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Why the Japanese people change
their attitude toward Article 9?
論日本民眾對憲法第九條修正案
的態度轉變

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Abstract

This research presents the shifting public opinion of the Japanese population towards the article 9 of their constitution. Based on the literature gathered, most information focuses on the influence and feasibility of the constitutional amendment in Japan. Rather than focusing on such, this study offers a more inclusive analysis through concentrating on the public opinion or public's voice. This matters as public opinion is a requirement of referendum for the constitutional amendments. According to the Japanese constitution, the constitutional amendment requires not only two-thirds of all the members of each House, also needs more than half of the public's approval. Recently, the public's opinion toward Article 9 has obviously changed. An inquiry on the public attitude changes from disagreeing to agreeing is highly significant. Thus, this research aims to elucidate why the approval rate increases in recent years. This research believes that the change of international situation in China, Korea, and the United States has made Japanese people feel more insecure, which influences the public opinion on supporting the constitutional amendment.

摘要

本研究的目的是在於分析近年來日本民眾對於日本憲法第九條修正案的態度轉變原因。相關的文獻大多討論憲法修正案的可能影響以及憲法修正案的可行性，較少將重點放在解釋日本民眾意見的變化上，本文試圖在這個部分作出貢獻。根據日本憲法的規定，修憲除了需要由各三分之二的參眾議員同意通過外，更需超過半數以上的民眾附議，因此民眾對於修憲的意見和支持程度至關重要。近年來，民眾對於憲法第九條的修正案出現了明顯的態度轉變，因此本研究將探討為何在近年來日本人民對於修憲的支持度逐漸增高。本文認為，由於近年來中國、韓國和美國的國際局勢開始出現變化，因此改變了日本人民心中的不安全感，所以影響了民意對於修憲的支持程度。

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1. Introduction

In recent years, North East Asia has been in the spotlight of world's attention. Not only its location in Pacific Rim, but also its troublesome issues have let this area stay under lively discussion. Being one of the strong countries and the trustable ally for the United States, Japan's attitude and policy toward Pacific affairs can never overestimate. Moreover, Japan's security policy is one of the key factors that might affect the peace of this region. Due to the historical factors, Japan did not have a regular army, most of the security policies in Japan are deeply constrained by the Constitution. To be more concrete in my topic, the first chapter will give a brief introduction to the historical background, the puzzle related to the Constitution of Japan, my perspectives in this topic and the arrangement of chapters in this article.

1.1 Background

How does the Constitution influence Japan's Security policy?

In the past decade, East Asia is the most controversial region in the globe. Several issues are still heated, and these issues are likely to drive this region into conflicts or worse, provoke war. Among all the East Asian countries, Japan is one of the powerful and influential ones. Due to the interference of the United States, pacifism has been a main goal for Japan's national identity since World War II. The United States inserted a clause renouncing war into the country's postwar constitution. The Constitution of Japan promulgated in 1946 and came into effect in 1947. The Constitution has never been amended since then. However, there are signs that the public opinion has shifted in recent years, some of the laws are not suitable for modern society. Moreover, Japanese people's attitude toward the Self-Defense Forces has also changed, due to the Prime Minister Abe's policy. Basically, the whole constitution not only regulates the domestic law but also points out the obligation that Japan needs to be done in international society. Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution is highly debated due to its specialty.

Article 9 illustrates the main concept of General MacArthur's instruction to Japan. After World War II, MacArthur cooperated with Japan's bureaucracy to create the new version of Constitution. Article 9 prevents Japan from launching a war. The first clause of Article 9 clearly addressed the obligation/regulation: "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes."¹ In other words, Japan is not allowed to conduct the following three things: War (The definition corresponds to International Law.), the use of force and deterring neighboring countries. Basically, every military movement is constrained by the law. However, due to the breakout of Korean War, Japan was allowed to rearrange their military force. Although the constitution did not offer Japan power to form a real armed force, the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan changed the situation. The treaty permitted Japan to possess the minimum level of self-defense capability. Self-Defense Forces then became the special forces to represent Japan's military power. The existence of "Self-Defense Force" does not mean Japan can resolve the conflict whenever it wants. Every action made by Self-Defense Force should be "passive". In other words, the function of Self-Defense Force is "self-defense", unless other countries actively invade or infringing on Japan's sovereignty, Japan is not allowed to attack initially.

