiders*, of logistically not being able to reach their desired audiences and being geographically distanced. One way to mitigate the adoption by younger Japanese people of a stronger pro-whaling attitude (or more specifically, an *anti* anti-whaling attitude), would be for anti-whaling governments to react to the confrontational activities of extreme environmentalists (such as the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society) more harshly. This would remove the ammunition given to the Japanese Government (and therefore their media) that promotes the 'eco-terrorists attacking innocent Japanese whalers' tagline widely marketed domestically. This research has showed that the activities of confrontationalist anti-whaling NGOs tend to alienate young Japanese people and push them further from the anti-whaling movement. This is not to suggest that all anti-whaling campaigns should be bureaucratically or legally disrupted. These campaigns have a well-deserved place in our society and provide an excellent method of awareness-raising worldwide and ensuring illegal activities do not occur. However, in this case, the hostile actions of ramming vessels (and endangering lives) by balaclava-clad volunteers, is having the opposite effect from its intention on younger Japanese people.

Scenario Two: a more drastic approach

This scenario involves adopting more drastic and confrontational policies. It would involve Japan withdrawing from the IWC and unilaterally resuming pelagic

commercial whaling, as well as boosting whaling in Japan's coastal waters.

Whilst this option would temporarily satisfy nationalistic sentiment, the political, diplomatic and economic costs and risks would be high by comparison with the expected benefits. If adopted, this policy would probably initiate an international movement (by environmental NGOs) to boycott Japanese products. The problem with both the first and second scenarios is that they do not incorporate an exit strategy.

Since announcing the doubling of its research whaling quota at the 57th IWC Meeting in Ulsan, Korea, in June 2005, Japan has shown a distinct inclination towards this second, more confrontational approach.

There is evidence to suggest that the Japanese Government is preparing the way for this scenario in the form of an initiative called the 'Safety Net'. As Iliff (2009) documents, 'the genesis of the 'Safety Net' initiative was the meeting hosted by Japan and held separately from, but in conjunction with, the 2006 IWC meeting in St. Kitts and Nevis and attended by most pro-whaling delegates, emboldened from the passing of the St. Kitts and Nevis Declaration' (IWC/58/16 Rev)⁹³. The 'Safety Net' is essentially a proposal created by a working group of pro-whalers that acts as a new convention for a proposed organisation, alternative to the IWC, that would ensure that a management framework would be in place for the conservation and management of whale stocks whilst the IWC debates its future, particularly in the event of a total breakdown of the IWC (Iliff 2009). The operational philosophy of the

⁹³ The St. Kitts and Nevis Declaration is a summary of the pro-whaling case for the sustainable use of cetaceans and promotes the concept of 'normalisation' of the IWC (i.e. a return to the original intent of the ICRW – that of sustainable use and away from the present ethos of the organisation which the Japanese Government argues is a protectionist stance). At the 2006 IWC meeting, the declaration passed by a vote of one.

‘Safety Net’ is stated to be science-based management consistent with the rights of states under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), with management measures reflecting the conservation principles of the precautionary and ecosystem approaches. Discussions on the ‘Safety Net’ were held again at the 2008 IWC meeting in Santiago, Chile, though out of session. Notably absent from the approximately 100 people in the room during the meeting were delegates from anti-whaling nations⁹⁴. A draft of the ‘Safety Net’ was publicly released the following year at the 2009 IWC meeting in Madeira, Portugal, and can be found in Appendix VII. At the meeting, it was suggested that the proposed new organisation to manage the sustainable harvest of cetaceans would be similar to the North Atlantic Marine Mammal Commission (NAMMCO), but with some major differences:

- The convention for the new organisation would have restricted membership;
- The convention would be global in scope and cover all cetaceans;
- The convention would have a Commission to create regulations covering waters beyond national jurisdiction and provide recommendations related to cetacean use within EEZ’s at the request of coastal states.

The legal core of the ‘Safety Net’ is:

- UNCLOS Article 61, relating to the best scientific evidence ensuring over-exploitation does not occur;
- UNCLOS Article 62, relating to the promotion of optimum utilisation in relation to living resources;
- UNCLOS Article 63, relating to the cooperation of states whose EEZ’s, or areas beyond and adjacent to their EEZ’s, contain relevant stocks; and
- UNCLOS Article 64, relating to states that fish for highly migratory species to cooperate with a view to ensuring conservation and optimum utilisation of such species.

The Japanese Government has been careful not to be seen as overtly spearheading the creation of the ‘Safety Net’. Instead, a sustainable-use and pro-whaling NGO (based

⁹⁴ The author was present during these discussions at the 60th IWC meeting in Santiago 2008.

in Canberra, Australia) has been tasked (unofficially by the Japanese Government⁹⁵) to act as the lead. It should also be noted that the ‘Safety Net’ has the support of the Japanese Diet, with four parliamentarians present at the April 2009 meeting in Tokyo.

The author agrees with Morikawa’s predictions in relation to scenario two. Were Japan to leave the IWC, or even remain in the IWC whilst trying to conduct whaling activities outside its prescriptions, it would come under significant pressure from many angles. At the international level, a question that should be considered is, would Japan (or any other initiating government) be in violation of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, in particular Article 65⁹⁶, which relates to cooperation of states on cetacean conservation, management and study, if it withdraws from the ICRW? Some authors answer in the affirmative (Van Dyke 2000). But as Burke (2001) points out, this argument ignores the fact that Article 65 (and *mutatis mutandis* Article 120) is in the plural and refers to ‘appropriate international organisations’, indicating that the drafters had in mind the possibility of more than one avenue to cooperate on cetaceans—large and small.

Equally, would Japan be in violation of UNCLOS if it created a new organisation for the management of cetacean resources and tried to restrict membership to pro-whaling states only? It can certainly be argued that Japan would be in breach of

⁹⁵ At the ‘Safety Net’ meeting that the author attended in 2008, Joji Morishita (Director for International Negotiations at the International Affairs Division of the Japanese Government’s Fisheries Agency) and Dan Goodman (Councillor to the Institute of Cetacean Research), both members of the Japanese delegation to the IWC, took the lead in discussions.

⁹⁶ Article 65 states: ‘Nothing in this Part restricts the right of a coastal State or the competence of an international organisation, as appropriate, to prohibit, limit or regulate the exploitation of marine mammals more strictly than provided for in this Part. States shall cooperate with a view to the conservation of marine mammals and in the case of cetaceans shall in particular work through the appropriate international organisations for their conservation, management and study’.

various components of their international obligations by creating a new organisation with such a restricted membership. Firstly, Article 65 reflects a strong preference for formalised international cooperation (although not dictating it as a necessity); secondly, Article 300 of UNCLOS refers to ‘good faith and abuse of rights’ (which has significant implications for compulsory dispute settlement under the Convention); and thirdly, and more widely, Article 26 of the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (which Japan has ratified) is directly linked to performance in good faith⁹⁷. An initiative to create a new organisation when one already exists could be construed as the antithesis of acting in good faith⁹⁸.

An equally vital question that should be considered is, would Japan be violating its obligations as a signatory to the Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources (CCAMLR) were it to hunt whales outside of the IWC? In 1959, nations concerned with the control and use of Antarctica and her resources agreed to freeze further claims to sovereignty in Antarctica under the Antarctic Treaty. Since that time, the treaty has been supplemented by the Convention for the Conservation of Antarctic Seals (1972), the CCAMLR (1982), and the Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty (known as the Madrid Protocol) (1991). Collectively this regime is known as the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS) (McGrath 2008). The ICRW pre-dates the ATS and, as noted by McGrath (2008), ‘the Contracting Parties to the ATS have taken care to exclude the regulation of whaling

⁹⁷ Article 26 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties states: ‘Every treaty in force is binding upon the parties to it and must be performed by them in good faith’.

⁹⁸ There is a case that the Japanese have used before that counters this ‘good faith’ argument. The Japanese Government is quick to argue that the activities of anti-whaling governments within the IWC (such as sponsoring whale watching and creating a Conservation Committee) are not in good faith and violate the original intent of the ICRW, that being ‘to provide for the proper conservation of whale stocks and thus make possible the orderly development of the whaling industry’ (ICRW 1946 - Available at <<http://www.iwcoffice.org/commission/convention.htm>> (accessed 2nd May 2010)).

from their agreements, preferring to leave regulation of this activity to the ICRW'. CCAMLR incorporates the ecosystem approach and considers all species present in Antarctica, including whales. It does not, however, regulate whaling because the Contracting Parties agreed that: 'the regime should not apply to species already regulated pursuant to existing international agreements but should take into account the relationship of such species to those species covered by the regime' (Recommendation IX-2 Antarctic Marine Living Resources).

This recommendation contributed to the present situation in CCAMLR⁹⁹ and the Madrid Protocol¹⁰⁰. Therefore, because CCAMLR and the Madrid Protocol defer all whaling activities to the ICRW, and consistent with Article 30¹⁰¹ of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (1969), the ICRW has precedence over both CCAMLR and the Madrid Protocol. If Japan was to leave the IWC and withdraw its signature from the ICRW and create a new convention in the form of the 'Safety Net' convention, despite being no longer bound by the moratorium on commercial whaling as set out by Paragraph 10(e) of the ICRW Schedule, Japan's nationals would no longer be exempt from the ATS, because CCAMLR and the Madrid Protocol exclude whaling only to the extent that it is otherwise regulated under the ICRW. This would place anti-whaling, Antarctic claimant countries like Australia in a difficult position, because Contracting Parties do not wish to upset the *status quo*

⁹⁹ Article VI of CCAMLR states: 'Nothing in this Convention shall derogate from the rights and obligations of Contracting Parties under the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling and the Convention for the Conservation of Antarctic Seals' (CCAMLR 1982 Article VI).

¹⁰⁰ Article 7 of Annex II entitled *Relationship with other agreements outside of the Antarctic Treaty System* states: 'Nothing in this Annex shall derogate from the rights and obligations of Parties under the International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling' (Madrid Protocol 1991 Annex II, Article 7).

¹⁰¹ Article 30 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties (1969) relates to the application of successive treaties relating to the same subject matter.

by broaching the subject of whaling in Antarctic Treaty System forums. In addition, if the new convention were to conduct whaling under the strict conditions of the RMP/RMS of the IWC, this would add strength to the new convention at the international level. That being said, there are several grey areas that would require significant legal debate before it could be ascertained whether invoking the ‘Safety Net’ convention would be a direct breach of Japan’s obligations to the CCAMLR or Madrid Protocol. Australia’s case against Japan’s scientific whaling program in the Southern Ocean at the International Court of Justice (discussed below) may bring these issues to a head.

A strong external factor such as an intervention from the United Nations could also change the face of the whaling debate. Although whaling is not directly one of the fundamental concerns of the United Nations, global food security certainly is, with approximately 963 million undernourished people worldwide as of 2008 (FAO 2008). If, at the international level, whaling started to be perceived as an effective means of securing food for human consumption (in which case whaling would occur under the management of the conservative Revised Management Procedure), more attention would be placed on the benefits of whaling internationally, placing Japan in a strong position to pursue its pro-whaling agenda.

As Morikawa states, if Japan withdrew from either the IWC or removed its signature from the ICRW, it would face sustained condemnation in the western media, and an international boycott of Japanese products, organised primarily by transnational environmental NGOs, would probably occur. Japan’s reputation at the international level would take sizeable hits.

At the time of writing, it is unclear whether Japan is willing to go down the ‘Safety Net’ pathway. At the 2010 IWC meeting in Agadir, Morocco, anti-whaling governments (specifically Australia and pro-conservation countries from the ‘Buenos Aires Group’¹⁰² and the European Union as well as India, Israel, Monaco and Switzerland) succeeded in stopping the adoption of a compromise deal known as the ‘Chair’s Proposal’ or the ‘Maquieira Proposal’¹⁰³, despite lobbying in favour of the compromise by the United States¹⁰⁴ and New Zealand. The fundamental components of the Chair’s Proposal were: ‘to bring whaling by all members under the control of the IWC; to reduce catch levels significantly; to limit operations to those members who currently take whales; to establish caps that are within sustainable levels for a ten year period; to enhance monitoring and control measures; to create a South Atlantic sanctuary; and to provide a mechanism for enterprise and capacity building for developing countries’. IWC members were also to ‘agree not to authorise whaling outside IWC control and not to exceed the prescribed catch limits’ (IWC/M10/SWG4 2010b). However, the proposal had no mechanism to address unilateral whaling

¹⁰² On 14th December 2006, the Government of Argentina submitted what has become known as the ‘Buenos Aires Declaration’ (IWC/59/28), in which the governments of Argentina, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Chile, Columbia, Guatemala, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela agreed to ‘strengthen the coordination of their policies’ on furthering cetacean conservation and promoting non-deleterious activities associated with cetaceans, such as whale watching. The group has become collectively known as the ‘Buenos Aires Group’ (BAG). At IWC meetings since the 2006 declaration, the governments of Belize, Brazil, Costa Rica, Mexico, Peru and Nicaragua have also indicated their anti-whaling preferences at the international level and as such are also affiliated with the BAG.

¹⁰³ The new Chair of the IWC, Ambassador Cristian Maquieira from Chile (who succeeded Dr. William Hogarth of the United States after the 2009 IWC meeting) co-authored the proposal with Vice-Chair, Anthony Liverpool of Antigua and Barbuda.

¹⁰⁴ Despite testimonials from Monica Medina (U.S. Commissioner to the IWC and Principal Deputy Under Secretary for Oceans and Atmosphere at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration) and Ambassador David A. Balton (Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Oceans and Fisheries, Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs) before a U.S. Committee on Foreign Affairs within the U.S. House of Representatives on 6th May 2010, unequivocally stating that the United States was not satisfied with the Chair’s Proposal in its current form, and that if the proposal remained unchanged the United States would vote against it, the United States lobbied in favour of the Chair’s Proposal at the 2010 IWC meeting (see Balton 2010; Medina 2010).

undertaken under Article VIII of the ICRW or whaling under objection or reservation, it would have allowed commercial whaling to resume in the IWC's nominated Southern Ocean Sanctuary, and it would have sanctioned the targeting of threatened fin and sei whales as well as minke whales, for a ten year period.

This was a crucial opportunity for Japan. It would have meant official IWC sanction of commercial whaling and, importantly, because the compromise deal made no mention of what was to prevail once the specified ten year period was over, anti-whaling governments and NGOs would have faced an uphill battle to recover control over the whaling agenda after a period of official sanction.

Had the Chair's Proposal been adopted at the 2010 IWC meeting, official IWC sanction of commercial whaling would have significantly undermined pending legal action against scientific whaling. Since 2007, the Australian government has insisted that it will proceed with legal action if Japan continues its scientific whaling program, JARPA II¹⁰⁵. In the election year of 2010, this commitment was made with increased frequency and specificity by various Australian politicians. On 28th May 2010, the Australian Minister for Environment Protection, Heritage and the Arts, Peter Garrett, announced what the majority of the Australian electorate wanted to hear; that the government was proceeding with legal action and would be filing a suit with the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague the following week¹⁰⁶. In the ensuing media reports, Australian legal opinions indicated that the government's case would be based on issues concerning the definition of so-called scientific

¹⁰⁵ For detailed analyses of Australia's potential legal case against Japanese whaling see Anton (2008; 2009); and Jabour and Iliff (2009).

¹⁰⁶ Australia's Application initiating legal action against Japan's scientific whaling program in the Southern Ocean can be found at <www.icj-cij.org/docket/files/148/15953.pdf>.

whaling rather than issues of sovereignty (*The Australian*, 29th May 2010). Stephens (2010) stated: ‘they will be arguing a case based on the International Whaling Convention provisions dealing with special permit whaling... claiming Japan is abusing its rights under the convention. This argument will be sovereign-neutral, without any effect on Australia’s claims in the Antarctic. It will [look] at the rights of parties to conduct whaling, not about where it takes place’, because what is meant by scientific whaling has not yet been tested in international law. It is deemed better for Australia to base litigation on interpretations of Article VIII of the ICRW and whether the Japanese Government is in breach of it and not acting in good faith, than to litigate on the basis of their ownership claims in the Antarctic and breaches of Australian law within these areas. Any unilateral action under Australian law based on ownership issues could jeopardise Australia’s sovereignty claims in the Antarctic¹⁰⁷ and result in a loss of stability within the Antarctic Treaty System. Anton (2009) argues that the biggest danger is that if states follow Australia’s lead in claiming sovereign rights and exercise attendant jurisdiction, the chances of natural resource over-exploitation and environmental harm in the Antarctic will increase, leading, in the long-run, to an exacerbated scramble for important, scarce and ultimately economically viable resources.

The regular reiteration of the threat of legal action and now the official filing of a suit against Japan has put Australia into a tight corner diplomatically and politically. The

¹⁰⁷ It can be said without exaggeration that the entire edifice of international law in Antarctica is built on Article IV of the Antarctic Treaty (Trolle-Anderson 1987). This has allowed claimants, potential claimants, and non-claimants, all with radically different interests in Antarctica and different views about its legal systems, to cooperate peacefully for scientific purposes for over 50 years. According to Anton (2009), the nub of the matter for Australia is what constitutes a ‘claim’ and what constitutes ‘territorial sovereignty’ under Article IV (2). Both Anton (2009) and Jabour and Iliff (2009) suggest that it is not permissible for Australia to declare an Antarctic EEZ due to Article IV (2) of the Antarctic Treaty.

Japanese Foreign Ministry responded by calling the Australian action ‘regrettable’, but that they were confident they would win the case (Sobashima 2010). The outgoing Japanese ambassador to Australia, Takaaki Kojima, stated that the Australian government-initiated legal action over whaling ‘placed the strategic partnership between Japan and Australia at a crossroads’ (Kojima 2010).

