Thesis For Master's Degree in Comparative Politics

Under the Title of:

Is State Feminism the Key to Gender Equality?"

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Introduction

"The male point of view forces itself upon the world as a way of apprehending it. Perspectives from the male standpoint enforces a woman's definition, encircles her body, circumlocutes her speech, and describes her life" (Mackinnon, 1983, 636). How the world views women is sometimes out of their hands. Ogasawara (1999) explains that "there is a multiplicity of socially acceptable images of Japanese women today" (pg.87). Throughout this thesis, I will explore the several, but limited, images that Japanese society has rendered acceptable for women. I will also examine how Japanese State Feminism aims to give women the opportunity to have agency to change those images. In this thesis, I use the term State Feminism to refer to 'Femocrats', i.e. feminists who are policymakers and thus come to play a role in presenting women's issues and demands within the policymaking sector in the state in order to help better represent women's demands and close the gender gap between both sexes.

Despite the engagement of feminists, in practice, with the state through women's policy agencies for instance, Feminist theory has been inherently characterized by an anti-state agenda due to the patriarchal nature and anti-feminist discourse of some states (Outshroon and Kantola 2007, 3). And so, the idea of adopting a state feminist discourse has been highly questionable by many feminist theorists. Nevertheless, despite some doubt, the debate has been settled in the 1980s and has been mostly accepted ever since (Outshroon and Kantola 2007, 4). The case of Japan characterizes a democratic yet conservative country, creating a case in which the state is divided between the essence of democracy that is accompanied by policies of gender equality and the conservative tendencies of the society and some of its policymakers. Thus, this leads us to question how feminists operate within the Japanese state, in terms of whether they aid in the co-option or transformation of state related gender policies. With that being said, the research

question is: *How do Japanese feminists operate within the context of a conservative state and society? To what degree does their qualified success lead us to conclude about the dynamics of feminism in Japan and the concept of state Feminism more generally?*

So, in order to answer the research question, this thesis will include, first, an examination of the concept of State Feminism. Second, this examination will lead to us to better understand *how* feminists operate within the Japanese state a historical overview of Japanese feminism, starting from the Meiji period, which is considered to mark the birth of modern Japan and Japanese feminism. Third, an examination of all the phases of Japanese feminism, including major movements, actors, and policies is necessary in order to be able to understand how it has developed not only as a scholarly discipline, but also in practice, meaning as in its relationship with the state, society, and policymaking and an analysis of modern day feminist and gender related issues in Japan in terms of the contested issues and the response of the state to such issues and an analysis of the reaction of feminists to such responses, thus contextualizing the agenda in which Japanese feminists operate. Last, an examination of Japanese feminism now, including policies and political participation, the government, the role of the "Femocrats", and how all of that is reflected in terms of state feminism in Japan: (success and transformation, co-optation, or failure).

In this thesis, I hypothesize that based on the fact that Japan is a strongly conservative society that encompasses a good number of conservative elites and policymakers, the creation of national bureaus and unions, supported by either specific movements or in a specific context (such as international pressure, economic concerns), has put Japanese feminism in a position in which said organs function according to the context they are in. Thus, this leads us to question whether State Feminism can solely help feminists achieve gender equality. Throughout this

thesis, I deduce that State Feminism on its own has not been enough to achieve gender equality. It was rather certain conditions that have led even conservative, patriarchal policymakers to add women-friendly policies, paving the way for State Feminism to take root, even if it did not fully developed.

This thesis is divided into six parts, an introduction, four main chapters, and a conclusion. The first chapter examines the rise of modernization theory as an important paradigm in the 20th century scholarly material, how the foundation of such theory relates to the concept of State Feminism, how State Feminism pinpoints the contradictions lying within Modernization theory, and how the case studies explored in the upcoming chapters can be explained through the understanding of the interrelation of patterns of the theory of modernization and the concept of State Feminism. The second chapter, first, explores conceptualization and concept formation in Social Sciences, focusing on defining and conceptualizing State Feminism. Second, it examines the origins of the term and how it has been utilized through different contexts. Third, it discusses some important elements regarding State Feminism, including engaging with the state, Women's Policy Agencies and their roles, feminism from above and feminization from below. The third chapter includes the use of State Feminism, which is a conceptual tool, to illustrate the contradiction that the case of Japan portrays. The Japanese case illustrates a paradox, embodying a contradiction between signs of success through the passing of policies and laws related to women's rights and gender equality by the Japanese government and signs of failure due to the fact that autonomous movements from below do not have enough say in the passing of these policies and that such policies are part of the state's national agenda and not part of a narrative to change gender discrimination.

Moreover, State Feminism sheds light on this relationship by articulating that 'Femocrats', who are feminists that are part of the state's policymaking cadre, through the aid of Women's Policy Agencies, should be able to communicate the link between the state's policymakers (from above) and the women's movements (from below). Furthermore, through the examination of the Japanese case, from the Meiji era until the former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's cabinet, I will be able to illustrate how the contradictions that State Feminism embodies are part of the actual reality. In order to understand this, we will first have to take a look at when it all started. Scholars argue that it was the pre-conditions for modernization in the Tokugawa era (1600-1868) and the actual modernization reforms of the Meiji era (1868-1912) that set the stage for today's Japan (Garon, 1993, 348). The fourth chapter looks at the lessons learned from the Japanese case and relates them to two shadow cases, which are Turkey and Iran. This eventually leads up to the conclusion that despite the fact that State Feminism does facilitate the achievements of women's rights, it cannot be given the sole credit for that since, as explained below, there are preconditions that have aided State Feminism to do so.

Chapter 1: Modernization Theory and State Feminism

Introduction

Modernization theory was a dominant paradigm in the 20th century. The birth of the theory coincides with the efforts of researchers to develop a paradigm to help guide the newly emerging nations in the decades following the end of the second World War (Dube, 1988, 15). As a concept, modernization has been used to describe the process of change and human development, accompanying the rise of knowledge over the past couple of decades (Black, 1967, 5). According to Fukuyama (2009), "the good things of modernization tended to go together" (pg. 85). Thus, this assumes that change affects all aspects of society, so that when one part changes, the rest is expected to follow. So, how does the theory of modernization relate to the concept of State Feminism? Modernization theorists assume that all societies must go through some needed changes in order to become 'modern'. These include changes in the political, economic, and social aspects of society, which is where the gender aspect comes in. There are different views about whether the process of modernization positively or negatively affects gender equality and gender rights.

When it comes to widespread changes in women's rights, it should be noted that different factors have different effects, making the process of 'modernizing' gender rights not an inevitable process (Inglehart & Norris, 2009, 150). Thus, the question becomes whether the newly founded gender rights are an honest attempt to improve gender rights or are just part of the state's agenda to 'modernize'? And if modernization does really assume an inexorable progress of all aspects of society, then how are women rights still a major issue in many of the modernized states? This chapter explores the rise of modernization theory as an important paradigm in the 20th century scholarly material, how the foundation of such theory relates to the

concept of State Feminism, how State Feminism pinpoints the contradictions lying within Modernization theory, and how the case studies explored in the upcoming chapters can be explained through the understanding of the interrelation of patterns of the theory of modernization and the concept of State Feminism.

Defining Modernization

The use of the term "Modernization" has always been mostly contested (Black, 1967, 6). Studies have attempted to explain and study modernization in terms of the economy, politics, culture, and/or society. Since the rise of the paradigm, different scholars have defined modernization differently, relating it to different aspects. Throughout this section, I'll begin by exploring the different definitions provided and how they related to gender and feminism. It can be argued that modernization theory can be understood as "the process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment" (Black, 1967, 7). It consists of economic developments that have cultural, political, and social consequences (Inglehart & Baker, 2000, 21). Such developments are a result of the rapid accumulation of knowledge in many sectors, over a period of time (Black, 1967, 7). Hence, as a process, modernization aims to establish a 'modern' society through the rational utilization of resources (Welch, 1971, 2).

Moreover, modernity may be defined as "the common behavioral system historically associated with the urban, industrial, literate and participant societies of Western Europe and North America (Dube, 1988, 17). A non-economic understanding of modernization includes "when a culture embodies an attitude of inquiry and questioning about how men make choices - moral, social, and personal"(Apter, 1965, 9-10). Whereas a more politically-centered

understanding is that it is "an integrated, empirical theory of human social change" (Fukuyama, 2009, 85). Moreover, in 1959, Lipset first explained how democracy and economic development are related as a part of 'modernization' theory. According to his study, Lipset assumes that democratization is the final stage that countries aspire to reach and that society has to go through different social changes to be prepared for the final and most important stage, which is democratization (Przeworski & Limongi, 1997, 158).

Gendering Modernization?

How can we relate modernization and gender? We have to keep in mind that any forces at play are always mobilized in a male-dominated world, thus affecting the standpoint of women (Mackinnon, 1983, 636). According to Scott (1996), modernization theory "displays a deeply gendered structure (pg.1). Moreover, as Adams and Orloff (2005, 179) explain "Feminists…………… have conducted a spirited campaign to bring gender into the political and still masculinized core of modernity". Arguably, modernization theorists depict a generally masculine understanding of modernity (Scott, 1996, 5). They assume that "women are less easily made into modern economic or political participants than men (Jaquette, 1982, 268). Additionally, we have to keep in mind that some periods of progression were actually achieved at the expense of women, who lost more than they gained (Felski, 1989, 48). An example of this is the utilization of the public-private argument in discussing and theorizing modernity (Scott, 1996, 24). If we look at it from a gendered perspective, most modernization theorists assume women are "tradition-bound conservatives and therefore obstacles to modernization" (Luintel, 2014, 228). This relates to the tradition vs. modernity argument mentioned above, whereas tradition and modernity do not go hand in hand, and since women belong to the private traditional aspect of society, they are excluded from the modernization process.

Moreover, theories have argued that economic development and modernity-related activities take place in the public sphere where males are supposedly the dominant gender. (Scott, 1996, 24). Whereas, women are confined to the household, which is the private sphere away from the economic and social transformations (Scott, 1996: 24). Ideally then, the public modernization of men would supposedly naturally translate to the development of women in the private sphere (Chowdhry 1995 in Luintel, 2014, 228). However, the modernization of women, in this case, would be male-dominated and only as a part of the whole process and not an essential part of it. Yet, this may not be applicable in reality because we have to assume that women, like men, are exposed to the complex interaction between class, culture, religion, and other ideological institutions and frameworks and cannot be taken out of that context (Mohanty, 1988:72).

The past couple of decades have witnessed a change in societies' attitudes towards women and gender equality, specifically in advanced societies which have been 'modernized' (Bergh, 2006, 5). Theorists have provided a few explanations as to how development or modernization affect people's attitudes towards gender equality and gender relations. At the individual level, on the one hand, Inglehart (1997) stated that people's values and belief system shape their view on gender. Additionally, Wilensky (2002) explained that people's experiences and position in society dictate their viewpoint towards gender (Bergh, 2006, 6). At the national level, on the other hand, Wilensky (2002) claims that the nation's level of development, specifically economically, has a great impact on society's gender attitudes. Whereas, Inglehart (1997) claims that it is a combination of people's values along with the nation's increasing development that shape their attitudes towards gender (Bergh, 2006, 6).

Modernization and State Feminism

There are different views about whether the process of modernization positively or negatively affects gender equality and gender rights. When it comes to widespread changes in women's rights, it should be noted that different factors have different effects, making the process of 'modernizing' gender rights not an inevitable process (Inglehart & Norris, 2009, 150). Thus, the question becomes whether the newly founded gender rights are truly based on an agenda to improve gender rights or are just part of the state's agenda to modernize? Different levels of societal modernization have different effects when it comes to society's beliefs about the role of men and women (Inglehart & Norris, 2009, 159). As mentioned above, the modernization process of any society begins with the big shift from agrarian to industrial society. This shift reformulates the traditional family by giving women more skills and altering the well-established traditional division of sex roles within the family (Inglehart & Norris, 2009, 152). The second shift from industrial to postindustrial society brings with it a shift in attitudes towards gender equality and gender rights within society (Inglehart & Norris, 2009, 152). With these various shifts in societal attitudes towards gender equality and gender rights, "top-down policy initiatives can be introduced by the government" (Inglehart & Norris, 2009, 163). Then are these policies feminist/women driven or are they part of nationalist agenda with the aim of modernization?

Meiji's Japan, Ataturk's Turkey, and Pahlavi's Iran are three cases that showcase how the state's efforts to modernize have trickled down to women. During the 19th century, Meiji Japan used most of its institutions to support the nationalist narrative of 'ryosai kenbo' (good wife, wise mother). This has reiterated the state's inclusion of women in their agenda, but according to their own needs which coincided with their 'main' roles of being good wives and wise mothers

(Suga, 2008, 259). Ataturk's Turkey involved women in the state's nationalist narrative of modernization after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The narrative was that of 'the new republic woman', who was modern and westernized (White, 2003, 146). Nevertheless, this newly supported state narrative did not concern itself with women beyond the public sphere (White, 2003, 158). In the 1960s, the state was trying to support a similar modernist movement. The ban of the veil was part of the state supported narrative that was supposed to reiterate the modernization of women (Abu-Lughod, 1998, 223). As shown in all three examples, bringing 'women' into the equation has been a nationalist means of modernization; a top down approach. However, none of which has been an initiative towards feminist movements or change.

Setting

Despite the somewhat recent development of the paradigm, patterns of modernity, regardless of their degree, can be dated back to 15th and 16th century Europe, with considerable changes taking place in the 19th century (Dube, 1988, 17). The Enlightenment period has also left evidence of patterns of modernization. Thinkers of that era, such as Antoine de Condorcet, were first to point out the relationship between technological advances, economic development, and cultural change (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005, 16). Furthermore, modernization can be considered a successor to its predecessor ideologies of Enlightenment and progress in the previous decades (Conrad, 2012, 183). Nevertheless, the concept of modernization discussed here was theorized following the end of the second World War. This era is marked by the decolonization and the formation of newly sovereign states, most of which had to deal with issues of economic development, political instability, and social and cultural changes (Tipps, 1973, 200). Consequently, by the mid 20th century, modernization had reached almost all states (Ward & Rustow, 2015, 7).

It can be argued that the birth of modernization theory coincides with the efforts of researchers to develop a paradigm to explain and help guide the emerging nations in the decades following the end of the second World War (Dube. 1988, 15). Hence, we can say that the process of modernization originally began in the western world; however, with the new world order following World War II, it has further spread worldwide (Black, 1967, 7). Moreover, the paradigm served as an "anti-imperialist and non-racist" alternative to the then outdated models of civilizing missions and empire-building narratives (Conrad, 2012, 184). Colonial British and French involvement in and influence over their colonies was dubbed as "Europeanization", whereas American influence was dubbed as "Americanization". This then has become known as "Westernization", which denotes the passing of western principles to underdeveloped countries. In the 1960s, this thought became the root of modernization theory (Lerner, 1964, 45). According to Gilman (2018), modernization theory posits that Western countries, mainly Britain and the US, laid down the essence of modernity and suggested others can follow through by implementing certain policies and principles (pg. 133). Consequently, we can say that the theory reflects ideas of its time, which encompasses the new relationship between Western states and their former colonies who became newly independent (Luintel, 2014, pg. 227).

Modernization: A Process?

Modernization theorist Daniel Lerner and modernization critic Samuel Huntington have, respectively, theorized and critiqued some of the most important work on modernization theory in the second half of the twentieth century. "Political scientists frequently limit the term "modernization" to the political and social changes accompanying industrialization, but a holistic definition is better suited to the complexity and interrelatedness of all aspects of the process" (Black, 1967, 7). Thus, modernization is understood to be "a multifaceted process involving

changes in all areas of human thought and activity" (Tipps, 1973, 201). Moreover, according to Huntington, it is a complex and systematic process, as change in one area stimulates change in another.