Over the past seventy years, Japan did not amend the constitution, but the tense relationships with neighboring countries have brought different voice, politicians and people gradually concerned about the necessity of increasing the power of the Self Defense. The threats of China and Russia make Japanese people change the attitude toward the constitution. Prime Minister Abe and the cabinets started to promote different ways to interpret the concept of the certain Article, especially Article 9. They tried to redefine the meaning of this clause. Japan's cabinet approved the explanation of the constitution. This action brought about a remarkable change in Japan's security policy. The reinterpretation of the constitution corresponds to three actions: collective self-defense(集團自衛權), allies protection(集團安全), grey zone (灰色地帶事態). Basically, these three actions refer to one simple meaning, that is, Japan will use force to defend allies under attack. Furthermore, if Japanese

1. Article 9 - The Constitution of Japan. (Accessed February 18, 2018.)
https://japan.kantei.go.jp/constitution_and_government_of_japan/constitution_e.html.

sovereignty or people's life and rights are threatened, Japan can seek for the possibility to enhance the capability of military force/weapons. Prime Minister Abe did not "revise" the constitution; he insisted that the explanation would still maintain the integrity of the constitution. The action made by him and the cabinet is "reinterpretation". Despite the guarantee of Prime Minister Abe, the public has still concerns about this landmark military change.

Abe's policy has provoked criticism at home and abroad. Especially, Japanese people have various opinions toward this policy. Some of them worried that this move would break the post-war pacifist identity. Worst of all, it might let the country get involved in unnecessary conflicts.² The media even criticized that this is violated Article 9 of the constitution. On the other hand, others thought that the change is necessary to interact with current international situation. Supporters of the reinterpretation stated that the change is vital for Japan's security as it confront an increasingly severe security environment.³ The security environment is more complicated than the past. From the foreseeable rapid development of Asia and the closer relationships of Asian countries, supporters believe that the constitutional amendment can strengthen the SDF's capability. Then, it will help the country to effectively defense security threats. Security threats refer to two dimensions; one is from foreign countries, such as China, North Korea. The other dimension is terrorism. Most people think that China has become a threatening neighbor in the past decades. Also, Asia-Pacific area can be said as one of the unstable regions in the world. Regional conflicts are foreseeable. On the other hand, Japan is one of the powerful countries in the world, the government of Japan is in fear of the terrorists. On account of the possibly effects from the two dimensions, the transformation of Self-Defense Force is inevitable.⁴ Most of the Japanese people were opposed to the change.

In spite of the splitting opinions among people, the reinterpretation of the constitution has already announced since 2014.⁵ The first practice of this move was

2. Berger, Thomas, and James J. Orr. "The Victim as Hero: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 28, no. 2 (2002): 435. doi:10.2307/4126821.

3. Liff, Adam P. "Japan's Defense Policy: Abe the Evolutionary." *The Washington Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (July 30, 2015): 79-99.

4. Katzenstein, Peter J. *Rethinking Japanese Security: Internal and External Dimensions*. (Routledge, 2008.) 59-71.

5. Mia, A. "Abe Wins Battle to Broaden Defense Policy." *The Japan Times*. (Accessed January 2,

the Japan Self-Defense Force (SDF) deployment to the UN peacekeeping mission in South Sudan. The action gave Japan opportunities to cooperate with foreign militaries and also provided the examination to new security policy. According to the media, Japan did loads of military deployment in South Sudan in November of 2016.⁶ Compared to previous Peace Keeping Operation (PKO) deployments, Japan's deployment in South Sudan not only proved that the capacity of the SDF was sufficient for foreign aid but also made Abe's security policy succeed. Although people still concerns about the tension and the consequence of amending the constitution, people gradually change their attitudes.

First, the security problem has become more and more important after the dissolution of Soviet, the threat in all over the world did not disappear, and every region has its own problem. Asia-Pacific area has loads of issues, the territory dispute, historical problem and security dilemma. Many scholars have given various idea and concept on this topic. Peou pointed out that: "Regional peace and stability rests on the inability of Russia, China, or Japan to transform the world's unipolar system into a bipolar or multipolar world."⁷ From his words, we can conclude that the stability of East Asia can cause great impact on world peace.

Scholars like Pang addressed that even states in the Asia-Pacific have signed free trade agreements, but the pursuit of wealth and welfare in this area still depend on the stability.⁸ Moreover, he suggested that stability rests on the security guarantees provided by the United States. Judging from his words, it conveys a simple idea: he regards the United States as "World Police". Whether the fact is true or not, the United States does play a vital role in this area. Being one of the strongest allies of the United States in East Asia, Japan's security policy is also vital for the stability of this area. That is the reason why the constitutional amendment should be taken seriously.