The non-passing of the Chair’s Proposal means that Japan is set to continue its scientific whaling activities in the Southern Ocean in a ‘business as usual’ fashion, certainly for the whaling season of 2010-11, and beyond that until such time as the ‘Safety Net’ may be formally actioned by Tokyo. Four days after the end of the 2010 IWC meeting, a Japanese Minister hinted at the possibility of the ‘Safety Net’ for the first time in the media. Masahiko Yamada, Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, stated in an interview that Japan was considering ‘establishing a new international panel so mainly pro-whaling nations could discuss how to reform the International Whaling Commission’. Yamada elaborated: ‘it is one option to establish a new consultative panel with Norway, Russia and African nations’. The reference to restricted membership to pro-whaling nations only in Yamada’s comments reflects the ‘Safety Net’, however, it is also possible that these statements came as a knee-jerk reaction from the Japanese Government at losing its chance at the compromise deal at the 2010 IWC meeting and/or the Australian government’s initiation of legal proceedings against Japan’s ‘scientific’ whaling activities in the ICJ.

The positions of the anti-whaling nations that voted against the Chair’s Proposal in Agadir in 2010 are unlikely to change. Thus, as each year passes and each attempt at negotiating the contentious issues yields unsuccessful results for Japan, and each

compromise comes and goes¹⁰⁸, Japan is likely to be pushed closer to the option of the ‘Safety Net’ unless a ‘saving face’ option, noted earlier as being so important to the Japanese in these negotiations, is presented. Miyaoka (1999) suggested that whether Japan will give up whaling entirely in the twenty-first century will depend partly on future trends within the whaling policy community in Japan. If the Japanese can be given a way out to save face, there stands a greater chance of the Japanese majority accepting a whaling ban.

The desire to ‘save face’ is a double-edged sword for Japan in the whaling debate. Deliberations on the ‘Safety Net’ so far mean that Japan may well have no option but to continue with the ‘Safety Net’ option. Japan has certainly garnered the support of several African and Caribbean nations as well as Iceland, Norway and Russia, with these nations now looking to Japan to deliver on its promise to create an alternative organisation to manage whaling and whale stocks. Many of these nations have a vested interest in Japan pursuing this course of action in relation to establishing trade

¹⁰⁸ Since 1997, there have been three (very similar) major compromise deals suggested by respective Chairs of the IWC. In 1997, Michael Canney, also the IWC Commissioner for Ireland, proposed the ‘Irish Proposal’ out of concern that the IWC was breaking up. The ‘Irish Proposal’ recommended *inter alia* completing and adopting the RMS, that whaling only occur in coastal EEZ’s and be limited to current whaling nations, that quotas should be issued for local consumption only, and that scientific whaling be phased out. After discussing the Irish Proposal at four IWC meetings, the proposal was rejected by both anti- and pro-whalers.

In 2004, Henrik Fischer, Chair of the IWC at the time, put forward the ‘Chair’s Proposal for a Way Forward on the RMS’ – the RMS being a proxy for commercial whaling. Fischer’s proposal *inter alia* recommended the agreed RMP, again, whaling only in territorial waters, lifting of Paragraph 10(e), catch verification methods, and animal welfare considerations. After discussing the proposal at three IWC meetings, it was again rejected by both anti- and pro-whalers.

Between 2005-2009, Dr Bill Hogarth, then Chair of the IWC, put forward a proposal entitled ‘A Way Forward for the IWC’. This proposal was taken up by Cristian Maquieira when he took over as Chair at the end of the 2009 IWC meeting. The morphed Hogarth/Maquieira recommendations are listed in the text (above). However, as we have seen, the proposal had no mechanism to address scientific whaling or whaling under objection or reservation, it would have allowed commercial whaling to resume in the IWC’s nominated Southern Ocean Sanctuary and have sanctioned the targeting of threatened fin and sei whales as well as minke whales, for a ten year period. After two intensive years of negotiations within at least six annual and intersessional IWC meetings, the proposal was rejected, at the 2010 IWC meeting.

in whale products (which would be dependent upon reservations on the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species [CITES]) and indeed, creating whaling industries of their own based upon the model that Japan would create with the ‘Safety Net’.

Should the ‘Safety Net’ become a reality, it is possible that much of the associated negative impact would be deflected by a good publicity campaign spelling out how the ‘Safety Net’ reflects the true intent of the ICRW. It is likely that whale meat would then become more common in Japan, reducing its price and increasing its consumption domestically. Whale meat would once again become mainstream in Japanese society as it was after World War II.

Scenario Two and Japan’s Youth: Should this scenario unfold, there would most likely be an unprecedented Japanese Government driven, pro-whaling marketing campaign the likes of which has not yet been seen and greater than would occur under scenario one. The primary audience of this campaign drive would be Japan’s youth. Japan would start to import greater amounts of whale meat from Iceland and Norway via reservations held by all three countries on the CITES (as explained in Chapter 1, pp. 40-42), which bans trade in whale products. An increased number of schools in Japan would serve government-provided whale meat in a bid to encourage familiarity with the product. Should environmental NGOs initiate an international boycott of Japanese products, the Japanese Government would counter this domestically by touting the ‘cultural imperialism’ argument which could incite elements of xenophobic resentment against this *gaiatsu*. This would be supported by the fact that an international boycott of Japanese products would, most likely, not be backed by anti-whaling governments (such as Australia, where Japan is its largest

export destination [Simon Crean MP Australian Minister for Trade 2008]), leaving environmental groups out on a limb, to be perceived in Japan as anti-whaling renegades.

Scenario Two is not one that anti-whaling actors would hope for. The criticism that Japan would bring upon herself by leaving the IWC and/or by creating a new whaling organisation may be officially and outwardly endorsed by anti-whaling governments, but unofficially not acted upon because of potential risks to bilateral trading relationships. This would then leave environmental groups to solely organise and maintain a global boycott of Japanese products. Japan's youth would be the subject of a marketing campaign that would probably lead to an increase in the consumption of imported and Japanese caught whale products, effectively hindering the anti-whaling movement.

Scenario Three: a realistic transition

This scenario is a search for an alternative to allow a transition away from the confrontational approach of the second scenario. This option would bring a complete end to lethal research whaling by Japan, limiting whaling activities to small-scale commercial whaling targeting small whale species in Japan's coastal waters. Non-lethal research on cetaceans could be expanded and strengthened with the results made available both within Japan and abroad. The ICR could become independent of the Japanese Government and re-emerge as a neutral international research body, even becoming allied with the United Nations University in Tokyo.

This scenario could see the Japanese Government actively supporting dolphin and whale watching as a local revitalisation policy and reemployment strategy for

whaling industry workers in municipalities with a historical involvement with whaling, as well as supporting existing dolphin and whale watching companies. The scenario would see the participation of local communities and local government as well as the involvement of several government agencies such as the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry and the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism. Increased sustainable development would be achieved as well as the cooperation of international organisations and domestic and foreign NGOs. As a result, an important international tourist resource would be created and those involved in the whaling industry would experience first-hand the economic benefits of live whales and dolphins.

However, the question of how far the ‘silent majority’¹⁰⁹ would cooperate would greatly affect the success or failure of this third scenario. A suspension of the expansion of whale meat consumption and the pro-whaling policies currently being implemented by the Japan Fisheries Agency would be required. Left to market forces, the domestic demand for and supply of whale meat would no doubt contract and balance out, bringing about a reduction in the large-scale catching of small whale species off the Japanese coast. This shift in Japan Fisheries Agency policy would probably not only protect and foster the fishing industry but also provide balanced development of fishing villages.

This prediction is an unusual one as it envisages the Fisheries Agency and MAFF ‘rolling over’ without any real imperative; after all, they have survived in the face of

¹⁰⁹ The ‘silent majority’ in Japan consists of people who do not eat whale meat and do not want to eat whale meat. Assuming the absence of a successful scenario two, officially-sanctioned marketing campaigns are likely to see the size of this majority increase over time (Morikawa 2009: 121).

significant opposition for several decades now. Indeed, in December 2009, approximately four months after the election of a new Japanese Government, the Foreign Minister of Japan, Katsuya Okada, explained that whaling would continue to receive support as a matter of policy (*ABC News* 2009; *The Australian* 2009).

It is possible, however, that this transition scenario may well play out over time, as an extension of the *status quo* scenario. This could be a consequence of environmental NGOs in Japan gaining more power and expanding the rate at which environmental values are diffused domestically. If this were to occur, the Japanese Government would feel pressure internally. Equally, if external pressure upon Japan were to reach a threshold point whereby costs of continued whaling outweigh the benefits, the Japanese Government may well concede. If these two types of pressure coincide, the argument of Rosenbluth (1989) who, in her study of financial politics in Japan, concluded that international pressure cannot be effective without a strong domestic voice (that is, international demands on Japan are more likely to be successful where domestic interests are also moving in the same direction) would ring true. If this were the case, this scenario would come to fruition in the next 10-20 years.

In the view of the author, this scenario is the one that anti-whaling nations should try to push for, as in the main it is close to the objectives of anti-whaling actors. In addition, whilst the Japanese Government has decided not to embark on the ‘Safety Net’ process, this scenario at the current time is still accessible.

The rejection of the Chair’s Proposal at the 2010 IWC meeting probably worked in favour of this scenario eventuating. Because Japan was close to a compromise

(having garnered the support of anti-whaling nations such as the United States and New Zealand) that would have legitimised commercial whaling (albeit at much lower numbers than they would have liked), it would have been IWC-sanctioned commercial whaling nonetheless. The rejection of the compromise may act as a catalyst for the Japanese Government to either embark on the ‘Safety Net’ initiative¹¹⁰ or rethink their whaling policies to incorporate a more pro-conservation stance and opt for withdrawing from the Southern Ocean and accepting whaling at the level that occurs currently in the coastal waters of Japan (which would satisfy the level of demand for whale meat).

Scenario Three and Japan’s Youth: As awareness of the benefits of whale watching increases in Japan and knowledge and education of all cetaceans increases among Japan’s youth, it is possible that an anti-whaling voice could grow internally without any pressure from outside. This would be particularly true if, as Morikawa suggests, the ICR emerges as an independent research organisation specialising in cetaceans which becomes allied with the United Nations University in Tokyo. Should this occur, Japan may well change her stance on whaling and actively promote her cetacean conservation achievements to a greater degree, in the same vein as Kiyono’s example of tiger conservation (n an interview with Danaher [1998]). Kiyono observed that because Japan’s consumption of tiger parts in traditional Chinese medicines was becoming increasingly negligible, the government

¹¹⁰ On 27th August 2010, *Japan Times Online* reported on an announcement from the Japanese Fisheries Agency that Japan intended to host a ‘working-level meeting in November with countries supporting whaling to discuss steps toward realising the resumption of commercial whaling’. According to the report, the Japanese Government planned to call on 40 pro-whaling nations including Norway and Iceland for a meeting in Shimonoseki, Yamaguchi Prefecture from 9th to 10th November 2010. It should be noted, however, that the hosting of these types of meetings by Japan is not new and has been conducted every year since 2006.

could afford to take a more proactive stance on tiger conservation, and use this stance to improve its image in the international community in respect to wildlife conservation. This is evidence of domestic consumption moving in the same direction as *gaiatsu*, with the bureaucracy following suit and policy being formulated accordingly (Kiyono 1998).

To successfully consolidate the change from reduced whaling to whale watching in Japan, universities from around the world should encourage scientific collaborations with Japanese universities and the ICR to exchange knowledge and increase education about cetaceans. This could be done by hosting Japanese university students on whale watching research trips in countries such as Australia, which already has a solid whale watching industry that engages in non-lethal research on cetaceans. Australian universities which regularly participate in whale watching programs for data collection in marine research could also host Japanese students as part of an official university qualification.

This scenario comes with a note of caution however. If the motivation for obtaining marine food security is too great for Japan, no amount of *gaiatsu* will be enough for this scenario to occur.

Scenario Four: the demise of whaling

This scenario would require massive effort over the long-term. It would mean the dramatic, simultaneous curtailment or suspension of not only the lethal research whaling carried out in the pelagic but also the large-scale coastal whaling targeting small whale species, dolphins and porpoises. This will give rise to strong opposition and resistance from local industry groups, local communities, and the entire fishing

industry. Central and local governments would, therefore, need to invest considerable time and energy in the effort to submit alternative plans for social and economic development. Yet, when considering the generally severe difficulties the Japanese fishing industry is facing and the aging and depopulation of fishing villages, a shift towards whale tourism may represent a more viable alternative than many in the fishing industry can now imagine.

As supply of whale meat into the market slowed, the entrenched domestic demand could turn whale meat into a more expensive, high-status gourmet product. Thus, a highly organised and effective regime would need to be in place to prohibit poaching and the distribution of any poached whale meat.

This last scenario would also require the government's active support for whale and dolphin watching programs, including the establishment of linkages to tourism and environmental education and regional promotion activities that would involve financial support and the preparation of infrastructure. Currently, however, the Japanese Government and the whaling industry continue to focus on short-term benefits, persisting with their unilateral claim that the question is how to use whales as a marine resource to serve the particular interests of Japan.

If this scenario were to unfold, the Japanese Government would have to do a very public 'u-turn' on its pro-whaling policies and drop many of the positions (such as the 'whales-eat-fish' argument) that they have championed over the years. It would also indicate that marine food security is not the Japanese Government's underlying motivation for continuing whaling. This leads the author to conclude that under the current circumstances, this scenario is unlikely to occur.

However, there may be circumstances which would allow this scenario to be played out in the short to medium term. The first of these is if an entirely external factor were introduced which would allow higher powers within the Japanese Government to overrule the MAFF. An example would be if Japan were to receive international support for a seat on the Security Council of the United Nations in a compromise deal (that would involve, amongst others, the cessation of whaling), or a transfer of fishing rights (such as blue-fin tuna quotas from other nations such as Australia, which currently has the largest global quota) to Japan, also as an exchange.

This scenario is aligned with the objectives of anti-whaling actors but is unlikely to occur at the current time. It would be the most costly for the Japanese Government, both politically at home and, in the short-term, financially. On top of this, the cessation of whaling would reduce the amount of marine protein acquired by Japan and, because whales are representative of a broader food security issue in Japan, this is again something that she is not willing to concede.

Scenario Four and Japan's Youth: Currently, the Japanese Government is not facilitating this scenario. But the results of the study revealed a lack of knowledge on whaling issues by the participants as well as a lack of any real desire to eat whale meat. The Japanese Government would certainly be aware that the country's younger people consider whaling to be almost a *non-issue*, and it will need to step up promotional activities on behalf of the pro-whaling interest if it is to ensure that this scenario remains unsuccessful.

However, this research has shown that a majority of Japanese students supported the view that whale watching should replace whaling in whaling towns (Q.15: 50.5 per

cent answered in favour versus 12.2 per cent against) and a majority of students wanted to go on a whale watching trip (Q.16: 57.9 per cent answered ‘Yes’ versus 28.7 per cent answering ‘No’). This suggests that if the Japanese Government did decide to do the ‘u-turn’ described above and endorse whale watching tourism as suggested by Morikawa, Japan’s youth would respond favourably as long as the Japanese Government’s decision coincided with reduced anti-whaling *gaiatsu* and increased, positive whale watching *gaiatsu* from anti-whaling governments and environmental NGOs.

5.4 Summary

In summary, this study supports the widely documented theory that the discourse over whaling stems from cultural differences in how whales are viewed rather than disagreements over the management detail of whale harvesting regimes.

Students frequently voiced the opinion that all animals should be treated equally and that whales should not be given special accord. To this end, the ‘superwhale’ concept (Kalland 1992*a*, 1993) that exists in many western nations does not have the same traction in Japan. Furthermore, this research also showed that the students have a high degree of acceptance of whaling for intangible motivations and that they accept (and repeat) much of the pro-whaling rhetoric produced by their government. The students also made repeated references to their culture not being understood by outsiders, to cultural imperialism against Japan, and to Japan being treated unfairly (when it came to whaling). Moreover, whilst collecting the data for this study during presentations that the author gave to students on whaling history and politics, many asked why environmental NGOs (in particular the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society) were so hostile towards Japanese whalers, with several references to the organisation being arrogant in its campaign activities.

These observations may be reflective of the conflicting environment seen today within the IWC, albeit on a much larger scale. The Chair’s Summary from the Pew Foundation’s ‘Whale Symposium’ held at the United Nations University in Tokyo, 2008, summed up the situation in the IWC at the time very well. The symposium hosted 100 participants (from environmental NGOs to members of pro- and anti-whaling governments) from 28 nationalities and was designed to explore potential

avenues for a way forward in the whaling debate:

A variety of ideas were put forward during the symposium. Not surprisingly, two principal ideas centred around possible concessions by Japan and/or by anti-whaling interests:

1. The former asks Japan to observe the moratorium and phase out commercial/scientific whaling. Under this scenario, Japan could announce this decision or, alternatively, quietly decide and implement it.
2. The latter asks anti-whaling interests to accept what the proponents of whaling call the concept of sustainable utilization of whale stocks.

Unfortunately, it is not possible for me as symposium chairman to give any concrete form to even the most positive hints – even if, indeed, there were hints. Therefore, I am drawn to the conclusion that at the time of the Tokyo symposium neither side was prepared to make any significant concession to the other. This suggests that consideration might be given to finding areas of possible compromise (Judge Slade, Symposium Chairman 2008).

That was the situation then, and this appears to be the situation at the time of writing in 2010. The compromise that Judge Slade hoped to find was not there and since the symposium, compromise proposals of various forms have come and gone, with none being acceptable to either of the opposing parties.

The IWC Chair, Cristian Maquieira, and Vice-Chair, Anthony Liverpool, experienced the same disappointment at the 2010 IWC meeting that Judge Slade encountered in 2008, regarding the rejection of their compromise deal. At the end of the meeting a 12 month ‘period of reflection’ was adopted in which it was agreed that the core contentious issues surrounding the whaling debate were not to be formally discussed. This means that another year will be added to this long-standing environmental debate, with members still agreeing to disagree on the intractable issues.