So how is modernization a systematic process? Huntington (1971, 288) explained that modernization is interconnected, thus, making it a systematic and transitional process (Tipps, 1973, 204). Hence, this means that "all good things of modernity often operated at cross purposes'' (Snyder, 201, 80). Furthermore, Learner argues that the transformation of one domain tends to translate to transformations in other areas (Tipps, 1973, 202) Meaning that when one factor changes, other factors are expected to be affected as well. Since the different aspects of modernization are associated together, they "have to go together" (Huntington, 1971, 289). Therefore, we can argue that "the good things of modernization tended to go together" (Fukuyama, 2009, 85). So, the change and 'modernizing' of one aspect of society is expected to trickle down into all other aspects. Accordingly, political changes are expected to bring about a change in the gender attitudes and relations.

It can be argued that the process of modernization is not only just an industrial process, but is also a scientific one. Therefore, we cannot forget the importance of industrialization as a core element of modernization, but the process does not end at the industrialization phase (Inglehart & Baker, 2000, 20). Modernization also involves rationalization and core scientific beliefs (Welch, 1971, 4). Consequently, as a process, it involves change in all aspects of society, including politics, economy, and other systems, based on the industrialization and scientification of such aspects (Halpern 1964 in Welch, 1971, 5). Hence, modernization is an irreversible process, meaning that changes that take place throughout the process are irreversible regardless of the outcome (Reyes, 2001).

Early vs. Late Modernizers

Change is always hard. Presumably, traditional societies, when confronted with the aspects of modernization, are likely going to reject them (Black, 1967, 69). On one hand, it was western societies who were first to modernize thus, they were gradually introduced to the different aspects of the process. Hence, for them, change was gradual and linear. Whereas, on the other hand, newly modernized societies, mainly the post-World War II newly independent nations, were overwhelmed with a faster paced introduction to and assimilation of modernization (Black, 1967, 69). Moreover, it must be noted that such notions of modernization were coming from the same western states who had a history of practicing imperialist ideologies. Thus, undoubtedly any state, primarily, was bound to be reluctant to be part of this modernization process and especially when asked to give up some of its traditions.

It can be argued that the process of modernization that started in the 20th century had spread to almost all states through one of the following three forms (Ward & Rustow, 2015, 8). First, it was European settlers who settled and formed colonial settlements in foreign territories that aided the spread of modernization from the western early modernizers to the rest of the world. Second, it was the establishment of European colonial rulers over different parts of the world. Third, it was an internal decision to modernize. Following the threat of invasion from European powers, leaders decided to modernize before they were forced to do so by European colonizers. An example to that is the Meiji restoration of Japan in 1868 (Ward & Rustow, 2015, 8).

The only exception to this criteria is the case of Japan. According to Bellah, Japan is considered the only non-Western nation that was able to industrialize and modernize on its own (Conrad, 2012, 194). Moreover, in Japan's case, traditional values were not considered a hurdle

to modernization, but rather were seen as prerequisites for change and progress (Conrad, 2012, 194). According to Umesao, Japan's transformation was primarily internal as the "Driving historical development came from within the community" (Conrad, 2012, 199). So, the modernization of Japan can be considered as an extraordinary achievement that "was not to be credited to cultural borrowing and imitation, but rather to the particular quality of Japanese culture" (Conrad, 2012, 197).

Is Modernization a 'Western' Concept?

"How much of modernity is western and how much of western society is modern?" (Huntington, 1971, 295). As explained above, modernization is a multifaceted process that involves more than one aspect. Theorists are divided on whether we can completely dub modernization as a concept that is entirely western or as a concept with western origins, but made to fit all societies. On the one hand, Bendix (1967) explains that "by deriving the attributes of modernity from a generalized image of western society, and then positing the acquisition of these attributes as the criterion of modernization, modernization theorist have attempted to force the analysis of non-western societies into what is termed as the Procrustes bed of the European experience" (pg. 323). This view supports the assumption that modernization is "based on the North Atlantic self-image" (Black, 1977, 41).

Essentially, modernization can be compared to its predecessor, westernization, which was less popular due to it implying that development equated the adoption of not only western-like political and economic patterns, but also western-like cultural traits. Accordingly, its objective can be understood to have the capacity of "westernizing 'backward cultures' of developing societies (Dube, 1988, 16). Thus, this argument presumes that modernization is just a reformulation, or better yet, a more advanced form of "westernization", making it an entirely

western process that is forced upon the rest of the world by western societies. On the other hand, Lerner (1964) explained that what we can call the "western" experience of modernization is actually global. So, we can assume that what has taken place in western countries is bound to take place in non-western ones, thus making the western experience a global one with the western world just getting ahead at the process (pg.46). Lastly, modernization theory assumes a linear progression for change, citing Western European and North American nations as an example that all states should aspire to follow (Luintel, 2014, 222). Yet, claiming that it is by no means a direct formula to be followed. Additionally, we should note that what might be considered 'modern' in one country might be case-specific and not a universal characteristic of modernization (Scott, 1996, 53).

Modernization/ Europeanization/ Westernization/ Industrialization

As mentioned above, western societies were the first modern societies and were later dubbed as the modernizers. It can be argued that when it comes to describing the relationship between and the impact of developed countries on the less developed ones, the term "modernization" has been mostly cited. However, terms such as "westernization", "Europeanization", and "industrialization" have also been used in the same context as a substitute for the term modernization and as a way to describe how advanced countries influence the less advanced ones (Black, 1967, 6). Nonetheless, out of all of them, the term "modernization" depicts a broader understanding of the concept and the process than do terms such as "westernization", "Europeanization", or even "industrialization" (Black, 1967, 7). Each of these terms describe one part of the process of modernization, whereas the term modernization itself covers all aspects together.

Modernization in Details

Modernization focuses on the role of the individual's attitudes and values as well as the values and components of society as a whole (Dube, 1988, 17). On the individual level, a modern individual who is supposed to partake in the modernization of his/her society must possess what we call "psychic mobility through empathy" (Learner in Mahar, 1959, 110). The 'empathy' of a modern individual entails his ability to analyze and criticize mass media, interest in moving to a foreign country, and the utilization of a rational way of thinking and behavior when it comes to dealing with life's problems (Mahar, 1959, 69-70). On the societal or state level, historically speaking, western states' development was a hefty process that involved urbanization, literacy, participation in the mass media, political awareness, and eventually, as some modern theories have argued, the democratization of the state (Learner in Mahar, 1959, 110). In addition to that, some theories add the application of technology, extensive social interdependence, social mobility, and some other similar factors (Welch, 1971, 2).

Black argues that there are several phases of modernization and that when introduced, they usually cause a shock in the beginning (Black, 1967, 68). The first phase of modernization, according to Black (1967) is 'the challenge of modernity'. This is where society is confronted with modern ideas and institutions that may contradict or shock its traditional ones (pg. 68). The second phase involves the consolidation of modernizing leadership. In this stage, power is transferred from traditional leaders and institutions to modern ones (Black, 1967, 67). The third phase is the economic and social transformation. This is where society is transformed from a rural, agrarian society to an urban one (Black, 1967, 68). The last phase is the integration of society. In this stage, society's social structure is reorganized because of the economic and sociological transformations.

Tradition vs. Modernity

"Modernization" involves change. But the question here is, does this change mean the complete disintegration of older traditions? Or can tradition and modernity co-exist? Since the emergence of modernization theory, different versions of the theory have been developed. In postwar-US, modernization theorists claimed that traditional and cultural traits contribute to the underdevelopment of countries (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005, 17). According to Black (1967), "if one thinks of modernization as the integration or the reintegration of societies on the basis of new principles, one must also think of it as involving the disintegration of traditional societies" (pg. 27). So, the argument here is whether the process of modernization is affected by the persistence or change of 'tradition'? And whether tradition is in return affected by modernization? (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005, 19).

Such arguments were criticized for assuming that development and modernization are directly related to the "modernization" of society's values and institutions (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005,17). It can be said that most tradition and modernity might coexist in different societies; however, it is the degree that varies (Ward &Rustow, 2015, 7). Two different schools of thought are available on the matter of tradition and modernization. On the one hand, there is a view that supports the claim that modernization causes the decline of traditional values and their replacement with modern ones due to the fact that the new political and economic changes lead to cultural changes as well (Inglehart & Baker, 2000, 20). This view is known as the "convergence" argument (Inglehart & Baker, 2000, 20).

On the other hand, modernization, in some of its connotations, implies that the change of cultural values is not a prerequisite of modernization. The "persistence" argument supports such views. It claims that economic and political transformations do not have to affect or even

'modernize' traditional values (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005, 19). Furthermore, modernization theorists argue that the difference between modern and traditional societies lies in the way man capitalizes the sources of the natural and social environment around him, which is aided by scientific and technological advances (Huntington, 1971, 286). Thus, traditional attributes may persist despite the 'modernizing' of other factors of society (Welch, 1971, 6). An example of this is Asian countries like Japan who were able to modernize themselves, yet keep their traditional values (Inglehart & Baker, 2000, 19). It can be argued that Japanese traditional values such as "loyalty and sense of duty" paved the way for modernization to take its course in Japan (Conrad, 2012, 194).

Conclusion

Modernization theory was considered to be one of the dominant paradigms of the 20th century among scholars of Political Science, Economics, and Sociology. The birth of the theory coincides with the efforts of researchers to develop a paradigm to help guide the newly emerging nations in the decades following the end of the second World War (Dube, 1988, 15). As a concept, modernization has been used to describe the process of change and human development, accompanying the rise of knowledge over the past couple of decades (Black, 1967, 5). Modernization theory can be understood as "the process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment" (Black, 1967, 7). Hence, it is "a multifaceted process involving changes in all areas of human thought and activity". (Tipps, 1973, 201).One of the main disputes among modernization theorists is the tradition vs. modernity debate. According to Black (1967), "if one thinks of modernization as the integration or the

reintegration of societies on the basis of new principles, one must also think of it as involving the disintegration of traditional societies" (pg. 27).

The question here then is whether the process of modernization is affected by the persistence or change of 'tradition'? And whether tradition is in return affected by modernization? (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005, 19). This then highlights an important argument, which is whether modernization theory and the process of modernization are gender biased or not. Thus, the question becomes whether the newly founded gender rights are truly based on an agenda to improve gender rights or are just part of the state's agenda to modernize? Different levels of societal modernization have different effects when it comes to society's beliefs about the role of men and women (Inglehart & Norris, 2009, 159) Meiji's Japan, Ataturk's Turkey, and Pahlavi's Iran are three examples that showcase how the state's efforts to modernize have trickled down to women and how the rights or freedoms allocated to women were not indeed targeting women's rights in specific, but were rather part of a bigger state agenda whose main aim was to modernize the nation as a whole. The following chapter will explore the concept of State Feminism. It will focus on the dilemma of explaining and defining State Feminism, the origins of the concept, its different uses and how it is theorized and conceptualized.

Chapter 2: Understanding State Feminism

Introduction

"Other movements towards freedom have aimed at raising the status of a comparatively small group or class. But the women's movement aims at nothing less than raising the status of an entire sex – half the human race – to lift it up to the freedom and value of womanhood. It affects more people than any former reform movement, for it spreads over the whole world. It is more deep-seated, for it enters into the home and modifies the personal character." (Fawcett, 2000, 2).

Feminism and gender rights can be considered one of the most important topics today. At the end of the day, women, roughly, make up half of the world's population. This movement or ideology began, decades ago, as a simple call for women's right to vote and to own property; simply for women to become citizens like men were. However, we see that today this movement and ideology has evolved to encompass so many more different demands of equality amongst both sexes. Feminism can be understood as "a recognition of an imbalance of power between the sexes, with women in a subordinate role to men" (Hannam, 2006,4). Earlier feminist scholarship and movements did not deal much with the state due to the preconceived notion that most states are patriarchal in nature (Outshroon and Kaantola, 2007, 3). Helga Hernes, a Nordic scholar, was the first to coin the term "State Feminism" in her book "Welfare States and Woman Power: Essays in State Feminism" (Mazur and McBride, 2008, 246), and based on her observation and work on Nordic women's movements and their engagement with the state through political parties, parliaments, and such (Mazur and McBride, 2008, 123).

Despite it being a bit controversial in the beginning, the term "State Feminism" was not limited to the Nordic context. It has since been used by different scholars, from different parts of the world to explain how, why, and when feminists and feminist movements interact with the state and the outcome that is produced from this interaction. In this thesis, I use the term State Feminism to refer to the efforts of feminists that are policymakers (from above), who come to play a role in presenting women's issues along with the demands of feminist movements (from below) within the policymaking sector in the state in order to help better represent women's demands and close the gender gap between both sexes. This chapter, first, explores conceptualization and concept formation in Social Sciences, focusing on defining and conceptualizing State Feminism. Second, it examines the origins of the term and how it has been utilized through different contexts. Third, it discusses some important elements regarding State Feminism, including engaging with the state, Women's Policy Agencies and their roles, feminism from above and feminization from below.

Conceptualization: Social Sciences vs. Natural Sciences

"The progress of the cultural sciences occurs through the conflicts over terms and definitions" (Weber in Gerring 1999, 359). Concepts do not just differ from one field to another, they can also differ within the same field or even subfield. For natural sciences, concepts are usually backed up with empirical observations, whereas, for Social Sciences, empirical observations do not usually accompany concepts. And if we wait for empirical observations, we won't be able to formulate smaller concepts into a bigger picture (Gerring 1999, 360). Moreover, unlike natural sciences' concepts, Social Sciences' concepts can lack clarity and consistency and that can be again due to the fact that unlike in natural sciences, most Social Science concepts

cannot be observed in real life and do not always have tangible evidence to back them up; i.e.:

empirical observations (Gerring 1999, 360).

On another note, as Hempel explains, concept formation plays an important role as it

contributes to theory formation, which is one of the greatest aspects of Social Sciences (Hempel

in Gerring 1999, 364). Concept formation does not just contribute to theory formation, it can

actually accompany it. The degree in which one concept can be differentiated from the other,

through the rigorous conceptualization and concept formation, facilitates the process of theory

formation (Gerring 1999, 364). Thus, formulating concepts is a very important aspect of Social

Sciences. So, what exactly do concept formation and conceptualization entail?

A Brief Introduction to Concept Formation

The basic step to forming a concept is to first define the phenomenon we are trying to

conceptualize and that is by explaining which attributes "provide necessary and sufficient

conditions for locating the term" (Gerring 1999, 363). Moreover, as Mill explains, defining a

phenomenon makes it possible to discern, what identifies it and what does not, out of an array of

descriptions (Mill in Gerring 1999, 363). In addition to defining a concept, as Gerring (1999,

358) elucidates, concept formation makes reference to three aspects of a concept, which are

"events or phenomena to be defined, the properties or attributes that define them, and a label

covering both points together; i.e. 'the term'". However, conceptualization does not just entail

defining the phenomenon at hand. It is rather a process that "explores the history of naming

things, places names in research contexts, establishes dimensions of meaning, sets out the

process of locating empirical observations that stand for the concepts" (McBride and Mazur

2010, 27).

So, in short, the formation of concepts entails that we define the phenomenon at hand, assess the attributes that define it and why they are the most suitable to identify the phenomenon, explore the history of naming the phenomenon, contextualize the phenomenon in the field of research, and lastly, depending on the field of study/research, see if the phenomenon relates to any observations. After that being said, and as mentioned above, concepts can have many defining attributes; however, it is important to be able to identify what makes these attributes unique enough to formulate a concept. So, when forming a concept, scholars can usually rely on "norms of established usage", but this provides an array of definitions, thus creating a good starting point for concept formation in which such a range can be deduced to reach the final form of the concept (Gerring 1999, 362).