2018.) <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2014/07/01/national/coalition-agrees-on-scrapping-pacifist-postwar-defense-policy/#.Wv4jXtOFMWo>.

6. Bearak, Max. "Japan's First Gun-toting Troops since WWII Have Deployed - to South Sudan." *The Washington Post*. (November 21, 2016. Accessed January 12, 2018.)

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/11/21/japans-first-gun-toting-troops-since-wwii-have-deployed-to-south-sudan/?utm_term=.8d20e06d431e.

7. Chachavalpong, Pavin. "Peace and Security in the Asia-Pacific: Theory and Practice." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 32, no. 3 (2010): 494. doi:10.1355/cs32-3j.

8. Pang, Eul-Soo. "Embedding Security into Free Trade: The Case of the United States — Singapore Free Trade Agreement." *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 29, no. 1 (2007): 1-32. doi:10.1355/cs29-1a.

Second, according to power transition theory, dominant power tends to have more opportunities to establish a hierarchical order, but this does not infer the long-lasting hegemonic power.⁹ After a certain time, a rising power might want to replace the original hegemony, the world system might fall into chaos or transfer peacefully to a new era. So, there are two conditions that might let the rising power be willing to challenge the dominant power or worse, call for war: (1) A rising power reaches power parity with the dominant power. (2) A rising power is dissatisfied with the dominant power.¹⁰ Generally, the evaluation of power refers to a state's economy power. Take China and the United States for instance, China has been stronger in recent years. Despite the fact that the United States still holds its leading status quo in GDP (Figure 1.1), China's GDP purchase power parity and GDP growth rate have already surpassed the United States. (Figure 1.2 and 1.3) Some of the scholars and critics even believe that China might surpass U.S economy in the future.¹¹ Regardless of the consequence, these predictions from the experts indicated that current international environment has changed, and been adding more uncertainties.

9. Kang, David C. "The Theoretical Roots of Hierarchy in International Relations." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 58, no. 3 (2004): 337-52. doi:10.1080/1035771042000260110.

10. Lemke, Douglas, and William Reed. "Regime Types and Status Quo Evaluations: Power Transition Theory and the Democratic Peace." *International Interactions* 22, no. 2 (1996): 143-64. doi:10.1080/03050629608434886.

11. McFarland, Susan. "China to Surpass U.S. Economy by 2030, New Report Says." *UPI*. (December 26, 2017.) (Accessed April 19, 2018). <https://www.upi.com/China-to-surpass-US-economy-by-2030-new-report-says/4651514311721/>.

