

Out of the Nuclear: Out of France

Scale shift in the French anti-nuclear movement “Sortir du Nucléaire”

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Abstract

The French anti-nuclear movement finds itself in a difficult position. With a government that is known to be one of the most pro-nuclear governments in the world and a debate on nuclear energy that is greatly avoided by politicians from both right and left, anti-nuclear activists have to work hard to reach their goals. Meanwhile, Europeanization seems to offer social movements a new stage for activities. Social movements that are not successful ‘at home’ can attempt to bypass the national level by influencing the sub-national organization that is the European Union. Such a tactic is also referred to as the boomerang effect. This method requires an open political opportunity structure at the EU level, to offer receptivity to social movements’ claims. The political opportunity structure of the EU regarding nuclear energy, however, is determined as closed and thus gives no space for anti-nuclear movements. A study of the French anti-nuclear movement Sortir du Nucléaire offers insight in the adaptation of a movement to a combined closed opportunity structure from both the national government, France, and the sub-national government, the European Union. Using Tarrow’s theory of processes enhancing transnationalism in social movements, it shall be attempted to determine whether the French anti-nuclear movement has experienced the process of scale shift, which would indicate a transition towards a more transnational focus. A qualitative research of the yearly reports of Sortir du Nucléaire will show that the movement has indeed shifted its attention for a great deal across the border and put much effort into creating new foreign contacts. Although Europeanization might indicate a shift towards EU-partners, a more global focus is also very much present.

Introduction

The change from a feudal state system to a capitalist system, also referred to as state-building, enabled the rise of collective action as a form of mass mobilization and social transformation (Buechler 2000: 4-5; Tarrow 1998: 58-59). The new political dimension that was created by the development of collective action opened up a whole new field of study, which would not be exploited to its fullest until the rise of so-called New Social Movements (NSMs) in the late 1960s and 1970s.

The anti-nuclear movement grew out of the environmental movement as a new kind of social movement. It has pleaded for the abolishment of nuclear energy generation across the world. Because of the economical benefits of nuclear energy for governments, social movements that oppose this technology have encountered many difficulties fighting for their cause. Especially in countries where government made the decision to move towards nuclear energy as being the country's primal source of energy, such as in France. Next to acceptance of the problem, a country's openness and receptiveness, also called political opportunity structure (POS), to a movement's claims can also make a large difference in the effects a social movement can have in its own country.

The development of a supra-national power, the European Union, might give social movements which get little or no responsiveness from their own government through national actions a new way to influence their governments through a top-down mechanism. Europeanization, as it is called, might cause social movements to move up the ladder and focus on a more international level in order to gain results. However, the same applies in this case as in the case of national governments: openness and responsiveness to a movement's claims are needed in order for the movement to achieve the desirable results. If those are not present, this might incite a movement to change tactic or move up the ladder even further.

Tarrow (2005) offers five processes that promote the evolution of a national social movement towards transnationalism. One of these processes is scale shift: the dispersion of actions outside of the original location, the spreading of the movement's cause in order to gain a broader common identity and the accumulation of external

support. In this research, the aim will be to discover whether the French anti-nuclear movement called “Sortir du Nucléaire” has been subjected to this process. By establishing the presence or absence of such a process and the way it has been achieved might shed more clarity upon the adaptation of the movement’s activities to the non-responsiveness of its national government and a possibility of using the EU to bypass the own government. This could give important information that could also be predictive for other social movements in similar circumstances. Although research has previously been done on social movements which encounter closed POS on the national level, however a combination of national and supra-national POS has not yet been attempted.

The research question that shall form the basis of this research is as follows: Has the French anti-nuclear movement called Sortir du Nucléaire experienced scale shift in the previous ten years towards the EU or another level, and if so, was the scale shift directed towards the EU?

For this research, as specific case has been selected for study. The social movement Sortir du Nucléaire is an anti-nuclear movement which was established in 1997 and has been committed to promoting the abolishment of nuclear energy use and generation within France. This case is particularly interesting because the movement has experienced resistance from the French government since it was established, thereby fitting the profile of the social movement subject of this research.

This research will aim to determine whether and how the movement had adapted its activities over the past few years, and whether there has been a shift of focus from local and national levels to european and global levels. By testing Tarrow’s (2005) theory on scale shift, I shall determine whether or not the movement has made steps towards transnationalism.

The division of the activities of SdN shall happen following to a self-made design, which categorizes the movement’s activities into four distinct groups: local, national, European and global. By using this categorization, it shall not only be possible to determine whether the movement has been increasingly active abroad, but also to differentiate between activities in the EU and foreign activities outside of the EU.

This differentiation can be an indicative to whether the movement recognizes the EU as a new and important playing field or not.

Theoretical framework

The definition most common to denote social movements is ‘networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in political or social conflicts, on the basis of shared collective identities’ (Diani 1992: 1). According to Diani, there are many approaches to the study of social movements and many definitions exist (Turner & Killian 1987; McCarthy & Zald 1977; Tilly 1984; Melucci 1989). In his attempt to combine the definitions, he identifies three basic components recurrent in each definition: a plurality of actors brought together by a network of relations; conflictual issues and a collective identity (Diani 1992: 17).

Post-materialism enabled a reversal of the main conflictual issues addressed by social movements, and an increase of new types of political representation (Diani 1992: 4). Whereas traditional social movements had focused mainly on topics such as labor, the 1960s gave rise to social movements which focused on issues such as the environment and women’s rights (Della Porta & Diani 2006: 6). These kind of social movements, focusing on post-materialistic values, are often referred to as ‘New Social Movements’ (NSMs). Research on social movements boosted shortly after the rise of NSMs and several approaches to the study were developed (Della Porta & Diani 2006). Anti-nuclear movements are an example of a new social movement, as it focuses on the environmental impact of the use and development of nuclear technology, energy and weapons, and aims at abolishing nuclear use to preserve the environment and the public health.

An approach towards social movements is the ‘political process approach’. This approach creates a link between the political opportunities of a country and the presence and effects of social movements in a political system (Xie & Van Der Heijden 2010: 52). The theory, referred to as Political Opportunity Structure (POS) was further developed by Tarrow to include three dimensions: the openness of formal political access (open/closed); the degree of stability of electoral alignments (stable/instable) and the availability of potential alliance partners (available/non-

available) (Tarrow 1983: 28). Kriesi describes these three dimensions as closely related, and points out that together they can provide a description of the chance of social movements to evolve in a political system and to have an effect on policy (Kriesi 1989: 195).

