

博士論文（要約）

Doctoratal Thesis (Abridged)

The Role & Implications of 'Proactive Contribution to Peace' in
Abe's Practice of Strategic Communications

（安倍政権の戦略的コミュニケーションの実践における
「積極的平和主義」の役割と含意）

李 信愛

LEE Shin-ae

Proactive Contribution to Peace was not only a policy statement but also a central strategic narrative of the second Abe administration designed to shape the perception and behavior of both Japan's domestic and international audiences. It represented an endeavor by the administration to utilize strategic communications to structure the response of the recipients of its messages denoting more proactive Japanese stance towards the international security. Hence, this thesis aimed to explore and explain 'Proactive Contribution to Peace' as the central pillar of the Abe administration's strategic communications efforts. It also strived to assess its validity as a strategic communications exercise aimed at extracting favorable responses from the audience in line with central messages of Proactive Contribution to Peace as a strategic narrative.

Indeed, this study sought to demonstrate Proactive Contribution to Peace as Japan's application of strategic communications that utilized the constitutive function of identity narrative to promote Japan's new identity as a leading maritime democracy that proactively guards the rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific. As such, it identified the new dimension in Proactive Contribution to Peace, which tended to be generally examined either through a realist lens as a pacifist branding in justification for Japan's changing security posture, or a constructivist lens relying on the role of pacifist norms and identity that gave common foundation in Japan's security policy evolution. This study explored the roles and implications of Proactive Contribution to Peace in terms of Japan's purposeful use of communication to influence and engage the audience within the realm of strategic communications research.

In addition, this study examined how Proactive Contribution to Peace took a different approach compared to Japan's past pacifism and presented some of the essential elements of Value-oriented Diplomacy, which signified Abe's strategic use of identity narratives promoting Japan's proactive role in guarding "the values". It offered a balanced insight into why and how Proactive Contribution to Peace and its narratives were created and communicated, through examining both Japan's realistic attempt to deal with the growing global uncertainty, as well as the influence of political leadership who had a lifelong desire to make a stronger Japan.

Chapter I clarified that the second Abe administration has advanced Japan's use of communication from a demure supporter of diplomatic relations and global economic activity, and national image to an active enabler of national strategy and political goals. The most notable change among Abe administration's various efforts to improve communication strategy was the introduction of strategic communications. The practices of strategic communications in the administration varied from more strategic and coordinated practice of public diplomacy and public relations to a vital enabler of Japan's

national defense and security. This study primarily focused on the latter to understand how the administration communicated Proactive Contribution to Peace via words and deeds to improve national security and reach specific goals.

In Chapter II, this study elucidated that Proactive Contribution to Peace was fundamentally different from Japan's postwar pacifist, given that it placed great emphasis on Japan's role in promoting universal values, particularly the rule of law and strengthening relationships with countries sharing those values. This study construed Proactive Contribution to Peace inherited key elements of identity narratives in Value-oriented Diplomacy and Arc of Freedom and Prosperity (AFP) from Abe's first administration. Notably, Chapter II pointed out that these narratives intended to influence attitude and perception of internal and external audiences to support Japan's national security amid China's growing assertiveness and to realize Abe's envisaged Japan that takes on a major role in international affairs. In addition, it demonstrated that the administration communicated its messages of Proactive Contribution to Peace and Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) through words and actions, much like its use of Value-oriented Diplomacy and AFP. This study explicated it as Japan's practice of de facto strategic communications.

In Chapter III, the study explored various words and actions that delivered the messages and uncovered the gap between what Abe and his administration have said and done under the banner of Proactive Contribution to Peace. Based on the comprehensive assessment of diverse messages, Chapter III concluded that the messages of Proactive Contribution to Peace essentially promoted Japan's new identity as a leading maritime democracy that proactively guards the rules-based maritime order in pursuit of peace and security in the Indo-Pacific. The messages ultimately sought to influence and engage the audiences to achieve greater support and involvement to safeguard national security and reach Abe's envisaged Japan.