Figure 1.1 GDP

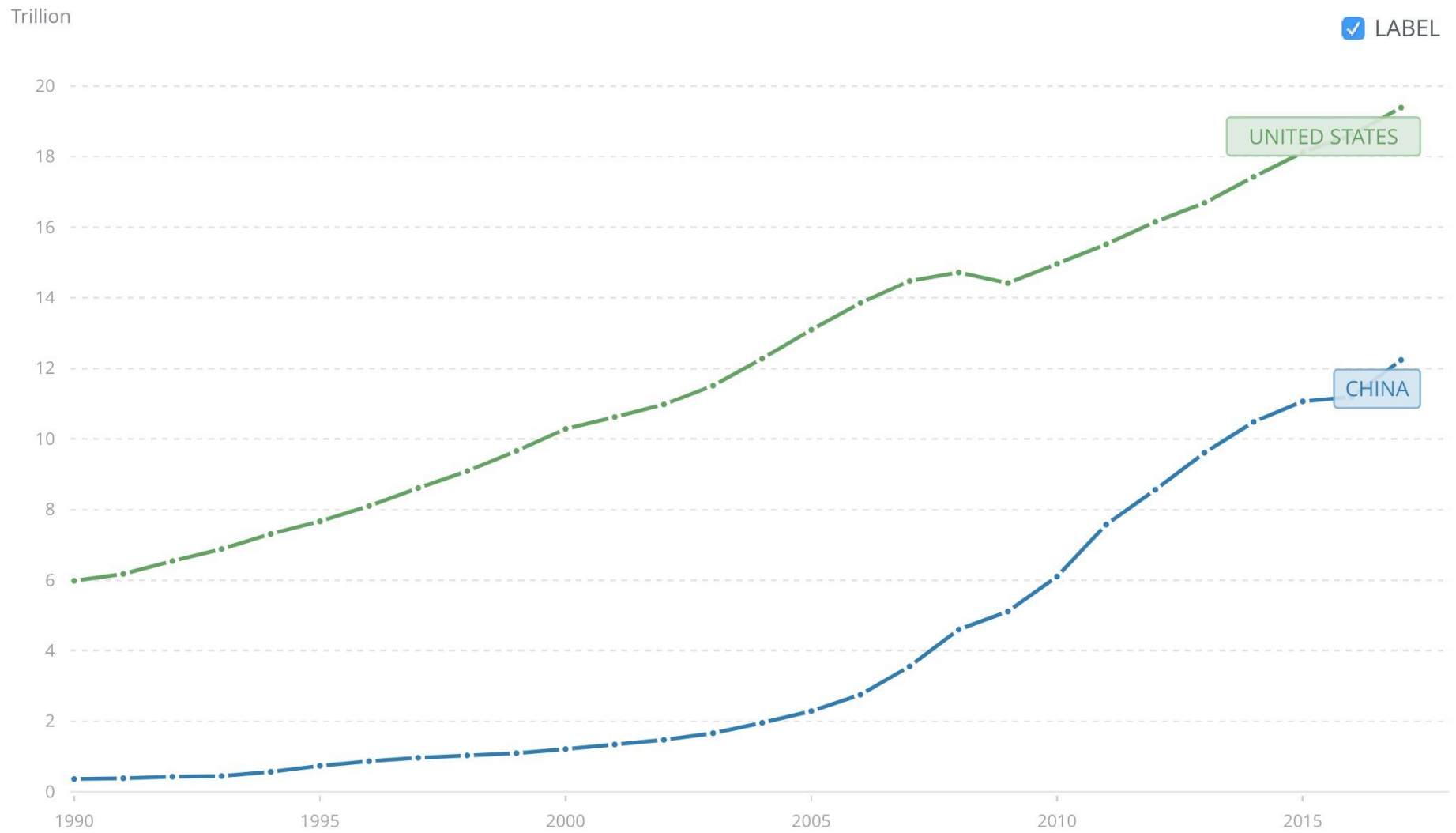


Figure 1.2 GDP (unit: Purchase Power Parity)