Kitschelt differentiates between two areas which can impact the POS of a political regime: the input structure and the output structure. According to him, most research only focuses on the input side of the POS, while neglecting the output structure which determines the capacity of a system to transform demands into policy (1986: 62-3). Four factors are recognized as the determinants for the openness of the political input structure: the number of political parties, factions and groups that articulate different demands; the capacity of legislatures to develop and manage policies autonomously from the executive; patterns of intermediation between interest groups and the executive; the existence of mechanisms that aggregate demands and enable effective policy coalitions to be build (Kitschelt 1986: 63).

Kitschelt recognizes three operational dimensions to determine the capacity of a political system to implement policies (political output structure), which he denotes as either strong or weak: centralization of the state apparatus; government control over market participants and finally the relative independence and authority of the judiciary. Although Kitschelt recognizes that the variables are rather continuous than discrete, for the purposes of his comparative research he roughly dichotomizes the capacity and political input variables (1986: 63-4).

In his determination of POS, Kitschelt defines France as having a closed political input structure because of its dominant executive branch over the weak legislature and the restricted access to the policy-making process for outside groups. Also, the centripetal tendency of the republic because of its party-system is seen as a reason for the closed input structure of the French political system. The political output system is defined as being strong, illustrated by the effectiveness of national policy-making (Kitschelt 1986: 64-5).

There is more literature that confirms the closeness of the French political system towards (new) social movements. For example, McCauley classifies France as a

strong and passively exclusive state, which makes political decisions without much regard to various interests and variation between policy areas and which excludes movements from traditional corporatist forms of national policy-making. The term passive is used to indicate the attitude of the French state towards outside movements, which are not undermined (2011: 1024).

Duyvendak finds that the room for NSMs in France was highly restricted due to the prevailing of traditional conflicts and old movements such as labour and regional movements. Compared to Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland, it seems that the percentage of mobilization events caused by NSMs and the percentage of participants mobilized by NSMs is relatively much lower in France (Duyvendak 1995: 100). According to Duyvendak, part of this is caused by the unfavourable conditions of the electoral system to newcomers to the political arena, closing off the political input structure (1995: 104).

In accordance to Kitschelt, a social movement which finds itself in a strong and closed political system, like the anti-nuclear movement in France, is likely to adopt more confrontational strategies of action and broaden their demands to include the demand for a fundamental alteration of the existing political system (Kitschelt 1986: 66-7). Kitschelt finds confirmation for his theory in his comparative study of the anti-nuclear movement in France, Sweden, West Germany and the United States between 1974 and 1984 (Kitschelt 1986: 84).

According to the boomerang pattern, groups that do not get response from their government to their claims seek international partnerships to amplify the demands of national groups. This triangulation aims at seeking parties that can influence the government from 'above', using a top-down approach as opposed to the bottom-up approach employed by interest groups, advocacy networks and social movements (Keck & Sikkink 1999: 93). If the French anti-nuclear movement were to follow the boomerang pattern, this would mean that their strategy would be to seek international contacts able to put pressure on the French government. One possibility would be to target the European Union instead of France, since Europeanization has created new ways of input for movements to be effective.

The Europeanization of politics has been the topic of an increasing amount of political science literature in the past decade (Imig & Tarrow 2001; Kriesi et al. 2006; Featherstone & Radaelli 2003; Flockhart 2010). Europeanization is defined by Risse, Cowles and Caporaso as the process of developing and establishing structures of governance distinct from the domestic structures of member states (2001: 1). Historically, European integration started with the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1951, which enabled the establishment of the European Union's (EU) predecessor: the European Coal and Steel Community. European integration has taken many steps since then. Not only has the number of participatory countries greatly improved from six to twenty seven member states, the amount of decisions made at the supranational level have also greatly increased (Cowles 2001: 30).

But Europeanization is not always welcomed by EU citizens, as was shown by the French and Dutch 'NO' during the European constitution referendum that was held amongst European citizens in different countries. Although the reasons for the failure of the European constitution is very much contested among social scientists, one of the shortcomings of the European Union that is offered as one of the reasons for the fear of European integration among European citizens, is its democratic deficit (Hix 2008; Featherstone 1994) . Crysochoou explains that one of the reasons for this democratic deficit is the distance that separates the supranational governmental structure that is the European Union and its citizens (2000: 4).

In contrast, augmentation of social movement activity on the European Union level might point in the direction of democratization, as social movements can sometimes be perceived as a result of the process of democratization (Tilly 2004). Social movements have become a vital part of western democracies (Della Porta & Diani 2006: 1). According to Tilly, there is no causal relationship between social movements and democracy, but there is clear evidence that both are interrelated. In his study, he indicates the presence of democratization processes that enhance social movement action, social movement actions that enhance democratization and processes which promote both social movements and democratization at the same time (2004: 136).

Another argument why social movements should be subjected to a change of tactic is simply because European integration has resulted in the decline of the importance of the nation-state as the only seat of formal political power. A shift of power from the nation-state to the European supra-national entity could lead to a change of focus for social movements from the national level to this supra-national level (Marks & McAdam 1996: 251). Already in the past had social movements adapted to changing circumstances when the rise of the modern state centralized power to enable the state to exercise more and more power over daily life. In response to this change, popular protest changed its focus from a local level to the national level (Marks & McAdam 1996: 252). A similar change could now be expected as the power is once more centralized further into a supra-national actor.

Also Della Porta and Caiani point out, that social movements could be expected to target the European level when they have less leverage at the national level (2008: 17). But it also seems that the access of social movements at the EU level is restricted mainly due to the EU's political opportunity structure and because the effect social movements can gain at the national level is higher (Kriesi et al 2007). There is, however, a debate in contemporary literature on the accessibility or closeness of the European Union's POS.

Marks and McAdams, recognizing the changing playing field of social movements, have done research on the fundamental changes that have taken place in social movements due to European integration. They acknowledged that the integration process was not yet finished but rather continuous, but also recognized that changes had already happened. The question they attempted to answer is what the emerging European polity implies about possible future changes in the form and character of social movements (1996: 254). In their analysis they concluded that two dimensions play a role in determining the structural changes that might happen in social movements as a result of European integration: the receptivity/openness for the claims of the social movements at the EU level and the internal constraints to adaptation movements can experience (Marks & McAdams 1996: 273).

