

# **Governing Nuclear Risk: The Interplay of Standardization and Improvisation**

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1. Organizational theories of disaster, qualitative theories of risk
2. “Cultural” explanations for failure (Chernobyl, Fukushima)
3. Current common industry practices
4. Challenges for international governance of nuclear risk

# Outline

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- Normal Accident Theory
- High Reliability Organizations
- Normalization of Deviance
- Culture of Control

# 1.a Organizational Theories of Disaster

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- Accidents as “normal” outcome of a system’s high complexity and tight coupling
- TMI as paradigmatic case (Perrow 1984/1999)
- Chernobyl was “an accident waiting to happen”

# Normal Accident Theory

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Organizations that have succeeded in “avoiding catastrophes in an environment where normal accidents can be expected due to risk factors and complexity.”

# High Reliability Organizations (1)

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## Characteristics:

- Preoccupation with failure
- Reluctance to simplify interpretations
- Sensitivity to operations
- Commitment to resilience
- Deference to expertise

# High Reliability Organizations (2)

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Diane Vaughan (1996)

- “Dark side of organizations”: mistakes, misconduct, disaster
- When “deviant” behavior is no longer recognized as such
- Significance of hindsight
- History *as* cause

# Normalization of Deviance

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Constance Perin (1998, 2005)

- Limitations of written rules
- *De facto* constant work-arounds
- Trend toward standardization

Joy Parr (2006, 2010)

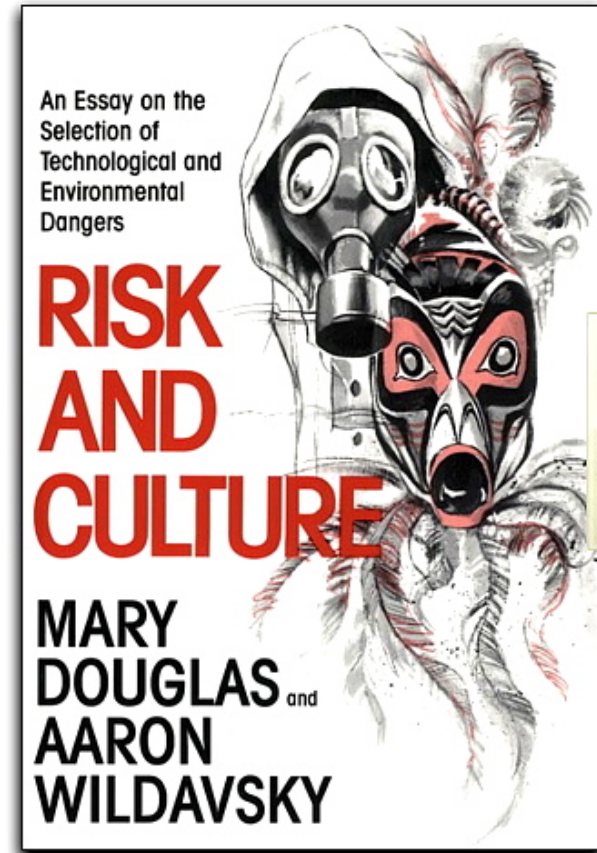
- Self-awareness
- Understanding reasons for rules