Whether or not Australia is likely to win against Japan in the ICJ is debatable. So far,

New Zealand (arguably still an anti-whaling interest despite being in favour of the Maquieira proposal), has decided against joining Australia in ICJ proceedings against Japan (although not ruling it out as a future option), opting for the diplomatic route instead. Given the unsuccessful track record of diplomatic actions in this area over the last two decades, it is unlikely that New Zealand will see her expectations met. Litigation against Japan will also be costly, slow (a decision could take between 4-7 years), and has no guarantee of success. Should Australia lose at the ICJ, not only would Japanese scientific whaling be legitimised, it is possible that the worldwide resumption of commercial whaling would be closer than at any time since the moratorium. For global whale populations, an Australian loss at the ICJ could be more detrimental than had Australia agreed with the various compromises to reduce the Japanese quota in the Southern Ocean.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

The author hypothesises that the main underlying motivation for the Japanese Government to continue whaling is food security, and invoking the blame game, as so often occurs in the whaling debate, merely obscures this issue. Japan clearly intends to continue whaling in the long term, having spent around 900 million yen (approximately 5.7 million Euro) annually since 1988 on subsidizing scientific whaling programs (Hirata 2004). Given Japan's geographic location, archipelagic topography and resulting food production status, her growing population, and her significant dependence upon marine resources in the context of large-scale depletion of the world's fisheries, it is not surprising to see the level of importance the Japanese Government places on whaling. However, it mainly uses the cultural argument to justify its pro-whaling stance because this has greater resonance within the Japanese populace. The cultural argument is easy to understand and symbolic to the Japanese people and, luckily for their Government, the anti-whaling movement represents a concept that is counter (and alien) to many of the basic tenets of Japanese society. Japan's religious belief systems, centred around Buddhism, Shinto and earlier Confucian thought, as previously discussed, have been tailored to suit the modern-day needs of Japanese society and, by the giving of thanks to deities through ritualistic ceremonies, the hunting of whales (and small cetaceans) is accepted as part of Japanese heritage, even if the consumption of whale meat is not mainstream.

Ironically, it is the Japanese Government that frequently accuses anti-whaling advocates of being 'too emotional' and therefore unable to make objective and 'rational' decisions, especially within the IWC. However, a central component of the whaling dispute could well be construed as emotionally based, in the form of the

Japanese people's pride in their whale-eating culture, and as an expression of patriotism. Some scholars maintain that pro-whaling attitudes in Japan are held mainly by older generations and that, with the passing of these generations, Japan will become more open to the anti-whaling movement. It is the present author's view that this will not occur under the current method of anti-whaling campaigning. A link has already been observed between the memories of *gyoshoku bunka* from post World War II generations and the strong pro-whaling stance of these older generations. In a similar fashion, it is possible that younger generations with residual *anti* anti-whaling sentiment could well go on to become the next generation of pro-whaling advocates in Japan.

Successful Diffusion of the Anti-Whaling Movement in Japan

The ethical case for the cessation of whaling is clearly profound. It is true that in the early 90s, ethical and moral issues regarding whaling dominated the discourse, and they remain prominent today within anti-whaling nations. This, however, is not observed in pro-whaling nations such as Japan, and is unlikely to be seen in the near future because anti-whaling governments and environmental NGOs are pushing the wrong agenda to obtain their objective. Domestically, the youth of Japan are fundamental to future viability of Japan's pro-whaling position. Their government is aware of this and will therefore continue to aim pro-whaling lobbying activities at them. Anti-whaling actors have not recognised this to the same degree and continue to direct their anti-whaling campaigns towards the Japanese Government, mainly through the IWC meetings and associated media. These tactics are akin to 'flogging a dead horse' as the Japanese Government is unlikely to change its mind. Achievement

of a move away from whaling in Japan may be served more effectively by a three-pronged approach by anti-whaling interests.

The first would be to reduce the amount of confrontational anti-whaling campaigning (such as that employed by the Sea Shepherd Conservation Society) which is perceived by Japanese people as antagonistic and anti-Japanese provocation. Instead, a gentler form of awareness-raising regarding environmental conservation should be used whilst promoting the importance of cetaceans within the marine ecosystem.

Secondly, by encouraging whale watching instead of trying to make Japanese people (young or old) turn against an activity that many see as symbolic of the uniqueness of their nation and culture, seems likely to yield more positive results. Whale watching is an activity that is not at odds with Japanese culture and heritage, and could supply substantial economic advantages to coastal communities, and could increase education and awareness of the marine environment amongst Japanese and international visitors. This research found that students had little desire to eat whale meat themselves and a good percentage wanted to go whale watching and felt that whale watching could replace whaling in some communities. Therefore, if anti-whaling governments and NGOs were to relax campaign activities and criticisms which the Japanese people perceive as acts of cultural imperialism, and instead foster an approach based on whale watching (including providing scientific and logistical support), the perception of whales (and possibly dolphins) would probably begin to change. Levi-Strauss (1962: 89) observed that animals have always been important to human societies, not just because they are ‘good to eat’ but also because they are ‘good to think’. Animals are ‘good to think’ because ‘they – being both like us and different from us – constitute the “other” that allows people to reflect over what it

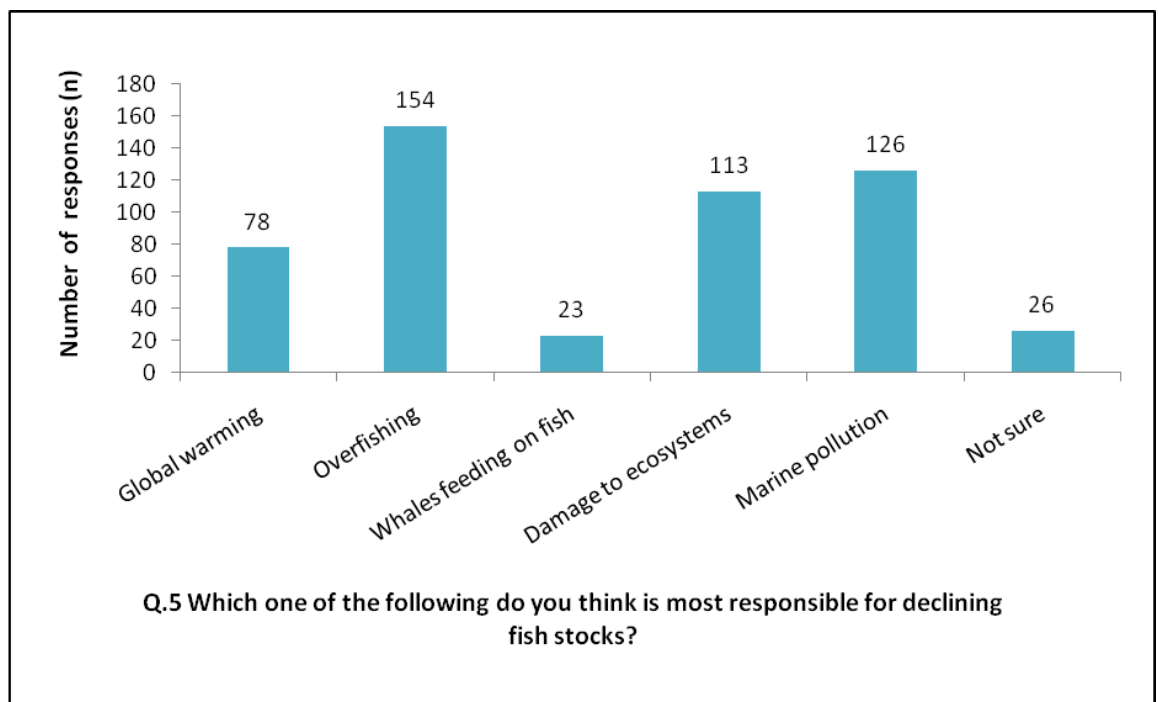
means to be human' (Kalland 2009: 15). The Japanese are no exception to this observation and whilst most Japanese have never seen a whale in its natural habitat, by providing this opportunity along with a less confrontational anti-whaling message, Japan's youth may well begin to feel more in tune with the notion of cetacean conservation. This approach will be the most effective whilst the supply of whale meat into the country is still low and relies upon Japan not invoking the Safety Net initiative (on the basis of their food security concerns). The most opportune time for anti-whaling actors to undertake this approach is, therefore, now, before the Safety Net and resulting increased whale meat supply and consumption become realities.

Thirdly, if anti-whaling actors wish to see the cessation of all whale harvesting they need to present alternative methods for the generation of food, especially marine protein, not only for Japan but also for those countries that wish to continue (or resume) whaling. By highlighting alternative methods of protein creation as cheaper (energetically and economically), and by providing scientific, economic and logistical support, whaling would become less prominent as a method for securing marine protein. This, of course, takes more time, patience and cultural understanding than simply attacking the Japanese Government's pro-whaling policies through the IWC and media - time which anti-whaling actors may not be willing to concede, given the nearly 30 years of disputes that have already occurred - however, it is likely to yield greater and longer-lasting conservation results, and a more secure future for the oceans' largest dwellers.

4.1.8 Examination of Additional Survey Questions

The survey contained a number of questions that did not operate on a Likert scale but instead used answer options that were finite categories. In the section entitled *Your Experience*, Question 5 asked participants what they thought was the most responsible for declining global fish stocks, and proffered the response categories as: ‘Global warming’, ‘Overfishing’, ‘Whales feeding on fish’, ‘Damage to ecosystems’, ‘Marine pollution’, and ‘Not sure’. It can be seen from Figure 9 that the largest percentage of participants selected ‘Overfishing’ (29.6 per cent), followed by ‘Marine pollution’ (24.2 per cent) and ‘Damage to ecosystems’ (21.7 per cent). The category least selected, and one that is being increasingly pushed by the Japanese Government, is the ‘Whales feeding on fish’ option (4.4 per cent) (Figure 9).

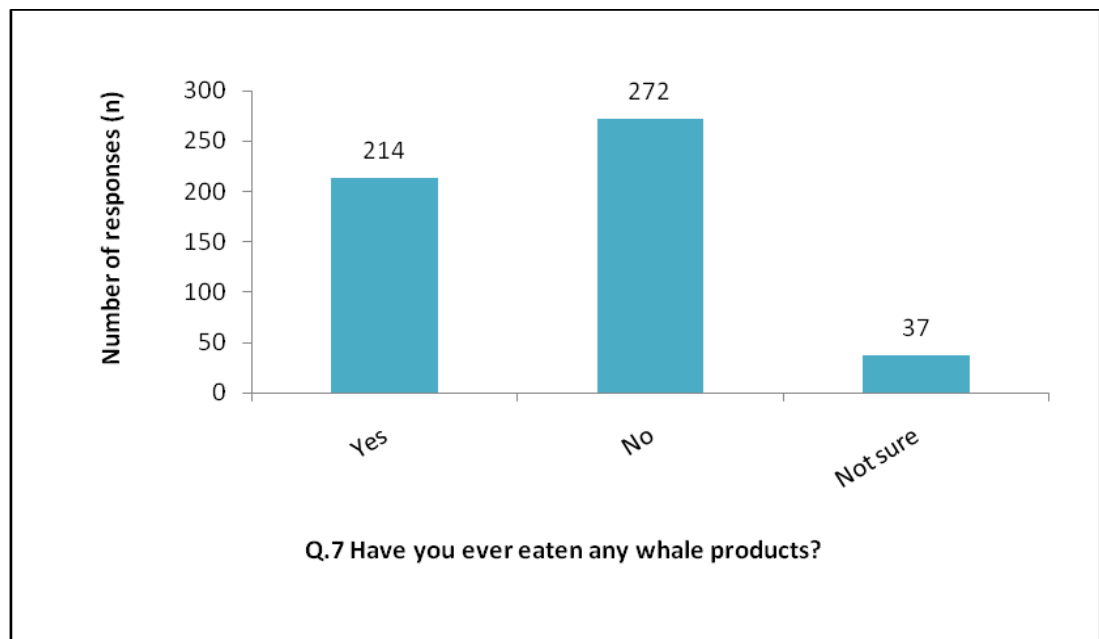
Figure 9. The responses from Q.5 relating to the possible reasons for global fish stock decline ($n= 520$).



Four questions from this section sought data on the personal experience of the participants with whale products (Q.7-10)⁸⁰, with the responses used to generate inferences about the degree of consumption of whale products in Japan.

It can be seen in Figure 10 that of the 523 participants, 40.9 per cent had eaten whale products, 52 per cent had not and 7.1 per cent were not sure (Q.7). The results from Q.8 show that of the 40.9 per cent who had eaten whale products before, the majority were unable to determine whether they had in the last six months (53.6 per cent) (Figure 11).

Figure 10. The responses obtained from the *Your Experience* section of the survey examining past consumption of whale products by Japanese students ($n= 523$).



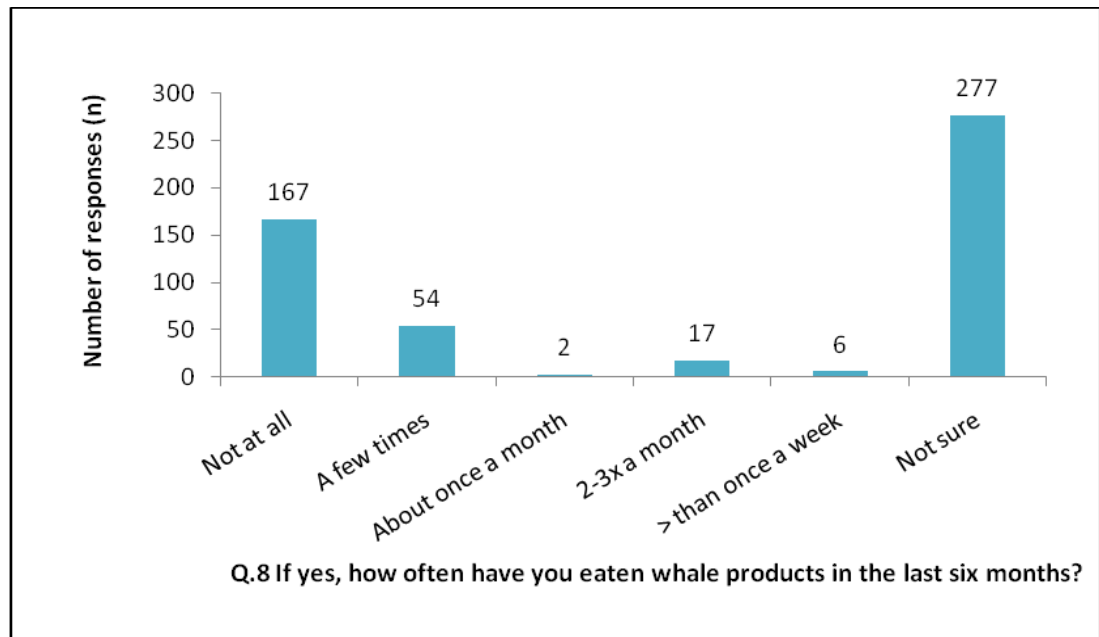
⁸⁰ Q.7 'Have you ever eaten any whale products?'

Q.8 'If yes, how often have you eaten whale products in the last six months?'

Q.9 'Are whale products readily available to you?'

Q.10 'If whale products were readily available to you, how often would you eat them?'