In regard to the anti-nuclear movement, it seems not to have successfully adapted to the new circumstances in the same way as the related environmental movement has.

There were the environmental movement has been able to reach the new level with ease, the anti-nuclear movement has not been able to attract enough attention. Marks and McAdams find that the reason for the little responsiveness of the EU for the anti-nuclear movement lies mainly in the fact that energy is one of the areas least subject to control from the EU (1996: 271). This control has not been exercised because the EU has avoided the subject due to great differences in Member State's opinions on the matter. Although the young anti-nuclear movement itself seemed not to be subordinate to any constraints which would make the adaptation to the new playing field difficult, the low receptivity from the European Union bodies still resulted in a low, or even inexistent, impact of the anti-nuclear movement at the EU level (1996: 272).

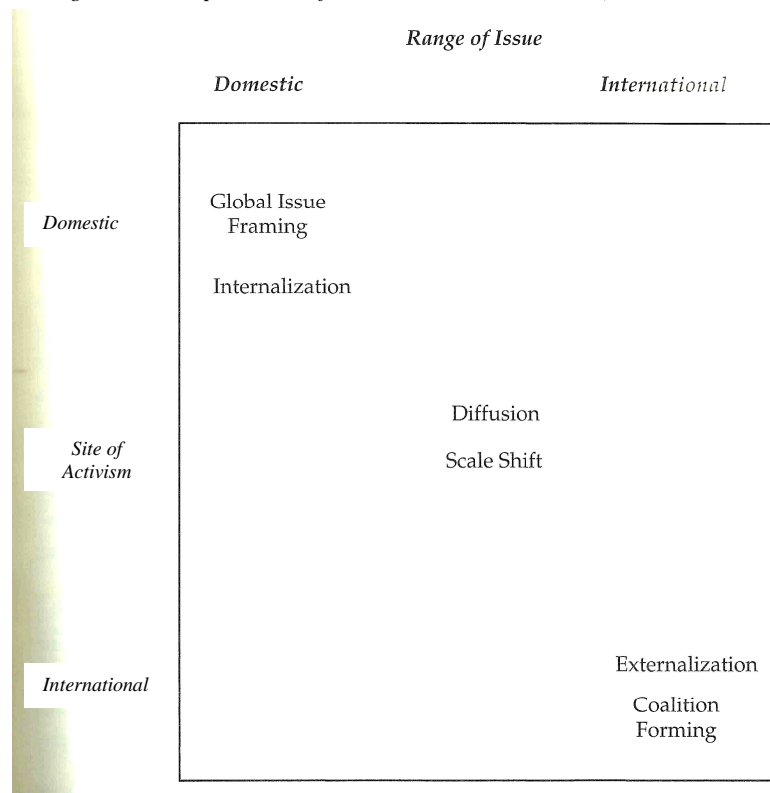
Seeing that both the French POS and the European Union POS seem closed off to the anti-nuclear movement, makes us wonder how the movement has adapted to its circumstances. Assuming that, according to Keck and Sikkink's boomerang pattern, the closed French political opportunity structure pushes the movement towards the EU-level, which in turn is closed off as well for the movement, what possibilities are left to the French anti-nuclear movement? Has the movement moved into a different dimension entirely in order to by-pass these obstacles?

Tarrow (2005) has focused on internationalization of social movements and the step from national social movement towards transnational social movements. He recognizes that a lot of literature sees globalization as a driving power behind the development of new actors, such as transnational social movements. However, in his opinion there is much more to the development of transnational social movements than globalization only, and it is therefore wise to look at the processes and mechanisms that social movements go through before becoming transnational social movements (Tarrow 2005: 5-6).

Mechanisms are defined as "a delimited class of events that alter relations among specified elements in identical or closely similar ways over a variety of situations" (McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly 2001: 11). Processes are "recurring combinations of such mechanisms that can be observed in a variety of episodes of contentious politics" (McAdams, Tarrow & Tilly 2001: 11). According to Tarrow, there exist a few

processes, which include certain mechanisms, that enable (national) social movements to promote to transnational social activism. He recognizes six processes deemed valuable in this transition and divides them in three categories: domestic, international and transitional. Figure 1.1 shows how the processes can be placed within a two-dimensional grid.

Figure 1.1: Six processes of Transnational Contention (Tarrow 2005: 33)



Within the domestic category, Tarrow includes two processes that need to take place on the domestic level. These are: global framing and internalization. Global framing is the framing of domestic conflicts by the mobilization of international symbols. By global framing, claims can be generalized and made more prominent, giving activists the realization that they are not ‘alone’ in their fight (Tarrow 2005: 76). Internalization is defined as “the migration of international pressures and conflicts into domestic politics and the triangular relationship that this creates among ordinary people, their governments, and international institutions” (Tarrow 2005: 80).

In the transitional category, we can find two processes that connect the national level to the international level: diffusion and scale shift. The diffusion process takes place when a form of collective action is detached from its place of origin and domesticated

in a new setting. Scale shift resembles diffusion, but is vertical in nature instead of horizontal such as diffusion. Scale shift involves the “coordination of episodes of contention on the part of larger collectivities against broader targets, new actors, and institutions at new levels of interaction” (Tarrow 2005: 122). Whereas diffusion includes the ‘relocation’ of a form of collective action, scale shift includes the development of such an action to include different forms and perhaps even newer levels, targets and aims.

The last category, entitled ‘international’, includes the processes externalization and transnational coalition formation. Externalization is the persuasion of external allies to support the cause of the social movement. It is illustrated by Tarrow using Keck & Sikkink’s (1998) ‘boomerang model’, where domestic actors that are unsuccessful on the domestic stage seek access to external allies which are more powerful (Tarrow 2005: 158). Coalition formation is “a generic form that can include a broad variety of negotiated arrangements of two or more organizations coordinating goals, demands, strategies of influence and events” (Meyer & Corrigan-Brown 2004: 13).

Investigating the presence of the process of scale shift within the French anti-nuclear movement can give an indicative of the movement’s development towards transnationalism. By looking into scale shift itself, it might be possible to find out how the movement has adapted to its circumstances and whether it is not shifting, whether it is moving towards a more EU scale or whether scale shift is happening towards an even higher (global) level.

In his book, Tarrow explains that scale shift can operate in two directions: upwards and downwards (2005: 121). Upwards scale shift happens when local actions are dispersed outside of the original location, and protesters speak of a common cause and identify themselves as members of a larger community of protesters. Downwards scale shift happens when generalized practices are adopted onto the lower, local level of protest (Tarrow 2005: 120-1). Within the process of scale shift, Tarrow recognizes five mechanisms: coordination of contention; the shift of claims and objects; brokerage and theorization.

