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The “Cloudization” of Social Movements

The Esthetic Approach to Protest through the Example of “*Kawaii* Direct Action”

The nature of Japanese social movements has transformed since the earthquake and tsunami of March 11, 2011. In response to this change, I will theorize a new phase in social movement theory by analyzing recent social movements in relation to Chantal Mouffe’s artistic activism. These movements have been initiated by ordinary people and artists resisting the pressures of Japanese political clientelism and aiming to reclaim their democracy. In particular, in the “no nukes” movement, we have witnessed nonviolent direct action by professional and anonymous artists through esthetic and artistic expression. These esthetic techniques subvert the narrative of capitalism and expose the hollow center of power by utilizing the “cloudization” of social movements seen worldwide. I define the Japanese esthetic approach to social movements as “*kawaii* direct action” because of their pleasantness, femininity, and art-centeredness, which may cause them to be perceived as divergent from violent and masculine approaches to resistance.

KEYWORDS: direct democracy, nonviolent direct action (NVDA), “cloudization” of social movements

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SINCE MARCH 11, 2011, Japanese social movements have transformed from masculine to feminine entities. Given this significant change, I outline the new developments in social movement theory by analyzing the historiography of New Social Movements (NSM) and the history of recent social movements with regard to the development of information technology, especially social media that has triggered the “cloudization” of social movements, and eminent political theorist Chantal Mouffe’s artistic activism. Movements are initiated by both ordinary people and artists to reclaim their democracy and to resist the pressures of Japanese political clientelism, which is defined as a triad of political parties, government, and corporations.

In the Japanese “no nukes” movement, we have witnessed the utilization of the “temporary autonomous zone (TAZ)” (BEY 1985) and nonviolent direct action (NVDA) by Japanese professionals such as Yoshitomo Nara, one of the most popular artists, and an anonymous activist entity, known as “Monju-kun.” These protests employ imagery and artistic expression generated by a combination of cyberspace and real space. This esthetic approach to social movements has developed in Japan within the last decade after the anti-Iraq war campaign, especially as a form of protest among the younger generation (HAYASHI and MCKNIGHT 2005, 87–89). This approach challenges the tenets of capitalism and exposes the hollow center of power represented by the Kasumigaseki district (the location of most of Japan’s cabinet ministry offices), which figuratively refers to the Japanese bureaucracy. It does so by utilizing the “cloudization” of social movements and creates a situation in which government and capitalist elements are forced to acquiesce in the name of artistic expression. I define this esthetic approach to social movements as “*kawaii* (cute) direct action,” because of its endearing, feminine, “cuteifying,” and artistic focus, which may lead to it being regarded as divergent from past social movements characterized by a violent and masculine approach.

As the crisis of parliamentary democracy becomes increasingly visible, I highlight the reemergence of Japanese social movements, such as demonstrations and rallies, as representations of the direct democracy that demands action from outside the Diet rather than from within.

Politics in the second decade of the twenty-first century have certain trends. To borrow Masao Maruyama’s phrase, the “politics of the Diet (*In nai no seizi*)” (MARUYAMA 1996) has been stagnant, but instead of creating firebombs or bonfires as in the first decade of the century, people have come into the public arena, both real and cyber, and are employing NVDA. Thus, by developing politics outside of the Diet (*Ingai no seizi*), regard-

less of striated space and a smooth space (in the Deleuzian sense), people are reclaiming politics. The Jasmine Revolution, the Tahrir Square protests, Spain's 15-M movement, Occupy Wall Street, and other examples from all over the world, along with the Japanese "no nukes" movement, are gradually breaking down the wall (I use "wall" here in homage to Haruki Murakami's speech given in Israel upon acceptance of the Jerusalem Prize in February 2009).