On the one hand, since different attributes of a phenomenon can create confusion within any discipline, clear and concise definitions are a huge part of concept formation. Moreover, diligently defining the concept and maintaining consistency when using the term created, further solidies the phenomenon as a concept (Gerring 1999, 361). On the other hand, validity and reliability are necessary to concept formation and conceptualization; however, it is important to avoid overstretching the concept beyond its function which can be an issue when trying to prove the validity and reliability of a concept (Collier & Levitsky 1997, 430 and McBride & Mazur 2010, 28). With that being said, conceptualization is all about tradeoffs amongst different forms of concept formation in order to try and formulate a concept that can be theorized (Collier & Levitsky 1997, 431).

Precising the Definition

As with any new phenomenon, forming a concept is usually hard since, as mentioned above, concepts can vary within the same field or subfield, and depending on the concept type.

So one important aspect of concept formation is "precising the definition" by adding more definitional attributes that help differentiate the concept from others (Collier & Levitsky 1997, 442). When precising the definition, as mentioned above, we add new definitional attributes, thus increasing differentiation since the newly added attributes serve as means of filtering which cases can and which cannot pass as examples of the discussed concept (Collier & Levitsky 1997, 442). Moreover, despite aiding in the differentiation process, precising the definition does not lead to conceptual stretching. To the contrary, it can help avoid conceptual stretching since it marks off what can be considered a case of said concept and what does not (Collier & Levitsky 1997, 444).

Defining State Feminism

Defining Social Sciences' concepts can prove to be harder than defining concepts of the Natural Sciences due to the fact that scholars might not be able to decide on one formal way to define the phenomenon. In this case, the concept of State Feminism is no stranger to the issue. Different scholars have attempted to explain State Feminism differently. Nordic scholar Helga Hernes (1987) was the first to coin the term State Feminism in her book "Welfare State and Women Power: Essays in State Feminism" (Mazur and McBride 2010, 247). Hernes (1987) defines State Feminism as "a variety of public policies and organizational measures designed partly to solve general social and economic problems partly to respond to women's demands"(pg.11). She claimed that the outcome of the involvement of the state and other women would create a 'women-friendly state', which is a state that does not discriminate based on gender (Hernes, 1987, 15).

Other scholars have attempted to further explore the concept of State Feminism. On that note, Mazur and McBride (2008) explain State Feminism as concept that focuses on the

relationship between women's movements and women's policy agencies (which, as defined by the United Nations, are "bodies recognized by the government as the institutions dealing with the promotion of the status of women" (Outshroon and Kantola (2007, 2)) and whether this relationship produces feminist- based outcomes (pg. 244). On another note, Siim and Skjeie (2008) describe State Feminism as "a form of institutionalized bureaucracy in charge of creating and implementing gender equality processes" (pg. 323). Similarly, Kantola and Squires define State Feminism as "any national, regional, or international state-based agency that seeks to promote gender equality" (Yacoubi, 2016, 257). Lastly, Lovenduski et al (2005) provide the simplest definition to State Feminism, which is "the advocacy of women's movement demands inside the state" (pg.5). The following is an examination of how the term "State Feminism" has been conceptualized and theorized within feminist scholarly and political narrative.

The Origins of 'State Feminism'

As mentioned above, the term "State Feminism" is a highly contested and controversial term. But to be able to understand the term, we must trace back its origins in order to understand, historically and thus politically, the context in which it was first coined. The term first appeared in the early 1980s in the study of Nordic gender politics (Mazur and McBride, 2008, 246). One the one hand, in the West, it was a time when women's movements suffered a bit of a decline, as there was an increase in opposition to feminist projects by states. On the other hand, in the Nordic context, despite the fact that women's movements were also less prevalent, feminist were willing to engage with the state through political parties, trade unions, parliaments, and such (Mazur and McBride 2008, 246). Nordic states thus presented a model of welfare states where a women-friendly approach was promoted through policies and structure (McBride & Mazur,

2010, 123). This engagement of society with the state raised an eye towards a new feminist direction (Mazur and McBride 2008, 246).

With this in mind, the term "State Feminism" came into light when Helga Hernes (1987) coined it in her book "Welfare State and Women Power: Essays in State Feminism" (Mazur and McBride 2010, 247). In her writings, Hernes examined how "State Feminism" can be considered as both an incentive and an outcome of "women-centered approach to state society relations that produced a model of how states could be feminists in terms of actions and impacts". Moreover, such an approach explains the policies and measures taken by states in order to help with the social and economic problems that women face and as a response to their demands. Furthermore, Hernes states that this process should produce an outcome, which she identifies as a "woman friendly state", where women get to have a balanced relationship that involves family, work, and public life in a context that is supported by the state (Mazur and McBride 2008, 247).

Conceptualizing State Feminism

"A recognition of the contested status of a given concept opens the possibility of understanding each meaning within its own framework" (W.B. Gallie in Collier and Levitsky 1997, 433).After defining State Feminism and identifying the methods of conceptualizing a phenomenon, how can that be applied to state feminism? As mentioned above, precising the definition of any phenomenon is an important part of its conceptualizing process. When we think about precising the definition of State Feminism, we have to think from where it started to the end result we have. So, the beginning aspect was Feminism; i.e.: simply, the movements and ideologies that call for gender equality. And as mentioned above, feminist scholars have always been wary of the state as a means of achieving their goals, since states are usually mostly patriarchal (Outshroon and Kantola 2007, 3). However, when in the Nordic states in the early

1980s, scholars found that engaging with the state, either through political parties, parliaments, and such or through women's movements and women's policy agencies, can actually aid feminists in achieving their goal, the perspective on the state began to change (Mazur and McBride 2008, 246).

From this we can see that by adding the attribute of the state as a factor, we have shifted from the core theoretical framework of feminism. So, despite actually creating conceptual differentiation because we added more defining attributes, we would have fallen in the trap of conceptual stretching because the root concept of feminism would have come to include two somewhat different opposing views. So, this leads to the second aspect of concept formation, the ladder of generality. Since State Feminism has more differentiation attributes, it will be put on the lower part of the ladder of generality because it can be applied to lesser cases, for example lesser than feminism and what it entails. This then leads us to the last aspect, how can we make sure that the cases that we can now call State Feminism can be still differentiated from other aspects of the root concept of Feminism and without having to just dismiss it under the root concept of Feminism, thus stretching the concept? We create a diminished subtype. In this case, State Feminism is a case of a diminished subtype of the root concept of Feminism. It has attributes that relate it to the root concept of Feminism, yet it is different enough that in order to avoid losing conceptual differentiation or overstretching the concept, we consider it a diminished subtype.

Theorizing State Feminism

It can be argued that State Feminism has five important dimensions (Mazur & McBride, 2008, 256). First, it is very important to have a Women's Policy Agency or any similar unit with a formal role of promoting and improving women's status. Second, the existence of any form of

women's movement that proposes feminist demands that are expected to be implemented in state policies through Women's Policy Agencies. Third, Women's Policy Agencies are expected to actually convey the demands of women's movements to the state. Fourth, to further this narrative, the inclusion of women's movements actors in Women's Policy Agencies further increases the chances of conveying the exact demands of women's movements. Lastly, this relationship between Women's Policy Agencies and women's movements is supposed to create a 'feminist outcome', meaning that the state should adopt policies that are demanded by women and are created for women (Mazur & McBride, 2008, 256).

This interplay between Women's Policy Agencies and women's movements can be explained through the assessment of two types of State Feminism. Movement State Feminism, which is the first type, explores the process by which the state responds to women's movements' demands through Women's Policy Agencies and that is by adopting and promoting their ideas and actors (McBride & Mazur, 2010, 5). The second type, Transformative State Feminism, is when women's movements' feminist ideas and demands are recognized and promoted by the state, thus having a transformative effect on gender relations (McBride & Mazur, 2010, 5). Both types fall under the explanation of State Feminism through the analysis of Women's Policy Agencies and women's movements.

State Feminism and 'Femocrats'

The term "State Feminism" did not just disappear within the Nordic scholarly and political context. To the contrary, it has since has been utilized to include other feminist-based understanding of feminist and state-society relations outside of the Nordic context. The term has been used by multiple scholars and politicians to examine this feminist-state dynamic. In the early 1990s in Australia, a new term arose, which is "Femocrats" (Mazur and McBride 2008,

248). Femocrats are "individual state actors associated with the government's feminist agenda either through agencies or policies" (Mazur and McBride 2008, 248). In such context, Femocrats then coincide with the essence of State Feminism through the fact that they are feminists who hold a position within the state bureaucracy with the aim creating feminist-supported policies (Outshroon & Kantola, 2007, 266). And that is through the fact that these Femocrats are able to influence state-based actions when it comes to the feminist agenda (Mazur and McBride 2008, 248).

The term 'Femocrats' did not stay confined within the Australian narrative, it was then used by Amina Mama (1995) to describe State Feminism in post-colonial African states (pg.41). In this context, Mama uses the term 'Femocrats' to describe:

> Anti- democratic female power structure which claims to exist for the advancement of ordinary women, but is unable to do so because it is dominated by a small clique of women whose authority derives from their being married to powerful men, rather than from any actions or ideas of their own (pg. 41).

Thus, contrary to Australian Femocrats, Mama explains that African Femocrats use their position, claiming that they are working towards gender equality or gender-related goals, whereas in reality they are only helping a small group of elite females to achieve their agenda, hence undermining women's general interests and reiterating a patriarchal state narrative (Mama, 1995, 41).

Second, in the international arena, including influential organizations such as the United Nations, started to shift their attention more towards women and feminist demands (Mazur and McBride 2008, 250). However, it is needless to say that the idea of the feminization of the state did not hold a positive and hopeful connotation in all contexts. For example, in the former

communist countries, the Soviet bloc, the idea of State Feminism used to signify how male elites, within the hierarchy of the government, imposed policies directed at women (Outshroon and Kantola 2007, 2). Thus, this conceptualization of State Feminism did not include feminists demanding and imposing feminist agendas, but rather male-imposed agenda that lacks the demands of women's policy agencies and women's movements.

State Feminism and Women's Policy Agencies (WPA)

Women's Policy Agencies (WPAs) are "agencies established to promote women's status and rights (Lovenduski, 2008, 174). The United Nations explains Women's Policy Agencies as "bodies recognized by the government as the institutions dealing with the promotion of the status of women" (Kantola & Outshoorn, 2007, 2). Women's Policy Agencies can take different forms. First, they can be 'advisory units' that are responsible for promoting women's issues and to advise governmental bodies accordingly. Second, they can be 'policy monitoring units' that review any women-related projects before they are approved. Third, they can be 'units with implementation responsibilities', which are units that create programs such as campaigns on violence against women. Lastly, they can be 'commissions with investigation powers', which are units equipped with the capacity to investigate any public gender-related complaints (Kantola & Outshoorn, 2007, 2).

As mentioned above, Women's Policy Agencies are supposed to help influence the state's agenda towards feminist-related goals (Lovenduski, 2008, 174). So, what kind of policies are Women's Policy Agencies expected to support? Women's Movements (WM), which are "a form of collective behavior and the ideas of that behavior", are one important unit that Women's Policy Agencies are expected to support (Lovenduski, 2008, 174). One use of State Feminism is to explain the relationship between Women's Policy Agencies and Women's Movements. As

Mazur and McBride (2010) explain, an important aspect of State Feminism is that it "focuses on the role of Women's Policy Agencies in how states chanage in response to women's movements and feminist demands" (pg. 284). So in a sense, Women's Policy Agencies act as a 'mediator' between women's movements and their demands and the state, aiding in facilitating the implementation of such demands within the state's policy (Brush, 2012, 1&2). They know the interests of women through their alliances with women's movements and aim to fulfill said interests through their role as a state agency (Lovenduski, 2008, 174). The outcome of such an alliance is expected to create 'women-friendly states', which will be explained in detail in the following section (Mazur & McBride, 2008, 247).

The 'State' in State Feminism: Women-Friendly States?

An original controversy or debate within the general framework of Feminism as a theory or an ideology is the debate between the East and West. Feminist scholars or activists in the global south argue that Western feminism cannot be what is normalized since there are bound to be differences between the Eastern and Western contexts, thus they call for the integration of more feminist views from scholars and activists from the global south (Mazur and McBride 2010, 123). Another contested issue that accompanies defining State Feminism is the term "state". On one hand, despite the engagement of feminists, in practice, with the state through women's policy agencies for instance, feminist theory has been inherently characterized by anti-state agenda due to the patriarchal nature and anti-feminist discourse of most states (Outshroon and Kantola 2007, 3). "Some feminist theories took issue with the idea of the state as a monolithic patriarchal entity oppressing women" (McBride & Mazur, 2010, 7). Consequently, the idea of adopting a state feminist discourse has been highly questionable by many feminist

theorists. Nevertheless, despite some doubt, the debate has been settled in the 1980s and has been mostly accepted ever since (Outshroon and Kantola 2007, 4).

On the other hand, besides the contestation on whether to trust the state as a source of common ground for pursuing feminist goals, scholars of feminism have come across the issue of defining the term "state" itself (Mazur and McBride 2008, 245). The question for feminist scholars has become as to how identify the state in this context, meaning that is it considered as an entity or a several units, or a relationship formed with society (Mazur and McBride 2008, 245). In both instances, we saw that scholars have come across contradicting opinions when defining a concept, which as mentioned above, is a huge part of conceptualizing most phenomena in Social Sciences. "Woman-friendly welfare state", according to Hernes, are states were gender would not be a base for injustice or discrimination (Borchorst & Siim, 2008, 210). This kind of state, which is the hopeful outcome of State Feminism, will no differentiate between men and women, specifically when it comes to the relationship between work, children, and public life (Borchorst & Siim, 2008, 209).

Feminism 'From Above' and Feminization 'From Below'

Another explanation or use of State Feminism is the 'from above and from below' argument. Borchorist and Siim (2008, 14), citing Hernes (1987), explain State Feminism as a process of feminization from above through the feminization of the welfare state and gender equality policies and from below through the mobilization of women. Moreover, they reiterate the fact that "the feminization of the political elite through the integration of women into political parties' ', and point out the importance of women's movements through women's policy agencies. So, by time, as mentioned above, this evolved to feminists exerting pressure on the

state from below through women's movements and from above by in state engagement through political parties and such (Outshroon and Kantola 2007, 2).

As is evident from the definitions above, we can deduce that State Feminism implies a main aspect and that is the integration of feminist ideas in the state, either through political aspects such as parliaments, political parties, and such (from above) or through the works of women's movements and women's policy agencies together (from below). By that feminists can ensure that their demands are met and that the reforms pursued by governments are actually materialistic and not just symbolic (Shah, 2000, 347). Furthermore, mobilization 'from below' comes through any feminist social movements combined with the integration of feminist-related policies in the state 'from above' through Women's Policy Agencies or any similar institutions (Siim & Skjeie, 2008, 323).

Conclusion

In order to be able to use a conceptual framework, we must first understand it. This chapter has explored the term "State Feminism", explaining how it has been theorized and conceptualized within feminist scholarly work and within the context of gender politics. As argued above, concepts in Social Sciences can differ from ones in Natural Sciences due to the simple fact that they might not be applicable to observe and might not have tangible evidence to back them up like do Natural Sciences' concepts (Gerring, 1999, 360). The term "State Feminism" first appeared in the Nordic political concept in the 80s (Mazur and McBride, 2010, 247). Hernes (1987), who was first to coin the term, defined State Feminism as "a variety of public policies and organizational measures designed partly to solve general social and economic problems partly to respond to women's demands"(pg.11).