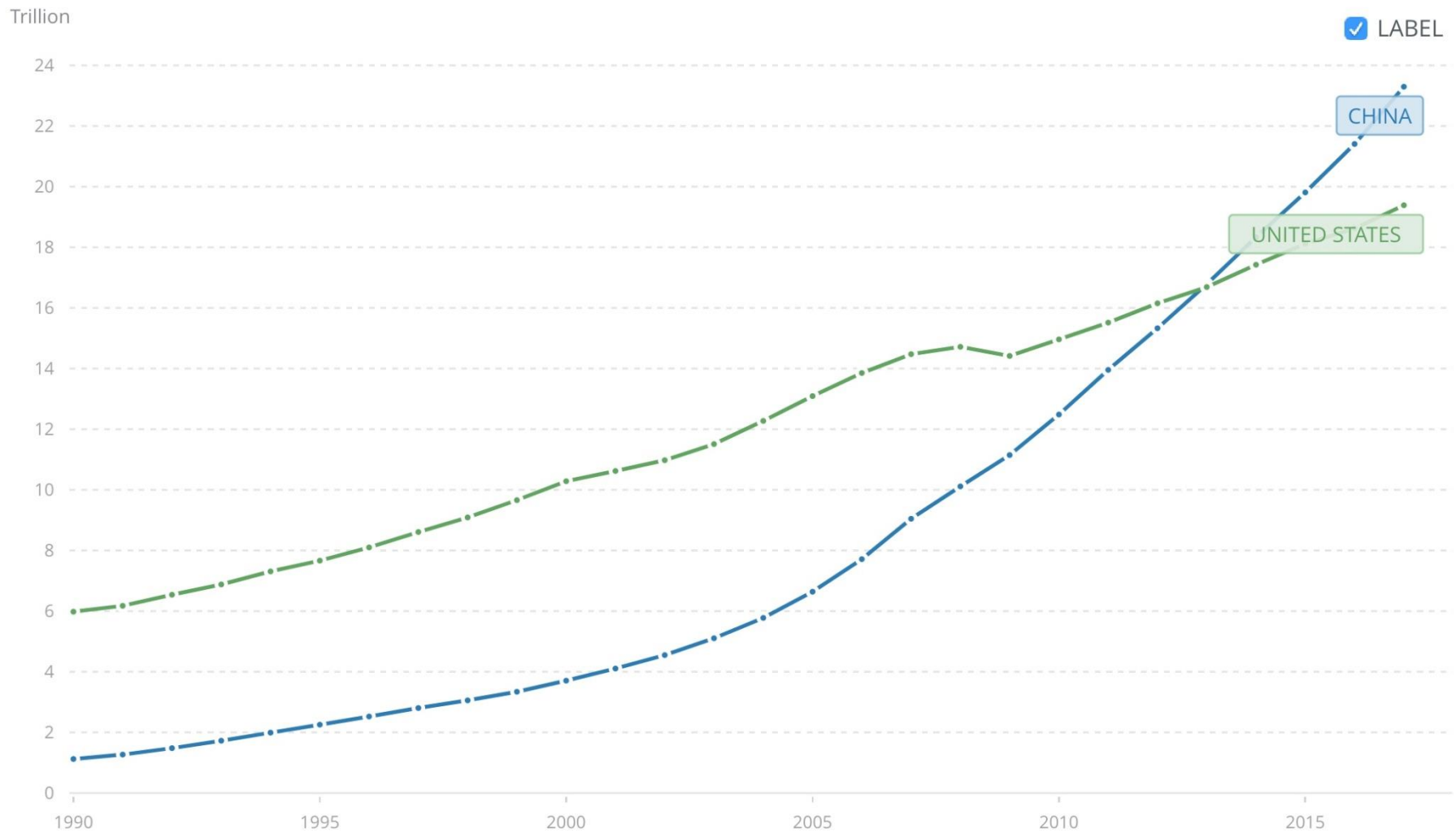
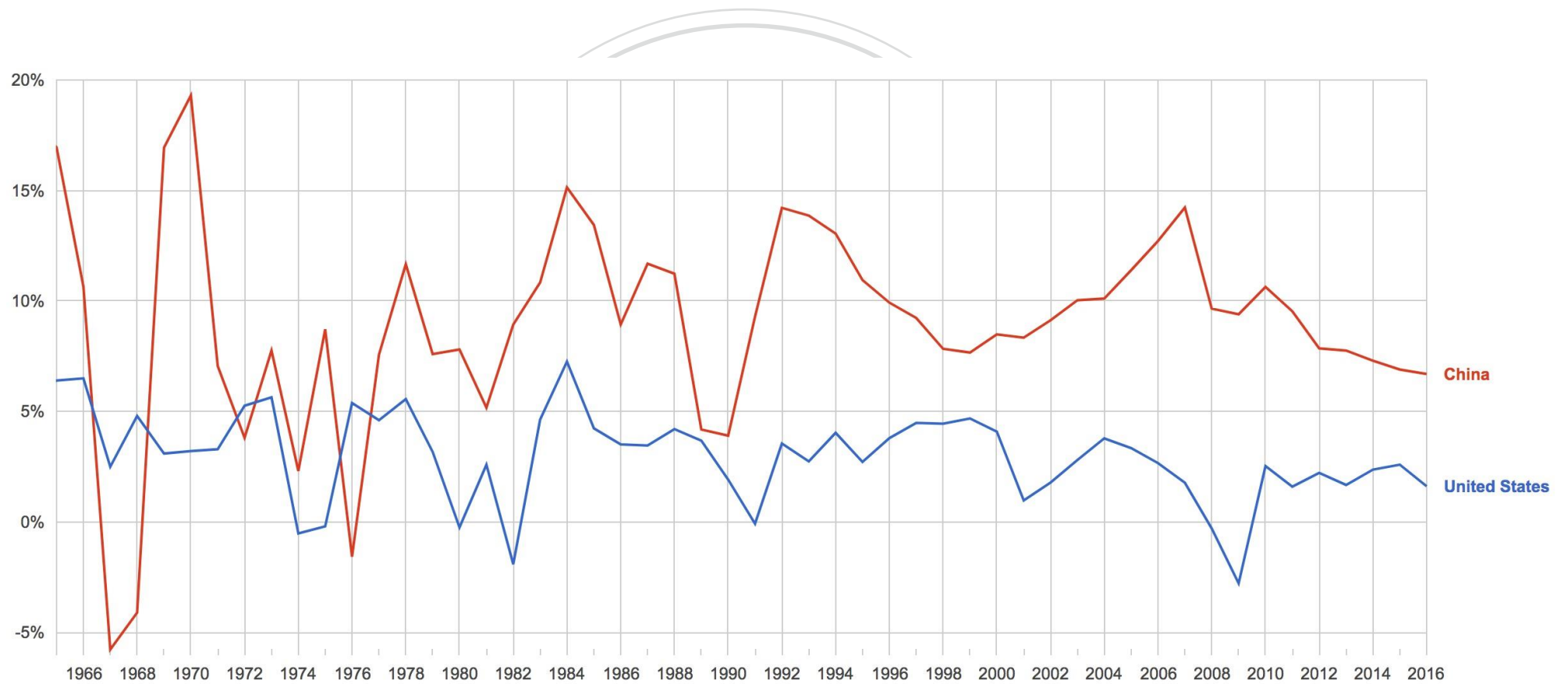