The following are the two key points in my explanation of the rise of the global justice movement as representing direct democracy. Organized political resistance has evolved, with the changes in media (FOUCAULT 1978) followed by the recent phenomenon known as "social movements 2.0" or the "cloudization" of social movements, which have been facilitated by advances in information and communication technology. Furthermore, I highlight the systems of generating consensus and TAZ flow from anarchic movements that decentralized political power in the 1990s and constructed the direct democracy of recent years.

Changes in New Social Movement Theory

NSM: THEN AND NOW

Contemporary NSM are considered to have transformed since the events in Seattle in 1999, especially as compared with the first wave of NSM, the Silent Revolution, that implied a gradual transition and intergenerational shift in the political landscape (INGLEHART 1977). While the literature following Inglehart acknowledges social movements, insufficient research has been conducted on the origins and characteristics of these movements, especially those of the second wave of NSM that are addressed here. This second wave took place after the anti-WTO movement in Seattle in 1999, the global spread of the campaign, simultaneous parades, and peaceful demonstrations across the world that indicate an underlying shared culture (MCADAM, TARROW, and TILLY 2001; TARROW 2006; DELLA PORTA et al. 2006; 2009).

FIRST WAVE OF NSM

Social movements have evolved from traditional social movements—the teleology of class struggle by labor unions—to NSM that mobilize under new identities outside of a labor context (INGLEHART 1977). These NSM are the first wave of NSM. Rather than the symbolic year of 1968, they are best represented by young people gathering in places such as Woodstock and

the Isle of Wight in the so-called Summer of Love era of the 1960s as well as by a non-class-based movement that emerged in the 1980s. This shift from traditional social movements to NSM occurred as the actors involved in these movements changed from manual laborers and the masses, to citizens with critical intelligence, and students.

Notable research on NSM in Europe include Touraine's study on social movements as resistance to technocratic dominance in post-industrial societies (TOURAINÉ 1978) and Habermas's identification of NSM as resistant to the erosion and colonization of the life-world by the bureaucracy (HABERMAS 1992, 436–50). Nevertheless, NSM fall into a nested dichotomy of mainstream and counter-culture—bureaucrat and citizen, government and citizen, majority and minority—within civil society, the official public sphere, the counter-public sphere, the public sphere, and the subaltern public sphere.¹

Certain emerging social movements do not seek regime change in the way that previous movements have. Rather, they seek an alternative lifestyle that is not considered apolitical, mainstream, or counter-culture. They seek neither power nor a change in regime, but they crucially affect people's lifestyles and subsequent thought processes (WALLERSTEIN 1991). The global revolution of 1968 can thus be defined as such a movement.

RECONSIDERING MELUCCI

Melucci focused on how the transformation to NSM led not only to the relativization of existing social movements but also to a transformation on deeper levels, including on those of human emotion and consciousness (MELUCCI 1989). Furthermore, according to Melucci's definition, NSM pursue concrete political goals, and although NSM are an intangible expression, they create a space and range for struggle (MELUCCI 1996). Melucci's study triggered criticism of Touraine, who overemphasized the one-dimensional nature of NSM and their narrow political nature. In addition, Melucci criticized certain advocates of deliberative democracy and their tendency to emphasize only decision-making processes and institutionalization in politics. By outlining a new approach, Melucci discovered the possibilities of transforming social conditions because the framing processes and the social construction of the identity of the movements not only formed the relationships and preferences among actors, but also changed the nature of the site and surroundings simultaneously.

1. On the consideration of both public and subaltern public spheres, see HABERMAS 1990.

Consequently, what Melucci considered pertinent to the study of politics exceeded the public realm and the traditional focus on the state to include the micro and private spheres. Thus, for the first time, civil society, the private sphere, and everyday life became the focus of politics and studies on politics. Moreover, this expansion by Melucci is useful in analyzing the politics of cyberspace and its relationship with the real world.