Based on the key findings, this study conducted case studies to evaluate the effectiveness of Proactive Contribution to Peace in terms of strategic communications and clarify the key variables of effective strategic communications. First, it provided in-depth insights into three cases, from how Japan's strategic communications activity was planned and implemented to whether it has achieved intended changes and goals, following the *framework*, which was devised based on existing evaluation models but tailored to the Japan case. In short, this study concluded that Chapter IV as partially effective and Chapter VI as effective while Chapter V as ineffective, given effectiveness was defined as whether a strategic communications activity has achieved desired changes in perception, attitude, and behavior of target audiences, and/or specific goals.

Chapter IV examined that Japan's maritime security cooperation with ASEAN countries was partially effective. The Abe administration has indeed achieved ASEAN countries' increasing support and involvement in Japan's vision and efforts in the regional seas, particularly upholding the rule of law at sea. Also, Japan was recognized as the key maritime partner by the region and gained regional trust and popularity. However, Japan faced rough challenges to increase the regional support and involvement to a desired level, and to be more generally recognized by ASEAN countries as a leading player in the regional maritime security amid China's growing influence.

Meanwhile, Chapter V concluded SDF's participation in the international peace cooperation under Abe's leadership as ineffective. Japan's international peace cooperation activities were welcomed and appreciated by inside and outside the operation areas. However, the SDF missions in South Sudan and the Sinai Peninsula revealed widening say-do gaps and eventually failed to promote Japan's image as a proactive contributor to international peace both at home and abroad. They also raised doubts about Japan's will and ability to play a proactive role in international peace and security.

Finally, Chapter VI revealed that the Abe administration's promotion of defense and security cooperation with Europe's big three in light of FOIP was effective, although their cooperation remained relatively piecemeal and ad hoc. With Japan's efforts to promote its proactive role in defending the rules-based order together with European partners, Europe's big three that face growing concern on challengers against the existing liberal international order, particularly China, increasingly recognized Japan as a key Indo-Pacific partner sharing value and interests. Also, although levels of cooperation varied, they all strengthened security ties with Japan in the region to achieve FOIP in a relatively short period.

Notably, the case studies discovered variation in outcomes for strategic communications activities, which led to different effectiveness. Hence, the study assessed hypotheses to identify which variables played a meaningful role in increasing the effectiveness of a strategic communications activity. In Introduction, this study determined that capability and credibility as the essential factors in deciding the effectiveness of strategic communications activities that enable a communicator to induce desired changes of target audiences according to deterrence theory. Hence, it first examined political variables for capability and credibility. This study elucidated confirmed political variables for capability as: a specific goal supporting national policies/goals and alignment with national interests. Alignment with national values was important but SDF's participation in the international peace cooperation revealed that it induced the government's allocations of its effort and resources only if the activity is

aligned with national interests.

In addition, confirmed political variables for credibility were: message consistency, repetition of activity, and change in response to the audiences' request. Chapter V implied that a political leader's advocacy without actual actions following the words may not only reduce its effectiveness in achieving credibility and inducing the desired changes, but rather backfire and undermine the credibility of messages and even the government's overall policies.

Meanwhile, this study investigated three message variables that are likely to enable a communicator to develop compelling and engaging messages that effectively conveyed capability and credibility to the audiences: a clear target audience, a message tailored to target audiences, a cross-government coordination. All message variables were confirmed as valid. Compared to two other cases, the SDF's international peace cooperation had no clear target audience and thus no tailored message, while there were insufficient cross-government coordination efforts.

Finally, based on what this study learned from Japan's practice of strategic communications under Abe's leadership, the thesis suggested policy implications. First, it provided three suggestions for general practice of strategic communications: 1) Set a clear goal for a strategic communication activity based on national interests and align it with national policies and goals, 2) Define a target audience for a strategic communications activity and constantly respond to its request, and 3) Maintain message consistency between narratives and between words and actions through a whole-of-government approach. This study also provided policy implications for the Japanese government: 1) Establish a definition and principles for its own strategic communications, 2) Strengthen the role of NSS in coordinating strategic communications with taking a whole-of-government approach, 3) Develop its own evaluation plan and criteria for strategic communications, and 4) Improve Proactive Contribution to Peace and FOIP in a more coordinated and clear manner with strategic communications in mind.