The term has first stirred controversy due to the sour relationship between feminists and the state, which they have always viewed as patriarchal and anti-feminist (Outshroon and Kantola, 2007, 3). Moreover, State Feminism implies a main aspect and that is the integration of feminist ideas in the state, either through political aspects such as parliaments, political parties, and such (from above) or through the works of women's movements and women's policy agencies together (from below). By that feminists can ensure that their demands are met and that the reforms pursued by governments are actually materialistic and not just symbolic (Shah, 2000, 347). Thus, the upcoming chapters utilize different countries not as case studies per se, but as episodes that can be used to illustrate this relationship and examine its implications and contradictions.

Chapter 3: Japan and State Feminism: Part I

Introduction

The field of feminism and feminist studies might be fairly new; however, aspects of women's rights and empowerment can be traced throughout history. A good example of Japanese women's empowerment would be Murasaki Shikibu's "The Tale of Genji", which was published over a thousand years ago and is considered the world's first full novel (Bullock et al, 2018, 2). Nevertheless, throughout history, "Japanese women are often portrayed as submissive, subordinate, oppressed and passive" (Hisa and Scanzoni, 1996, 309). As Kano (2016) puts it, Japanese women are "second-class citizens inhabiting a first-class nation" (pg. 2). This is quite an intricate paradox since Japan ranks at number 19 on the last Human Development Index report (2019) issued by the United Nations (2022). Whereas, when it comes to gender, Japan ranks at 116 on the latest Global Gender Gap Report (2022) by the World Economic Forum (Zahidi, 2022). So, how can a country be so progressive and "developed" in most aspects, yet when it comes to the rights of women, it ranks on the lower end of the index, alongside still developing countries?

This thesis utilizes the use of case studies to illustrate the relationship between State Feminism and Modernization theory and to explain how State Feminism presents a contradiction through the examination of real life cases that portray such paradox. Moreover, it is important to clarify that when we look at Japan's history, specifically the Meiji era, we are not looking at Japan as a case per se but as an episode in time when the state turned its attention to women and their demands "as a product of the sweeping political and social reforms of the Meiji Restoration of 1868 (Brenstein, 1991, 151). But before we get into the details, we must first identify what are

case studies? And why are they a relatively popular method? According to Gerring (2004, 341), case studies can be defined as:

> "An in-depth study of a single unit (a relatively bounded phenomenon) where the scholar's aim is to elucidate features of a larger class of similar phenomena. It is demonstrated that case studies rely on the same sort of covariational evidence utilized in non-case study re- search. Thus, the case study method is correctly un- derstood as a particular way of defining cases, not a way of analyzing cases or a way of modeling causal relations".

After applying Gerring's view on case studies, assuming that they are indeed a very popular method in Political Science, in the Japanese case, I'll be also using the process-tracing method, which is a cardinal tool of qualitative analysis (Collier, 2011, 823), to explore the policies, figures, and movements in Japan from the Meiji period up until the former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's government in order to examine their effects on feminists and feminist policies in Japan. To begin with, process tracing is a method that can be used to elucidate and evaluate political phenomena (Collier, 2011, 823). It is an analytical tool that is utilized to draw "descriptive and causal inferences from diagnostic pieces of evidence- often understood as part of a temporal sequence of events or phenomena" (Collier, 2011, 823). Moreover, it can be used to identify and describe social and political phenomena, evaluate hypotheses and causal claims, comprehend causal mechanisms, and provide alternative means (Collier, 2011, 823).

In this chapter, I'll be using State Feminism, which is a conceptual tool, to illustrate the contradiction that the case of Japan portrays. The Japanese case illustrates a paradox, embodying a contradiction between signs of success through the passing of policies and laws related to women's rights and gender equality by the Japanese government and signs of failure due to the

fact that autonomous movements from below do not have enough say in the passing of these policies and that such policies are part of the state's national agenda and not part of a narrative to change gender discrimination. Moreover, State Feminism explains this relationship by articulating that 'Femocrats', who are feminists that are part of the state's policymaking cadre, through the aid of Women's Policy Agencies, should be able to communicate the link between the state's policymakers (from above) and the women's movements (from below). Furthermore, through the examination of the Japanese case, including the Meiji and Taisho eras, I will be able to illustrate how the contradictions that State Feminism embodies are part of the actual reality. In order to understand this, we will first have to take a look at when it all started. Scholars argue that it was the pre-conditions for modernization in the Tokugawa era (1600-1868) and the actual modernization reforms of the Meiji era (1868-1912) that set the stage for today's Japan (Garon, 1993, 348).

Pre-Meiji: **Muromachi Era (1392- 1573) and Edo (Tokugawa) Era (1600-1867)**

Japanese history may be examined through looking at its different imperial reign periods as a way of dividing and understanding its history (Mackie, 2013, 63). During its early days, Japan was a matriarchal society; however, by the 7th-8th century, and with the introduction of Confucianist and Buddhist teachings, Japan soon shifted to become a patrilineal society (Hisa and Scanzoni, 1996, 310). Confucianism called for the education of all male children, especially children of the Samurai class; however, females were only given the chance to learn the basics (Tsurumi, 2000, 5). According to the Mito (an area in Japan) ideology, highly educated women were actually discriminated against in the sense that they were believed to be hard to marry (Tsurumi, 2000, 5). Moreover, this thus asserted the superiority of men over women, both socially and religiously (Hisa and Scanzoni, 1996, 310). Nevertheless, women still had

inheritance and divorce rights, could participate in court affairs but not hold office, and excelled in the arts (Hisa and Scanzoni, 1996, 310).

Prior to the Meiji Era, there was no one overarching rule in regards to how women were treated in society. Since Japan was a very class-centered society, in the agricultural areas, the nuclear family was relied upon for production and so a woman's role in her family business was deemed important, whereas, for the samurai class, all family members were under the authority of the patriarch of the family (Mackie, 2003, 23). As for commoner women, they used to enjoy a somewhat great deal of freedom in comparison to other women of other classes (Hisa and Scanzoni, 1996, 310). Going into the Edo period, at the beginning, women still had some rights, but the conflicts of the 15th century led to the suppression of any of their remaining rights. And so, in no time, women of all classes lost their political, economic, religious, and inheritance rights and power came to lie in the hands of men, especially the eldest son of the family (Hisa and Scanzoni, 1996, 311).

The rest of this chapter will explore all gender related policies and laws passed by the state from the Meiji era up until end of the Taisho era. The purpose of this is to explore the dynamics of women's activism and demand for rights and equality in Japan and policies and laws put forth by the Japanese state in relation to women's rights to examine how Japanese feminism has evolved. Moreover, aside from the chronological order that this chapter will follow, there will also be some common themes that are going to be discussed throughout different eras due to them being a common narrative of Japanese history. Such themes include the ideal of "ryōsai kenbo", which means "good wives, wise mothers" and the relationship between family and the state.

Meiji Era (1868-1912)

The Meiji Restoration

According to Bullock et al. (1991), in their book "Rethinking Japanese Feminism", today's feminism in Japan can be traced back to the policies and politics of the Meiji era (pg.3). Meiji Japan was home to popular women activists such as Kishida Toshiko (1861-1901) and Fukuda Hideko (1865-1927) both of whom had a prominent public role during the earlier years of the Meiji era, before the state banned women from public speech and political participation (Bullock et al., 1991, 3). But before I jump into the policies and laws that have shaped women's movements and women's rights in Japan, I'll briefly discuss Meiji Japan and the Meiji Restoration of 1868, which is considered to be the starting point of modern Japan.

The year 1868 marks the end of the Tokugawa (1600-1868) era and the beginning of the Meiji era (1868-1912), both of which, respectively, were considered by many Japanese as early modern and modern eras of transition of Japan (Jansen & Rozman, 1993, 3). Moreover, the Meiji Restoration also marks the change "from late-feudal to modern institutions, from shogunal to imperial rule, and from isolation to integration in the world's economy" (Jansen & Rozman, 1993, 3). Ideally then, it meant the end of the feudalistic policies and the extension of the Samurai policies to all the Japanese social classes, all of whom were now united under the Japanese nation-state (Hisa and Scanzoni, 1996, 312). So, the new Meiji government, with the Emperor as its head, has created this patriarchal system, which is paving the way towards modernization (Fujieda, 2011, 317). Thus, at that time, many Japanese perceived the state, including the emperor, as a chance for development and progression in many aspects and created the "sense of the nation in the people" (Gluck in Jansen & Rozman, 1993, 3). According to Gluck, this has created what he dubbed "emperor-system ideology", where the emperor became

a symbol of change (Gluck in Jansen & Rozman, 1993, 3). Additionally, the imperial crown was very focused on goals of expanding militaristically and forming a patriarchal system with the emperor as the head was the key to achieving those goals (Fujieda- Fainselow, 2011, 317).

The restoration was seen as a period of development and institutional reconstruction that made Japan, by World War I, the only non-western industrially ranked nation (Nolle and Hastings, 1991, 151-152). Since Japan was considered backward by Western powers, the government wanted to develop the militaristic and economic capacity to protect itself from Western imperialism (Mikiso, 1992, 85). Furthermore, It can be noted that today's Japanese feminism can be traced back to the Meiji era (Bullock et al., 2018, 3). During the early years of the Meiji restoration when women started to lose many of the very little rights they had previously enjoyed, their oppression was considered to be "natural" at that time as it seemed to have been passed on from one government to another (Nolte & Hastings, 1991, 151). Yet, despite the fact that most policies were aimed towards the modernization and expansion of Japan, some of these policies were gender related ones (Fujieda, 2011, 317). So, whenever the government paid attention to women or their roles and rights, it was within the narrative of nationalism and state-building, not within the framework of citizenship and rights.

Thus, most gender related reforms during the Meiji restoration period can be attributed to the fact that they are a byproduct of the reforms and a step towards modernizing the nation not for the actual interest in gender reform (Tsurumi, 2000,4). Additionally, the Japanese government was very careful at the time to improve Japan's image among its industrialized Western counterparts, so they tried to replicate the image of a Victorian woman in Japan when in reality, Japanese women were being used as productive labor to facilitate the transitional process of modernization. Thus, we should be careful not to fall in the trap of thinking that

modernization means completely overriding tradition because this definitely was not the case in Japan (Tsurumi, 2000, 20). In addition, we should keep in mind that "the construction of Japanese women took place in an era when class and gender were highly contested" (Nolte and Hastings, 1991, 163). Moreover, this is not only limited to feminism, rather, this era is known for the introduction and construction of many of the institutions of modern Japan (Bullock et al., 2018, 3). It was a period of "institutional reconstruction in the interest of industrialization and national power", putting Japan as the only non-Western industrialized nation by the first World War (Nolte & Hastings, 1991, 151).

The rest of this chapter will explore the significant feminist-related policies and laws introduced by the state and the feminist movements or activism in order to be able to analyze State Feminism in Japan. I will look at both sides to be able to understand whether the state's policies and feminist demands were going hand in hand and whether feminist policymakers, Femocrats, have a positive or negative effect on this relationship. Moreover, despite the chronological flow of this chapter, I will continuously refer to two important themes that are relevant throughout the different eras as they were utilized by the state in relation to women and in terms of the state's agenda. These two themes include the concept of "ie", which means family and the ideal of "ryōsai Kenbo", which means "good wives, wise mothers".

The 1889 Meiji Constitution and the 1898 Civil Code

Since Japanese women have mostly depicted compliant behavior due to the uphold of Confucianist traditions in Japanese society, when Meiji policies leaned towards the political oppression of women, they were simply not questioned enough (Nolte and Hastings, 1991, 151). The 1889 Meiji Constitution and the 1898 Civil Code are two of the most important documents created by the Meiji government as they play an important role in shaping the attitudes towards

not only women but all subjects of the Meiji imperial crown. It is important to note that unlike during the Tokugawa period, both documents reiterated the exclusion of women from society's hierarchical order regardless of their social status (Fujieda- Fainselow, 2011, 317). Moreover, they legally justified the complete suppression of women to men in general and to the head of their household in specific (Fujieda, 2011, 317).

Despite being mostly gender-neutral, the Meiji Constitution has out right highlighted the exclusion of women in some aspects (Mackie, 2003, 21). For example, it stated that the imperial throne only belongs to male heirs (Mackie, 2003, 21). In addition, it specified that only males are to partake in military service (Mackie, 2003, 21). Furthermore, legally women were categorized alongside minors and legally incompetents, thus they were unable to own property or enter legal contracts without their husband's approval (Mackie, 2003, 23). Similar to the Meiji Constitution, the Civil Code has also emphasized different duties for males and females of Japanese society (Mackie, 2003, 21). Moreover, it also strictly followed Samurai-related traditions and values and did not leave space for various traditions that differed based on social class as in the periods prior to the Meiji restoration and the Meiji Civil Code (Mackie, 2003, 23). Additionally, the Civil Code reiterated the "ie", family system, making all family members legally under the male's authority (Imamura, 1996,159).

Notwithstanding the fact that women actually played a huge role in the development of Japan as they outnumbered men in some industries such as textiles, women were still excluded from the political scene (Nolte & Hastings, 1991, 153). Women's expected roles were set within the confinements of the state supported ideology of "ryōsai kenbo", and only when Japan tried to show off to its Western counterparts did women, and only a small specific number of women, were given some public roles to fit within the "Western" style (Nolte & Hastings, 1991, 151,

154). Moreover, women who tried to attend or speak at public meetings were often judged for their attempt to do so and were often described as unfeminine (Mackie, 2003, 5). Additionally, although publicly supported, the idea that women are nurturing by nature does not ensure that women will assume such roles, but subconsciously it becomes the most rational choice for most women to make (Imamura, 1996, 161).

Education

Early Confucianist practices called for the education of women in only household related duties and needlework, disregarding women's need for any different forms of education (Mackie, 2003, 25). In 1872, the Meiji government made primary education compulsory for both boys and girls; however, families would rather pay the tuition fees for boys' education and would leave girls to do domestic labor (Mackie, 2003, 25). Despite education being obligatory for both young boys and girls, Japanese families were worried that by letting their girls attend school they'll be giving up on all the tasks and skills that young girls used to provide at home (Mackie, 2003, 25). But, when the tuition fees were abolished, more families started to send their girls to school (Mackie, 2003, 25). In 1879, education policies were reformed to separate boys and girls classes in the latter years of primary school in order to implement the "ryosai kenbo", education within the school curriculum for girls (Mackie, 2003, 25). "ryōsai kenbo" was the ideal of "good wives, wise mothers" and that was the basis for many gender-related policies by the state.

In 1887, Mori Arinori, who was the Minister of Education then, explained the importance of female education and the importance of institutionalizing the "ryosai kenbo" ideology in the primary education system since they both have national outcome (Mackie, 2003, 25). He went on to explain that the goal behind providing young girls with education is to prepare them for their future roles, which include becoming good wives to their husbands and wise mothers to their

children (Mackie, 2003, 25). And this in return will have its overall benefit on society (Mackie, 2003, 25). In 1895 and 1899, Ministers of Education, Saionji Kinmochi and Kabayama Sukenori have both insisted on the importance of education for women, referring to the argument of "ryosai kenbo", which states that in order for women to support and raise the nation's future citizens, they need to receive the education that prepares them for that role (Tsurumi, 2000, 20). Moreover, early on, women's education was more focused towards productive labor that they can provide to their family. But by the end of the 19th century, with the sweeping reformations and modernization taking place, women were allowed to further their education a little more but only because "a strong nation required scientific mothering" (Garon, 1993, 359). This further supports the same state narrative that was used a decade earlier by minister of education Mori Arinori.