In this research, it is the upwards scale shift will be of interest. Defining whether scale shift is a process that has taken place within the French anti-nuclear movement can be an indicative of the movements' Europeanization or globalization. If Europeanization is a process of significance for the French anti-nuclear movement, it could be assumed that the upwards horizontal scale shift would be directed towards creating more and new contacts at the European level or entertaining activities at that same level. However, if Europeanization would not be recognized by the movement as a significant new dimension, perhaps because of the closed political opportunity structure of the European Union granting non or only little responsiveness to the anti-nuclear movements claims, the scale shift could be directed at a more global dimension. If both the European level or the global level would be of little significance, the French anti-nuclear movement and its activities should be directed mostly at a local or national level.

Case selection

In France, the nuclear power program was developed in the late 1950s, but dramatically intensified in 1974 when, following to the 1973 oil crisis, France announced its “*tout électrique, tout nucléaire*” (everything electric, everything nuclear)-policy. This decision was taken as a given, leaving no room for parliamentary discussion and even less for input from outside groups. This decision, and the way it had been taken, gave way to a massive proliferation of the cause, large mobilization and huge protests against the use of nuclear energy (Nelkin & Pollak, 1980: 3).

The upsurge of movement activity did seem to have some effect. In 1975 the government dropped its “*tout électrique, tout nucléaire*”-slogan, slightly reduced its nuclear program and revitalized the ‘*Haut comité de l’environnement*’, which had an insignificant role (Rucht 1990: 201). The disadvantage of the outcomes was that they were mostly of a symbolic nature, giving in on aspects that were of no influence on the pro-nuclear policy but which gave the government an appearance of responsiveness.

In 1975 and 1976, the anti-nuclear movement intensified its activities and became broader, organizing protests and demonstrations across the whole country with as

highlight the protest in Malville in July 1976, to which 20.000 people participated. The year 1977, however, seems to be the turning point for the successes of the French anti-nuclear movement. The anti-nuclear movement gathered at Malville for a protest organized by various organizations and committees which were not well coordinated. Although the protest was a success in terms of numbers with around 60.000 participants from France, Italy, Switzerland and West Germany, the event ended in a catastrophe. Police forces and the National Guard blocked demonstrators and in the end initiated a frontal attack leading to a death, three severe injuries (among which a policeman), and hundreds of wounded (Rucht 1990: 202).

Due to this event, the anti-nuclear movement suffered a serious blow to its credibility. But the real defeat of the movement did not come until 1981. Until that time, the movement had enjoyed the support of the left-wing opposition party, as had many other NSMs in France. Indeed, NSMs had flourished in a very similar way to other Western democracies in the years prior to 1981, gaining increasing legitimacy and larger mobilization of participants. When the left-wing party got elected into government in 1981, however, mobilization became much more difficult for all NSMs as they had lost their former allies in the opposition (Duyvendak 1995: 123).

Where some NSM simply did not need to continue mobilization because the new government was now working towards achieving their goals, others, such as the anti-nuclear movement, found themselves at a loss when their former ally now refused to cooperate with them (Duyvendak 1995: 123). Besides the loss of support from a strong ally, the movement had also fragmented and become too weak to respond to this new crisis. The French anti-nuclear movement had failed (Rucht 1990: 203).

Sortir du Nucléaire (SdN) (translates into “Out of the Nuclear”) is a French social movement which was founded in 1997 and aims at ending the use of nuclear energy in France while favoring alternative energy sources. It is completely independent and entirely funded by donations and the subscription of its members. The movement is also referred to as ‘réseau’ or network, since it comprises of many different groups and individuals. The movement was founded shortly after the closure of the ‘Superphénix’ powerplant in 1996.

In 2013, the network has 59.087 individuals members and 944 member associations, under which many local and regional associations (www.sortirdunucleaire.org, retrieved on May 22nd 2013). According to the movement, more than seventy percent of the French people are in favor of stopping the generation of nuclear power (www.sortirdunucleaire.org, retrieved May 22nd 2013). The movement bases its numbers on, amongst others, a study by Institut Français d'Opinion Publique (IFOP) (by Fourquet & Alby 2011, retrieved from www.ifop.com on May 22nd 2013) where a survey showed that 19% of the respondents would favor a quick withdrawal from all nuclear power activity and 51% would favor a slower withdrawal, between 25 and 30 years, from nuclear power activities.

Sortir du Nucléaire has drawn up a charter in which it states its aims as follows:

1. stop the burial of nuclear wastes;
2. stop the retreatment of combustible at la Hague and of the use of plutonium for energy generation;
3. stop the export of nuclear energy and all nuclear technology;
4. stop the reconstruction of nuclear parks;
5. the closure of all reactors in use;
6. the abolishment and destruction of all nuclear or radioactive weapons.

As can be seen here, the goals of the movements are quite broad and entail about everything that has to do with nuclear technology, including not only energy but also weaponry. In order to achieve these goals, the movement promotes a variety of (temporary) solutions:

1. the development of energy economies;
2. the development of a political framework favorable to renewable energy sources (wind, sun, wood, ...) which would also generate jobs;
3. the production of energy through methods that are least harmful for the environment (gas, cogeneration, etc) during the transition period.

The movements' mission is to stop the use of nuclear technology for energy generation and weaponry entirely. To achieve this goal, the movement commits itself by organizing a wide range of activities. Besides annual campaigns to raise awareness on the dangers of nuclear energy, the movement also coordinates and organizes protest activities and sets up coalitions with foreign anti-nuclear movements. Since

2003, they publish yearly their main activities in a report titled “Rapport Moral”. From these reports the analysis for this research will be carried out.

Research method

Tarrow (2005) developed a theory on the development of national social movements into transnational movements recognizing that for this development six processes were needed. One of the processes he has recognized is called ‘scale shift’. Scale shift aims at broadening the support for a cause by externalizing the problem, forming new cooperation and engaging in activities that will include partners outside the group’s circle.

To further investigate whether SdN has experienced a scale shift, a further study of the movements’ activities shall be conducted, which focuses mainly on the aim of the different activities of SdN. To do so, the activities of the movement will be divided into four distinct categories (table 1.1): Local, National, European and Global.