Figure 1.3 GDP Growth Rate



China is a rising power, and obviously, it has become the leading power in East Asia or even Asia. The huge population makes China become more capable in several aspects. For instance, if the number of population refers to market; then, China has already become the largest market in the world.¹² Although there are regional imbalances issues in China, it would not change the fact that big cities like Shanghai and Guangzhou are promising cities. It is possible to assume that China has the capability to threaten the status of the United States. Under this assumption, why does Japan matter? As I mentioned before, Japan is the United States best partner and ally in East Asia, or to be more convincing, compared to neighboring countries, this nation is more stable and possibly to offer supports when the United States is in need of help. Scholars like Kim has stated out that dominant nation and its allies share an exchanged “partnership” in international society.¹³ The dominant nation gives the foundation in the international community, and its allies gain beneficial goods (collective and private ones) to support the dominant nation. In other words, the dominant nation can maintain or enforce the certain international order with the assistance from its allies. This is the basic pattern for the dominant nation when the country does not have a “challenger.” Eventually, if the assumption of rising China comes true, there will be one question left to resolve. During periods of power transition, how does the United States maintain its original position in an international hierarchy? The connection between Japan and the United States would be one of the key points to against rising China. Also, there could be two power transitions forms, one is China versus the U.S. in the global aspect. Another one might be China and Japan’s power struggle in East Asia.¹⁴

Speaking of the power struggle in East Asia, economic power and the military power will be the benchmarks. Compared to China, Japan lacks domestic markets. On the other hand, to keep the region stable, both of the countries would need military

12. Barboza, David. “China Passes Japan as Second-Largest Economy.” *The New York Times*. (August 16, 2010.) (Accessed April 13, 2018.)

<https://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/16/business/global/16yuan.html>.

13. Kim, Woosang. “Alliance Transitions and Great Power War.” *American Journal of Political Science* 35, no. 4 (1991): 833. doi:10.2307/2111496.

14. Lemke, D. (2002). *Regions of war and peace*. (New York: Cambridge University Press.)

forces.¹⁵ The constraint of constitution has let Japan be unable to develop a regular military force. This made constitutional amendment become vital. Just like other democratic countries, public opinion in Japan plays a key background role in policy-making. According to Japan's law, people are the final decision makers for the constitutional amendment.¹⁶ Thus, Japanese people's opinion also needs to be included in the constitutional amendment. Despite the fact that the Japanese politician has called for the reform of constitution, the Japanese society seemed to have different opinion.

Focused on the elucidation of Article 9 and the change of international environment, this section hopes to give a brief history of Japan's constitutional amendment. Nonetheless, due to the importance of Japanese public opinion toward Article 9, this article will mainly shed lights on the public rather than the politics elite. Why did the public opinion change in recent years? Lots of considerations and political factor might influence Japanese people's attitude toward the constitution. Why and how do these factors affect it? Questions above would be the puzzle in this article aims to solve.

15. Roy, Denny. "Hegemon on the Horizon? China's Threat to East Asian Security." *International Security* 19, no. 1 (1994): 149. doi:10.2307/2539151.

16. Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication. "The Point of Regulation." Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication. (総務省. "総務省 | 制度のポイント.")(Accessed January 2018.) http://www.soumu.go.jp/senkyo/kokumin_touhyou/syushi.html.