Girls who attended the Tokyo high school were not encouraged to read any material outside of their curriculum, even the newspaper (Tsurumi, 2000, 12). Kishida Toshiko, one of the first Japanese feminists, emphasized that education is the key to women's equality" (Tsurumi, 2000, 16). Tsurumi cites Kikue who went to a Japanese school (Tsurumi, 2000, 12). Kikue describes her experience at school, claiming that she felt that her teachers' goal and the aim of the curriculum was to mold female students into what the state felt was the optimum goal and that is to prepare young female students to assume their future roles and that is to become good wives and wise mothers (Tsurumi, 2000, 12). It was well known that most girls only receive primary education and those who continued beyond that were an identified minority because school was seen as a transitional stage for girls, in between their birth place and their marital homes (Hastings, 2006, 164). Additionally, women were expected to act in a certain way and to be reserved and such lessons were taught to girls at schools (Hastings, 1991, 164). And

those who furthered their education were assumed to have developed their personality and will no longer do everything the husband wants, thus they were frowned upon (Hastings, 2006, 165).

During the first two decades of the Meiji era, a group of men formed an intellectual society called Merikousha (Meiji Six Society) (Tsurumi, 2000,4). The Merikousha were a "pro-Western civilization and enlightenment movement" that called for the improvement of women's status through education (Tsurumi, 2000, 4). Merikousha member and activist, Fukuzawa Yukichi, during the early Meiji period, deemed that most subjects are beneficial to women except for military strategy, thus further reiterating the state's patriarchal view on the exclusion of women (Tsurumi, 2000,16). So, if the state's aim was not to support gender equality through education then why call for girls' education? The answer can be found in the fact that the entire Meiji state discourse, especially in the first few decades, was focused on the modernization of the nation and women's roles were confined within the twin ideal of "ryōsai kenbo", which was what the state has created for women and deemed their way of participating in the state's building; i.e.: the only way that they could be imperial subjects (Tsurumi, 2000, 15).

By the end of the century, in 1899, a law was passed mandating that each prefecture should at least have one high school for girls (Nolte & Hastings, 1991, 158). This gave the opportunity for middle-class women to receive the opportunity for secondary education. Nevertheless, women of the lower class could not afford to stay at home from work and get an education, thus they were not allowed such opportunity (Nolte & Hastings, 1991, 158). It is important to note that the purpose of extending such opportunity to more women was based on the state's belief in the importance of the household and the family to the foundation of the nation (Nolte & Hastings, 1991, 158). As mentioned above, the state narrative was as follows; the emperor as a patriarch for the nation and the man as a patriarch for the household which is

the foundation of the nation. So, if women were to receive the 'needed education, they will be able to perform their roles of supporting their husbands as 'good wives' and raising their children as 'wise mothers' (Nolte & Hastings, 1991, 158).

Women in Action: Popular Rights Movement and 1890 Public Meeting Law

This call for gender equality that was evident in the earlier days of the Meiji rule was not a common theme for Japanese political attitudes towards women or feminism for the rest of the Meiji era. Consequently, even Merikousha members who advocated for gender rights did not envision these rights to include women's involvement in the government or the economy (Tsurumi, 2000, 19). In 1878, Kita Kusunose from Shikoku island demanded that she vote since she is the one who has been paying taxes since her husband's death (Kaneko, 2011, 3). Kusunose's story became very well-known and she was dubbed the "grandma of people's rights" (Kaneko, 2011, 3). Evidently, women who spoke in political meetings or in public were often deemed to be "promiscuous and superficial, their sexuality was minimized because they were accused of being overly masculine and utterly undesirable" (Hastings, 1991, 164). Simply, society was not accepting of the role those women had played as women were often expected to leave politics for the men, thus they were judged and deemed as ill-behaved (Hastings, 1991, 163). The women who got to be part of reform movements and organizations were definitely few; however, their impact was evident (Hastings, 2006, 167).

Between the 1870s and 1880s, women came to play a huge role in a series of movements that came to be known as the People's Rights Movement (Hastings, 1991, 155). This movement was inspired by a lot of liberal western ideas and has witnessed the participation of several elite women who came to play a huge role that has ultimately led to the inspiration and politicization of many women from the rural areas of Japan (Hastings, 2006, 155). Toshiko Kishida was the

first woman to publicly support the People's Rights Movement (Fujieda, 2011, 318). Kishida

gave a speech titled "Fujo no Michi" (The way for Women), making her the first female to

address the people publicly (Fujieda, 2011, 319). Another participant of the movement was the

"Nihon Kirisutokyō Fujin Kyōfūkai" (Japanese Women's Christian Temperance), which called

for the abolition of the state-supported system of licensed prostitution, elimination of customs

that respected men and despised women, and the elevation of a married woman to enjoy the

same status as the one married women enjoyed in the West, in which she had the respect of her

husband (Garon, 1993, 359). Mackie (2013) argues that even though such organizations were

bound to work within the imperialist and nationalist paradigm of the time and space, they still

tried to expand the activity of women and tried to find ways to pinpoint the gender differences

and expectations between males and females (pg.67).

All these demands and movements were restricted and met by disdain from the

government and policy makers. And in 1890, "Shūkai Oyobi Kessha Hō" (Law on Associations

and Meetings) restricted the participation of women in all political activities Although this law

was later abolished in 1922 through feminists' efforts, yet, up until 1945, women were legally

still unable to be members of a political organization (Hastings, 1991, 155). When laws were put

out to ban women's public political participation, the government reasoned their decision by

claiming that a women's "role at home is that of a public figure" (Hastings, 1991, 157),

structuring women's duty towards their nation by positing them as wives and mothers within the

confine of their homes, thus excluding them from any political public activities. Moreover, most

19th century local women's association, being banned from public speaking and participating in

politics, were left with responsibilities such as teaching Japanese women Western style house

management, preaching "chastity among girls", and teaching methods of "hygienic child

rearing" (Garon, 1993, 359).

Nolte & Hastings (1991), on the laws forbidding women's political participation, states

that "the laws were part of a systematic state interest in how the women and family system could

serve the developing nation" (pg.156). Moreover, we can see there was a total ban on women's

participation in any political activity, not considering what they were active in and whether they

were even planning to be or not. Thus, this impacted women across the nation who might have

been interested to join the movement in the future (Fujieda, 2011, 319). It was rather very

important for the state, as part of its modernization and state building plan, to make sure that all

women power was focused on their duty to the state, which was by being good wives and wise

mothers (Nolte & Hastings, 1991, 156).

"Ryōsai Kenbo" (Good Wives, Wise Mothers)

The state supported narrative of the exclusion of women did not stop at just the use of

family to define women's role as citizens of the Meiji state. The ideal of "ryōsai

kenbo", meaning "good wives, wise mothers", was heavily promoted by the state specially

between 1890 and 1911(Nolte & Hastings, 1991, 152). This ideal was used to reiterate the fact

that Japanese women's nationalist role and contribution to their country lies in their roles as

wives for their husbands and mothers for their children (Bullock et al, 2018, 3). Moreover, the

use of this phrase originally described the relationship between a husband and his wife and a

mother and her child (Mackie, 2003, 28). However, later this ideology was reconstructed to fit

the nationalist state-supported narrative which stated that women's duty towards their country is

through being "good wives, wise mothers" (Mackie, 2003, 28). Furthermore, we can see that this

ideology has caused a gender based division of labor starting the primary years of the Meiji era

and continuing to modern Japan (Shizuko and Sylvia, 1994, 32). This division has explicated the different roles men and women occupy on the course of achieving nationalistic goals. Such roles dictate that men be beneficial members to society through their "productive capacity and military service", whereas women's role could be summarized in the twin ideal of "good wife, wise mother" and that is they get to support their husbands and look after their children as a duty towards the state (Shizuko and Sylvia, 1994).

Family and State

"Feminine stereotypes had always placed women within a family setting, stressing their gentleness and meekness: it was this particularly docile and family-orientated quality that came to identify them as "Japanese women". (Sato, 2003, 16).

Prior to the Meiji restoration, the Japanese family was considered a "unit of production and consumption" (Hisa & Scanzoni, 1996, 312). However, a lot of the rhetoric used during the Meiji era was focused on creating this family-like relationship between the emperor and his subjects. This rhetoric included the "imagining of a new community: the nation-state as family "kazoku-kokka" (family-state)" (Mackie, 2003, 22). Moreover, this family-state rhetoric has linked the patriarchal nature of the Meiji state with that of the Japanese family by highlighting the patriarchal nature of the Japanese family and comparing the role of the Meiji emperor to that of the head of the Japanese family (Mackie, 2003, 22).Thus, during the Meiji era, the focus on family shifted to focusing on its hierarchy and comparing it to that of the "ruler and ruled" (Hisa and Scanzoni, 1996, 312). Incidentally, when married couples get divorced, the father is the one who gets to keep the children in an effort to preserve the patriarchal lineage (Mackie, 2003, 24). This shows that the state's efforts to conserve the patriarchal foundation of family was more important than the relationship between a mother and her children (Mackie, 2003, 24). It can

then be argued that the government used emotionally charged arguments about the family to benefit the state (Mackie, 2003, 22).

As mentioned above, the "ie", meaning family system, has been considered the foundation of Japanese society and during the Meiji era, a lot of the rhetoric leaned towards stating that women belong at home (Kaneko, 2011, 3). The construction of the Japanese household put the male as the household head in front of the society; however, it is actually the woman who, internally, was responsible for heading the family household (Hisa & Scanzoni, 1996, 313). This juxtaposition raises a lot of questions. So, how is the considered power for women despite the fact that their mere power lies within the confines of the domesticity of their home? And is this power constricted within the private domain since their power only comes second to the real power the male head holds as women, legally, were treated the same as minors or legally incompetents? Moreover, according to the Meiji state rhetoric, the role of women as subjects of the Meiji state was seen through the lens of family relationships (Mackie, 2003, 24). Thus, is this so-called "power" or role of "heading" the household actual power or is it simply a manufactured narrative under the design of nationalism and which confines women to the private sphere away from the public domain where real power takes place? Thus, we can see that the state supported a narrative that carefully carved out the role of women in society by using nationalist rhetoric discourse to support their institutionalized marginalization of women.

A lot of the state rhetoric revolved around the "ie". Mackie (2003) explains that "according to Meiji nationalist discourse, the role of women as imperial subjects was seen through the prism of family relationships" (pg. 24). Moreover, the civil law formalized the legal status of the patriarchal family by including family codes (Shire & Nemoto, 2020, 435). Thus, it created this equation in which, according to Confucian ideology and the Civil Code which is

based on some of its teachings, the woman served the husband and his family and the family

served the state (Shire & Nemoto, 2020, 435). So, in the times of modernization and state-

building, the government has created a narrative that puts women's responsibilities as subjects of

the imperial crown within their roles as wives and mothers. In a way, as Mackie (2003) explains,

the government was successful in "using emotional attachment to the family in the service of the

state" (pg.22).

Wars

During the first Sino-Japanese war, which took place from 1894-1895, the government

has propelled women's efforts towards being good wives and wise mothers for the nation's

soldiers, driving these ideas from the twin ideology of "ryōsai kenbo" (Tsurumi, 2000, 20). Their

role could be described as that of "nourishing subjects of the new state" (Tsurumi, 2000, 20).

And on par with that, the state's view on education shifted even more towards the ideology of

"ryosai kenbo", whereas female education should aim to provide women with the skills they

need to be helpful wives and patriotic mothers (Tsurumi, 2000, 20).

A few years later, during the Russo-Japanese war in 1904, women were expected to play

the same role they had occupied during previous wars. For one, women were the ones who cared

for soldiers, reiterating their nurturing nature as a nationalist asset (Nolte & Hastings, 1991, 159).

Second, girls at school were expected to prepare bandages and other first aid materials for

soldiers. Third, the state disposed of the efforts of upper class women who were able to

participate in charities in order to tend to the sick and wounded soldiers. (Nolte & Hastings,

1991, 159). Lastly, a collective effort of the Ladies' Patriotic Association (1901) could be seen

during wars. However, we must note that their activities were all state-sponsored, thus reiterating

the state's effort of institutionalizing the role women could play during wartime and that is the role of nourishment and care (Nolte & Hastings, 1991, 160).

Caring for soldiers and supporting their homes was another way the state has reiterated the role of women as nurturers. This way the state associated not only nationalism, but also femininity with the process or the role that young girls and women had to uphold during wars. Such role was to tend for the wounded and aid with their recovery during war, all of which recapitulates the state's policy towards women, upholding their contributions to the army in war and to the nation with activities that are deemed 'feminine' and are within the confines of their 'nurturing' nature, while still upholding their most important roles as subjects of the Meiji state and that is being 'good wives and wise mothers' (Nolte & Hastings, 1991, 158). As mentioned above, this view was not just limited to the conditions of war, it was rather an overall state ideology where the government viewed the family as more valuable and efficient unit than the individual and placed the roles and responsibilities of women to revolve mainly around what is needed to uphold such responsibilities of the family (Nolte & Hastings, 1991, 174).

Publishing

Although women were not mostly allowed to participate in politics, still some women were able to be politically active through publishing. In 1906, "Fujin no Tomo" (Ladies' Companion) was the first journal to be edited by a woman who was named Hani Motoko (Bullock et al, 2018, 3). Half a decade later, in 1911, Hiratsuka Raicho created "Seito" (Bluestocking), which was the first feminist journal, known for openly discussing existing issues such as abortion, prostitution, and more (Bullock et al, 2018, 3).

Taisho Era (1912-1926)

Activism Beyond the Public Life

The Taisho period's (1912-1926) beginning is marked by the death of the Meiji emperor in 1912 (Kaneko, 2011, 5). This period, in terms of women's rights, is known for women's political activity through the suffrage movement and for issues women faced within their homes, thus a lot of women's magazines and columns in newspapers were very popular during that period since many women related to their writings (Kaneko, 2011, 7,8). This was very important since women were still legally not allowed to participate in political meetings, thus they were able to channel their ideas and demands through other means. A few important publications directed at women were highly popular during the Taisho period. Some of these publications included Seito (Bluestocking) which was a feminist magazine and a column for women in the national newspaper Yomiuri Shimbun.

Seito, which first started as a women's literary journal (Mackie, 2013, 68), was the first independent feminist journal to openly criticize and defy the existing gender norms, as it addressed issues such as abortion, prostitution, and more (Bullock et al, 19991, 3). Hiratsuka, in the New Women's Association's first journal, stressed that suffrage was not the absolute end women aspired for, it was rather the ability to "inject new feminine values into a masculine political system" (Molony, 2000, 651). Two other widely popular publications include Funjin Koron (Women's Review) which was first published in 1916 and that dealt with more theoretical debates and Shufu no Tomo (Friends of Housewives) which was first published in 1917 and that dealt with day to day problems that women faced in their lives (Kaneko, 2011, 8). Fujin no Tomo, which was edited by Hani Motoko in the early 1910s, addressed important issues for

women and gave them advice on how to become "scientific homemakers", the importance of keeping account books, and such (Garon, 1993, 360).

Women's Political Organization?