The first category will be ‘local’, which will encompass all actions that are aimed at a local targets. An example is a protest for the closure of a specific power plant in France. The second category will be ‘national’ and will encompass all actions that were aimed at the national level, such as large protests calling for the stop of awarding permits for the built of power plants, or petitions brought to the national government. The third category will be ‘european’ and contain all actions aimed at the European level. An example of such action might be the organizing of a large protest in Brussels or forming collaborations with European organizations or groups.

The fourth and last category will encompass all activities that are aimed at the ‘global’ level. Such an activity might be the establishing of collaborations with foreign movements, international NGO’s, and other actors with a goal similar to SdN and participating in foreign protests. Most often, such activities are aimed at raising the public’s awareness, recruiting new members and expanding the support for the movement.

Table 1.1: Categorization of SdN activity		
aim of activity	within border	outside border
	LOCAL	GLOBAL
	NATIONAL	EUROPEAN

By making such a categorization of the movement's activities and further dividing the 'international' category into 'global' and 'Europe', it will become possible to develop a theory on the main aims of the social movements and find out whether SdN has experienced a form of scale shift, and also whether this scale shift has been towards the European dimension or towards a more global dimension. By categorizing the activities over a longer time period, it will also become possible to determine whether, how and when the movement has shifted its focus over the past years from the national level towards the European level or the global level.

SdN publishes annual reports titled "Rapport Moral" in which a report of a year's activities, reached goals and situation of the anti-nuclear movement and the French state of affairs regarding nuclear matters, are stated. The first report that was published dates back to 2003. Since the first publication of such a report, eleven reports have been published in total with two reports in 2010. The reports have become more elaborate over the years, including more general information and more extensive records on the activities of the movement.

The 2003 Rapport Moral (RM) only consisted of two pages and merely included a short, non-extensive summary of the most important activities of the movement during the year 2003. In comparison, the 2012 RM consisted of forty-four pages and did not only include the most important activities of the movement as a whole, but also an overview of activities by local member groups, an extensive report on the achievement of the movement since it started and the relations of the movement to outside groups, movements and NGOs.

Although the reports all give an overview of the occupations of the movement in a certain year, and all include certain actions of the movement during the year under

review, the form of information and lay out of the report differ greatly. While the reports for the years 2003, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2010(1) and 2010(2) contain very clear chronological summaries of the activities organized by the movement deemed most important, the RM of the other years (2006, 2007, 2009, 2011 and 2012) do not include such clear and definite summaries.

The RMs that do not contain the chronological listing of activities do contain information on certain activities, but generally less activities are mentioned, and only the largest ones are elaborated on. Since these activities are mentioned I will assume that the mentioned activities are the activities deemed most important by the movement, so that they can be compared to the activities taken in other years.

Because of the size of SdN and the large number of groups that are member to the movement, it is impossible to take into account the entire action repertoire, since this comprises hundreds or even thousands of activities each year. Also, it is impossible to discover all activities that have been organized on local scale by adherent groups.

For each year, a summary of the activities mentioned in the RMs has been made. From this summary has been derived the category within which the activity falls (local, national, global or european) by determining the aim of the activity (see appendix). Coding has been carried out following to the following rules:

Local: entails activities that have been carried out on the local level, gathering people from a small area within the French border, building (or maintaining existing) contacts on the local level and aiming at reaching a small amount of people for local goals. An example of such an activity is a local protest for the closure of a power plant;

National: entails activities that have been carried out on the national level, gathering people from a large area within the French border and aiming at reaching all the French citizens. Activities are being carried out within France. An example of an activity that fits within this group is a national awareness campaign, aimed at raising awareness among French people about nuclear energy problems within France;

European: entails activities that have been carried out on the European level, gathering people not only from France but also from other European countries. The aim is to build international contacts within the European border but with countries outside of France. It can also be the organization of a protest in Brussels, in cooperation with e.g. a German anti-nuclear movement, or the drawing up of a petition together with European countries;

Global: entails activities that are aimed at the global dimension. Organizing events in foreign (non-European) countries or in cooperation with these countries or building relationships with foreign groups are the possible objectives. The aim is no longer within the French border but beyond, and no longer only concerning French activists but also foreign activists. Going to international meetings or attending activities in for example Australia to represent SdN and form new partnerships are examples of activities that fall within this category.

Analysis

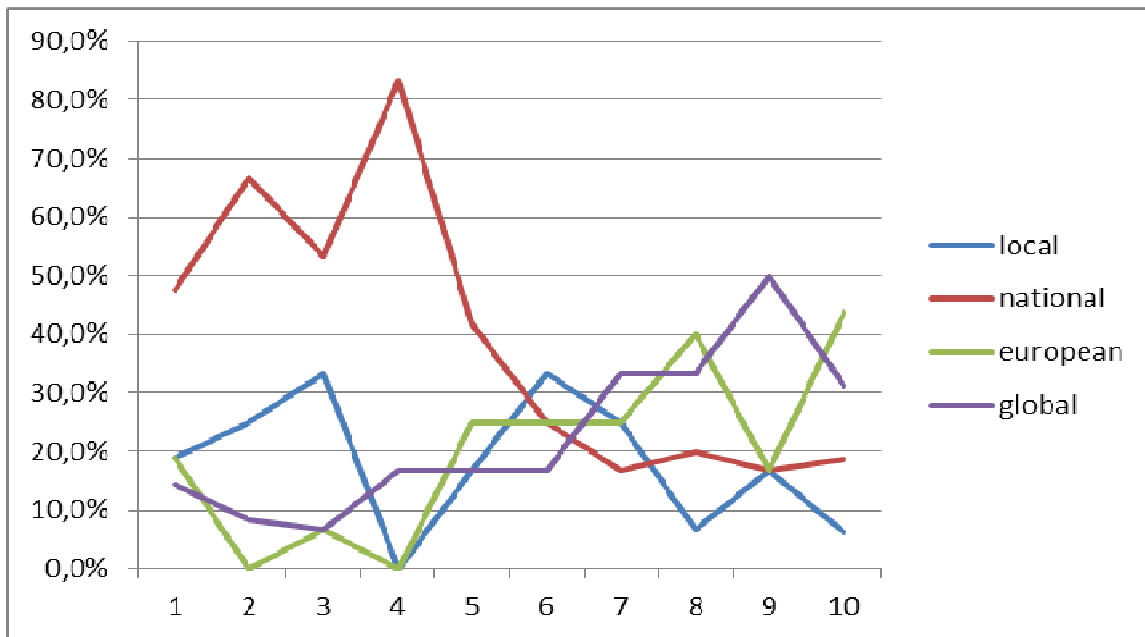
Table 1.2 gives an overview of the activities that have been mentioned in the RMs, categorized following to the system as set out in the previous chapter. As becomes clear from the table, the total amount of activities reported varies greatly, with a maximum of 21 in 2003 and 6 in 2006. This difference in the total of activities for each year does not reflect on the overall activity of the movement, but rather on the format of the RM. In the table, the percentage, relative to the total of activities reported for that year, is mentioned. Also, the table shows the average of each category and the change for 2003/2012.