1.2 The Puzzle

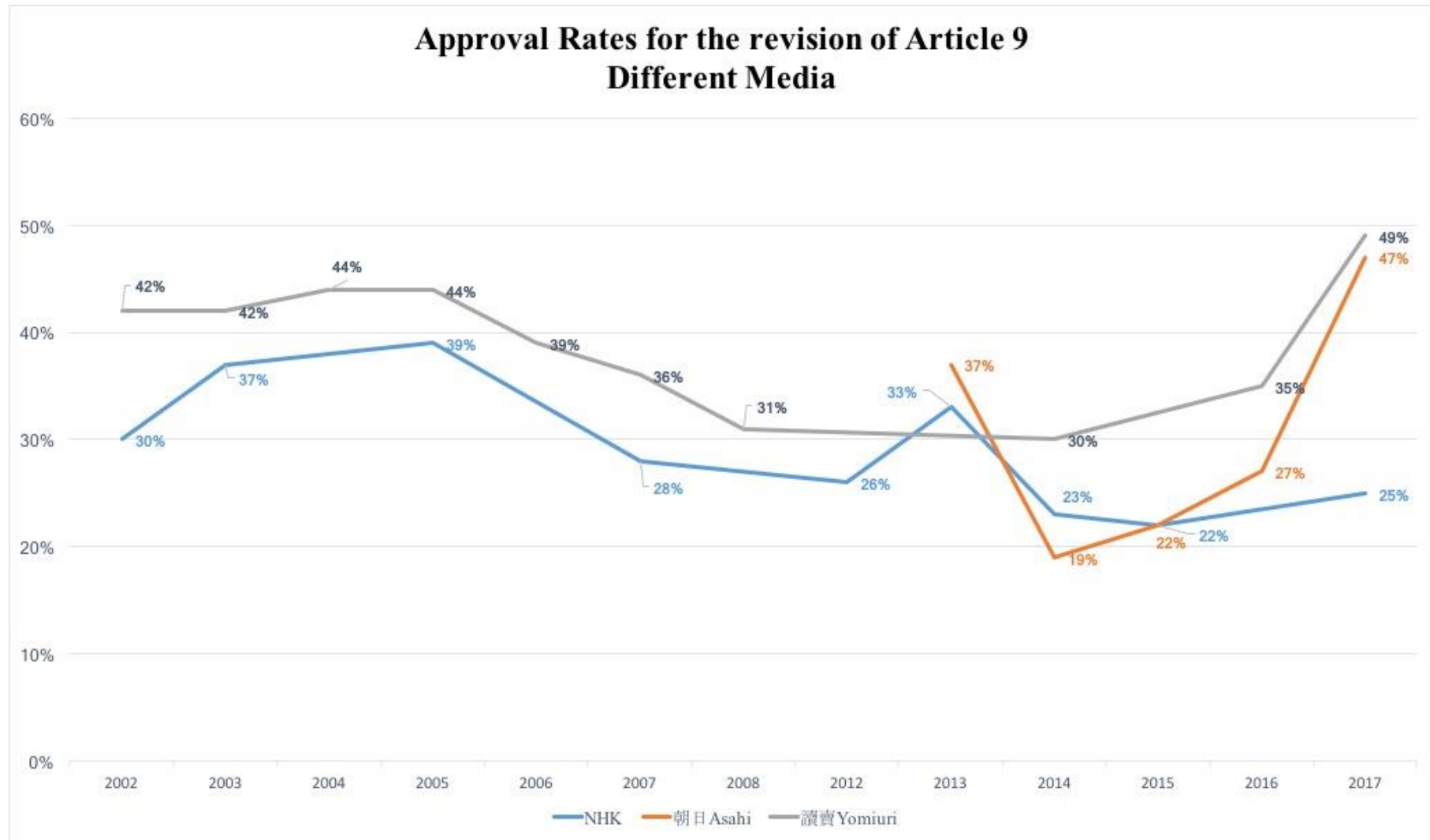
Public Opinions toward Article 9

Despite the fact that the Abe administration has bypassed the reinterpretation for three years, most of the people still disapproved the policy. Many of those opposed to it even called the reinterpretation “war legislation”. Although such a strong anxiety expressed by the public, Prime Minister Abe continued the process of the policy.

However, public opinion has changed in recent years. Figure 1.4 indicated the change of public opinion. Different media might have their own perspectives, so I collected top three mainstream media to clarify the change; they are NHK, Asahi, and Yomiuri. The available data in this paper is from 2002 to 2017. Constitutional amendment has been heated topic in Japan for decades. However, as for the Article 9, not until 2002, a year after 911 attack did the public start to consider about the revision of Article 9. Asahi did not conduct the survey related to the revision of Article 9 until 2013, so there would be no data in the past few years. To be noted that, even though the three mainstream media share the same result in figure 1.4, there are still differences in the question conducted by the three mainstream media.¹⁷ As a result, to have more subjective consequence, I will compare the difference of the three mainstream media in the chapter 3. There are several reasons that Japanese people and government started to rethink about the necessity of constitutional amendment. Moreover, the Constitution is the fundamental law of a country, it is hard to revise or even add the new paragraph(s). These conditions brought about difficulty to amend the constitution.