The Taisho era was also known for the creation of many women's organizations that aimed to deal with the 'problems' women were facing and with the unequal representation women faced. In 1919, "Zen Kansai Fujin Rengōkai" (Federation of Women's Associations of Western Japan) was the largest independent women's group, aimed to eliminate any evil costumes and reconstruct daily life" (Garon, 1993, 360). Another organization was The New Women's Association, formed in 1920 by Raicho Hiratsuka and Fusae Ichikawa, was the first 'nationwide' female organization (Kaneko, 2011, 5). Hiratsuka criticized the patriarchal societal system, especially that of the "ie" (family) and called for the reconstruction of society by granting women more rights including the right to participate in politics (Kaneko, 2011, 5). Moreover, the organization called for the revision of Article 5 of the Security Police Law, which banned women's political participation (Kaneko, 2011, 5). Hiratsuka and Ichikawa withdrew from leading the Association and were replaced by Mumeo Oku (Kaneko, 2011, 6). Oku was successfully able to get the petition to revise Article 5 to pass, and in 1922, the article was revised and women were allowed to organize and participate in political meetings (Kaneko, 2011, 6).

As mentioned above, Raicho Hiratsuka and Fusae Ichikawa presented their demands to the Diet (Japanese parliament). Such demands reflected the nature of the situation of Japanese women specifically due to the restriction of the Public Meeting Law, which prohibited the participation of women in political meetings. Moreover, such demands and movements were also inspired by the demands and movements of women across the world during that time (Molony,

2000, 646). Thus, as Molony (2000) argues, at the time, "feminist discourse increasingly moved toward a demand for full civil rights based on suffrage" (647). Moreover, The New Women's Association was forced to resort to seeking and following other projects while the Diet debated their demands, so they were not condemned for their 'political association' (Molony, 2000, 650). Additionally, it is important to take into consideration that these demands for equality before the law, which most political organizations at the time sought, were not indeed the end that they aspired to reach but was rather the beginning as women hoped first to gain the right to political rights and then they were hoping to use that opportunity to channel their demands for equality in other areas (Molony, 651). Furthermore, Molony (2000) explains that Ichikawa iterated that "women's political empowerment could be achieved only through the recognition of male-female equality" (pg.652) and that to gain these rights, women were required to "find a place of equal membership in an already established state and society" (Molony, 2000, 653).

Additionally, some of the narrative that those organizations used was one that aligned with the state's rhetoric and that is "ryōsai kenbo". They argued that if women's society valued women through their roles as mothers, then it should be considered that mothers mold the future and so they need the political rights to be able to do so (Molony, 2000, 647-648). With this movement towards demanding rights, in 1921, Sekirankai (Red Wave Society), the first socialist women's organization, was established by Kikue Yamakawa in Tokyo and called for the abolishment of Article 5 which banned women's political participation (Kaneko, 2011, 6). Yamakawa criticized the way women were treated within the confines of their homes and in society in general. She compared women's work at home and outside of the home, with the limited wage, to that of a slave and argued that such attitude has forced many women into prostitution, which was one of the many big issues of the time (Molony, 2000, 653). Another

socialist organization that was formed around the same time was Yōkaki (Eighth Day Society), which also encouraged progressive social movements (Bullock et al., 1991, 4).

The End of the Political Ban: The Beginning of More?

As mentioned above, in 1922, the government amended Article 5, Clause 2, of the Public Peace Police Law, thus guaranteeing women the opportunity to attend political meetings, but they were still denied the opportunity to join political parties (Molony, 2000, 654). This marked an important moment for women's activism at the time as it widened the scope of women's involvement in politics. Two years later, following the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake, different women's groups and associations started working together to help the victims, leading to the formation of Tokyo Rengob Fujinkai (Federation of Women's Association) (Kaneko, 2011, 6). During that time, around 100 leaders from 43 different organizations came together to form Tokyo Rengō Fujinkai (the Tokyo Federation of Women's Organizations) and to promote issues and demands that existed before the earthquake. However, a year later, the organization was divided into different sections, focusing on different demands (Molony, 2000, 656).

In the following year, Ochimi Kubushiro, an activist against female prostitution, and Fusae Ichikawa, one of the founders of the New Women's Association, founded the Fusen Kakutoku Domei (Women's Suffarage League), previously known as the Fujin Sanseiken Kakutoku Kisej Domeikai (League for the Realization of Women's Suffrage) (Kaneko, 2011, 7). This organization called for the participation of women in politics, including the right to vote and to be treated as equal citizens (Kaneko, 2011, 7). Moreover, as a response to the developing demands for women's suffrage, in 1920, the government established the First Daily Life Improvement Campaign, which might have not offered the solution, but had addressed, in one way or another, women and their lives (Garon, 1993, 360). And that is proof that women's

contestation has been heard or at least noted. Ending the first half of the second decade of the 20th century, a Bill was passed, in 1925, giving men the right to vote and excluding women from such right. This was considered a huge setback for women's demands; nevertheless, suffragist movements of the time recognized that in order to achieve their demands, they had to continue to be active within the public sphere (Molony, 2000, 660).

Conclusion

The field of feminism and feminist studies might be fairly new; however, aspects of women's rights and empowerment can be traced throughout history. As Kano (2016) puts it, Japanese women are "second-class citizens inhabiting a first-class nation" (pg. 2). This is quite an intricate paradox since Japan ranks at number 19 on the last Human Development Index report (2019) issued by the United Nations (2022). Whereas, when it comes to gender, Japan ranks at 116 on the latest Global Gender Gap Report (2022) by the World Economic Forum (Zahidi, 2022). So, how can a country be so progressive and "developed" in most aspects, yet when it comes to the rights of women, it ranks on the lower end of the index, alongside still developing countries? This thesis utilizes the use of case studies to illustrate the relationship between State Feminism and Modernization theory and to explain how State Feminism presents a contradiction through the examination of real life cases that portray such paradox. Moreover, it is important to clarify that when we look at Japan's history, specifically the Meiji era, we are not looking at Japan as a case per se but as an episode in time when the state turned its attention to women and their demands "as a product of the sweeping political and social reforms of the Meiji Restoration of 1868 (Brenstein, 1991, 151).

The year 1868 marks the end of the Tokugawa (1600-1868) era and the beginning of the Meiji era (1868-1912), both of which, respectively, were considered by many Japanese as early

modern and modern eras of transition of Japan (Jansen & Rozman, 1993, 3). The restoration was

seen as a period of development and institutional reconstruction that made Japan, by World War

I, the only non-western industrially ranked nation (Nolle and Hastings, 1991, 151-152). Since

Japan was considered backward by Western powers, the government wanted to develop the

militaristic and economic capacity to protect itself from Western imperialism (Mikiso, 1992, 85).

Furthermore, it can be noted that today's Japanese feminism can be traced back to the Meiji era

(Bullock et al., 2018, 3).Thus, most gender related reforms during the Meiji restoration period

can be attributed to the fact that they are a byproduct of the reforms and a step towards

modernizing the nation not for the actual interest in gender reform (Tsurumi, 2000,4). The 1889

Meiji Constitution and the 1898 Civil Code are two of the most important documents created by

the Meiji government as they play an important role in shaping the attitudes towards not only

women but all subjects of the Meiji imperial crown.

It is important to note that unlike during the Tokugawa period, both documents reiterated

the exclusion of women from society's hierarchical order regardless of their social status

(Fujieda- Fainselow, 2011, 317). Moreover, they legally justified the complete suppression of

women to men in general and to the head of their household in specific (Fujieda, 2011, 317).

Early Confucianist practices called for the education of women in only household related duties

and needlework, disregarding women's need for any different forms of education (Mackie, 2003,

25). As mentioned above, the state narrative was as follows; the emperor as a patriarch for the

nation and the man as a patriarch for the household which is the foundation of the nation. So, if

women were to receive the 'needed education', they will be able to perform their roles of

supporting their husbands as 'good wives' and raising their children as 'wise mothers' (Nolte &

Hastings, 1991, 158). This call for gender equality that was evident in the earlier days of the

Meiji rule was not a common theme for Japanese political attitudes towards women or feminism

for the rest of the Meiji era.

Throughout the years, there has been a constant push and pull between the Japanese

government and society. On one hand, the Meiji government has further reiterated and rooted

ideals such as how a woman's main role and contribution to society and the nation should be

within the confines of her role as a wife and then eventually as a mother. According to Garon

(1993), "Japanese bureaucrats promoted the modernization of women's roles with an eye toward

strengthening the nation (pg. 359). "They involved women in public life in areas that could be

considered extensions of the female public sphere, especially education, social work, and the

improvement campaigns". Moreover, it reconstructed the patriarchal view of how the 'ie' is the

building block of society. All such aspects had completely gendered the way women should be

treated and how they should behave and act. Thus, feminists who demanded to change such solid

structure were met with so much difficulties. State Feminism is supposed to provide this

compromise that is needed when there is such situation, as it reiterates that Femocrats (feminist

policymakers with access to the decision making sector should be able to facilitate the demands

and needs of feminists and feminist movements. Thus, creating the connection between feminism

from above (Femocrats) and feminism from below (feminist movement). This in return

completes the circle and supposedly provides the ideal solutions and betters gender rights as with

the situation within the Nordic nations. However, the case of Japan was full of policies and

policymaking that might seem gender efficient in nature, but are rather just a means to an end.

Chapter 4: Japan and State Feminism: Part II

Showa Era (1926- 1989)

Introduction

The Meiji era has been a changing point in the history of modern Japan. The restoration was seen as a period of development and institutional reconstruction that made Japan, by World War I, the only non-western industrially ranked nation (Nolle and Hastings, 1991, 151-152). Going into the second half of the 1920s, we witness a shift from the Taisho to the Showa rule. Similar to the women of the Taisho Era, the Showa women also faced issues within the confines of their homes and within the public sphere. In the 1930s, on one hand, ministries were considering establishing organizations to "channel women's natural capacity for nurturing and selfless behavior into gender appropriate forms of support for the war effort" (Bullock et al., 1991, 5).

Organizations such as Dai Nihon Rengō Fujinkai (Greater Japan Federated Women's Association) were involved in war-related projects by sending out soldiers or tending to the wounded (Bullock et al., 1991, 5). And this was how the state has constructed the role of women during the Second World War, as women's nationalistic and patriotic roles in the time of war, was confined within their prescribed abilities and expectations and that was the role of nurturers and providers in the domestic sphere, away from politics and power (Bullock et al., 1991, 5). State Feminism can come to play here as women were being granted more opportunities by the government, yet such opportunities were episodes in time when the government needed to channel women's issues to its own benefit and that is by using nationalist rhetoric to require women's support but only within what the government saw fit and that is "within women's natural capacity".

Between the Two World Wars: Women are Natural Caretakers?

Of course, suffragist movements that resisted this still existed at the time. Women's suffrage bills were still being sent to the Diet (Garon, 1993, 360). Reformers like Koizumi Ikuko, who was a progressive educational reformer, critiqued and resisted this assumption that women and men operated in two different spheres, being that the men acted in the public sphere, whereas the women acted in the private sphere (Bullock et al., 1991, 5). Additionally, women leaders joined bureaucrats and vied for issues such as fatherless children and single mothers, calling for the later established 'Mother-Child Protection Law of 1937' (Garon, 1993, 361). This might be considered another step forward towards progression; nevertheless, we should note that the government supported such law because they believed that they were supporting potential future military recruits, at a time when the state was at war (Garon, 1993, 361).

Moreover, many women were forced to collaborate with the state, despite being authoritarian and denying them many of their basic rights because they were able through this gap that the state provided to address some of many issues on women's agenda and that includes things from public hygiene to better conditions for working women (Garon, 1993, 361). Nevertheless, by aiding throughout the war, women utilized such an opportunity to show their contribution and to validate their role in society (Kano, 2016, 152). So, we can see that during the war, women were expected to be supportive nationalist subjects through supporting the state's efforts, but within the confines of the 'gendered' roles they were ascribed. Nevertheless, we can see that women feminists were still using every opportunity to signal any of the issues that women suffered from to the public.

Post-World War II and the Occupation Era: The Right to Vote!

The ending of World War II might be considered one of the most tragic events in the history of Japan or maybe even the world. Nevertheless, the year 1945 brought about many political changes. Revisions were made to the Constitution and Civil Code (Bullock et al., 1991, 5). One important reform was that people were now being considered citizens rather than subjects of the emperor and the empire (Mackie, 2013, 67). This post-War period, during the United States' Occupation of Japan, had been viewed positively by feminist reformers as they valued and wanted to embrace a lot of thoughts and ideals from the US, including democracy, liberalism, and gender equality (Mackie, 2013, 70). Moreover, women were finally given the right to voting, elections, and owning property (Bullock et al., 1991, 5).

In 1946, 39 women were elected to the Diet and the Women and Minor's Bureau, headed by socialist activist Yamakawa Kikue, was created within the Ministry of Labor, signaling the rise of women's role in the public sphere and the increase of the government's attention towards women's issues (Bullock et al., 1991, 5). Nevertheless, this era might have signified a noticeable change in the prospects of gender rights, we still cannot assume that things have changed to the complete best, as women still had a long way ahead of them. This is another point where we can see the contradiction. On one hand, the government is offering women one of their long awaited demands and that is the legal right to vote, participate, own and such. Yet, on the other hand, the government again has confined women within certain aspects such as the fact that they were still considered second class employees and that their role was always overshadowed by that of men within the same sphere (Bullock et al., 1991, 5).

Post-Occupation: Resuscitating the Economy and Women and Labor Organizations

By the end of the occupation era, the Japanese government went back to its previous conservative view that women's "femininity is grounded in conventional domestic roles for women" (Bullock et al., 1991, 5). However, women still persevered. They participated in the Omi Kenshi Silk Mill Strike and in other international labor organizations, denoting that women were trying to utilize the newly upheld rights to gain more presence in the political sphere and to prove women's roles in the rebuilding of the economy following the war and the occupation period (Buckley, 1994, 152-153). Nevertheless, the government still went back to attending to women's issues that related to the household and such (Bullock et al., 1991, 6). Since Japan has suffered a huge drawback after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki incident, the government was so focused on rebuilding what was lost. And so, when it came to women, the rhetoric that the government employed was that women should channel their focus towards their homes, within the domestic sphere in order to support their husbands and sons focus on working and rebuilding the economy within the public sphere (Bullock et al., 1991, 6).

Moreover, when women challenged such rhetoric by supporting women's labor movements, through attending meetings and joining protests and such, they were met with the supporters of the "ryosai kenbo" who argued that a woman's main role should revolve around motherhood and family (Buckley, 1994, 153). Nonetheless, such critique was met with claims that the current situation of the country calls for all the labor force it can conjure in order to be able to rebuild what was lost in the war. And by the years, women were capable of fighting back such narrative and were able to get jobs; however, they were still treated as second class citizens and were considered cheap labor, thus they were demanded by some (Buckley, 1994, 161). This again highlights an important paradox and that is on one hand, the government and society still

views that women belong with their families and as mothers, yet, on the other hand, the need for

labor opened up opportunities for women to get jobs. So, yet again women were given 'some' of

their demands but not because the government deemed them deserved, but rather because the

situation required more labor and so it was wrapped within the context of gender, but in reality it

was more of a nationalist design.

The Era of Liberation?

The decade of the 1970s, in Japanese scholarly and activism, depicts a change or a

noticeable movement in the feminist movement. It has been labeled as "the decade of women

liberation" by many scholars (Mackie, 2013, 71). State Feminism, which I use to refer to the

efforts of feminists that are policymakers (from above), who come to play a role in presenting

women's issues along with the demands of feminist movements (from below) within the

policymaking sector in the state in order to help better represent women's demands and close the

gender gap between both sexes, was in play during that era, as women continued to utilize the

Women's Bureau and other governmental institutions to channel their demands (Bullock et al.,

1991, 6). As mentioned above, this era was labeled the era of liberation. Many of the laws that

put women within a disadvantage were reevaluated and thus the number of who participated in

policymaking increased (Yumiko et al., 1993, 51). Moreover, this era can be divided into 3

different periods, which are emergence (1970-1972), specialization (1972-1975), and

development (1975-1977).