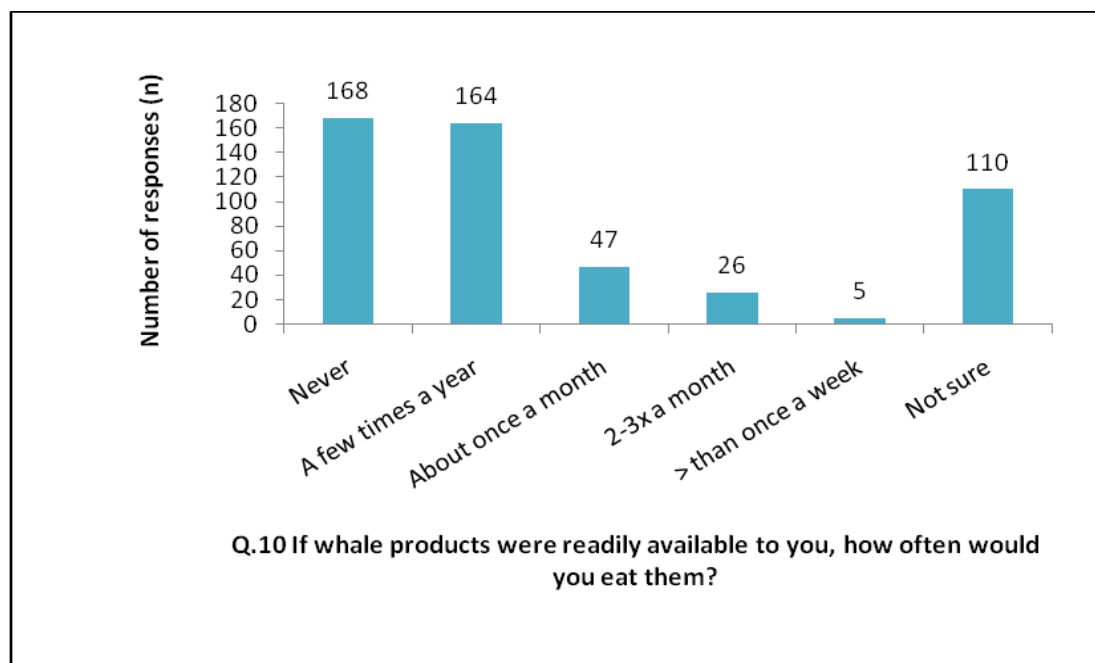
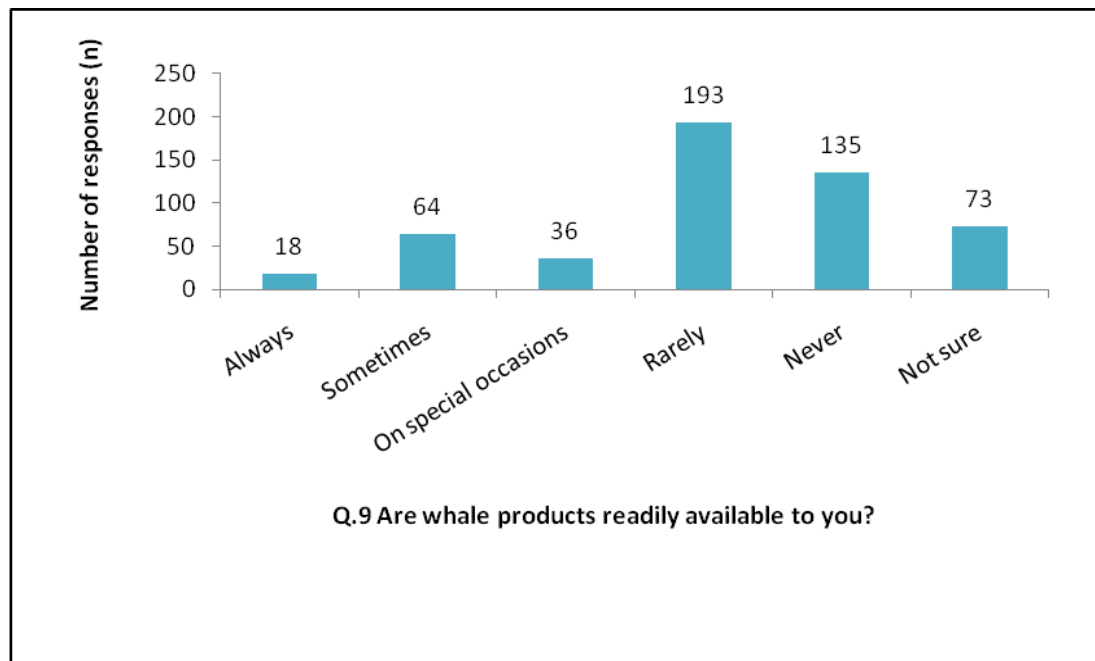
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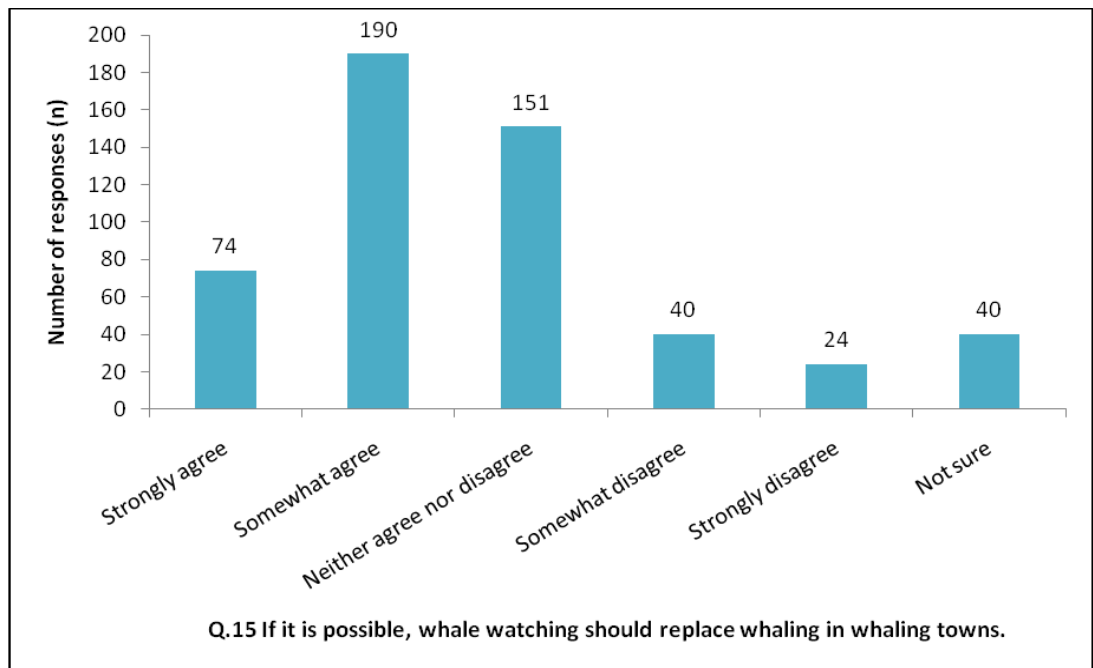
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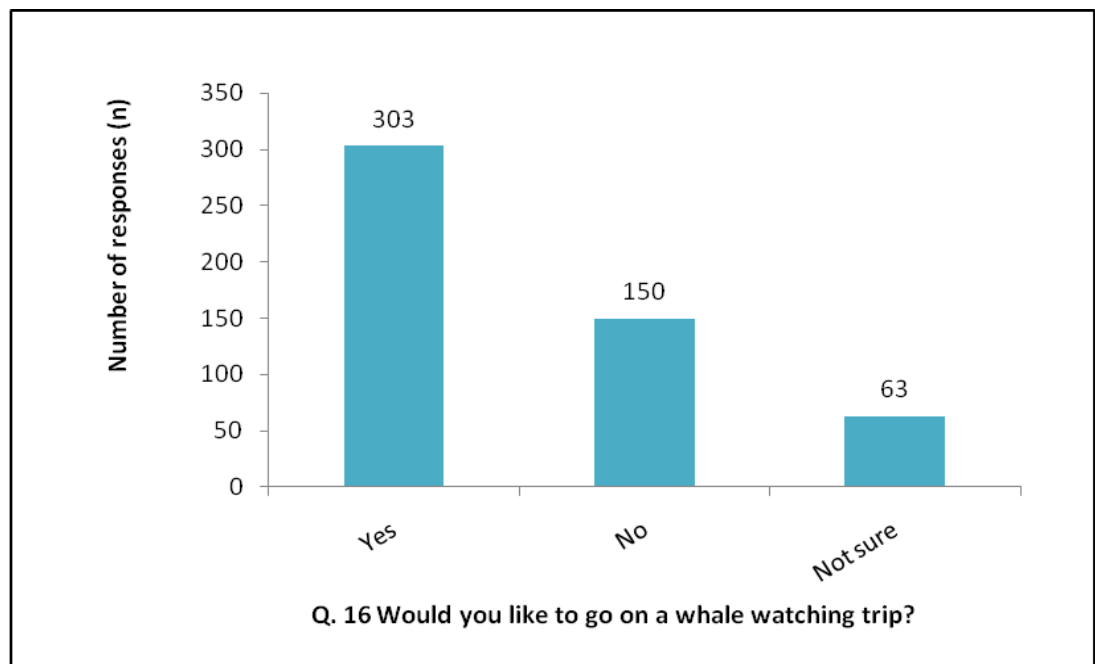
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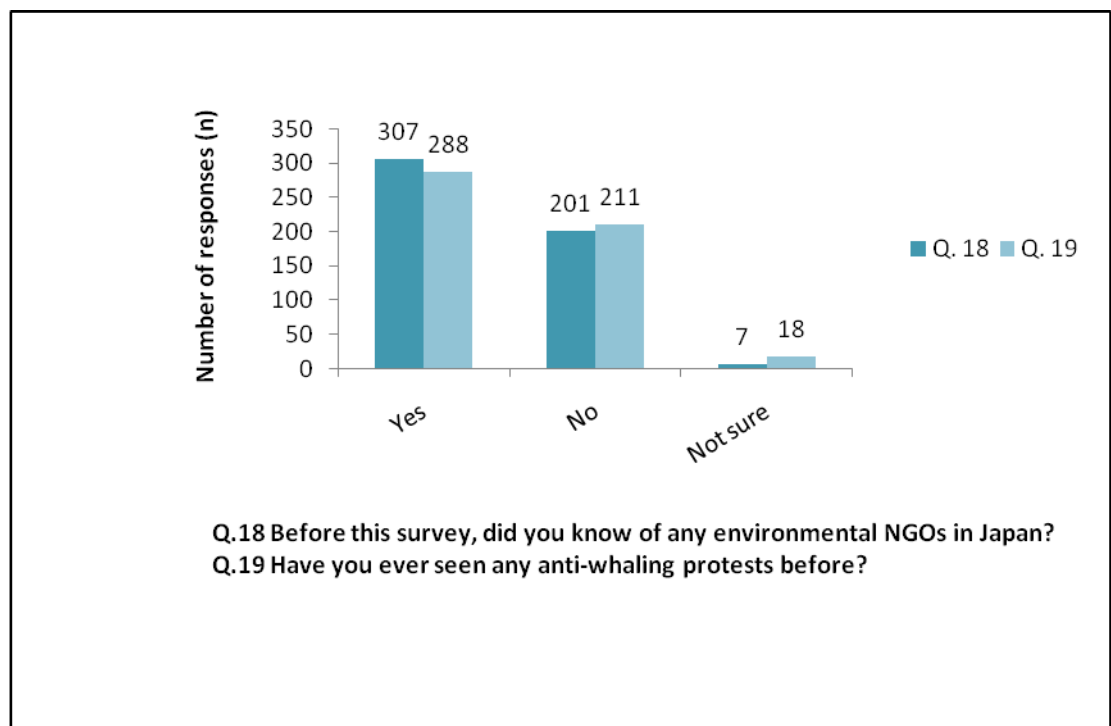
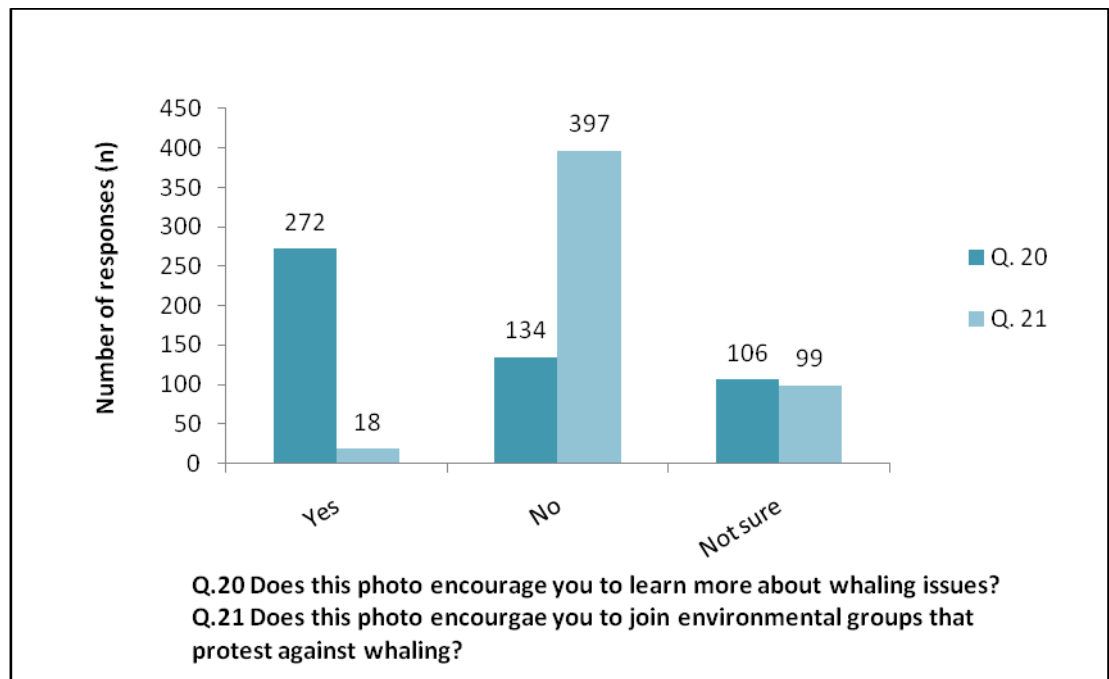
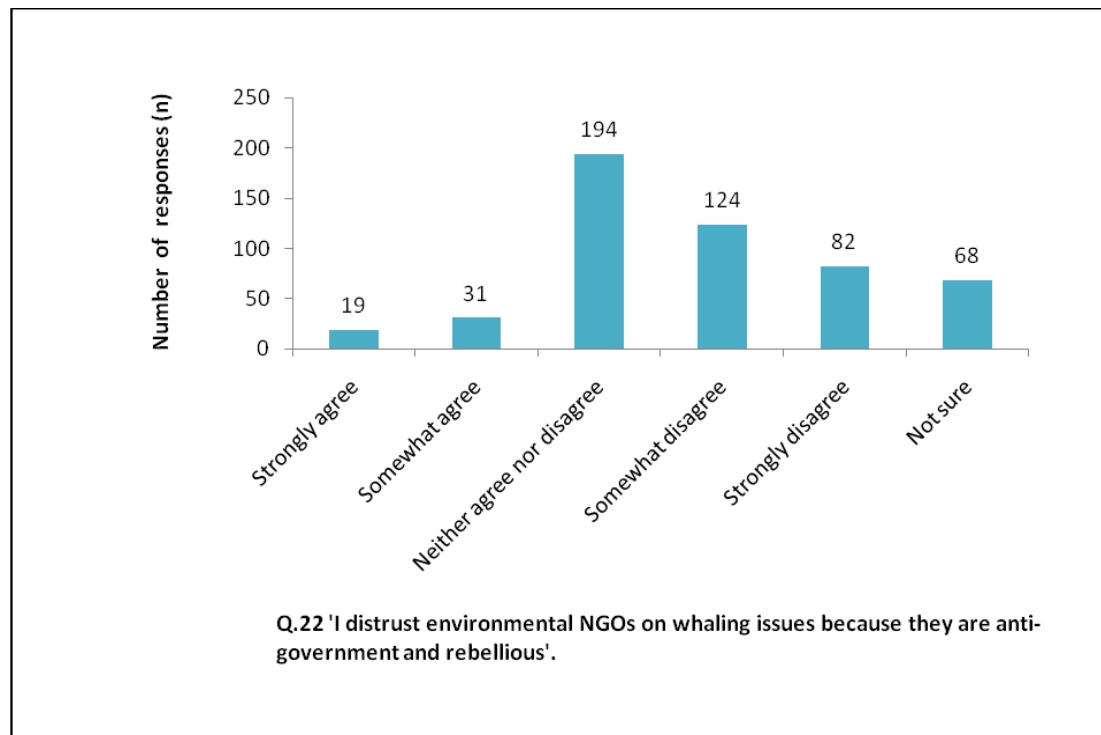


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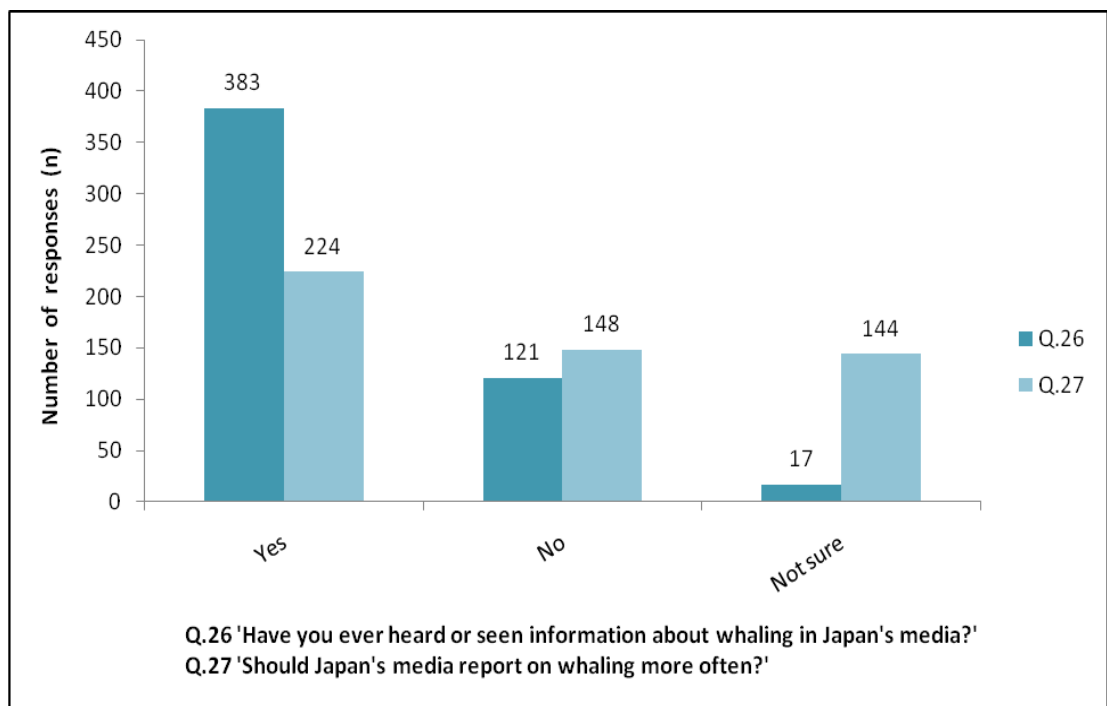