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Local	19% (4)	25,0% (3)	33,3% (5)	0,0% (0)	16,7% (2)	33,3% (4)
National	47,6% (10)	66,7% (8)	53,3% (8)	83,3% (5)	41,7% (5)	25,0% (3)
European	19% (4)	0,0% (0)	6,7% (1)	0,0% (0)	25,0% (3)	25,0% (3)
Global	14,3% (3)	8,3% (1)	6,7% (1)	16,7% (1)	16,7% (2)	16,7% (2)
Total	100,0% (21)	100,0% (12)	100,0% (15)	100,0% (6)	100,0% (12)	100,0% (12)

	2009	2010	2011	2012	Average	Change 2003/2012
Local	25,0% (3)	6,7% (1)	16,7% (3)	6,3% (1)	20,2% (3,1)	-32,9% (-8)
National	16,7% (2)	20,0% (3)	16,7% (3)	18,8% (3)	37,3% (4,7)	-11,7% (-4)
European	25,0% (3)	40,0% (6)	16,7% (3)	43,8% (7)	19,9% (3)	26,4% (3)
Global	33,3% (4)	33,3% (5)	50,0% (9)	31,3% (5)	22,6% (3,3)	18,2% (2)
Total	100,0% (12)	100,0% (15)	100,0% (18)	100,0% (16)	100,0% (14,1)	0,0% (-7)

To present a clearer image of the change of SdN categories of action over the years, table 1.2 has been transferred into a chart (figure 1.2). In the graph, the numbers 1 to 10 represent the years 2003 to 2012 on the horizontal axis, while the vertical axis shows the percentage of a certain category relative to the total for that year.

Figure 1.2: graphic presentation of categorization of activities of SdN



In this graph, we can see several things. Firstly, we can identify a decline of the national category from 2006 onwards. Although the category stabilizes again from 2009, the level at which it is at from that moment is much lower (around 20%) in comparison to the level at which it started in 2003 (50%) and its peak in 2006 (over 80%). The local category experiences a sharp decrease between 2005 and 2006, but increases again until 2008, after which this category also enters a graduate decrease. At the same time, the two international categories show a graduate increase over the years, even surpassing the local and national categories in 2009. Although both show a temporary decrease around 2011, they keep their dominance over the other two categories.

By solely looking at the numbers presented in table 1.2 and figure 1.2, the image is created of a scale shift towards the international dimension, while both the local and national categories are decreasing. However, the trends seem irregular and no final conclusion can be drawn from these figures. By performing a more in depth study of

the reports, better answers might be found to the question at hand: has there been a process of scale shift in the French anti-nuclear movement? A qualitative research of the “Rapport Moral” might help this research further.

When a substantive research of the reports is carried out, the image presented by the graph and table are supported: SdN is increasingly active outside of France.

In 2003, the movement took part in a total of seven activities with foreign targets (categorized as “European” and “global”), including a meeting in Trèves (Germany) which was meant to strengthen bonds with the German anti-nuclear movement; a gathering in Brussels to protest at a EURATOM-top and the proclamation of support for a few foreign movements. These activities, however, do not receive any extra attention in the RM of 2003, and are simply listed along with other (“national” and “local”) activities (Rapport Morale 2003). The RM of 2005 is the first report to offer a chapter on the international efforts of the movements. This chapter is no longer than a paragraph and does not include more than a statement that SdN is trying to reinforce bonds with foreign anti-nuclear movements and that it has proclaimed its support for a few foreign causes (Rapport Morale 2005: 3).

In 2006, such a chapter is missing from the RM, and besides the mentioned activities concerned with foreign targets the RM does not pay much attention to what happens outside of France regarding anti-nuclear movement activities. However, the 2007 RM starts with a mention of the state of affairs regarding nuclear energy around the world, declaring that ‘nuclear energy is losing ground around the world’, while ‘France orders new power plants for the first time since 1987’ (Rapport Morale 2007: 2). Also, this RM offers a chapter on international efforts and activities by SdN, which in comparison to the 2005 chapter on international efforts is longer and more extensive. In 2007, for the first time a part-time employee is hired to handle international business. His job is to actively strengthen and form bonds with foreign anti-nuclear movements as well as organize events in, or together with, foreign countries.

In 2008, although less elaborate than the previous year, attention is paid to anti-nuclear events abroad. For instance, the American elections are mentioned, since the election of Barack Obama is seen as a victory, because his opponent had predicted the

built of a new nuclear power plant park in the United States. Concern for overseas nuclear problematic is increasing within SdN. Also, 2008 is the first year that international Chernobyl-day is organized. While in previous years this event was only focused on activities organized within France, and raising awareness of French citizens for the dangers of nuclear energy, SdN decided from 2008 on to help organize similar events in other countries. 2008 Also marks a growth in European focus, with the establishment of a committee-structure for the internationally-oriented post of SdN which, from this year on includes seven employees and is moved to Brussels. This migration towards Brussels has as objective to form closer bonds with other European comrades and increasing possibilities for effective lobbying. Again, the RM dedicates a chapter to the international affairs of the movement, which includes a summary of the activities targeted at the international level (Rapport Morale 2008).

The 2009 RM again starts with nuclear energy concerns not only from France but also from around the world. Also 2009 brought the first international campaign titled “Don’t nuke the climate” which was organized by SdN and supported by more than 350 groups from almost 50 countries. The RM also dedicates a chapter to the international affairs by SdN of more than one page, a size unprecedented by any report until that year (Rapport Morale 2009).

