

## 《ENGLISH SUMMARY》

### **Grasping the Transformation of a Norm: From Poison Ban Norm to Chemical Weapon Ban Norm**

Kenki Adachi

Analyzing the diffusion of norms has recently become one of the most popular research themes in international relations. The norm life cycle model developed by Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink has become so influential that many subsequent studies have applied this model to analyze various norm diffusion processes. Research on more complicated norm diffusion processes has added new terms to the vocabulary of norm diffusion studies: contestation of competing norms, clash of norm interpretations or tug-of-war between norm entrepreneurs and norm protectors. However, most of the studies conducted on norm diffusion till date share a static view on norms.

Since norms continue to change after they emerge, I propose a dynamic view on norms. Particular events or environmental changes often trigger the transformation of a norm. Taking the norm against the use of poisons as an example, I examine whether any country behaved contrary to the norm or attempted to challenge the interpretation of the norm after such events or changes occurred. The fact that some countries behaved contrary to the norm or discursively challenged the norm does not necessarily imply a transformation of the norm *per se*. It is important to analyze the reaction of others to such behaviors to see whether the norm begins to recede. By focusing on the interaction between norm challengers and norm protectors, I shed light on the transformation of the norm. This is a process on which the existing literature on norm diffusion was not concentrated upon.

The movements to establish an international law of war during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the large-scale use of poisonous gas during the World War I, the arms race in the Cold War era, and the end of the Cold War were all major events that triggered the transformation of the norm regarding poison or chemical weapons. Through the analysis of the interaction between norm challengers and norm protectors during these events, I demonstrate how the norm against the use of poisons was repeatedly transformed over time.

\* Kenki Adachi is professor in the College of International Relations at Ritsumeikan University

## **Implementation and Internalization of the International Norm to Protect National Minorities in the Former Yugoslav Countries**

Masataka Nakauchi

Twenty years after the bitter conflict of the Bosnian War (1992-1995), Bosnia and Herzegovina remains a fragile and dysfunctional state. Bosnia is an example of state acceptance and implementation of the international norm of inter-ethnic power sharing, and at the same time, an example of the failure for such norm to produce intended results. Rivalry between the former warring parties continues, and has paralyzed certain functions of Bosnia's multi-layered government, though this governing system was carefully installed through efforts resulting from international intervention. Leading literature on Bosnia concludes that its post-conflict system is a source of an array of problems. This view is persuasive, but cannot fully explain the situation, as other cases from the former Yugoslavia are facing similar problems, though they have introduced less divisive systems than Bosnia.

This paper suggests that the issue lies with the way in which the systems were introduced. Local actors in the former Yugoslav countries installed international norms to protect national minorities superficially, without internalizing them. With pressure from international parties such as the US, and the EU, implementation can be forced, but internalization cannot. "Superficial acceptance" that is not internalized, creates a situation wherein the norm, even if well-implemented, cannot accomplish intended results.

In becoming institutionalized or legalized, norms can be clearer and more binding, but, on the other hand, they may also enable actors who do not intend to obey the norm. This tends to happen when local actors do not regard the international norms as legitimate in their cultural/political contexts, caring only about profits and costs in accepting/not accepting them.

The protection of national minorities encompasses a collection of norms including the prohibition of discrimination, positive measures to correct disadvantages of minorities, inter-ethnic power sharing, and so on. Although the prohibition of discrimination generally enjoys a high level of legitimacy, the other two norms do not. Hence, in attempting to promote the acceptance of such norms, international actors tend to rely on relatively coercive measures, such as conditionality or sanctions. Such measures can promote mere implementation, but cannot force local actors to wholeheartedly approve of the norms.

By examining the cases of Bosnia and Macedonia, the current paper examines the

tendencies and impacts of “superficial acceptance” of the protection of the national minorities norms. It argues that these norms must be internalized by local actors to accomplish their overall goals of co-existence and reconciliation of ethnic communities.

\* Masataka Nakauchi is associate professor in the Osaka School of International Policy at Osaka University

## **Norm at Frictions: R2P and POC in 4 Years after the Libya Intervention**

Hirotsugu Ohba

In this paper, I argue that the state of 'norm at frictions' should be considered in the 'Norm life cycle'. Without this state, practice and feedback of norm would slip off.

