

外国語要約

The Post-Cold War International Security Restructuring and International Gender Equality Norms: Development of Women, Peace and Security Agenda and its Adoption by Japan

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The UN Security Council Resolution 1325 adopted in 2000 is considered as a ground-breaking international document that recognizes inalienable relationships between international peace and women's rights for the first time, and expected to be a powerful tool to transform the existing international security from gender perspective. The resolution, together with follow-up resolutions, has developed into a strong normative framework called the "Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda." The Japanese government formulated its first national action plan (NAP) to implement the Resolution 1325 in 2015 with civil society participation, while at the same time introducing measures to accelerate militarization and denying state responsibility over the Japanese military "comfort women". Furthermore, some of most important concerns of local feminist groups were eventually dropped from the NAP. Although the WPS agenda speaks of a universalistic norm of sustainable peace and women's rights, what does it actually mean for states like Japan which enjoy privileged status in the international system with historic legacy of colonialism?

This study adopts a theoretical framework of post-structural feminist IR that focuses on performative construction of gendered sovereign identities of security, which claim legitimate violence of protection, through discursive construction of boundaries between inside (order and peace)/outside (danger). It conducts discursive analysis of UN documents, official documents of Japanese government, speeches by public figures as well as NGO documents, to examine how meanings of "women, peace and security" and gendered identities of Japan are constructed, intervened and negotiated, for the duration between the end of the Cold War and 2015 when the Japan 1325 NAP was formulated.

The 1st aim of the study is to identify how the universal WPS agenda actually helps to reproduce asymmetric relationships between societies affected by conflicts in the South

and those in the North who help them. By conducting discursive analysis of 10 Security Council resolutions that constitute the WPS agenda focusing on representations of “women”, the study argues that the WPS agenda, by problematizing gender relations in conflict-affected societies only, produces specific knowledge about gendered, sexualized and racialized threats in the post-Cold War world, and thus constructs sovereign subjectivities to claim control over those threats, which in effect legitimates privilege of rich liberal democracies like Japan as “already” having achieved peace and gender equality.

The 2nd aim of the study is to examine the roles played by the international gender equality norms in the post-Cold War reconstruction of security in Japan. The study analyzed outward claim of sovereign power by the Japanese state and how this sovereign figure is problematized through internal conflicts. Since the Gulf War in 1990-91, Japan shifted from strict Constitutional restriction over the use of military force to more active use of the force in pursuit of privileged position in the international community as a major actor in the post-Cold War world order. The study analyzes this shift of security of Japan as an attempt to reconstruct “sovereign masculinity,” and analyzes how gender mainstreaming of the post-Cold War international security has helped outward claim of sovereign power by Japan, by examining the process through which the issue of gender mainstreaming of peace-building has been established in Japan’s “contribution to international peace” through the support to women in Afghanistan, as the aim of counter-terrorism merges with international aid.

However, gender mainstreaming of the post-Cold War international security has also posed serious challenges to the attempt of constructing “sovereign masculinity” of Japan, as seen in the rise of the “comfort women” issue. This challenge posed by feminism and international gender norms has resulted in a sort of reactive sovereign masculinity as seen in history revisionist movement and so-called “gender backlash,” which may jeopardize the pursuit of power by Japanese state in the international community as a holder of universal values. The study further examines the new phase of Japan’s reconstruction of security with focus on “women shine” foreign policy of the 2nd Abe Administration, analyzing how Japanese government has adopted universalistic gender norms as a part of national security strategy, and how this sovereign identity is problematized by different understandings of “women, peace and security” through

discursive analysis of formulation process of Japanese 1325 NAP.

These examinations show contradictory aspects that the international gender norms have had on construction of sovereign power of Japan. While creation and diffusion of international gender equality norms were pursued by global feminist movement as a way to strengthen state accountability and accelerate transformation in 1990s, this study points out how those norms could be strategically utilized by state as a way to claim identity of “developed” nation and to pursue “national interests.”

Thirdly, this study points out that “history issues” have played central roles in social conflicts over reconstruction of security and gender in Japan, examining how the lack of historicity in universalistic international gender norms can enable states like Japan to erase their historic accountability by upholding those norms.

By critically examining conflicts over the meanings of “women, peace and security” in the context of Japan, which is regarded as having no problem with regard to security and gender relations under the framework of the WPS, this study points out that the international gender norms are not always adopted in different contexts with fixed meanings but can play crucial roles in reconstruction of sovereign power through struggles over meanings in specific contexts, and urges serious attention to the critical meanings that historicity has in reconstruction of security and gender.