RM 2010(1) for a large part focusses on an internal crisis of the movement and less on the actual activities of the movements. Since this internal crisis is not of importance to this research, there shall be no elaboration on the subject. Within the report, even though only two pages are dedicated to the movement’s activities a large part of the mentioned activities is aimed at international targets. Within those two pages a paragraph is dedicated to mentioning the continuing importance of forming and strengthening bonds with foreign movements supporting a similar cause. RM 2010(2)’s introduction focusses only on the French cases and situation with no mention of foreign interests, but subsequently an entire chapter, consisting of 2 pages, is dedicated to international affairs, wherein it becomes clear that the movement is still very preoccupied with transnational activities either to offer support to foreign anti-nuclear movements, co-organize events together with foreign movements or represent SdN abroad (Rapport Morale 2010a; Rapport Morale 2010b).

2011 Being the year of the accident at the nuclear power plant of Fukushima, automatically a lot of attention is given to international anti-nuclear affairs. Although the movement focusses much of its attention to putting the nuclear energy-debate back into politics for the upcoming presidential elections, many of the activities listed in the RM have a more international focus. Again, a whole chapter, even more extensive than in the previous years, is dedicated to international affairs (Rapport Morale 2011).

The RM of 2012 has yet another format and summarizes a few actions organized by local groups members of SdN. For purposes of regularity, these activities have not been taken into account when creating a summary of activities of SdN since these smaller activities do not fall under the activities 'deemed most important and relevant by SdN', like the activities that have been taken into account in preceding years. The subsequent reports does mention larger and more relevant activities that have been used for the categorization and creation of table 1.2. Also this report dedicates an entire chapter to international affairs (Rapport Morale 2012).

It seems evident that since 2003, SdN has been increasingly preoccupied with activities targeted at the international level. In this analysis, the difference between global and European has not been taken into account. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, SdN itself does not make a clear differentiation between international and European activities. Only a few times does the movement mention its specific goal being Brussels or the European union. Secondly, the rise of attention for international activities can only be perceived clearly when looking at the precise aim of the activity and the place where it is carried out. It can be said that the movement increasingly paid attention to the international level by forming more partnerships with foreign movements, representing SdN during protests abroad in an increasing amount of countries (including South Korea, Australia, India, etc) and simply by paying an increasing amount of attention and relevance to activities of SdN aimed at targets outside Europe in their RM. However, such a clear increase in attention for the European level specifically is non-existing. The only year wherein the movement seems to be more preoccupied with their European target is 2008 when the international commission is established and moved to Brussels.

Partnerships with foreign anti-nuclear movements, or other groups and parties supportive of SdN's goals, are not mainly focused at putting pressure on the EU through a top-down mechanism following the boomerang model as offered by Keck and Sikkink (1999). External relations are built across the world including partnerships with not only European Union groups such as the Belgian, German and Italian, but also with groups from Australia, South Korea, America, India and Switzerland. Activities aimed at putting pressure on the European sub-governmental body are relatively scarce compared to activities aimed at gaining a greater global support. It therefore seems that SdN is not focusing primarily on the European Union, which would be the case if they would follow on Europeanization, but rather on transnationalism as a whole.

Scale shift is the vertical process that happens when an activity, or collective action, is magnified, targeted at new (larger) actors. A great example of scale shift within SdN which we can find back in the RM is the international campaign titled 'Don't nuke the climate' that was started in 2009. Compared to previous campaigns in former years, this campaign was aimed larger in size (included more countries, more people, more activities and more reach), targeted at a larger (international) audience and was not only aimed at raising awareness within France and reaching the French government, but also at raising awareness worldwide and reaching other governments, as well as the European Union and other higher levels of power. Many other examples of scale shift can be found, and especially an increasing number of scale shift-processes can be recognized over the years.

Conclusion and discussion

Although SdN could have been expected to adapt itself to a closed French POS by targeting the sub-national institution of the European Union, their activities show a different pattern. When looking at the activities as reported in the movement's annual reports, we can distinguish a shift towards a more international scale, wherein the movement is increasingly focusing its energy at gaining new partners and increasing its cooperation with foreign movements supporting a similar goal. In comparison to activities directed at national and local targets, we can see a clear increase of activities directed at global and European Union targets. A clear and distinctive difference between the global and European dimension is not found, although a more in-depth

study of the reports shows that most attention is paid to gaining larger support on the global scale and focusing on international partners, without making a clear distinction between the European Union and beyond.

The hypothesis of a movement targeting the European Union level in accordance to the boomerang model and a closed national POS and in accordance to Europeanization therefore seems unconfirmed. A possibility for this lack of adaptability to Europeanization, as would be expected, might be caused by the closed POS of the European Union in regard to nuclear energy and anti-nuclear movements. The boomerang effect predicts that a movement unsuccessful at the national level would target a higher level (European) in order to create a top-down method of pressure instead of the ordinary bottom-up tactic generally employed by social movements. In this case, however, targeting the European Union would be just as unsuccessful as targeting France directly, because the political framework allows for no responsiveness. An assumption that can be made is that due to a combined closed POS, the movement aims at externalization of contacts instead.

It seems that the action repertoire of SdN, although actions have continued to focus also on national and local targets, has been increasingly concentrated on activities from the 'global'-category. This category is defined as all the activities with a target outside of France and outside of the EU, for instance the establishing of partnerships with an Australian organizations. But also the 'European'-category shows a continuous increase and similar activities although directed towards possible partners closer to 'home'. Activities that fall within the categories national and local have slowly decreased over the years. Especially an in-depth study of the reports shows the increasing attention paid by the movement to international matters, activities and partners. Whereas the first report from 2003 seems to pay almost no attention to international events, the reports from 2011 and 2012 present entire chapters devoted to international developments and the importance and activities of international partners.

Although great care was taken in this research, it is very difficult to find completely reliable sources, especially for a good summarization of the action repertoire of SdN. As mentioned before, great differences in the design of the RMs and the information

therein, it is difficult to form an exact illustration of the activities of SdN. However, the relevance of the activities is also deemed as an important variable, although the selection on this variable is done only by SdN itself by choosing what to report and what not. For more reliable results, it would be recommended to ascertain what the action repertoire of SdN was exactly for each year, including smaller activities.

Further research could focus on similar cases which deal with closed POS from both the national government and the subnational government, in order to discover whether this case is an exception or that social movements working in these circumstances generally take a similar path of action.

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Appendix

Coding of activities described in the “Raport Moral” of Sortir du Nucléaire, per year from 2003 to 2012:

2003

Local

1. Local action near Peltre, near Metz;
2. Local awareness campaigns;
3. National support of local activity;
4. Petition for the closure of a power plant.

