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Gender and Armed Forces: Internalisation of International Norms in the Japanese Self-Defence Forces

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論文題目

Gender and Armed Forces: Internalisation of International

Norms in the Japanese Self-Defence Forces

(ジェンダーと軍事組織:自衛隊による国際規範の内在化)

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Abstract

Compliance with international norms relating to gender equality has become a requirement for a legitimate statehood. Although Japan has generally been criticized for lagging behind other developed democracies in this area, gender integration in Japan has steadily advanced even in such rigid and conservative sectors as the national security sector. Japan has adopted international norms relating to gender equality through its post-war Constitution of 1947, the ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women in 1985, and the institutionalisation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in the late 1990s. Through participation in international peacekeeping operations and other multinational military missions, and entering into partnership agreement with NATO in 2014, Japan has adopted Women, Peace and Security agenda in its own security sector.

This study seeks to introduce a political science perspective in the scarce research about policies toward women in the Japanese Self-Defence Forces (SDF). It argues that factors influencing gender policies of the SDF are not limited to material considerations based on military needs nor on domestic normative context alone. Wider international normative context must not be disregarded when explicating the change of gender policies in the armed forces of Japan. Using *localisation* model of norm internalisation proposed by Acharya, this paper investigates mechanisms through which international norms relating to gender equality have influenced policy-making process in the SDF, and the features of the norm internalisation process. The analysis is based on Japanese and international written sources, both secondary and primary, interviews with relevant actors including the SDF officers, Japanese bureaucrats, politicians and representatives of civil society.

International gender equality norms were internalised in Japan through the process of norm localisation. The content of foreign norms (equal value of men and women, shared family responsibilities, work-life balance, human rights, anti-discrimination, prohibition of violence

against women, gender perspective) was adjusted to local normative priors through congruence processes of framing, grafting and pruning, preserving the domestic normative hierarchy. The paper reveals that the SDF have actively participated in the process of internalisation of international norms relating to gender equality within the organisation, borrowing needed elements from international gender equality norms, and contesting those elements that diverged from the identity, interests and preferences of the SDF and its leadership.

This study proposes to develop Acharya's norm localisation model through concepts of accumulation of enabling factors, norm sedimentation and "phasing out" of norms. Accumulation of enabling factors creates the possibility for local actors to adopt a foreign norm and facilitates localisation process. Norm sedimentation is a process through which local actors familiarise themselves with the content of new norms. Through repetitive use of new language, production of documentation, habitual compliance with new procedures and practices, actors on the level of organisation become acquainted with and used to new tasks, functions and institutions introduced for the purpose of compliance with the adopted norms. Through successful framing, grafting and pruning convergence between new norms and local normative priors can be achieved and entrenchment of a normative status quo avoided. Phasing out is the process through which habitual language, practices and procedures reflective of prior local norms comes into disuse, representing the process of norm displacement.

International norms relating to gender equality influence SDF policies indirectly, through compliance with Japanese government requirements, and directly through borrowing from international normative framework, through socialisation that enables learning, emulation and sharing of experiences with armed forces of other advanced democracies, and creation of shared identity with their peers.

To my mum who has encouraged and supported every dream I have had.

To my dad who has given me a dreamer's heart.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASDF Air Self-Defence Forces

CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against

Women

CSW Commission on the Status of Women United Nations

CRSGBV Conflict-Related Sex and Gender Based Violence

DSP Democratic Social Party

ECOSOC Economic and Social Council United Nations

EEO Act Equal Employment Opportunities Act

ERA Equal Rights Amendment (US)

GHQ/SCAP General Headquarters Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers

GSDF Ground Self-Defence Forces

IJA Imperial Japanese Army

ILO International Labour Organization

JDA Japan Defence Agency

JCP Japanese Communist Party

JSP Japanese Socialist Party

LGBT Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender

LDP Liberal Democratic Party

MOD Japan Ministry of Defence

MSDF Maritime Self-Defence Forces

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organisation

NDA National Defence Academy of Japan

NPA National Police Agency

PKO Peacekeeping Operation

RIMPAC Rim of Pacific Exercise

SEA Sexual Exploitation and Abuse

SDF Japanese Self-Defence Forces

UNSC United Nations Security Council

UN Women United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of

Women

USFJ United States Forces Japan

WAC Women Army Corps

WAF Women in the Air Force

WPS Women, Peace and Security