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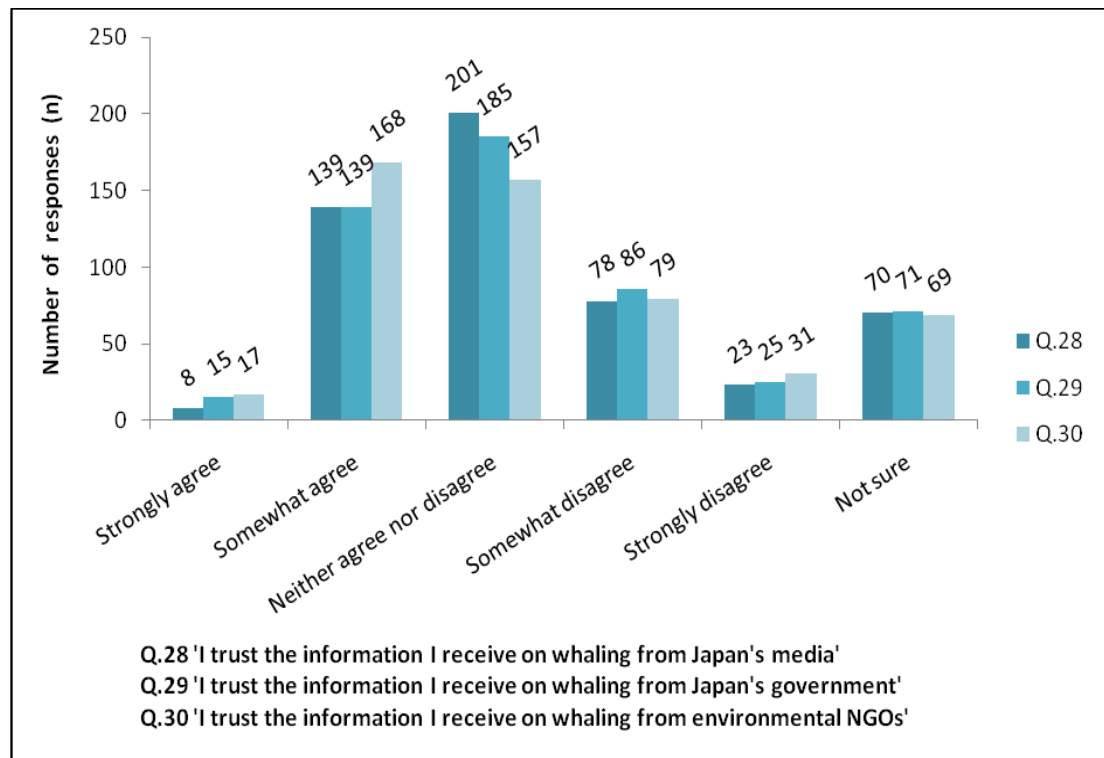
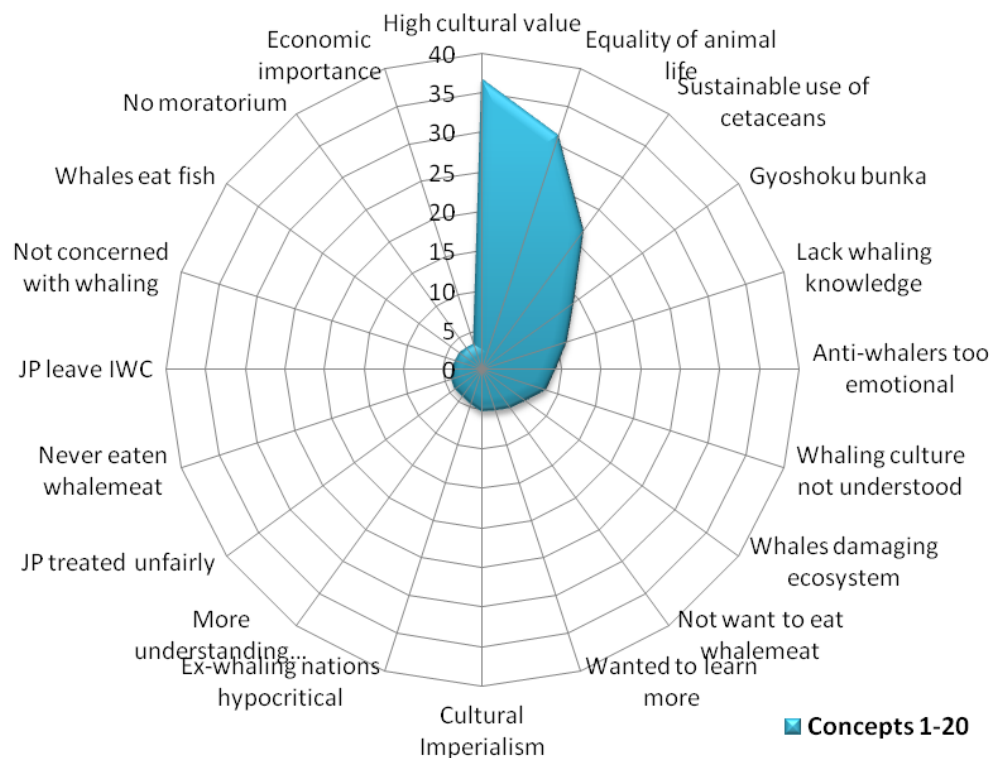
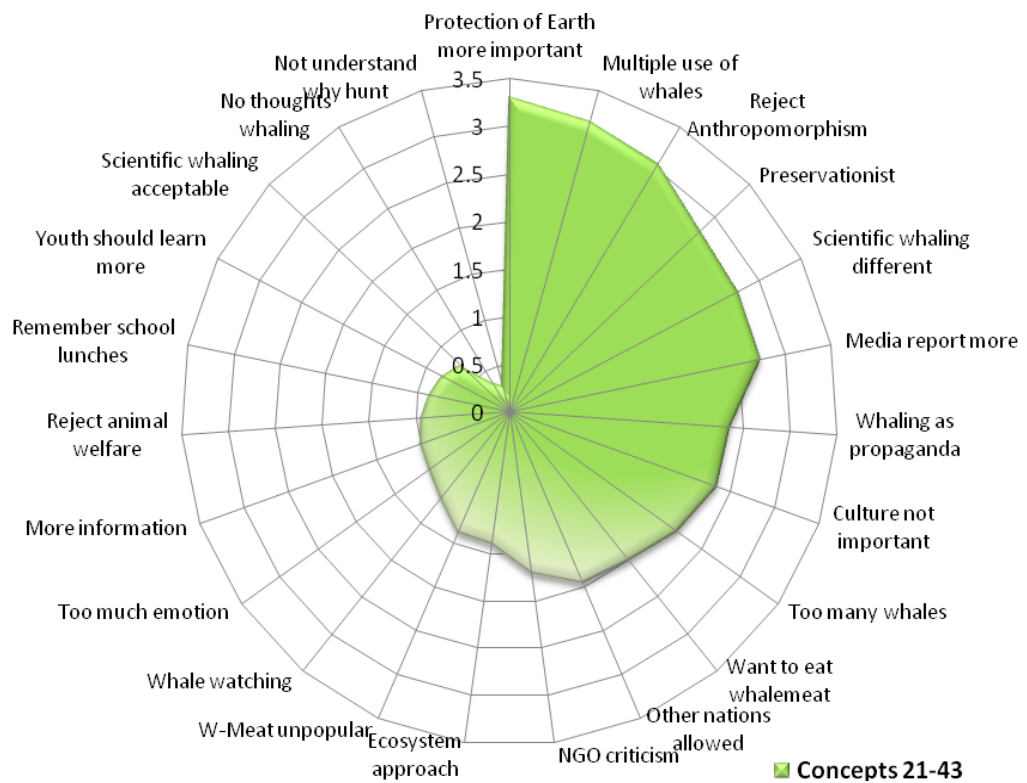


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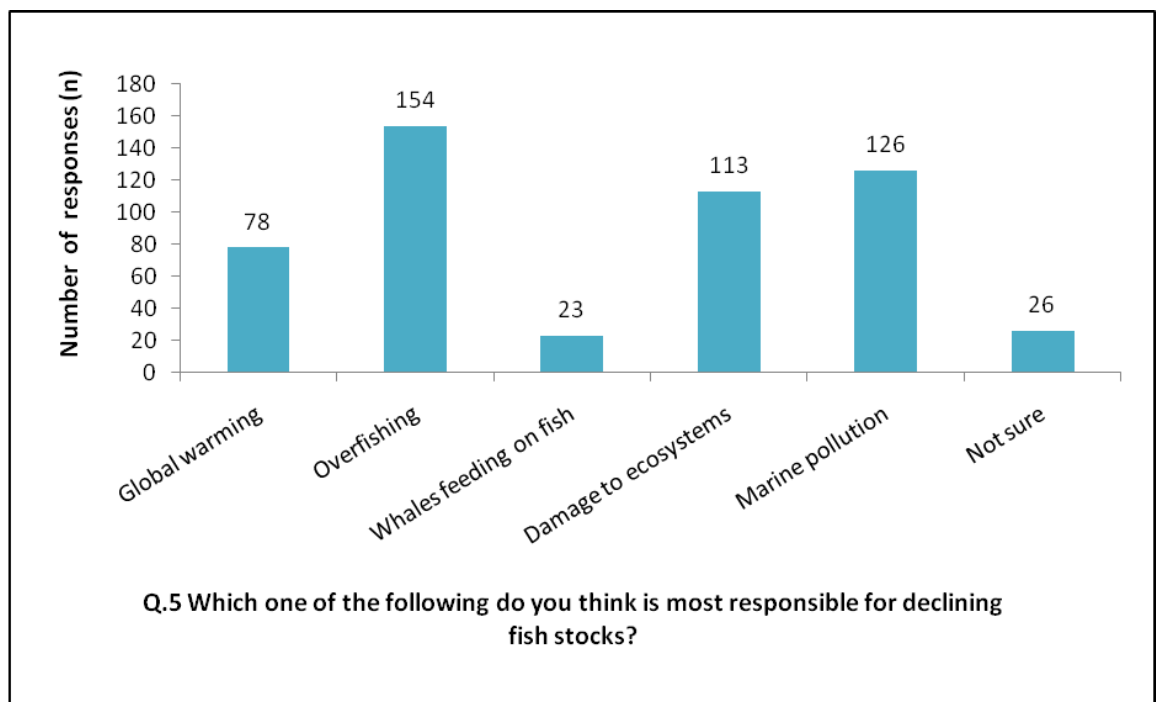
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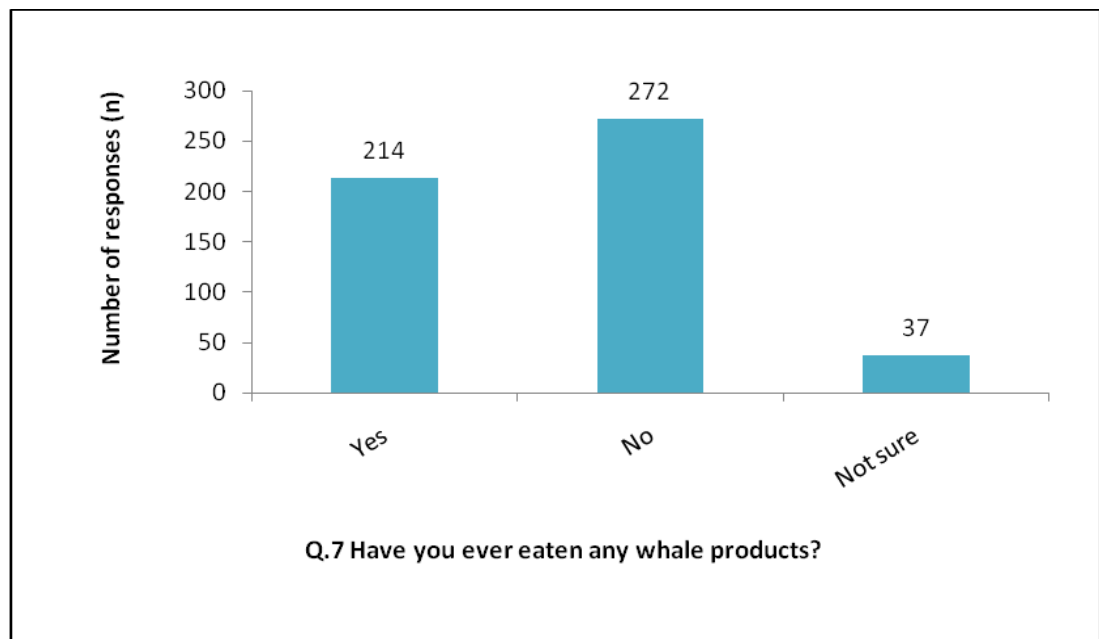
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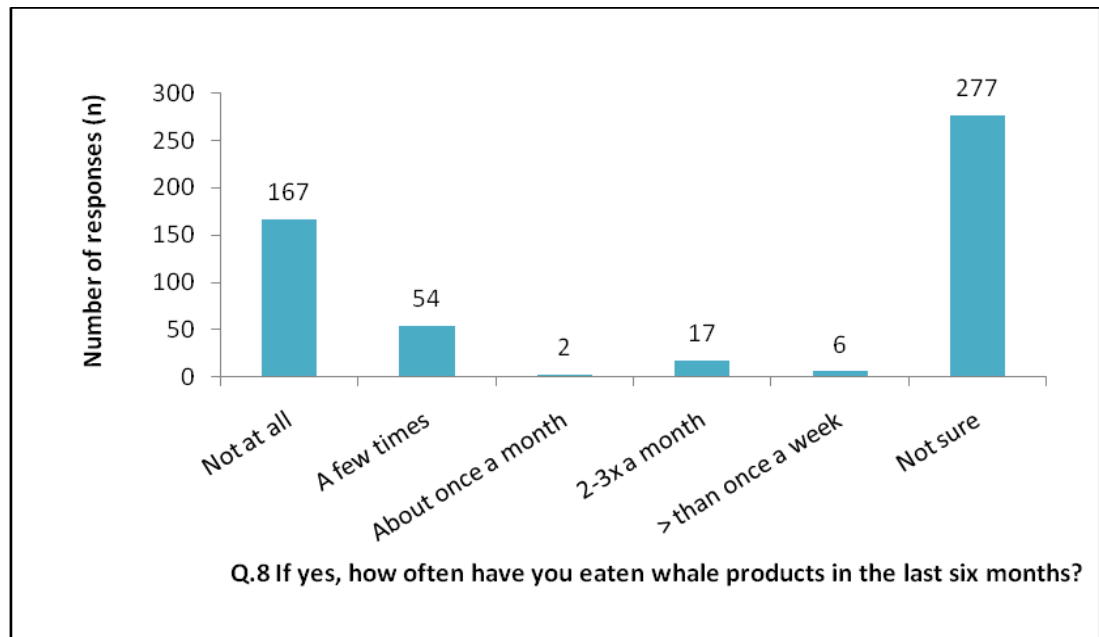
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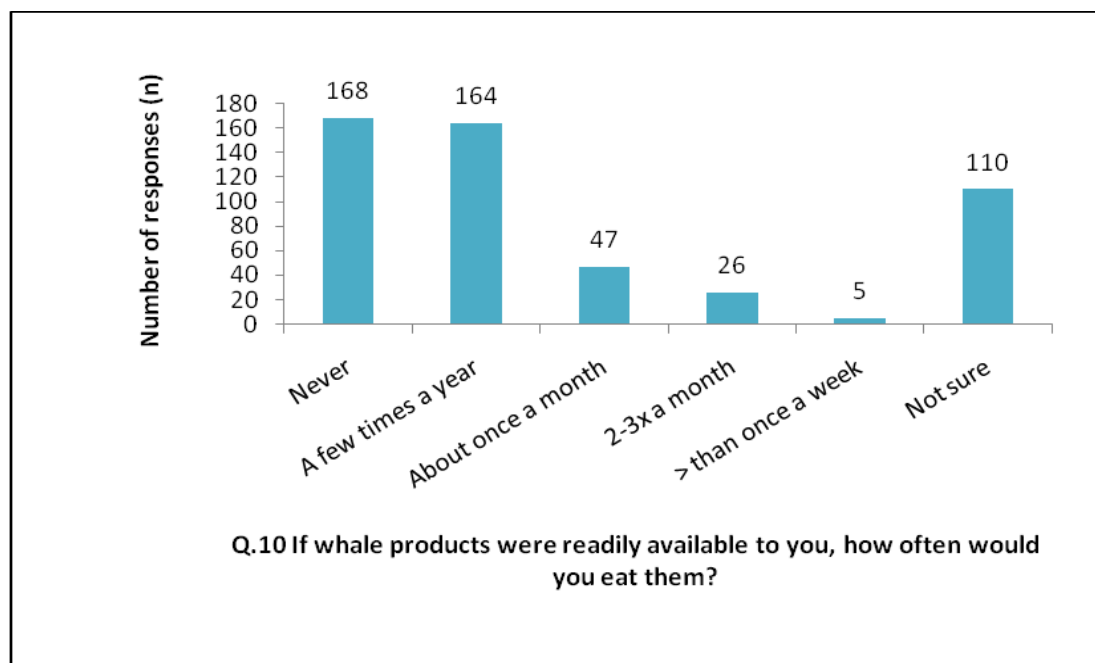
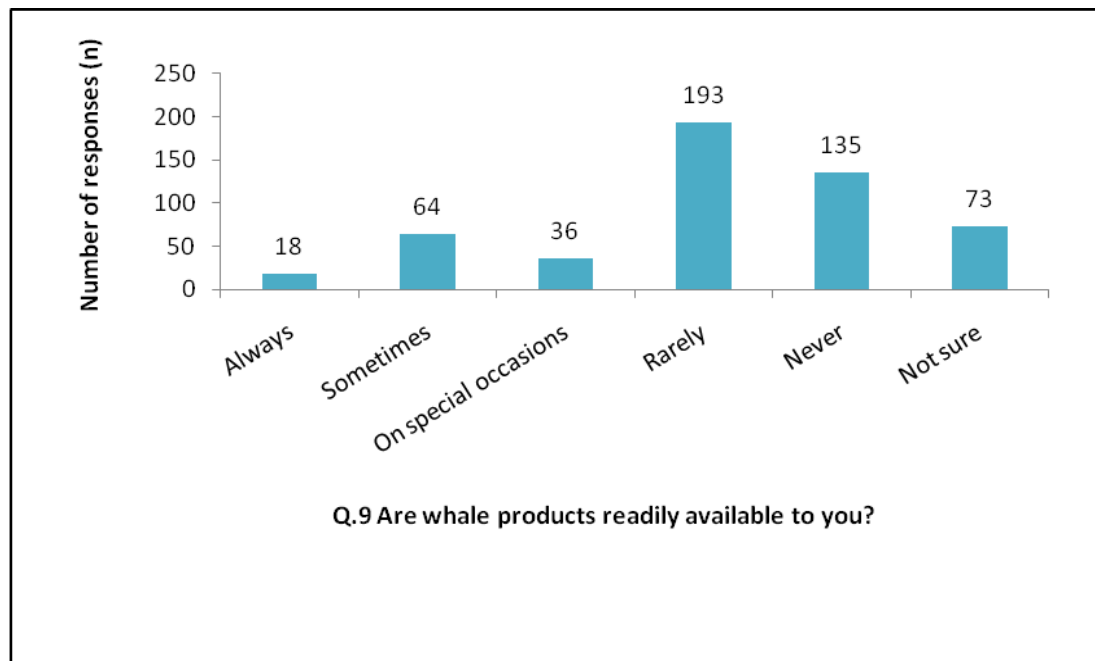
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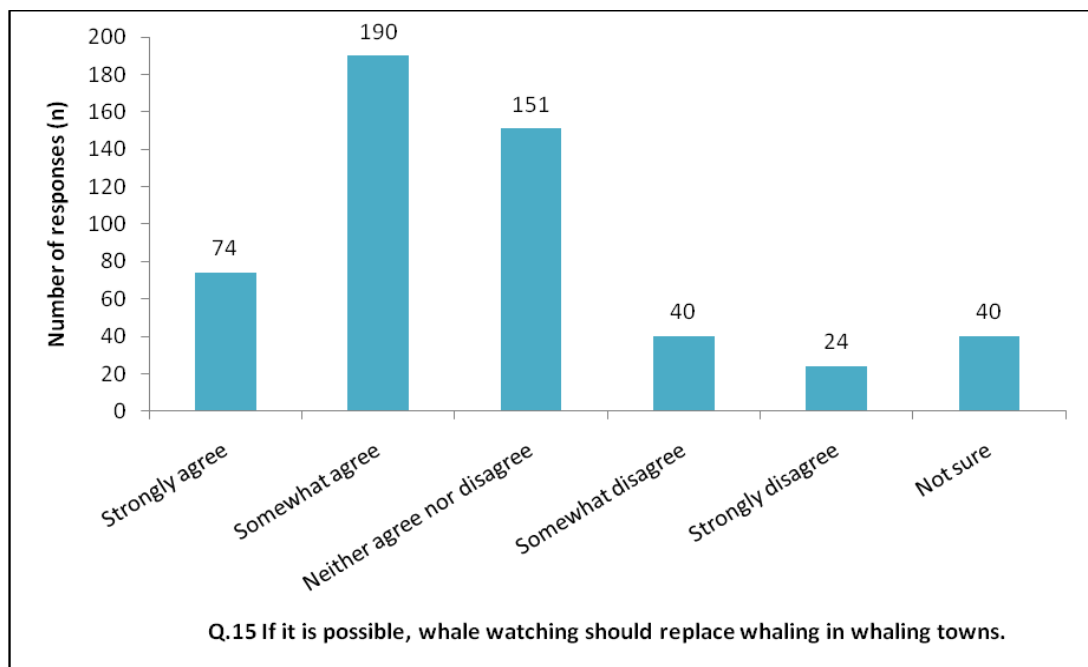
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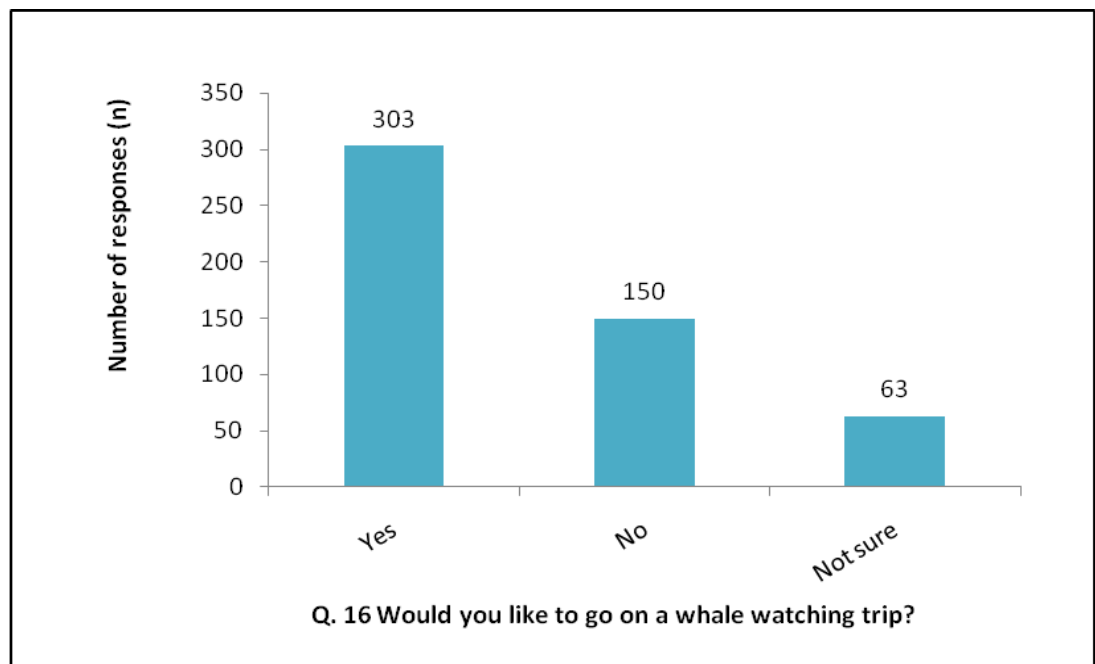
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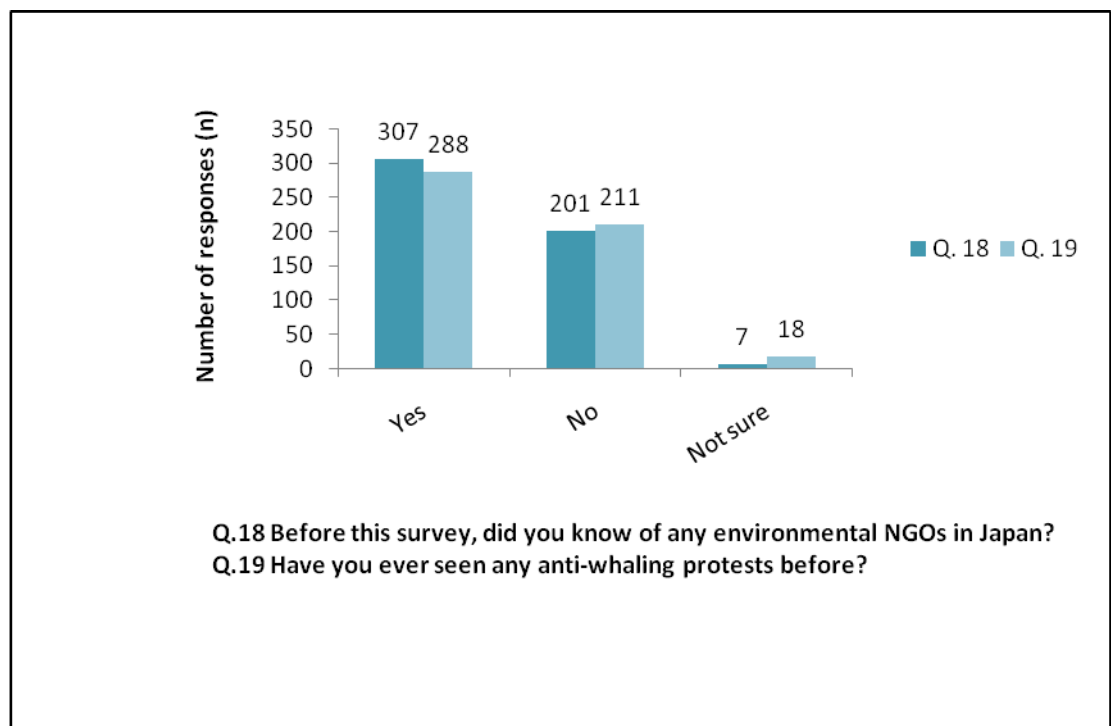
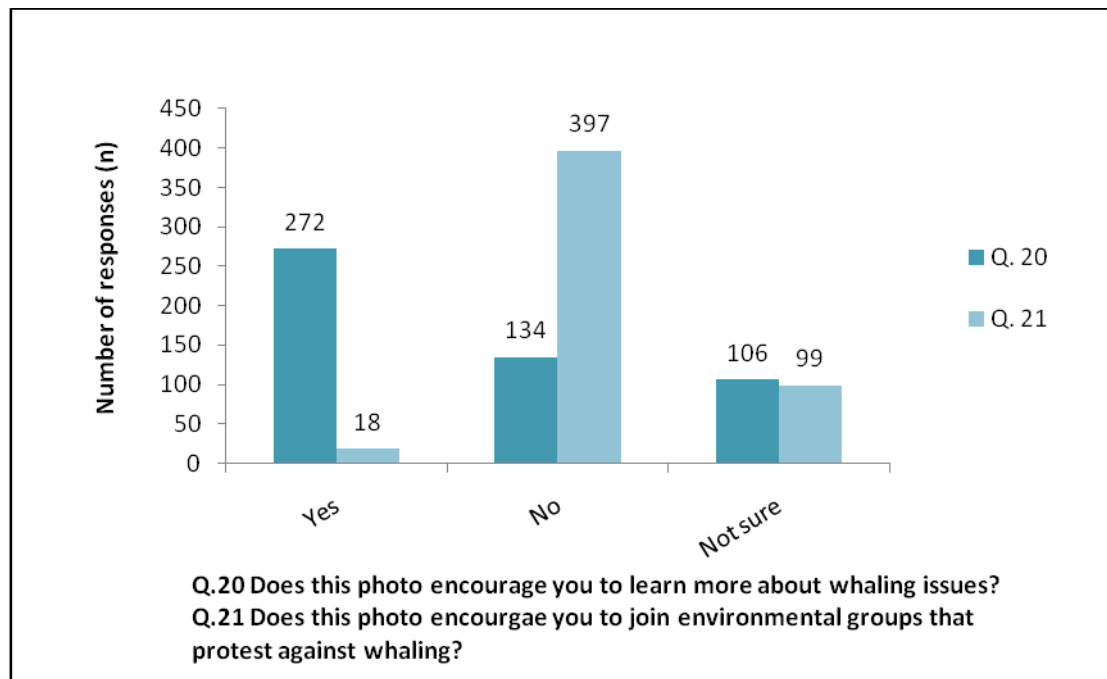
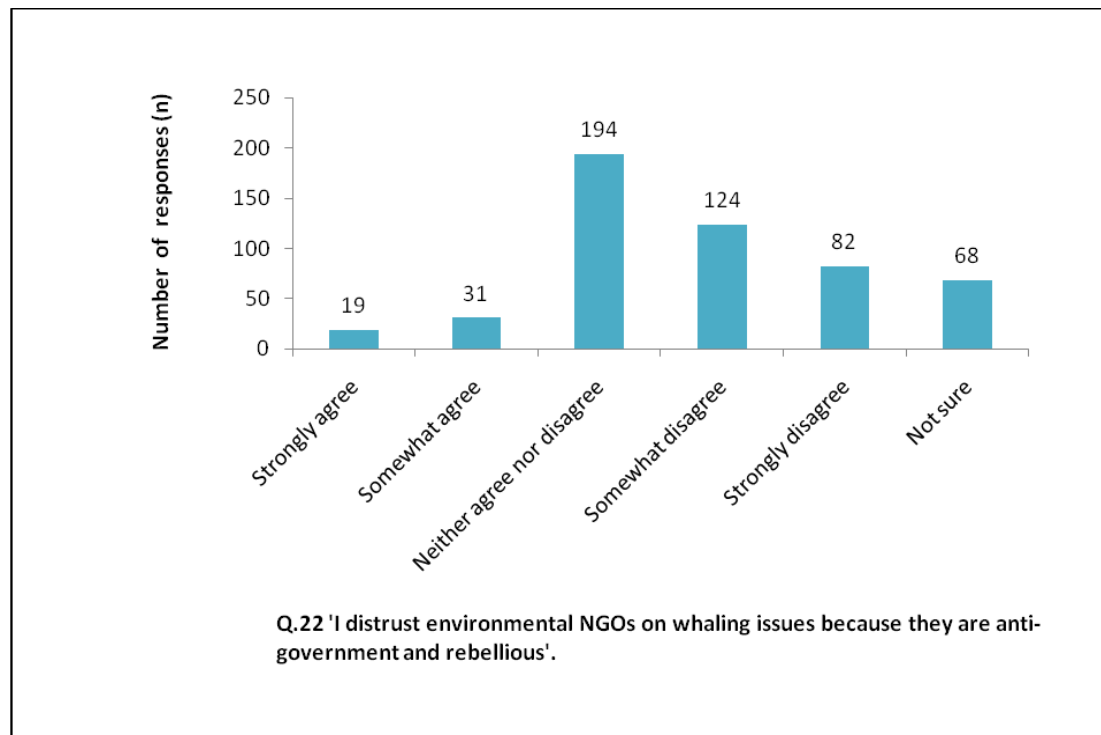