During the emergence period, groups such as "Tatakau Onna" (Group of Fighting

Women) appeared. Such group did not have enough media exposure, raised a wide variety of

issues, and continued the path of their predecessors by utilizing State Feminism to try to

incorporate women's demands in the government and that is through the legislative body and/or

social institutions (Yumiko et al., 1993, 50). The second period, which is the specialization

period, witnessed the emergence of groups who had more specialized issues, utilized mass

communication, and leaned even more towards institutionalization as, for example, Leader Enoki

Misako was the one who organized the Japanese Women's Party (Yumiko et al., 1993, 51). The

last period called for more public attention by addressing very important issues and by utilizing

the fact that it was the International Year for Women (Yumiko et al., 1993, 51).

"Ūman Ribu" (Women's Liberation)

Along with the emergence of many organizations, a new wave of radical feminist

activists arose in the 1970s, who were known as "Ūman Ribu" (Women's Liberation). What was

worthy to note about these activists is that they were considered the first generation of women

activists to grow up under the new constitution of the Post-World War (Bullock et al., 1991. 6).

They formed an "unprecedented gendered critique of Japanese post-war society, questioning its

socio-political and economic organization and gender roles and human relations (Castellini,

2014, 10). Their agenda included women's social and sexual liberation and aimed to change

society to create a space were women would actually 'want' to have children (Bullock et al.,

1991, 6). The Ūman Ribu was often dubbed as the Japanese version of the second wave of

feminism (Bullock et al., 1991, 6). Another interesting fact about the Ūman Ribū is that they

organized a rally on Mother's Day in 1970 to stand with women who killed their children. So,

what happened? And why did the Ribū have such a stance? In the early 1970s, Japan witnessed

an increase in the number of cases of mothers who killed their children (Castellini, 2014, 10).

The Japanese society is known for its idealization of motherhood. Castellini (2014)

argues that Ribū's choice to support those mothers "questioned the sanctity of the mother-child

bond as natural and symbiotic. It also challenged the idea of the family as the building block of

Japanese society and the guarantor of the stability of the nation, demonstrating instead how that which was supposed to nurture future generations was a system that reproduced structures of inequality, discrimination, and violence (pgs.11-12). Moreover, this shows that the movement were not aiding women who killed their children but rather were sympathizing with the understanding that this was a "violent manifestation of female grudge unleashed upon an oppressive society or as a meaningless tragedy that destroyed the lives of both mother and child and inflicted a trauma to an entire community, or else, as a symptom of a malfunctioning society" (Castellini, 2014, 11). So, in a sense it was as if the movement sympathized with the conditions or the imposed norms and traditions that led to such a tragic and twisted outcome. Towards the end of the 1970s, the movement itself died; however, the issues and discussions it called for still remained (Bullock et al., 1991, 7).

"Joseigaku" (Women's Studies)

On par with the rise of many movements and the creation of many organizations, 'Joseigaku '(Women's Studies) in Japan began to develop on a larger scale, laying its foundation in the International Year for Women (Yumiko et al., 1993, 51). Moreover, the International Women's Studies Tokyo Conference was the first Japanese women studies' conference, thus it brought to light and signified the birth of women's studies in Japan (Yumiko et al., 1993, 51). Additionally, the Nihon Joseigaku Kenkyūkai (Women's Studies Society of Japan) and the Nihon Josei Gakkai (Women's Studies Association of Japan) were established in 1977 and 1979, respectively (Bullock et al., 19991. 7). Furthermore, terms such as "Jendā Furī" (gender-free) started to appear in Japan and teachers and scholars were more interested in studying gender and in studies that were free from restrictions on gender expression (Bullock et al., 1991, 7).

International Conferences and the EEOL

As mentioned earlier, this decade witnessed the creation of many new women-related organizations in Japan due to the fact that it coincided with the International Year for Women, the United Nations' 1st World Conference on Women, and the pass of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, which was signed and ratified by Japan (Bullock et al., 1991, 7). All of these external influences inspired or compelled the government to focus some of its attention and efforts towards the women question. This indeed further reiterates the fact that throughout these different episodes in time, the Japanese government was compelled to address or pass policies that are somewhat beneficial to women and gender equality. However, the reason has always been something other than the fact that they were reconstructing gender inequality in Japan.

1980s: The End of an Era

The 1980s were also full of debates. Such debates led to the Koyō Kikai Kintō Hō (Equal Employment Opportunity Law). Kano (2016) argues that the law was considered a defeat at the time because it eliminated some of the gender-specific measures that were put to serve as a protection for women, without guaranteeing equality in exchange (pg.141). Moreover, the debate around 'ryosai kenbo" has remained. Kano explains that when asked, many Japanese believed that marriage was "intrinsic to the Japanese definition of being human" (Molony, 2000, 789). Traditionally, motherhood has been the only socially agreed upon role for women. However, the debate was still ongoing. On the one hand, the patriarchal view supported the narrative that motherhood was the main way in which women could contribute to the male's 'ie', which for a long period of time, has been the foundation of Japanese society.

On the other hand, many of the conservative and traditional women have supported this view by claiming that "having children makes them mature adults and that they recall the events in their lives in terms of their children's ages" (Molony, 2000, 789). Both narratives reiterate the same rhetoric that feminists have long vied to change and that is confining women to motherhood and family and relating their nationalist and patriotic support to motherhood. This, Molony (2000) argues, at that time a 100 years later, is the "legacy of the Meiji era policies", which assumed that women's contributions, economically or socially, can all always be tied back to their role as mothers.

Heisei Era (1989-2019)

The 1990s and the 1999: Danjo Kyōdō Sankaku Kihon Hō

The new 'women-friendly' policies introduced in Japan in the 90s has led scholars to question whether if State Feminism, in the true meaning of the concept, is finally being completed in Japan? Or whether it is just another episode of introducing some women-friendly policies in order to be able to co-opt rising women's movements and to balance the status quo? One the one hand, some new policy measures were introduced in the 1990s, which included the Paternal Leave Law, the 1997 and the 1999 revisions of the Equal Employment Law of the 80s, and the establishment of Council on Gender Equality in 1996 (Boiling, 2008, 69). Moreover, other laws on child care and laws that "allowed women's groups to gain stronger legal status, were passed during the 90s (Kano, 2016, 141).

Additionally, in 1999, the Japanese government passed the Danjo Kyōdō Sankaku Kihon Hō (Basic Law for Gender Equality) (Osawa, 2005, 157) and in 2001, the Domestic Violence Prevention Law was passed (Boiling, 2008, 69).The Basic Law for Gender Equality called for the "formulation of male-female joint planning in order to help everyone perform well within

their household and family roles" (Kano, 2016, 154). On the other hand, women's groups have been very active in the scene. In 1993, when the Liberal Democratic Party, one of Japan's longest standing parties, lost the one-party dominance over the Diet in 1993, as it had been previously monopolizing the scene, small parties were given the chance (Boiling, 2008, 69). Newly emerging party, Sakigake, was able to break away from the monopolized traditional conservative political path of the Liberal Democratic Party and started to show support to gender-related reforms (Boiling, 2008, 69).

Legacies of the Past

The 90s, with its new liberal movements, witnessed a wave of criticism towards the Japanese traditional view on gender and family. Despite not being entirely new, it was the first time that such issues were widely and openly discussed and criticized. Feminists argued that not all women were necessarily meant to be mothers and that Japanese household system has created a gendered division of labor, where put in the public sphere (as providers) and women were put in the private sphere (as nurturers) (Yumiko et al., 1993, 59). Moreover, Japanese feminists have criticized "Danson Johi", which is the inherited tradition of respecting men and despising women (Yumiko et al., 1993, 65). This, feminists, argued was very evident in how, post-war, women were rendered in low social status in comparison to men and that labor was gendered (Yumiko et al., 1993,65).

State Feminism on the Rise Again?

With the rise of many women-supported policies, feminists and feminist scholars were essentially skeptical, thus a wide variety of hypothesis had arisen. On the one hand, optimistic arguments explained that the sudden change and loss of monopoly by the Liberal Democratic Party has paved the way for new players with new and different agendas to enter the policy

making scene (Boiling, 2008, 69). Moreover, it could be noted that the 1990s have had favorable

social and political conditions, including the social reforms that were created because NGOs and

bureaucrats, such as those who replaced the Liberal Democratic Party, opened the space for

newly emerging groups to enter the policy making scene and to have roles in shaping the new

reform legislation (Boiling, 2008, 69-70). Additionally, there were newly made efforts to appoint

more women in councils set up by the government, increasing the number of women in advisory

councils (Boiling, 2008, 70). On the other hand, there were different pessimistic analyses of the

rise of women-friendly policies. For example, Roberts in Boiling (2008) argues that such new

women-friendly policies were introduced because Japanese policymakers were only worried

about the low birth rates and the aging population (pg.71).

Another argument details that since the world was taking an interest in gender rights and

gender equality at the time, policymakers used such opportunities to create a "more family-

friendly society and workplace environment" through the use of gender equality rhetoric (Osawa

in Boiling, 2008, 71). Additionally, Gelb views that established and expanded organizations of

gender equality that were created in the 70s and reconstructed and modified in the 90s had a

tremendous role as she viewed them as "national machinery" that aided in creating women-

friendly policies and have given the opportunity to be part of the policymaking cohort, all of

which were an aspect of State Feminism in Japan (Gelb in Boiling, 2008, 71). On the other hand,

some argued that such policies still lacked. For example, women needed more support when it

came to child rearing, nursing care, and reforms in employment opportunities if women were to

be able to fully and fairly participate in society (Osawa, 2005, 157). Moreover, social institutions

were already gender-biased towards men in terms of tax paying, social insurance, and so on. And

that needed to change for women to be able to have an equal opportunity as members of the labor force and members of society (Osawa, 2005, 157).

Additionally, Kano (2016) explained that "policy was satisfied with merely adding women to the cooperative planning of society rather than regarding this as a means toward creating a society that would truly guarantee women's rights as equal human beings" (pg 154). Thus, reiterating the fact that the government was appeased that they added women to the policy making scene, just because it is needed and not because it was a way for change. Kobyashi (in Boiling, 2008), explains that Japan is an example of a "strong state-weak society", which does not have a strong movement to aid those feminists who are part of the policy making section and so if change is bound to happen, it will be because of an external factor such as policymakers facing internal problems or international pressure that can be resolved through the creation of women-friendly policies (pg.72). What makes all these different views very interesting is the fact that Japan does really rely on women's unpaid labor as wives and mothers, yet, Japanese society and politicians still deny the woman's question.

Early 2000s

Continuing on the same path, the first decade of the 2000s had also faced the same ups and downs when it came to gender related policies and politics in Japan. Many of the United Nations' bodies have criticized the Japanese government when it came to gender equality. The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women Committee has previously criticized the post-war Japanese government for the practice of sexual slavery committed by the Japanese military during the Second World War under the name of the so-called "comfort women" (Wakakuwa et al., 2011, 351). At the time, the Japanese government did not follow the recommendations suggested by the United Nations' bodies and so some of the city councils

throughout Japan were forced to act upon that criticism (Wakakuwa et al., 2011, 351). Another criticism to the Japanese and government and society was "the persistence of patriarchal attitudes and deep-rooted stereotypes regarding the roles and responsibilities of women and men in the family and in society in Japan, which threaten to undermine women's exercise and enjoyment of their human rights." (Wakakuwa et al., 2011, 353). The international community, along with Japanese feminists have continued to criticize the Japanese government for the apparent in equality amongst the sexes and the lack of sufficient counteraction on the government's part.

Shinzo Abe and the Promise to Change

Shinzo Abe's second round in charge has come with some promises to change. In his effort to provide change, Abe has introduced "Abenomics", which was a plan to resurrect Japan's declining economy while at the same time increasing female employment opportunities (Song, 2015, 113). In order to make up for the declining birth rates, the aging population, and labor shortage issues, the Japanese government was forced to involve more women in the equation (Song, 2015, 113). Moreover, Abe has dubbed this a chance to advance gender equality, specially following the backlash of the early 2000s, by channeling this "Womenomics" plan, which involved bettering chances for women (Och & Hasunuma, 2018, 178). Additionally, Abe has promised to increase women in leadership positions up to 30% (Och & Hasunuma, 2018, 182). In his speeches Abe has made comments about the importance of women in leadership positions and has backed up his plan to make this a reality. Abe in fact has appointed women in his cabinet;, nevertheless, Song (2015) highlights:

> "Abe falls short of achieving his 30% target. In Abe's first cabinet (2006), he appointed
>
> 11.1% women to the cabinet, which compares to his 2012 cabinet and the cabinets of
>
> Fukuda (2006/07), Taro(2008/09) and Noda (2011) Abe also performed better than

Hatoyama's 2009/10 cabinet (6.2%), Kan's 2011 cabinet (0%) and Kan's 2012 cabinet (5.5%). Compared to previous cabinets then, Abe 2014 and 2015 cabinet performed significantly better although it still fell short of the 30 % target. Table 5 shows that overall women made up only 17.24% (10 of 58) of all cabinet members across three cabinets" (pg.184).

Some assumed such a show of interest was to boost Abe's voting chances, while others claimed it was to rectify Japan's stance in front of the world. Abe has succeeded in some of his promises to deliver more opportunities to women; nonetheless, the extreme change that Abe has laid out was not yet possible to achieve since there was still this constant tension between past and present and between tradition and reality. Japan was facing the issue of declining birth rates, aging society, and economic troubles, thus women were needed to enhance the mostly masculinized labor force (Och & Hasunuma, 2018, 186). Yet, society along with many of the conservative policy makers still argue that women's main role lies within the idea of "ryosai kenbo" (Och & Hasunuma, 2018, 186). This leads us to consider that this is a cycle. Since women are needed, but are viewed as second class citizens and who can help change that? Policymakers and movements, yet there are not enough femocrats nor there is enough space for feminist movements to achieve their demands. And eventually, all gender rights presented are part of the state's agenda to modernize, change, or fix something or as a result of external pressure.

Conclusion

The field of feminism and feminist studies might be fairly new; however, aspects of women's rights and empowerment can be traced throughout history. As Kano (2016) puts it, Japanese women are "second-class citizens inhabiting a first-class nation" (pg. 2). This is quite

an intricate paradox since Japan ranks at number 19 on the last Human Development Index report (2019) issued by the United Nations (2022). Whereas, when it comes to gender, Japan ranks at 116 on the latest Global Gender Gap Report (2022) by the World Economic Forum (Zahidi, 2022). So, how can a country be so progressive and "developed" in most aspects, yet when it comes to the rights of women, it ranks on the lower end of the index, alongside still developing countries? This thesis utilizes the use of case studies to illustrate the relationship between State Feminism and Modernization theory and to explain how State Feminism presents a contradiction through the examination of real life cases that portray such paradox.

During times of war, the state supported a narrative which iterated that women should show their support to their country during the war by being performing their roles as natural caretakers. Nevertheless, women utilized such an opportunity to show their contribution and to validate their role in society (Kano, 2016, 152). Despite being one of the most tragic years in Japanese history, the year 1945 brought upon changes to society, specifically women as revisions were made to the Constitution and Civil Code (Bullock et al., 1991, 5). One important reform was that people were now being considered citizens rather than subjects of the emperor and the empire (Mackie, 2013, 67). Post-World War II, since Japan has suffered a huge drawback after the Hiroshima and Nagasaki incident, the government was so focused on rebuilding what was lost. And so, when it came to women, the rhetoric that the government employed was that women should channel their focus towards their homes, within the domestic sphere in order to support their husbands and sons focus on working and rebuilding the economy within the public sphere (Bullock et al., 1991, 6).