# Culture of Control

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- Cultural Theory of Risk



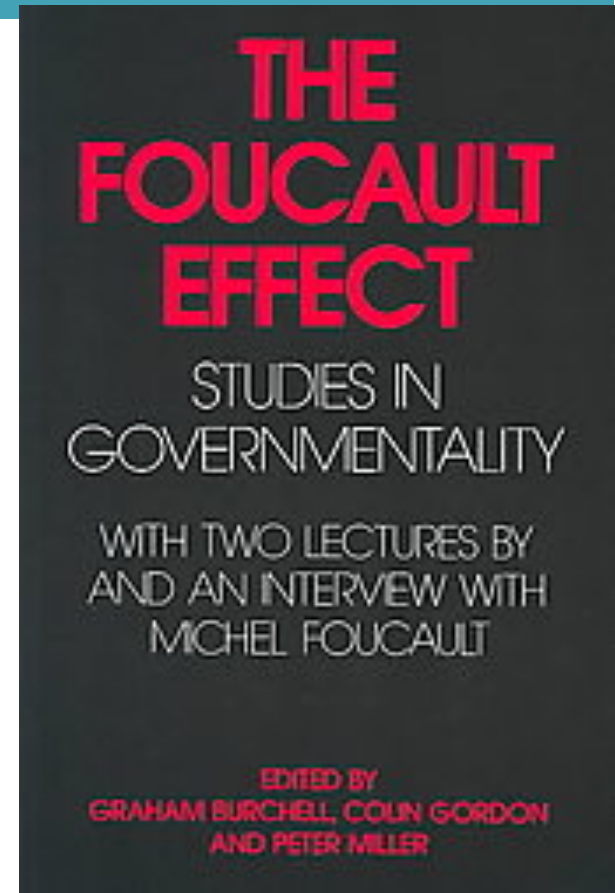
# 1.b Qualitative Studies of Risk

- Cultural Theory of Risk
- Risk Society



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## **1.b Qualitative Studies of Risk**

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- Soviet officials in 1979: “TMI could have never happened here.”
- U.S. officials in 1986: “Chernobyl could have never happened here.”
- International summary of Japanese accident investigation reports: “made in Japan.” (in other words, “could have never happened here”)

## **2. Cultural Explanations for Failure**

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# Standardization

Organizational transformation of global nuclear industry after Fukushima

- FLEX
- “Stress tests”

## 3. Current Common Practices

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- A “diverse and flexible coping capability” addressing loss of power and reactor cooling capability
- Stationing vital emergency equipment — generators, battery packs, pumps, air compressors and battery chargers — in multiple locations *and* “secure offsite locations”
  - Portable equipment providing power and water
  - Reasonable staging & protection of portable equipment
  - Procedures for ER personnel use of FLEX capability
  - Programmatic controls to assure viability and reliability of FLEX capability (maintenance, testing, training)

# FLEX



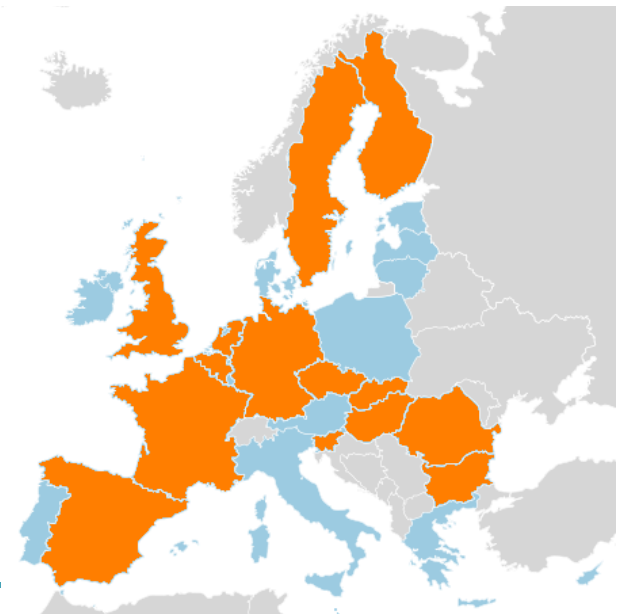


## Post-Fukushima European Council mandates

- Carry out EU-wide comprehensive risk and safety assessments of nuclear power plants (“stress tests”)
- Review legal and regulatory framework for safety of nuclear installations and propose improvements

# “Stress Tests” (1)

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## Scope

- Initiating events (earthquake, flooding, other extreme natural events)
- Consequential loss of safety functions (electrical power, including SBO, UHS, combination of both)
- Severe accident management (protect and manage loss of core cooling function, of spent fuel pool cooling function, of containment integrity)

## Results

- Recommendations: implementation left to national authorities
- “Technical fixes” to reduce risk of a nuclear disaster
- Miss social expertise and improvisational skills

# “Stress Tests” (2)

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- Global, trans-boundary dimension
- Traditional emphasis on risk *prevention*
- Continuing reliance on standardization
- Lack of effective global institutions
- Significance of *expert improvisation*

## **4. Challenges for Nuclear Emergency Response**

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**Thank you!**

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