National

1. Chernobyl-day, events across France;
2. Campaign against nuclear energy;
3. Walk from Cattenom to Bure;
4. Co-organization of “Vrais débats” together with Greenpeace, FNE, WWF, Amis de la Terre;
5. Campaign “Dites non à un second programme nucléaire Français” with as goal to invoke deputies of the national assembly;
6. National action against the non-national energy debate;
7. Support of another national organization’s campaign
8. Publication;
9. Publication;
10. Publication;

European

1. Meeting at Trèves (Germany);
2. Gathering in Brussels against EURATOM;
3. Anti G8 in Annemasse;
4. Social European Forum;

Global

1. Participation in the G-world environmental protests in Angers;
2. Participation at top in Austria;
3. Participation at top in South Korea.

Local	National	European	Global
4	10	4	3

2004

Local

1. Protest against a 3rd generation power central (EPR);
2. Tour around France with SdN;
3. Support of local initiatives;

National

1. Protest (1.000.000 participants) against ITER, company investing in nuclear technology;
2. Lawsuit against a power plant for pollution;
3. Chernobyl day;
4. Meeting with CIIRAD, another organisation that supports the cause;
5. 9 simultaneous protests across France against the arrival of 140kg of plutonium;
6. 25 protests across France against plutonium arrival;
7. Launch of campaign against the EPR by blocking EDF administratively;
8. Brochure

European

Global

1. International meeting on nuclear disarmament in Saintes, co-organized by SdN

Local	National	European	Global
3	8	0	1

2005

Local

1. Local protest for use of contaminated iron in built;
2. Local event for awareness raising;
3. Protest against Iter at Pertuis (800 participants);
4. Protest at Bure against nuclear waste disposal;
5. Gathering for remembering Hiroshima.

National

1. 6 protests across France against food-radiating industries;
2. Publication;
3. Gathering in Nante for Human Fresque (8.000 participants);
4. Publication;
5. Letter to president;
6. Protest at Bar-le-Duc against nuclear waste disposal (6.000 participants);
7. Publication;
8. Large protest agains nuclear energy.

European

1. Stop of train in the direction of Germany.

Global

1. Awareness raising campaign in Nigeria.

Local	National	European	Global
5	8	1	1

2006

Local

National

1. Protest at Cherbourg (30.000 participants) against EPR;
2. Media coverage;
3. Lawsuit against the built of an EPR;
4. Emails sent to presidential candidates;
5. National campaign.

European

Global

1. Coordination of a common objective to stop EPR, signed by 47 countries.

Local	National	European	Global
0	5	0	1

2007

Local

1. Protest against INTER;
2. Support of local activities.

National

1. Brochure;
2. Large protests in 5 cities (60.000 participants) against EPR;
3. Campaign aimed at getting the support from presidential candidates;
4. Lawsuit against built of high-tension lines to connect EPR to a power central 150km away;
5. Media coverage.

European

1. Presentation of petition, signed with other European anti-nuclear movements, at EURATOM top in Brussels;
2. Protest for "European anti-nuclear manifestation";
3. Creation of an anti-nuclear mediterranean coalition where 25 people from 9 different European countries met in Greece.

Global

1. Reaction on event in North Korea and Iran, used for campaign to connect problems across countries;
2. Meeting in Finland with anti-nuclear movements from 6 countries.

Local	National	European	Global
2	5	3	2

2008

Local

1. Block of train;
2. Local actions against EPRs;
3. Manifestation against a power plant;
4. Local manifestations.

National

1. Publication;
2. Lawsuit against power plant;
3. 20 protests across France against burial of nuclear waste.

European

1. Protest in Paris for a nuclear-free Europe;
2. Anti-nuclear tour around Finland;
3. Walk from London to Geneva against nuclear energy.

Global

1. International meeting with global organizations in Paris;
2. International remembrance day for Chernobyl organized in France and abroad.

Local	National	European	Global
4	3	3	2

2009

Local

1. Local event (film-festival);
2. Manifestation for the closure of power plant at Fessenheim;
3. Support of local activities.

National

1. National Campaign;
2. Publication.

European

1. Strengthen bonds with Swiss and German groups;
2. Delegation to the European anti-nuclear forum;
3. Joined international protest in Brussels.

Global

1. International campaign supported by 350 groups from 50 different countries;
2. Meetings with foreign groups;
3. Chernobyl-day, organized internationally;
4. Strengthening of bonds with international groups.

Local	National	European	Global
3	2	3	4

2010

Local

1. Protest against the built of power plant in Perly.

National

1. Cyber-campaign against pro-nuclear company;
2. Anti-nuclear weapons protest in Paris;
3. Protest at national Assembly in Paris.

European

1. SdN representative at protest in Finland;
2. SdN representative at manifestation in Venice;
3. SdN representative at political reunion meeting in Milan;
4. SdN representative at meeting in Bristol;
5. Focus on trans frontier activities;
6. Coordination with German groups on activities against transport of nuclear waste;

Global

1. Representation at social forum in Istanbul;
2. Protest by international delegation in Paris;
3. Form relation with international anti-nuclear weapons groups;
4. Chernobyl-day, organized internationally;
5. SdN representative at USA for meeting;

Local	National	European	Global
1	3	6	5

2011

Local

1. Manifestation against transport of nuclear waste;
2. Local protest against a company;
3. Local media coverage.

National

1. 25 days of Chernobyl, organized across France;
2. National day against nuclear energy;
3. Publication.

European

1. Participation in protest in Finland;
2. SdN representative at Great Britain;
3. Continuous development of French-German relations.

Global

1. Anti-nuclear arms protest in Genva;
2. Tour across Australia;
3. Participation in Desert-walk;
4. Cyber-action to raise awareness for Japan;

- International walk along the Loire, many countries present.

Local	National0	European	Global
3	3	3	5

2012

Local

- Support of local activities;

National

- Human chain;
- National campaign to get nuclear energy back on the political agenda;
- Campaign against transport of nuclear waste.

European

- Meeting at Bure with German partners;
- Start of a petition with European partners;
- SdN representative at event in Germany;
- SdN representative at event in Great Britain;
- SdN representative at event in Finland;
- SdN representative at event in Italy;
- SdN representative at event in Lithuania.

Global

- Following of international nuclear waste transports, together with international partners;
- SdN representative at event in Japan;
- SdN representative at event in Australia;
- SdN representative at event in USA;
- SdN representative at event in Switzerland.

Local	National0	European	Global
1	3	7	5