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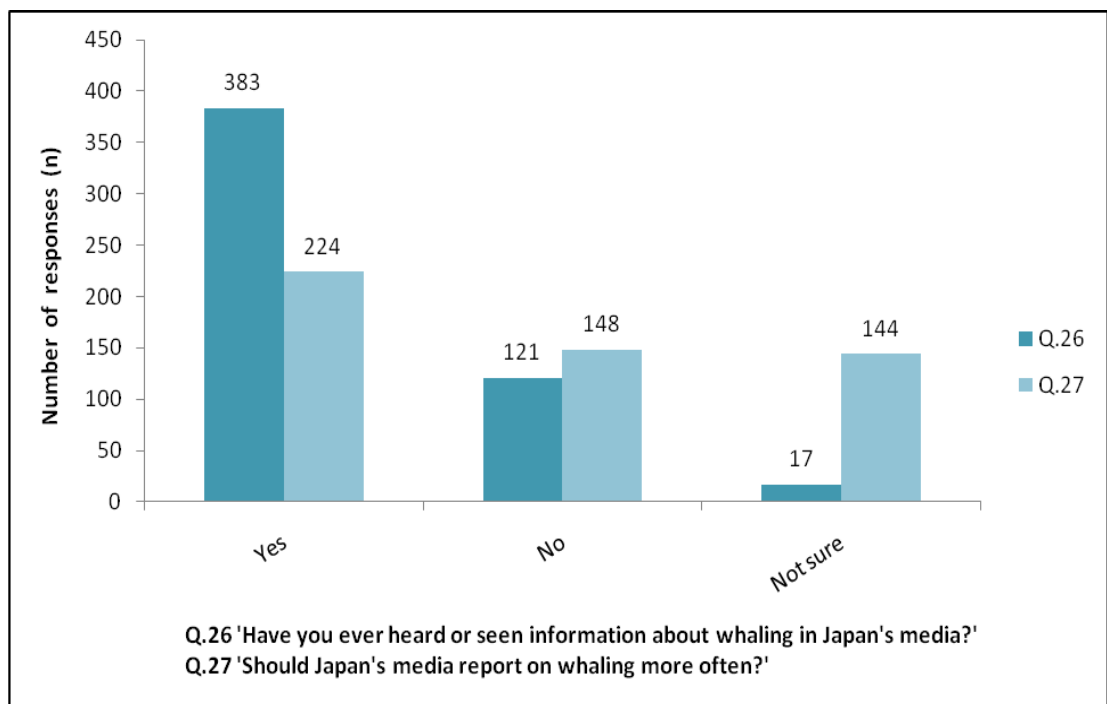