THE RISE OF THE SECOND WAVE OF NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

What is the political significance of the Second Summer of Love in the late 1980s, with its outdoor rave parties, and Berlin's Love Parade in 1989, which served as the basis for NSM such as the anti-WTO movement? These events laid the groundwork for the second wave of NSM, which emphasized the festive nature of this group-based club culture that is essential to transnormative culture.

It is commonly suggested that the turning point for NSM and their relationship with the public sphere took place in the wake of anti-WTO action in Seattle; however, this is incorrect. The change occurred in the late 1980s–1990s. For ordinary people, the public sphere is not what academics refer to as “civil society”; it is everyday life, and it is in the “flux” (different from “flow”) of space in places such as streets or parks, club parties, raves, festivals, and parades.²

The Love Parade, one of the largest love and peace parades at the time, was at the center of such a space. Interestingly, the birth of the EU, the expansion of the Schengen space,³ and the mobilization of the Love Parade overlap. They share the similarity of effectively causing boundaries to disappear, not only for migrants, but also for citizens. Since 1992, there has been an increasing trend among millions of young people to party at Berlin's Love Parade over the summer holiday.

In short, in the second wave of NSM, movements were initiated by ordinary people resisting the pressures of neoliberalism and attempting to reclaim the public sphere as the basis of democracy. They were primarily led by urban tribes united by their love of club music; the secondary leaders included web-based networks. A few years after the protests in Seattle in 1999 and at the G8 summit in Genoa in 2001, NSM were partially revamped but were not yet at the stage of using the Internet widely.

2. On the space of flux, see JESSOP 2007.

3. On the Schengen Agreement and Schengen space, see <http://www.schengenspace.com/>.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS 2.0 OR THE THIRD WAVE OF NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS?

However, NSM tactics are changing along with the development of information technology. In global cities like New York, Berlin, London, and Tokyo, and in the capital cities of many Arab countries, people have begun to occupy the real public space in what is known as the “global justice movement.” People are connecting to each other not only through email and websites but also through social networking services (SNS), which enable them to connect with isolated individuals and share information beyond borders. Using SNS and social media has altered the nature of mobilization in NSM. Demonstrators and rally participants can now easily learn of events on the frontline by downloading data at no cost. Furthermore, people can participate in movements even from their homes through Facebook and Twitter, and can financially support a movement not only by the traditional method of using a checkbook but also through online payment websites such as PayPal. This new era in terms of participation and mobilization in NSM is enabled by web 2.0 and can be defined as “social movements 2.0,” a term that reflects the use of the Internet in such networking. Information about a movement is continuously spread through uploading and downloading data. This phenomenon can be categorized as the third wave of NSMs or the “cloudization” of social movements.

Throughout the world, if protesters have access to the Internet, they can develop effective tactics of protest by combining the occupation of real public spaces, such as parks and squares, and the amplification of their voices, united in cyberspace. These movements involve students, artists, academics, and subaltern people, marking a different composition as compared with previous social movements. In addition, strategically incorporated mechanisms exist to prevent alternative voices from becoming subsumed into mainstream dominant discourse, as they were in the past.

What is the “Cloudization” of Social Movements?

TAZ AND THE NON-HEGEMONIC METHOD OF THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

Demonstrations, rallies, protests, and meetings are mediums that create a public sphere free from the existing order in the age of securitization; moreover, they transform the existing norm (HABERMAS 1990). This type of social movement deconstructs and changes the status quo for “the soci-

ety of spectacle” (DEBORD 1967), thus presenting an opportunity to modify or overthrow the present order.