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink described international 'Norm life cycle' as three stages: Norm Emergence, Norm Cascade, Internalization. However, 'Norm life cycle' could not explain situations of norms in practice adequately.

Both Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and Protection of Civilian in Peacekeeping (POC), which respond to humanitarian tragedies like genocide and ethnic cleansing with use of force, are important norms in international relations, and some had regarded these norms as having reached the stage of 'Internalization' before the Libya intervention in 2011.

However, after the Libya intervention (also regarded as R2P in practice), R2P was regarded as a 'Trojan horse' for 'regime change'. And R2P 'has gone missing' in both 'UN's diplomatic lexicon' (Zifcak 2015). On the contrary, it seemed that POC has been steadily practiced in Central Africa republic, Mali, Democratic Republic of Congo, and South Sudan.

Do these situations mean failure of Internalization of R2P and success of POC? Do practices in the field influence 'Norm life cycle'? By researching these situations in detail, we can find that new state of norm life cycle, 'norm at friction'. Both norms is at frictions inside norm life cycle.

First, although R2P has gone missing in official UN dialogue, necessity of 'use of force' in extreme case has not been rejected. Second, POC seemed to be accepted by a large number of UN member states but the practice of 'use of force' was hesitant among these countries. In addition, for example in South Sudan, although practices of POC saved lives of thousands population, it sometimes dissatisfy other local population.

In conclusion, both R2P and POC are in the state of 'Norm at frictions'. And, in this

state, both norms seek to reconcile and rebalance in harsh situations.

\* Hirotosugu Ohba is a research fellow in the Faculty of Social and Cultural Studies at Kyushu University

## **The Coordination of the Global Anti-Corruption Governance via Hybrid Polycentric Networks**

Makiko Nishitani

This paper argues that the multi-layered transnational network system, termed the “hybrid polycentric network” (HPN), works as a mechanism of coordination of diverse institutions and actors, creates synergies among them, and maintains coherence in the decentralized global governance system. HPN is conceptualized to incorporate composite features of global public policy networks, epistemic communities, and transnational advocacy networks, and to facilitate horizontal coordination in three aspects: of the interests, strategies, actions of heterogeneous actors (governments, civil society, business, experts, popular movements); of different regimes or schemes (both in legislation and implementation mechanisms); and of different levels (global, regional, national). The paper analyzes the global anti-corruption governance by using this concept.

Global anti-corruption governance is characterized by a regime complex consisting of multi-level and multi-sector norms and networks. Potential inefficiencies are minimized by a loose, multi-sector expert community that facilitates the harmonization and coordination of regimes, and by polycentric networks that coordinate multi-level centers of authority to maintain coherence, which is exemplified by the network of Transparency International (TI).

Despite its elitist tradition, the movement against corruption has recently been increasingly popularized. Accordingly, major anti-corruption institutions now emphasize engagement with the people. The anti-corruption network, including TI network, seems to be orienting itself toward a HPN structure and has mostly succeeded in coordinating different institutions. However, tensions remain between certain governments and civil society, and the UNCAC Coalition, an NGO network for promoting implementation of the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC), makes efforts to coordinate heterogeneous NGOs and bridge the gap between governments and civil society. It could be said that the anti-corruption network is

increasingly “hybridizing,” but future developments must be carefully observed before a conclusion is reached about the HPN against corruption and its contribution to the evolution of anti-corruption norms.

\* Makiko Nishitani is associate professor in the Graduate School of International Cooperation Studies at Kobe University.

## **Cross-Border Cooperation in European Neighbourhood Policy: Considering Normative Politics of the European Union in External Action**

Yoichiro Usui

The paper considers strategic implications of cross-border cooperation in EU external border areas, which has been carried out as a part of European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) by using European Neighbourhood Instruments (ENI). This cooperation is called CBC ENI and supplemented with the Macro-Region Strategies including neighbourhood countries funded by EU regional policy instruments. After a short literature review of related existing studies on ENP, the paper gives a focus on a crucial problem of this policy, which is that ENP has solely been orientated towards socio-economic dimensions, despite the fact that it should essentially be in a part of EU security policies because target countries of this policy have been politically vulnerable. On the basis of this understanding, however, the paper points out that CBC ENI, though it has been essentially socio-economic and its fund has been quite a small, has significant implications for normative politics of the EU in external action. The paper draws attention to the following two points: CBC ENI implicates the transplant of a governance model of the EU to neighbour countries; and this transplantation has been based on longer-term and recurrent practices of INTERREG projects of the EU for implementing EU norms and then deepening European Integration. Last but not least, the paper finally suggests that this practice of cross-border cooperation may bring about a discursive dichotomy between the European (or the civil) and the non-European (or de-civil) in the area of arc of instability, for which the ENP has been constructed.