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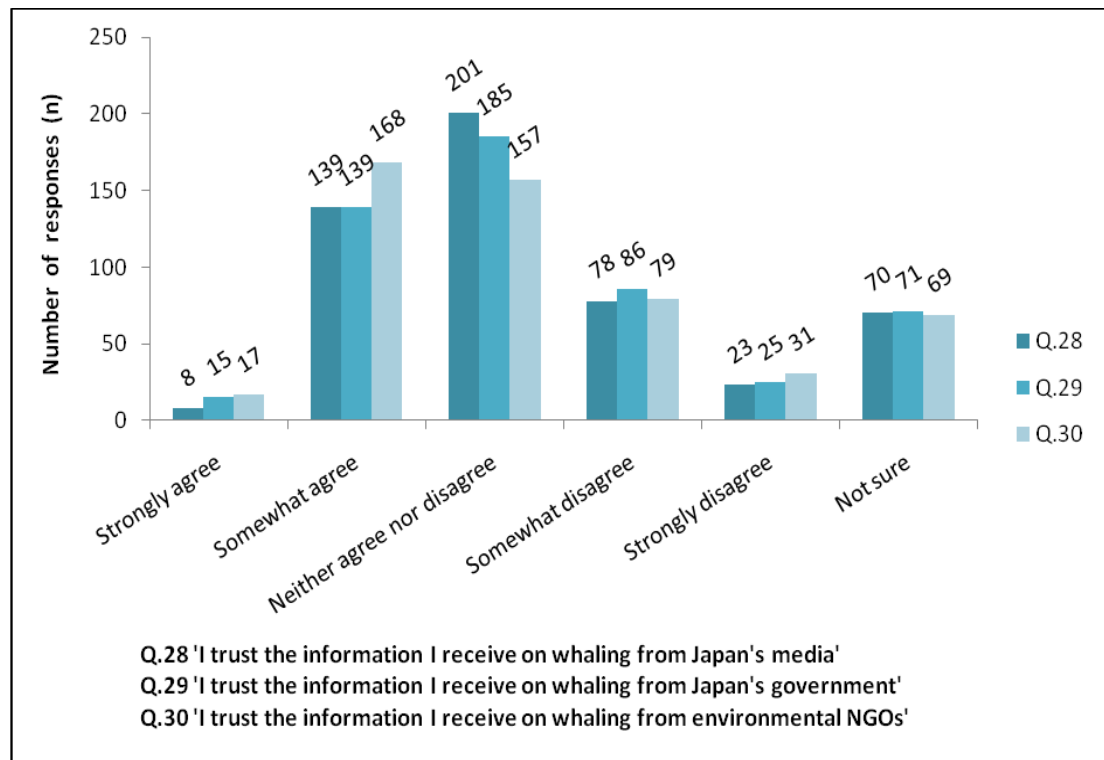
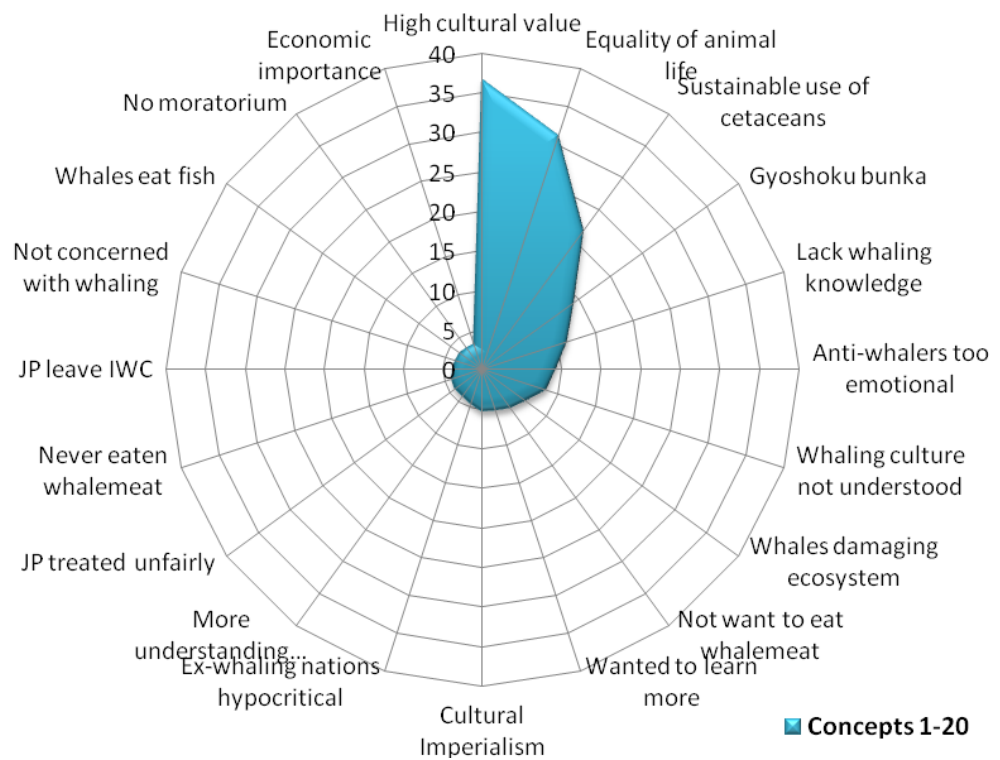
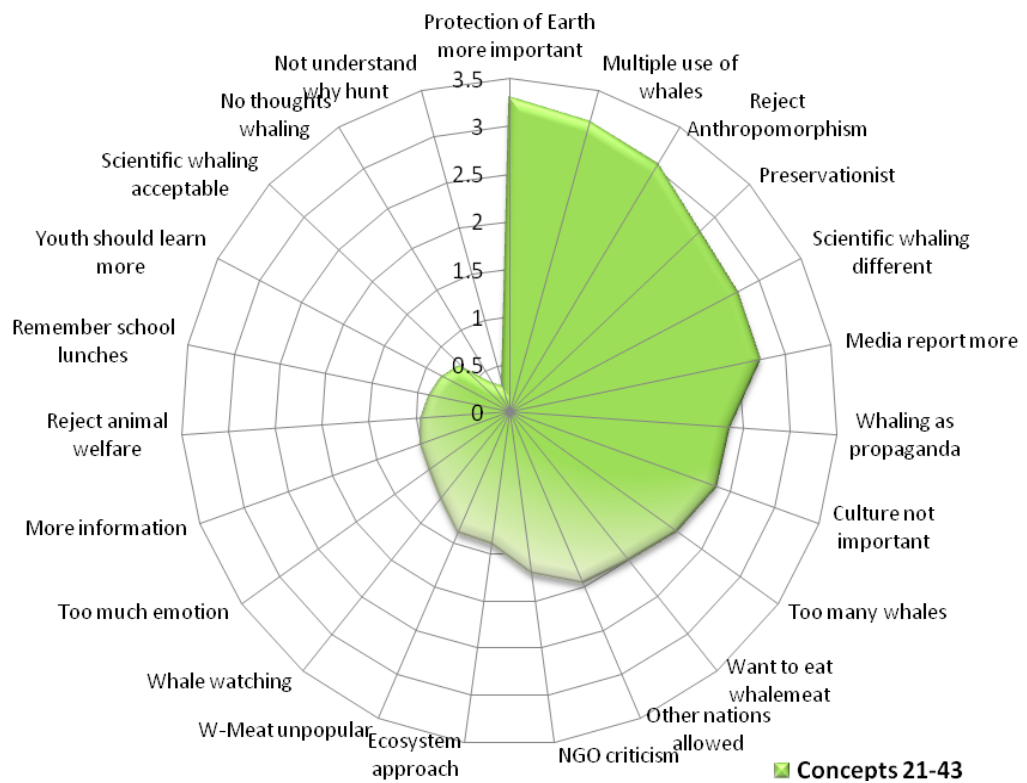


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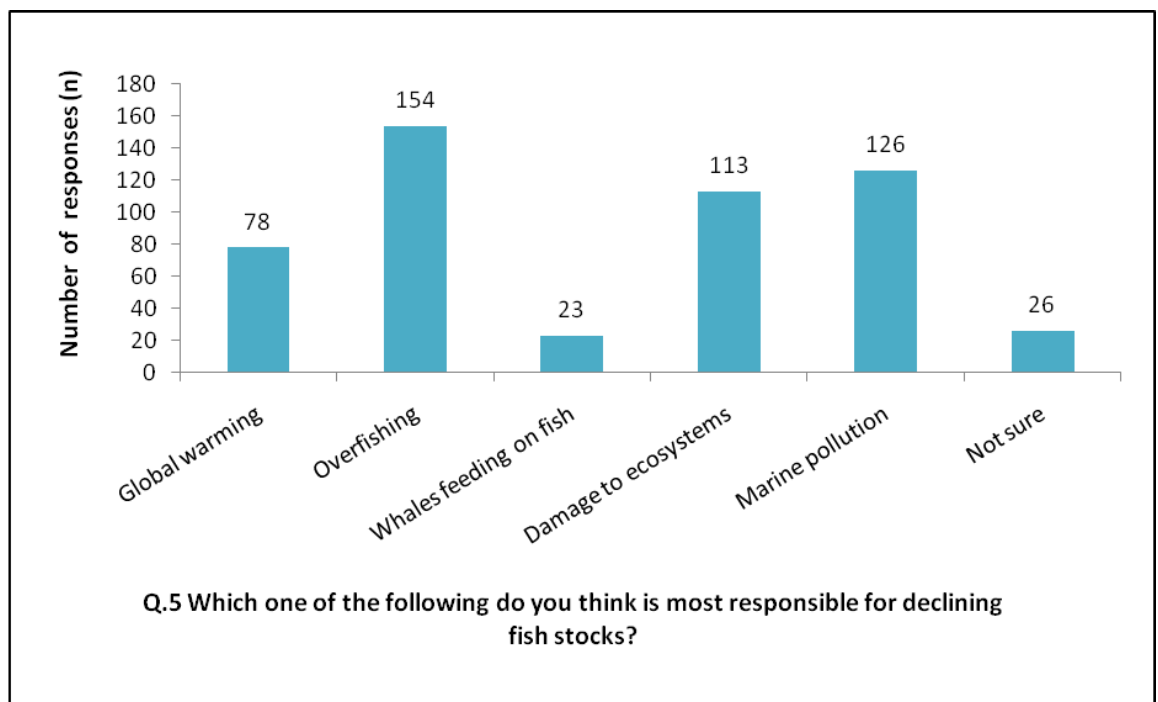
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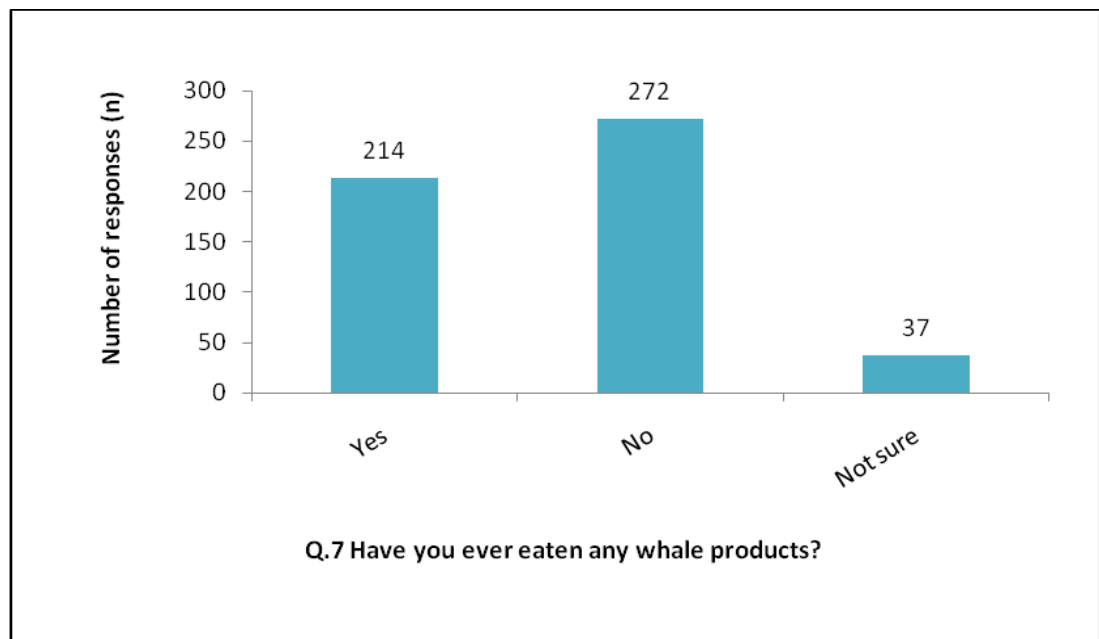
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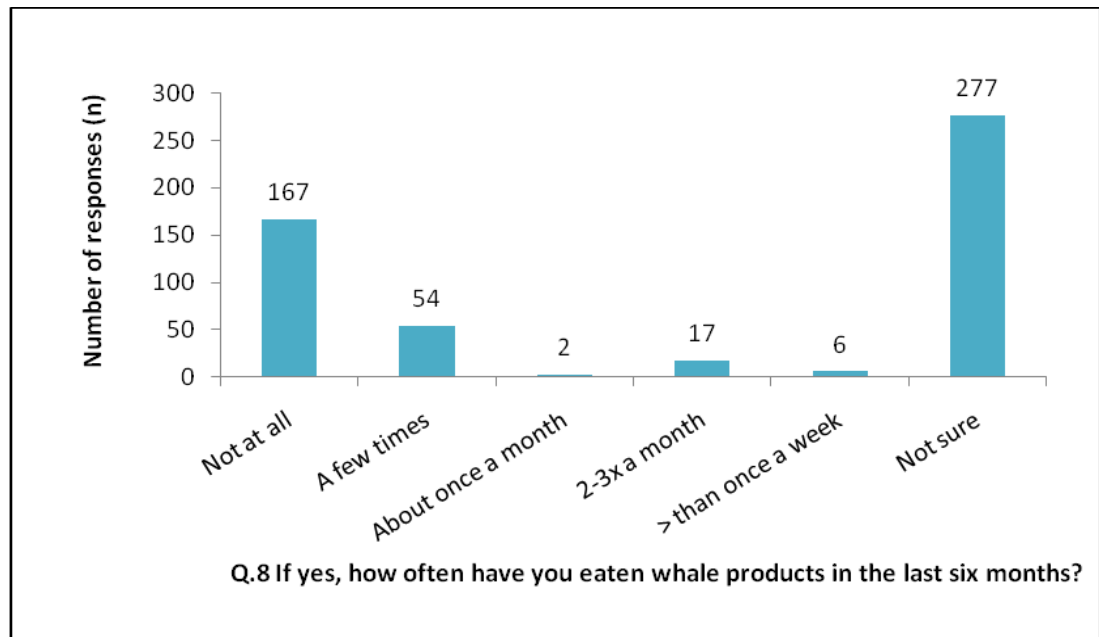
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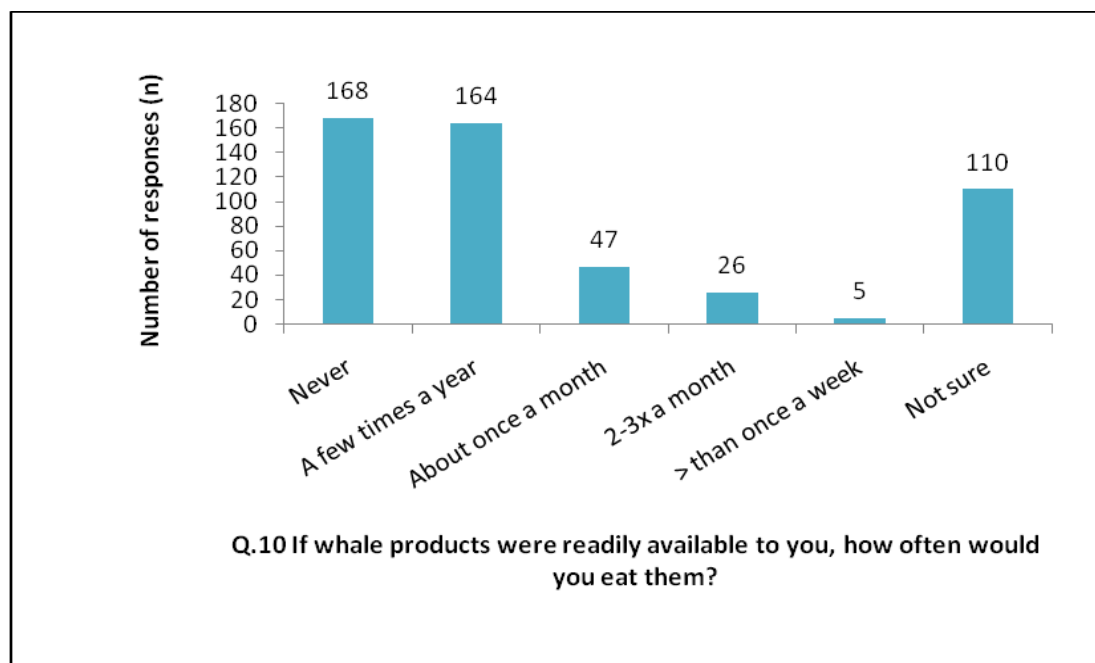
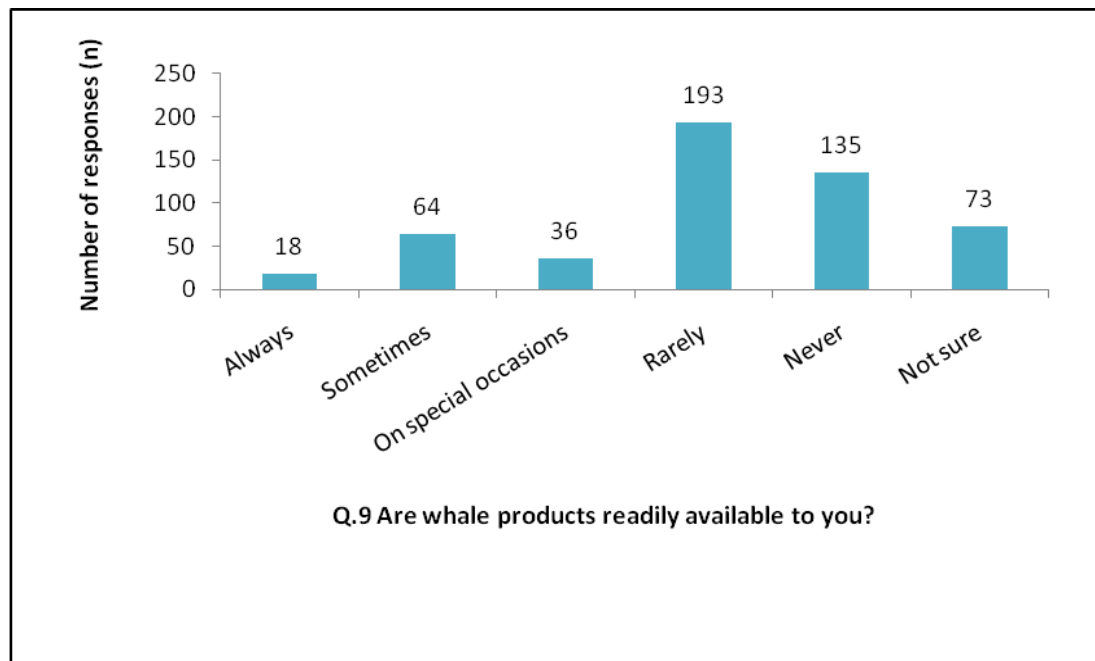
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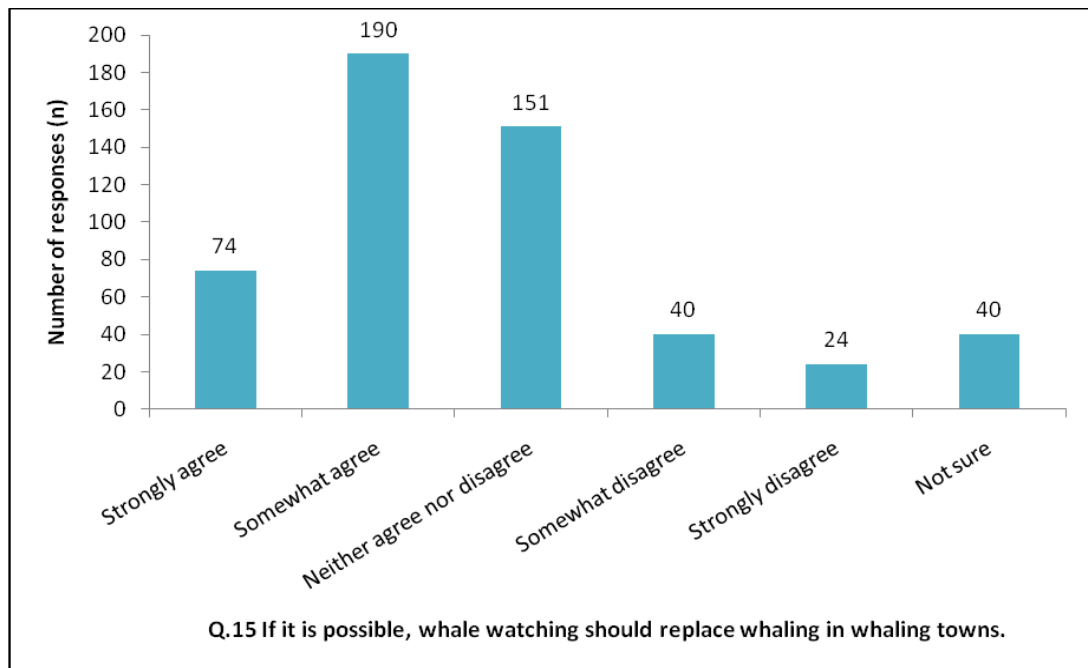
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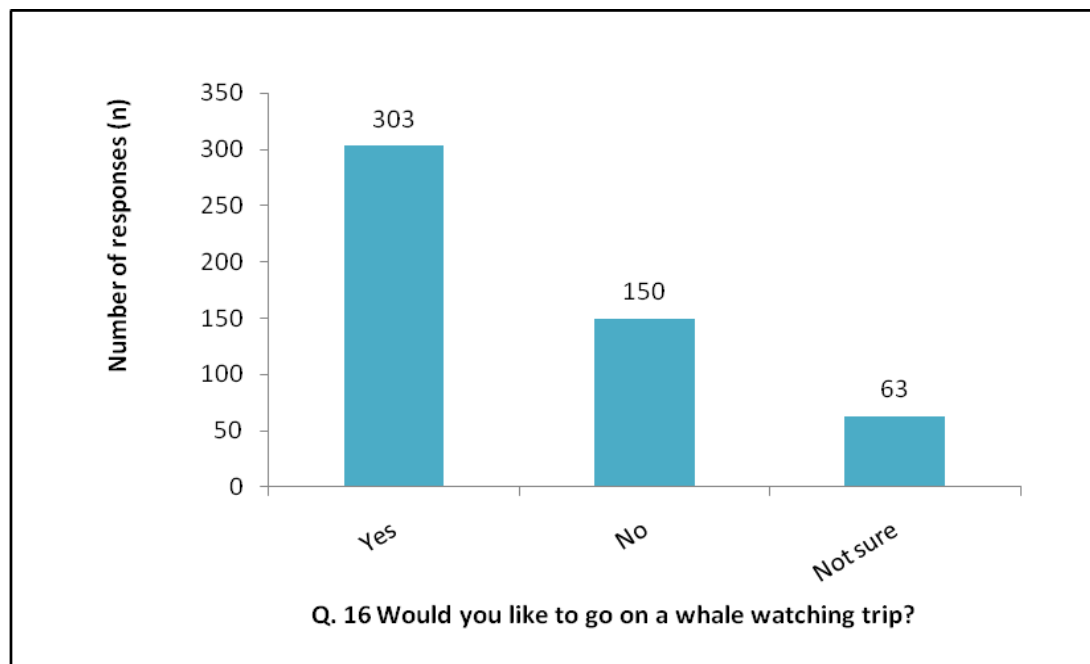
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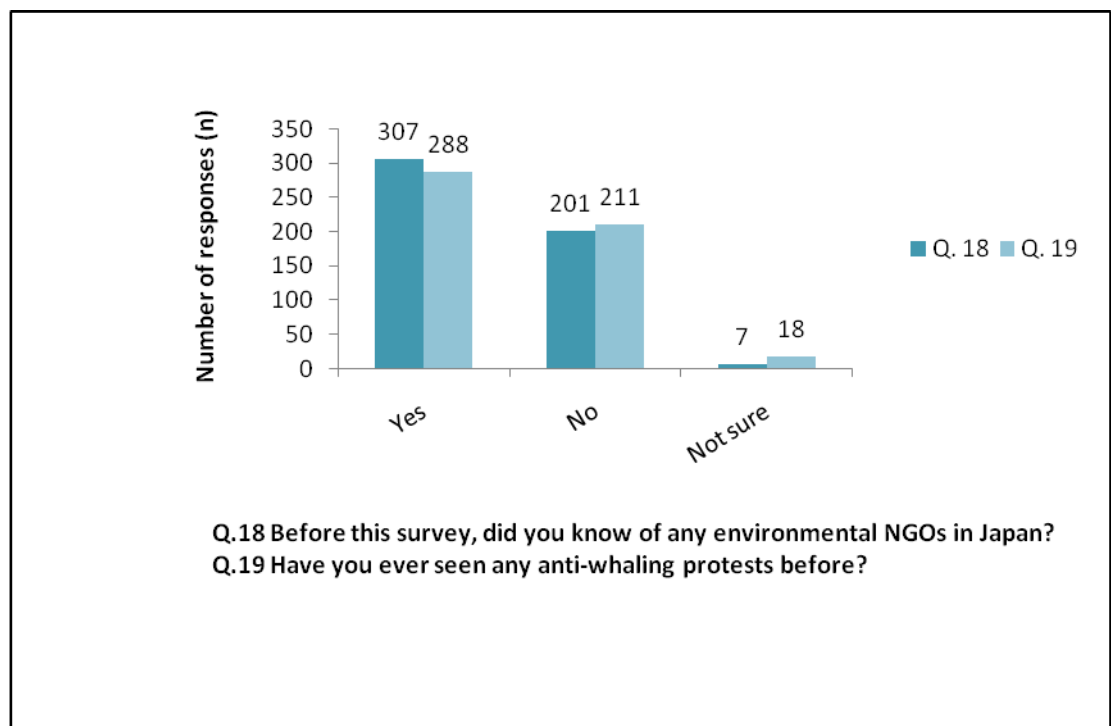
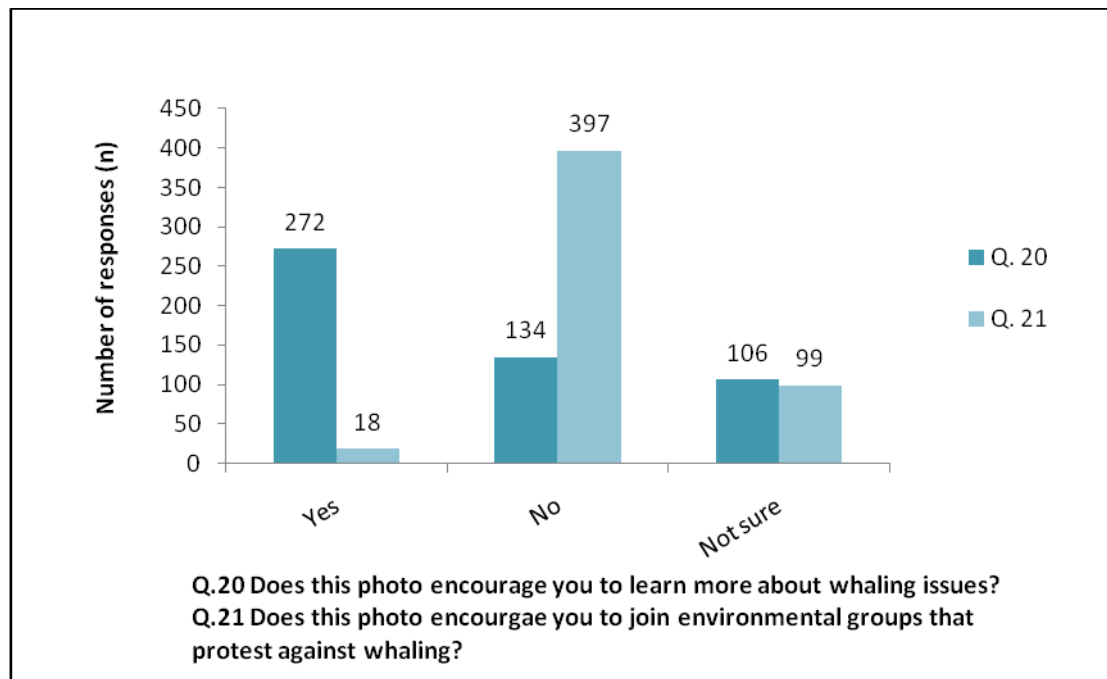
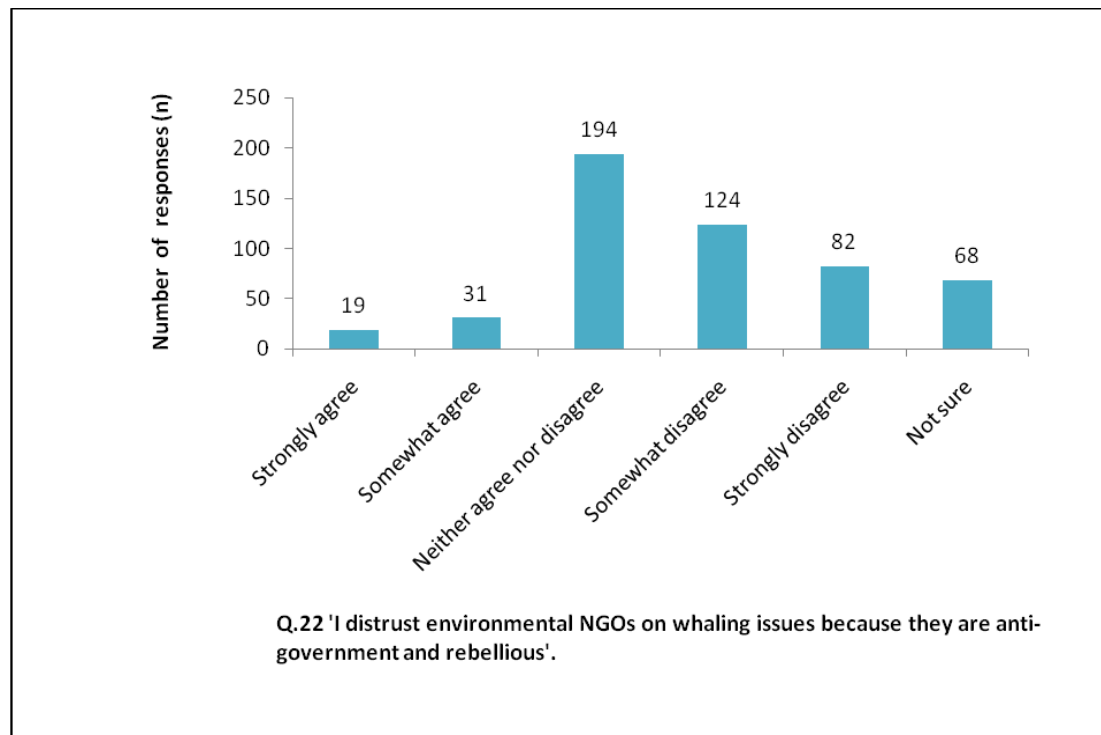