Existing social forces, such as the police and army, may be weakening owing to opposition to the present order, and “the space of appearance” (ARENDR 1958) can have a non-hegemonic dialogue by which peace is maintained according to another order in a state of nonviolence. The anarchists in the second half of the twentieth century called this space “TAZ: Temporary Autonomous Zone” (BEY 1985), in which non-hegemonic decision-making processes and consensus building are possible without the armed forces. This concept of TAZ includes both Habermassian and Arendtian senses of communicative action in addition to the adoption of NVDA. No qualifications are required to participate in these public or private spaces, and it is not necessary to pay in money and goods or be wealthy with social dominance and hegemony. In addition, TAZ did not initially occupy real space. In 1985, the Internet was restricted to military networks. Hakim Bey conceived of TAZ thanks to science fiction works such as William Gibson’s *Neuromancer*.⁴ This demonstrates how ideas, values, and information developed parallel to the development and spread of the Internet.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MEDIA AND ITS INTERSECTION WITH POLITICS

What occurs when the evolution of the media overlaps with politics? Michel FOUCAULT identified this intersection in the events occurring in the year preceding the Iranian revolution (1978) in “The Revolt in Iran Spreads on Cassette Tapes.” Foucault noted that people who heard the cassette tapes participated in the revolutionary movement during a time of heavy censorship by the army and when unauthorized gatherings were prohibited. In the Iranian revolution, the new media of those days played a decisive role. The technology’s ability to reproduce information was key to the revolution. Political protests, demonstrations, and rallies have increased around the world in recent years, as has social media’s role in them, such as the significant roles of Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube in the Arab Spring, the 15-M Spanish protests, and the Occupy Wall Street movement in New York. The politics of direct democracy are reemerging through the evolution of media tools.

Today’s direct action and the people on the street have supplemented the social movement 2.0 through the “cloudization” of social movements,

4. Fredric Jameson also indicated that William Gibson’s *Neuromancer* is one of the most important novels to grasp today’s conjuncture between real space and cyberspace (JAMESON 2003).

enabling the sharing of nonviolent guidelines among protestors through SNS (GONOI 2012), and this can be seen worldwide. For instance, in the Arab Spring and Occupy Wall Street movements, people were able to share information of the social movements simultaneously through the Internet by uploading and downloading pictures, movies, and maps. The “cloudization” of social movements has contributed to our understanding of what is happening on the frontline of social protests and rallies via the Internet even when people are unable to be at the scene itself.

Protesters can be “walking around with a social movement” owing to their personal digital media that provides access to the Internet. The effect of this “cloudization” of social movements enables protestors to not only share information with less cost and effort but also to organize and unite more quickly. Today’s social movements do not need a specific, physical base, only a symbolic information center. Thus, the “cloudization” of social movements decentralizes a protest’s structure both in reality and in cyberspace, allowing movements to synchronize horizontally and strengthen themselves as a “movement of movements” (MERTES 2004). The organization of each movement, including guidelines, placards, maps, and routes can be downloaded through the Internet. One can revise and change meeting points, and protestors can remap the movement themselves; these tactics constitute the process of self-“mapping” (GUATTARI 1989).

Demonstrations and protests have become more accessible through the “cloudization” of social movements not only in Japan but also in many other countries. Connected through cyberspace networks, protests conducted in real space have been facilitated by various shared ideas about resisting the present hegemony. After a series of summits in the 1990s, justice movements spread in the form of global street parties, and the WTO meeting can be considered a manifestation of TAZ.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE JAPANESE “NO NUKES” MOVEMENT AND THE LIMITS OF CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL THEORY

Following the 3.11 earthquake in Japan, the transformation of TAZ was observed. The Japanese realized that they were key stakeholders in Japanese politics; soon after the catastrophe, people gathered and demonstrations began peacefully and gradually. Protests were held in front of the prime minister’s office every Friday night, in addition to other demonstrations elsewhere. The concept of TAZ has further evolved, especially since March 2012, when the number of protestors on Friday evenings reached almost 300 people. However, only after the “cloudization” of social move-

ments did the number of protesters increase to 1,000, 12,000, 40,000, and eventually 200,000 in mid-June 2012.