The 1970s were considered the time of change for Japanese feminism; however, there has been a constant push and pull between the Japanese government and society. All such aspects

had completely gendered the way women should be treated and how they should behave and act. Thus, feminists who demanded to change such solid structure were met with so many difficulties. State Feminism is supposed to provide this compromise that is needed when there is such situation, as it reiterates that Femocrats who are feminist policymakers with access to the decision making sector should be able to facilitate the demands and needs of feminists and feminist movements. Thus, this creates the connection between feminism from above (Femocrats) and feminism from below (feminist movement). And in return, this completes the circle and supposedly provides the ideal solution and betters gender rights as with the situation within the Nordic nations. However, the case of Japan was full of policies and policymaking that might seem gender efficient in nature, but are rather just a means to an end.

Chapter 5: Lessons Learned from Japan and Shadow Cases

Introduction

The political process is gendered and that the state is involved in the constructing and reconstructing of gender categories due to its interest in biologically categorizing individuals (Connell, 1987, 1990,130). Moreover, society is involved in the creation of cultural meanings of femininity and masculinity, which in return influence the way politics is constituted and thus political actors use those meanings to establish strong ties with society (Dongangun, 2019, 6). This chapter utilizes the technique of shadow cases to examine the lesson learned from the Japanese case and how they can be explored throughout other different contexts. As mentioned above, Feminist theory has been inherently characterized by anti-state agenda due to the patriarchal nature and anti-feminist discourse of most states (Outshroon and Kantola 2007, 3). "Some feminist theories took issue with the idea of the state as a monolithic patriarchal entity oppressing women" (McBride & Mazur, 2010, 7). Following the same understanding, Connell (1987) explains:

> "The patriarchal state can be seen, then, not as the manifestation of a patriarchal essence, but as the center of a reverberating set of power relations and political processes in which patriarchy is both constructed and contested. If this perspective is sound, it makes the historical trajectory of the state vital to an understanding of its place and effects in sexual politics" (pg.130).

Defining Shadow Cases

Shadow case study uses techniques of case study research to investigate a case more (Sofier, 2021, 9). Researchers might want to explore the generality of their claims to highlight

the power of within-case analysis. In this thesis, Japan is the case study and Turkey and Iran

could be considered shadow cases. Despite the fact that there is a lot of work done on case

studies, there is no agreed upon definition of shadow cases. Sofier (2021) defines shadow cases

as: "a component of small-N research that entails the examination of an ancillary or peripheral

case, drawing inference from within-case analysis of that case to shed light on the generality of

claims most centrally evaluated in the core case" (pg.11) However, the most used or most known

definition of shadow cases is that of John Gerring. Gerring (2007), simply, explains that

peripheral or shadow cases are part of the "cross-case component of analysis in which the

emphasis of a study shifts from the individual case to a sample of cases…………………most

often surveyed through a quick reading of the secondary literature or through a statistical

analysis" (pgs. 20-22). The upcoming section of this chapter explores three shadow cases, which

are Turkey, Iran, the Nordic states and lays out the commonalities between the Japanese case

study and the shadow cases, highlighting the lessons learned from the Japanese case and how we

can understand them and apply them to other cases, and raising questions for further research on

the topic of State Feminism.

Turkey

Similar to Japan, Turkey could be considered conservative and patriarchal compared to

other states. The Tanzimat period (1839-76) could be cited as the era of modernization of the

Ottoman empire, which preceded the Turkish Republic and was one of the longest lasting

empires in the region (Dogangun, 2019, 7). A lot of decisions were made during this time that

have influenced Ottoman society for so long. Subsequently, following the establishment of

Turkey as a state, a lot of 'modernizers' debated the roles and rights those Tanizmat have

dictated. So, in an effort to shed the Ottoman 'traditional' image, Turkish modernizers focused

on many aspects of society, including women. Women were given the 'national' role of educating their families, thus the state was very conscious of women's education and the modernization of the then 'traditional' (Ottoman) woman to become a "new Republican woman" (Turkish) (Dogangun, 2019, 7). However, it is important to note that women were looked at not as individuals but rather as 'wives and mothers', thus roles and rights were altered so that women can help, through their nurturing nature, support the creation of the modern Turkish citizen (Dogangun, 2019, 21).

In 1923, Turkish women sought to create a political party as part of their demand for equality (Dogangun, 2019, 37). However, they were only allowed to create a union instead. Through this union, women played a role in 'modernizing' girls and women to be better wives and mothers and carried out charity work (Dogangun, 2019, 37). As we can, the state has given women the chance to unite and act only within the terms set by the state. At that time, the state narrative regarding women was to 'modernize' them and to create the "new Republican woman", a role the state deemed relevant for women in an act of modernization and nationalism. Years later, when women were given the right to vote, the union dissolved as it served its purpose to fill the once existing gap that feminist might have demanded to fill. As White (2003)puts it: "State feminism, the state-led promotion of women's equality in the public sphere, monopolized women's activism and shaped it as a tool of the state's modernizing project' (pg.155).

Iran

The first half of the twentieth century witnessed the fall of empires and the rise of sovereign states, which has brought about a huge change in world politics. As with the case in Japan, Iranian women were struggling for rights in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Similarly, the Pahlavi rule at the time had also restricted a certain state-sponsored narrative that

accompanied women within the public and private spheres. The state had forced rhetoric of patriotism and modernization, ascribing the roles of wives and mothers as the most patriotic act women can exhibit in the service of their country (Kashani-Sabet, 2005, 30). In a way, women were forced to support or pretend to support such a narrative because it was state-sponsored. However, in a way, feminists tried to push against such believes and tried to lobby for some rights and advances in between this narrative (Kashani-Sabet, 2005, 30). Moreover, Feminism in Iran witnessed a push in the 1940s when the Women's Party sought to bring the debate to the international scene. Nevertheless, as with the case of Japan, even if some changes were forced to be made, patriarchal ideals still remained within society and were still subtly pushed for by the state (Amin, 2008, 24).

Nordic/Scandinavian Countries

According to the latest Human Development Index report, all five Scandinavian countries are amongst the top ten most developed countries (United Nations, 2002). Moreover, four out of the five Scandinavian countries rank in the top five highest ranking states in the 2022 Global Gender Gap Index (Zahidi, 2022). Nordic countries are committed to "equality and a well-developed system of publicly-funded social services, income security, education, health care, and day care" and that is why they are viewed as paradises for women (Eliason, 1997, 198). During the second half of the 20th century, Scandinavian states became a safe haven for women. The welfare system that was created institutionalized "motherhood and care work as a part of social citizenship" and paved the way for women to "become a permanent labor force with relative high wages" (Siim, 1987, 256).

Along the same lines of modernization theory and State Feminism, Nordic states have also undergone modernization along with many of the European nations at the time (Melbey et

al., 2008, 5). However, unlike Japan, the Nordic example has emphasized a case were women

were included in the public sphere early on through the creation and integration of different

organizations (Melbey et al., 2008, 5). So, when matters arose in relations to critiques of

different societal and state practices, the integration of women through civil society has proved

to create a somewhat successful result (Melbey et al., 2008, 5). This exemplifies a case of State

Feminism from below, where movements were integrated along the lines of policies, creating a

space for women-friendly policies to take place. Nevertheless, despite all those positive changes,

it can be argued that this welfare state system is gendered due to the fact that women did not play

a conspicuous role in changing the social and political institutions (Siim,1987, 256). And as

Simm puts it: "women have primarily been objects in the development of the modern welfare

states and have not been able to determine their interests as social and political agents".

Analysis: Lessons Learned From Japan?

"One of the most important debates among contemporary feminists has involved the

ways in which women contributed to the construction and application of the domestic ideal, or

conversely the extent to which we have participated in our own oppression" (Poovey, 1988, 21).

Studying State Feminism is very complex, thus we have to be very subtle about it. It can be

argued that State Feminism depicts "

> "an inclusion dynamic, where mobilization 'from below' - i.e. through social and feminist
>
> movements, combines with 'integration politics from above' - i.e. party political elites and
>
> institutions, to create state initiatives where rights' expansion and institutional presence
>
> are two sides of the same coin. In this sense, state feminism mainly refers to the forms of
>
> participation which shape gender equality policies, and - in its first, visionary,

formulation - the possible development towards a truly women-friendly society" (Siim & Skjeie, 2008, 323).

In the case of Japan, Turkey, and Iran, we have seen conservative elites adopting feminist friendly in shape, yet the reason these policies were successful on conservative societies cannot be just attributed to State Feminism. On the one hand, Japan is conservative and patriarchal, yet democratic. Whereas, on the other hand, Turkey and Iran are also patriarchal and conservative, yet authoritarian. However, in the Nordic case we see an example of what has been dubbed as a 'women-friendly state' model, where women's movements and organizations were integrated along policy lines in order to create policies that could be attributed to creating a gender equal society.

State Feminism looks at the relationship between Femocrats (from above) and women's movements and so on (from below). And supposedly, this relationship should ensure that feminist demands and women's rights are met when this entire equation is presented. However, we see that in the case of Japan, it's either patriarchal, conservative elites that are creating these women-friendly policies or the state is giving a window, albeit a small one, for Femocrats and feminist movements to get to participate in policymaking, thus making decisions that are women-friendly. Yet, it is important to note that it is not State Feminism that is the reason that women have some degree of equality, it is rather the conditions or circumstances that paves the way for State Feminism to play a role. Such conditions, in the case of Japan, include modernization efforts, international pressure, economic troubles, and the dilemma of low birth rates and aging society. Thus, we can say that there are certain conditions that allow for State Feminism to take root, thus making the regime adopt gender equal rights. So, we cannot give State Feminism the credit for such rights, but we can say that it has somehow facilitated their

existence and if given the chance, State Feminism can actually do help in the creation of women-friendly states.

Conclusion

"Shinzo Abe Vowed Japan Would Help Women 'Shine'. They're Still Waiting". This is the title of an article published in the New York Times in 2020. The case of Japan can be considered to be an amalgam. On one hand, Japan is one of the most advanced countries in the world, yet when it comes to women's rights, Japan ranks very low on the list. So, how is this paradox possible? Aren't democracy and modernization supposed to ensure the abundance of such rights? Don't all "good things of modernization tend to go together" (Fukuyama, 2009, 85)? So, why are women "second-class citizens inhabiting a first-class nation" (Kano, 2016, 2). Such questions have inspired many to question this paradox that is Japan.

Modernization theory can be understood as "the process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment" (Black, 1967, 7). Hence, it is "a multifaceted process involving changes in all areas of human thought and activity". (Tipps, 1973, 201). The question here then is whether the process of modernization is affected by the persistence or change of 'tradition'? And whether tradition is in return affected by modernization? (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005, 19). This then highlights an important argument, which is whether modernization theory and the process of modernization are gender biased or not. Thus, the question becomes whether the newly founded gender rights are truly based on an agenda to improve gender rights or are just part of the state's agenda to modernize? Different levels of societal modernization have different effects when it comes to society's beliefs about the role of men and women (Inglehart & Norris, 2009, 159)

The term "State Feminism" first appeared in the Nordic political concept in the 80s (Mazur and McBride, 2010, 247). Hernes (1987), who was first to coin the term, defined State

Feminism as "a variety of public policies and organizational measures designed partly to solve general social and economic problems partly to respond to women's demands"(pg.11).The term has first stirred controversy due to the sour relationship between feminists and the state, which they have always viewed as patriarchal and anti-feminist (Outshroon and Kantola, 2007, 3). Moreover, State Feminism implies a main aspect and that is the integration of feminist ideas in the state, either through political aspects such as parliaments, political parties, and such (from above) or through the works of women's movements and women's policy agencies together (from below). By that feminists can ensure that their demands are met and that the reforms pursued by governments are actually materialistic and not just symbolic (Shah, 2000, 347). Thus, the upcoming chapters utilize different countries not as case studies per se, but as episodes that can be used to illustrate this relationship and examine its implications and contradictions.

Japan ranks at number 19 on the last Human Development Index report (2019) issued by the United Nations (2022). Whereas, when it comes to gender, Japan ranks at 116 on the latest Global Gender Gap Report (2022) by the World Economic Forum (Zahidi, 2022). So, how can a country be so progressive and "developed" in most aspects, yet when it comes to the rights of women, it ranks on the lower end of the index, alongside still developing countries? The year 1868 marks the end of the Tokugawa (1600-1868) era and the beginning of the Meiji era (1868-1912), both of which, respectively, were considered by many Japanese as early modern and modern eras of transition of Japan (Jansen & Rozman, 1993, 3). .Thus, most gender related reforms during the Meiji restoration period can be attributed to the fact that they are a byproduct of the reforms and a step towards modernizing the nation not for the actual interest in gender reform (Tsurumi, 2000,4).

Throughout the years, there has been a constant push and pull between the Japanese government and society. On one hand, the Meiji government has further reiterated and rooted ideals such as how a woman's main role and contribution to society and the nation should be within the confines of her role as a wife and then eventually as a mother. According to Garon (1993), "Japanese bureaucrats promoted the modernization of women's roles with an eye toward strengthening the nation (pg. 359). "They involved women in public life in areas that could be considered extensions of the female public sphere, especially education, social work, and the improvement campaigns".

Moreover, it reconstructed the patriarchal view of how the 'ie' is the building block of society. All such aspects had completely gendered the way women should be treated and how they should behave and act. Thus, feminists who demanded to change such solid structure were met with so much difficulties. State Feminism is supposed to provide this compromise that is needed when there is such situation, as it reiterates that Femocrats (feminist policymakers with access to the decision making sector should be able to facilitate the demands and needs of feminists and feminist movements. Thus, creating the connection between feminism from above (Femocrats) and feminism from below (feminist movement). This in return completes the circle and supposedly provides the ideal solutions and betters gender rights as with the situation within the Nordic nations. However, the case of Japan was full of policies and policymaking that might seem gender efficient in nature, but are rather just a means to an end.

State Feminism looks at the relationship between Femocrats (from above) and women's movements and so on (from below). And supposedly, this relationship should ensure that feminist demands and women's rights are met when this entire equation is presented. However, we see that in the case of Japan, it's either patriarchal, conservative elites that are creating these

women-friendly policies or the state is giving a window, albeit a small one, for Femocrats and feminist movements to get to participate in policymaking, thus making decisions that are women-friendly. Yet, it is important to note that it is not State Feminism that is the reason that women have some degree of equality, it is rather the conditions or circumstances that paves the way for State Feminism to play a role. Such conditions, in the case of Japan, include modernization efforts, international pressure, economic troubles, and the dilemma of low birth rates and aging society. So, when I am talking about how Japan's case is compared to the cases of Iran and Turkey or what we learned from Japan's case. Thus, we can say that there are certain conditions that allow for State Feminism to take root, thus making the regime adopt gender equal rights. So, we cannot give State Feminism the credit for such rights, but we can say that it has somehow facilitated their existence and if given the chance, State Feminism can actually do help in the creation of women-friendly states.

When examining the case of Japan or when looking at other different cases, as mentioned above, we can see that in all different examples there is a case of an incomplete State Feminism, where it is easier feminization from above or from below. So, further questions can be formulated here. Is State Feminism the key to gender equality? Which is more effective, a case of State Feminism 'from above' or a case of State Feminism 'from below'? Does the issue we face here lies in the fact that none of the cases mentioned in this thesis depict an example of a complete process of State Feminism, which includes the efforts of feminists that are policymakers (from above), who come to play a role in presenting women's issues along with the demands of feminist movements (from below) within the policymaking sector in the state in order to help better represent women's demands and close the gender gap between both sexes?

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