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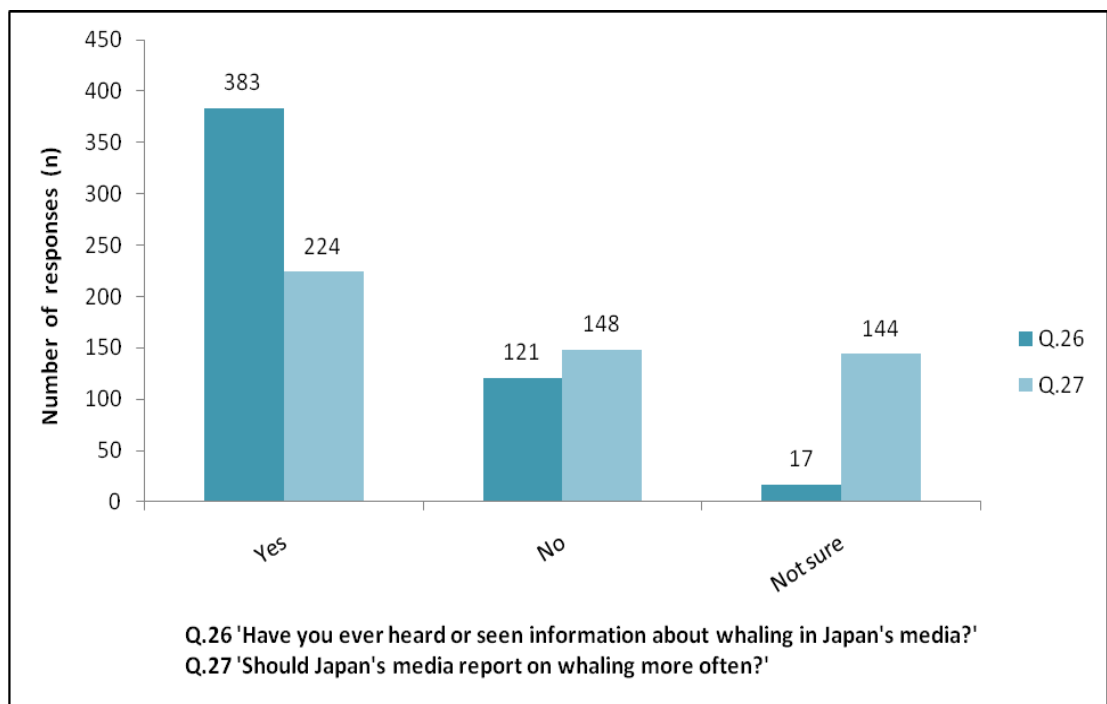


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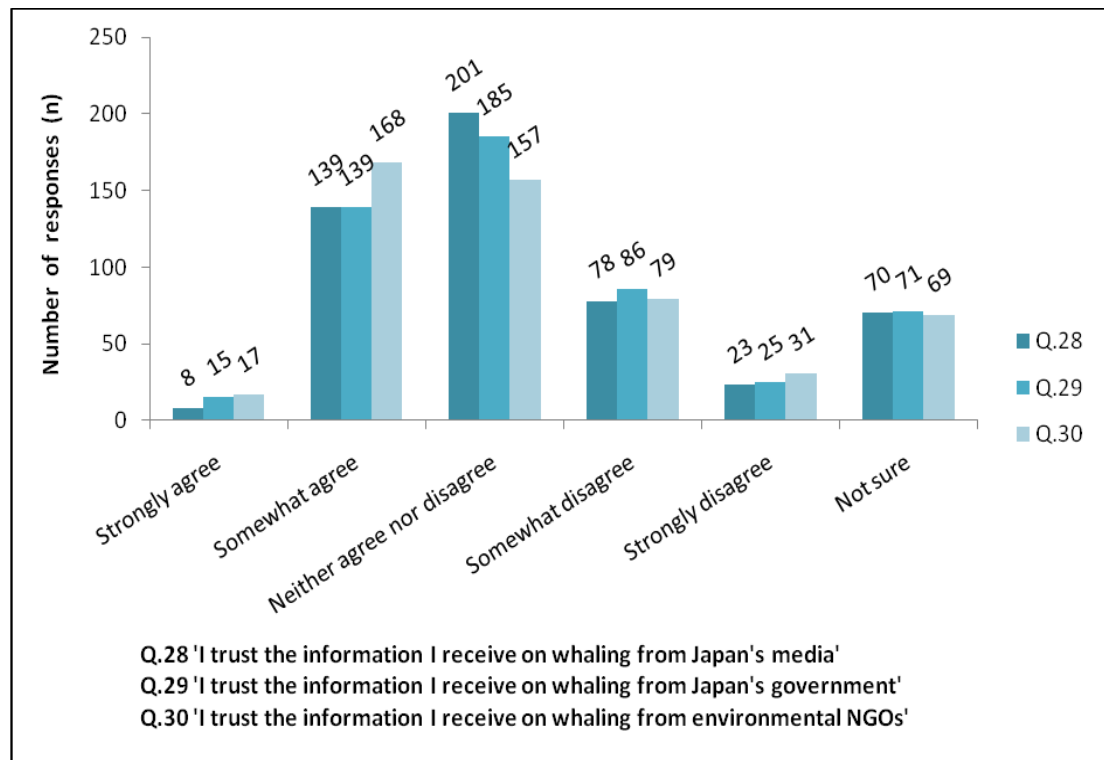
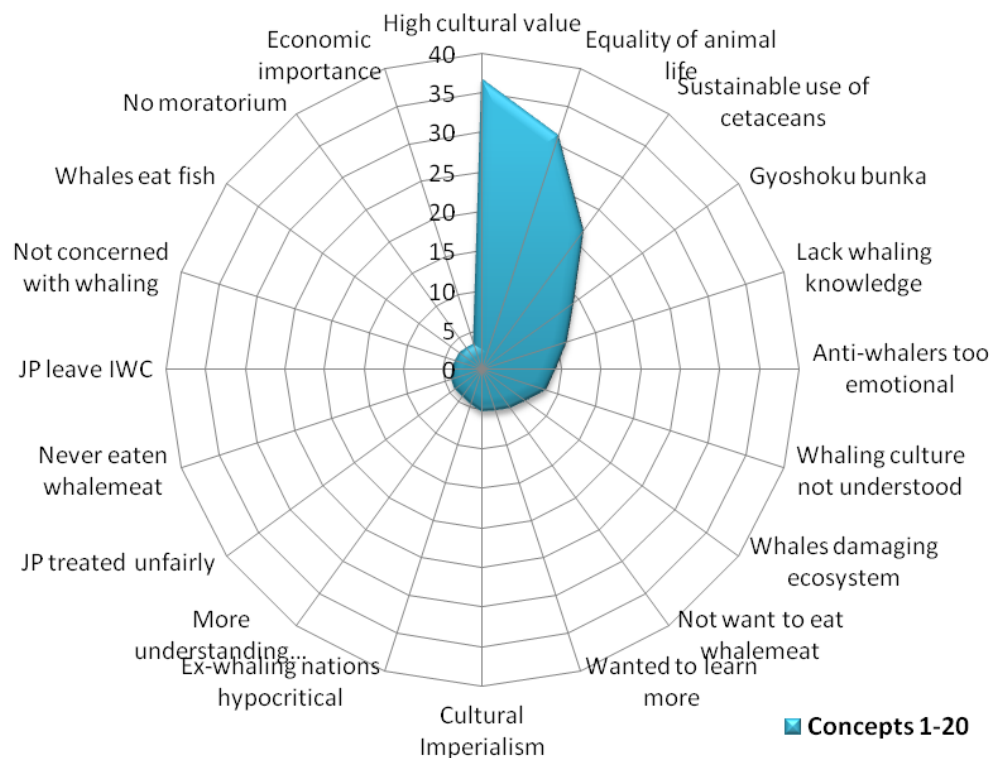


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