Why did so many “no nukes” protesters gather in the country of *wa* (silence and peace)? The answer is simple: every participant practiced the NVDA guidelines, allowing families with children and baby strollers, the elderly and people with disabilities, to easily participate in the protest. The protesters attempted to persuade the police to participate, asking, “Why don’t you join us?” According to the old model of demonstration and protest, the relationship between the police and the participants was an oppositional one, but this is being transformed due to NSM. If a protestor becomes offensive or violent, many female protestors admonish him/her, saying, “This should stop,” and persuade him/her to do so. This is the true practice of NVDA.

Cooperating with the police has garnered criticism from advocates of conventional social movements, who state that this “concedes to the influence of power.” However, this criticism fails to recognize the merit in utilizing existing power. Because a police officer is a public servant paid out of citizens’ taxes, there is no harm in employing this existing power. Furthermore, to prevent another disaster such as the accident after the Akashi fireworks show when eleven people died in a stampede on the overcrowded Akashi bridge, the cooperation of the police is required because of an insufficient number of volunteers.

Sadly, the practice of persuading the police to join the protesters has not been embraced by contemporary democracy theory. For example, a leading figure of radical democracy, Chantal Mouffe, argues that in a pluralistic and agonistic democracy, unity is continuously reorganized in “a movement of movements” (MOUFFE 2005). Democratic struggles and rivalries do not entail distinctions between enemy and friend, us and them. Mouffe regards hostile relationships as inherent in society. However, democracies do not allow for “adversaries,” as the shared loyalty to democratic principles does not facilitate confrontation. In addition, she explains that confrontation and struggle are necessary for a lively democracy. However, in politics, this does not occur. Mouffe states that although the army and police may oppose each other, they do not kick each other’s ball.

Feminization of Social Movements

EFFECTIVENESS OF FEMINIZATION IN PROTESTS

How can we reduce conflicts between protestors and the police? The Japanese “no nukes” protestors employed a completely different approach from that of



FIGURE 1. Greenpeace “NO WAR” color-by-number placard, 2003. ©Miyako Maekita, courtesy of Miyako Maekita.

ordinary social movements—an esthetic approach. Beginning in the 1990s, ordinary people have used NVDA, thus increasing participation in social movements. In this article, I define the approach, currently found exclusively in Japan, as an esthetic approach. This approach probably originated in the 1960s with the campaign of Beheiren (Citizen’s League for Peace in Vietnam) and the slogan “I will throw a bouquet to a gun.”⁵ This esthetic approach has been successful in recent years. “No War Nurie (color-by-numbers) peace placard” by Greenpeace Japan in 2002 marked a watershed in the history of the esthetic approach and the peace placard action won the Dentsu (the biggest full-service advertising agency in Japan) prize in 2003. Approximately 5,000 protestors participated in each peace parade in the 1990s. The number of attendees increased to 50,000 as a result of a placard in the newspaper declaring “No War, Peace.” The participants colored the “No War” placard

5. Women’s anti-nuclear protests started in 1954 in the Sugunami district of Tokyo in reaction to the U.S. Castle Bravo nuclear test at Bikini Atoll and the tragedy of Daigo Fukuryu Maru (Lucky Dragon No. 5)—a Japanese tuna fishing boat that was exposed to and contaminated by nuclear fallout from the thermonuclear device test on Bikini Atoll—but the movement at that time consisted of old-style protests and rallies.



FIGURE 2. Actress Midori Kiuchi wears artist Yoshimoto Nara's Placard in front of the prime minister's office, 2012. Courtesy Kiuchi. Photo by Ikuo Goni.

using different colors and gathered for the demonstration. At that time some world-famous Japanese composers and DJs like Yasuharu Konishi (founder of Pizzicato Five) organized a festive demonstration from Shibuya to Harajuku against the Iraq war.