\* Yoichiro Usui is professor in the Department of International Studies at Niigata University of International and Information Studies

## Global Governance and Global Governmentality: Concepts as Sovereignty/Norm

Atsushi Minamiyama

There have been many discussions on the concept of “governance without government,” proposed by global governance studies in relation to the resolution of “global issues” triggered by the rapid expansion of globalization since the 1990s. Specifically, these discussions refer to attempts to redefine the conditions for cooperative acts of governance and relationships amongst transnational non-state entities under structural anarchy. Globalization as a phenomenon has induced the weakening of the sovereign state and made fluid the hierarchical structure of international and domestic politics, revealing the limits of traditional international politics that is severely constrained by state-centrism, and making inevitable the emergence of global governance discourses.

However, the subsequent development of global governance studies has been insubstantial, at least in terms of theory. This is because as globalization has rapidly advanced, the resolution of global issues has increasingly been entrusted to cooperative relationships between existing states and emerging non-state entities, while the task of validating the theoretical meanings of global governance has been neglected.

This study reevaluates the theoretical and normative problems within concepts of global governance via Michel Foucault’s concept of “governmentality” which has been applied to international relations theory in recent years. The concept of governmentality is an extremely useful tool in reappraising, from a critical perspective, the historical structure of the modern phenomena of governance constructed through the interrelationship of power and knowledge. In order to apprehend this point, this study will illustrate processes triggering resistance from local governmentality via the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion exercised by global governmentality through the dual structures of modern sovereignty and the security apparatus, focusing on “security apparatus,” Foucault’s original concept. Finally, the opposition between the Japanese government and Okinawa Prefecture over the US military bases in Okinawa is discussed as an example of the clash between global and local governmentality, before further comments about the validity of the concept of governmentality are provided.

\* Atsushi Minamiyama is associate professor of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Tsukuba.

## **A study of Quasi-Autonomy of Corporate Governance in an Enabling Environment: Focusing on Current Corporate Activities and Business Environment**

Yuta Mochizuki

Why are business entities getting into focusing on social values? They actually do good in an operation with no wonder, although it's still rational that they do their business only to maximize shareholders' utilities in the radical view of neo-liberal management. We have plenty of global issues, which governments cannot deal with by themselves. Implicitly this means governments need to share their burdens. However, this is not a perfect but a partial answer to the question. Thus considering status quo of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and changes among business environment, I will discuss this point of why business entities are interested in and take it for granted that they do business with caring social values – being a solution–.

Here are keywords: 1. Open, horizontal and specialized relation among business entities, NGO and governments, 2. Interdependence and interaction and 3. Quasi-Autonomy.

First I will explain how business and its circumstance are changing by introducing some cases of CSR activities, regimes and actors related to CSR activities such as guidelines, financial indices and NGOs. And I clarify companies are made to be evaluated by external circumstances formed by those actors. That is, if they do nothing, they're to be debased. In case they perform something progressive, they're to be rewarded financially or non-financially.

Second considering relation among them plus government, I argue that the relation has lost a hierarchical and vertical aspect which is by means of administrative directions, orders or political power, and become more heterarchical and horizontal relation underpinned by actors' interdependence. I argue the fact they interdepend on their specialized resources, calls for business entities' commitments to global issues. This inevitable needs toward business entities and external circumstances form the flat relation. And this "Tit for tat" relation – cooperation and strained ties – induces constituent members to be coordinated. There happens an interaction in the relation. Through social interaction, members' cognitions are being converged and heteronomous. CSR or actions based on social values are voluntary hence business entities under heteronomous circumstances can freely interpret what they should do in the range of social cognition and benefit. It's the quasi-autonomy on business. Owing to quasi-autonomy, they can perform a work based on social values which, for example, seems to

meet inadequate benefit in short-term.

\* Yuta Mochizuki is doctoral student in the Graduate School of Urban Social and Cultural Studies at Yokohama City University