This approach was a type of DIY exercise utilized in the Japanese "no nukes" demonstrations and in the protests in front of the prime minister's office. The Japanese adoption of this approach following the 3.11 earthquake signifies a break from the traditional "male chauvinism" that characterized old social movements. Most protestors do not engage violently and aggressively with the police as in the old way of (new) social movements. In

the esthetic approach, the current social movements in Japan are changing the composition of demonstrations, allowing even the elderly and children to participate. Even Japanese far-left revolutionary groups like Chūkaku-ha (Middle Core Faction) started a pop- and esthetic-centered front group named Nazen (No Nukes Zenkoku Network) both on street corners and in cyberspace after 3.11. This is a type of feminization of social movements that enables common people to mobilize in social movements and create a "social movement society."

ESTHETIC APPROACHES DEFINED AS "KAWAII DIRECT ACTION"

I use the description "*kawaii* direct action" to refer to the evolution of demonstration techniques in Japan. This is not the traditional masculine and violent direct action, but a feminine and nonviolent direct action. People engage in demonstrations and rallies with various artistic and endearing DIY objects. In addition, they occasionally create "no nukes" posters by using printouts from the Internet and animated characters. One of the



FIGURE 3. Monju-kun's twitter account, courtesy of Monju-kun.

most remarkable posters used during a protest was a “no nukes” poster depicting a little girl. It was created by Nara Yoshitomo, an internationally-renowned and popular Japanese artist. Nara had granted his fans and protestors the opportunity to freely download his “no nukes” girl painting.⁶

Nara's style is appreciated as *kawaii* worldwide, regardless of age. His placard facilitated the involvement of ordinary people in the “no nukes” protest in Japan, where people had regarded silence and submission to the government as virtues. The spread of this *kawaii* placard in the protests and rallies garnered widespread female support, especially among the youth.

An enigmatic fictional persona known as Monju-kun has also played a key role in the esthetic approach and “*kawaii* direct action.”⁷ Monju-kun's character and Twitter account are a remarkable element in the Japanese “no nukes” movement. Monju-kun was the unofficial mascot of Monju Nuclear Power Plant, which is located in Tsuruga, Fukui Prefecture, and is notorious for the MOX-fueled, loop-type reactor that caused several accidents

6. See Yoshitomo Nara, “Free ‘No Nukes’ Print.” <http://robotmafia.com/yoshitomonara-free-no-nukes-print/> (accessed August 30, 2013).

7. Namakura Mariko has demonstrated how Monju-kun plays an important role in the Japanese “No Nukes” movement. See “Monju-kun's light-hearted books enlighten public on nuclear power debate,” *Asahi Shimbun*, April 17, 2012. <https://ajw.asahi.com/article/0311disaster/fukushima/AJ201204170006> (accessed April 3, 2014).



FIGURE 4. Monju-kun free placard used in an anti-nuke protest. Photo by Ikuo Gonoï.

over many years and has yet to reopen.⁸ Such *yuru kyara* (mascot) characterization of monuments or official sites is popular in Japan. The Japan Atomic Energy Agency, aided by the government, runs the Monju site, but the Monju-kun Twitter account always opposes its official operator.

In demonstrations and rallies, Monju-kun symbolizes the “no nukes” movement and nonviolence. Every tweet by Monju-kun is political and discusses the nuclear debate, though the owner of the account is anonymous. Monju-kun’s account serves as an example of “hacktivism” or artistic activism.⁹ Monju-kun not only tweets anti-nuclear opinions on Twitter but has also written several books opposing nuclear power. His work contradicts his origin; however, this paradox is what has created such a sensation, to the extent that Monju-kun T-shirts are sold in book stores.

The network Metropolitan Coalition Against Nukes calls for NVA in front of the prime minister’s office not only to protest nuclear proliferation, but also to create a public space in which parents can bring their children and where all citizens, including the elderly, can participate peacefully and directly voice their concerns.¹⁰ In Kasumigaseki district, there is a “fam-

8. Monju-kun’s twitter account: <https://twitter.com/monjukun> (accessed August 30, 2013).

9. On hacktivism, politics, and nuclear issues, see ASSANGE 2006.

10. The Metropolitan Coalition Against Nukes was founded in September 2011 by a network of groups and individuals that wanted a safer and brighter future for Japan, as well as

ily area,” where a first-time protestor or a protestor with a child can easily participate. Today, both NVDA and “*kawaii* direct action” are crucial to mobilization in Japanese NSM.

A small division between one politician and the entire Diet is corrected through the deliberation process in the Diet. A serious division within the Diet is corrected with the reorganization or dissolution of the Diet. The proof of a functioning democracy is when people begin to react to, and resist, these gaps. The present widespread, active direct democracy demonstrations and protests are manifestations of a living democracy.

What do these direct democracy movements mean for politics? Anti-nuclear politics indicate that in the debate on reopening a nuclear power plant and establishing a nuclear future, 60–70 percent of people in Japan were against its reopening and advocated for reducing reliance on nuclear energy after the 3.11 earthquake. Moreover, in a nationwide questionnaire on energy policy conducted by the government on August 17, 2011, 70 percent responded that nuclear power dependence should be stopped. From July 2 to August 12, the result of the public comment on energy policies by the National Policy Unit, Cabinet Secretariat, showed that 89.1 percent of the 89,124 respondents called for reducing nuclear dependence, and 81 percent called for immediate elimination of nuclear technology.¹¹ Deliberative polling on public opinion, conducted when investigating basic policies for nuclear and other energy sources in August, 2012, produced similar results (THE CENTER FOR DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY 2012).¹²

the world, by eliminating nuclear power. They organize peaceful marches, rallies, and other public events, disseminating information about why the nuclear power industry must be stopped. <http://coalitionagainstnukes.jp/en/> (accessed August 30, 2013).

11. According to the *Asahi Shimbun*, over half of the Japanese people were opposed to restarting the nuclear plant on March 12, 2012: “57% of Opposition on Restart of Nuclear Plant”; <http://www.asahi.com/national/update/0312/TKY201203120551.html> (accessed August 30, 2013). In addition, *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* reported that 70 percent would like the government to consider the nuclear-free option; www.nikkei.com/article/DGXNAS-GC1700Z_X10C12A8PP8000/ (accessed August 30, 2013). This trend has also been observed in the public comment on energy policies by the National Policy Unit, Cabinet Secretariat; see <http://www.cas.go.jp/jp/seisaku/npu/policy09/pdf/20120822/shiry05-2-1.pdf> (accessed July 1, 2014).

12. This was the first time that the central government, in compiling basic policies for nuclear power and other environmental resources, introduced deliberative polling to better reflect public opinion.

Conclusion

To achieve their goals, participants in Japanese social movements utilized TAZ to transform the police from an adversary to a friend. In addition, they employed strategies of nonviolence in demanding changes in the social order. These developments in Japanese social movements can be explained as partially drawn from the global justice and anarchist movements. These political actions, combined with the evolution of information technology and enabled by the development of SNS, caused NSM to transit from the first and second waves to the third wave of social movement 2.0. This “cloudization” of social movements has changed the nature of mobilization, facilitating a dramatic increase in participation in recent NSM. However, Japanese social movements taking place after the 3.11 earthquake differ from other global social movements.

To attract and gather people, Japanese demonstrators have developed and practiced NDVA and TAZ as a space of appearance that enabled people to join demonstrations and rallies without doxa (prejudice). In addition, political participation in Japanese social movements has increased through the feminization of social movements, or “*kawaii* direct action,” as part of an esthetic approach that subverts the narrative of capitalism and the central government and exposes the hollow center of power through good humor and femininity, changing the status quo of tension and masculinity. This esthetic approach halts and sometimes reverses the existing order, including police activities, and it gained momentum after the Fukushima nuclear disaster, which forced the Japanese to assume their rightful roles as stakeholders in their country’s politics.

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