17. Discuss the differences in Chapter 3.

Figure 1.4 Approval Rates for the revision of Article 9(Different Media)



An overview of public opinion toward Article 9

The history of the reform of Article 9 traced back to the Gulf War. The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait stimulated the voice of reinterpretation of Article 9. Prime Minister Kaifu believed that the reinterpretation would legalize the SDF's movement against Iraq. However, people were opposed to the reinterpretation at that time.¹⁸ Ever since then, the constitutional revision of Article 9 has become the political ramification.

Figure 1.4 indicates the public opinions toward Article 9. The data started in 2002; it was one year after the 911 attack in the U.S. The public discussion raised the amendment issue because of the fear of terrorism. However, judging from the approval rate in 2002 and the following years, people did not take amendment as the main method to fight against terrorism. The approval rate remained stable until 2005. During Koizumi's long term administration, he pushed through the 2001 Anti-Terrorism Special Law. This law is specially promulgated as the corresponding measures to terrorism.¹⁹ Meanwhile most of the Japanese people were opposed to Koizumi's concern. They did not approve that the SDF activities were a direct violation of Japan's Constitution.²⁰

The approval rate had a sudden drop in 2006. It was almost 60 years after the enactment of the Constitution. At the same year, Prime Minister Abe continued pushing the progress of amendment. He and the congress successfully established related law "Act on Procedures for Amendment of the Constitution of Japan" to reduce the obstacle of revising the Constitution. However, most of the Japanese people were satisfied with the situation at that time. If we date back to the nature of the Japanese Constitution, it will be easier to find out why most of the Japanese people had this kind of ideology. The nature of the Japanese constitution itself is a negotiation between the U.S. occupation forces and the Japanese government. It is

18. Panton, Michael A. "Politics, Practice and Pacifism: Revising Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution." *Asian-Pacific Law & Policy Journal* 11, no. 2 (April 2010): 163-218.

19. Shinoda, Tomohito. "Koizumi's Top-Down Leadership in the Anti-Terrorism Legislation: The Impact of Political Institutional Changes." *SAIS Review* 23, no. 1 (2003): 19-34.
doi:10.1353/sais.2003.0031.

20. Panton, Michael A. "Politics, Practice and Pacifism: Revising Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution."

based on three basic principles as prescribed by MacArthur: “Popular sovereignty, Pacifism, and human rights.”²¹ Article 9 corresponds to the concept of Pacifism. More specifically, scholar concluded three of the possible reasons why Japanese continued resistance to the SDF deployment: fear of dragging the whole country into unnecessary conflicts, fear of undue influence by the U.S. and fear of becoming a target of radical extremist.²² It can be asserted that people with the satisfaction of Japan’s situation believe the act might lead to those problems.

The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) takes the constitutional revision as one of its main goal.²³ Shinzo Abe became Prime Minister again at the end of 2012. There is no surprise that Abe was back to the route of constitutional amendment. With the high approval rates in 2013,²⁴ some of the Japanese people believed that Prime Minister Abe would be able to hold transformations in economy and the Constitution. The approval rate in 2013 went up the first time after the fall in 2006. Although the reform seemed to be possible after Abe took the office. The approval rate fell down again after Prime Minister Abe bypassed the reinterpretation of the constitution in 2014. Prime Minister Abe and his cabinet changed the definition of “collective self-defense” and attempted to stretch the constitution. Most of the Japanese people did not want to revise the constitution. The lowest point came after the reinterpretation; the data from Asahi even indicated that only 19% of people support the amendment. However, the public opinion gradually changed in recent years (2016, 2017). The approval rate has a sharp increase in 2017. Both Asahi and Yomiuri surveys indicate that more and more people reconsidered the whole amendment; they agree to have some adjustment for the constitution. The adjustment here is to put the SDF’s basic rules into Article 9. According to the survey held by the Yomiuri Shimbun, there are 49% respondents agree with the adjustment.²⁵ The result of the survey is highly related to the

21. Maki, John M. “The Constitution of Japan: Pacifism, Popular Sovereignty, and Fundamental Human Rights.” *Law and Contemporary Problems* 53, no. 1 (1990): 73. doi:10.2307/1191827.

22. Panton, Michael A. “Politics, Practice and Pacifism: Revising Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution.”

23. *Ibid.*

24. KYODO. “Support for Abe’s Cabinet Climbs to 57.7% in Latest Poll.” *The Japan Times*. (August 25, 2013.) (Accessed January 13, 2018.)

<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2013/08/25/national/politics-diplomacy/support-for-abes-cabinet-climbs-to-57-7-in-latest-poll/#.WkyazlT1UWo>.

25. Yomiuri Online. “The Liberal Democratic Party’s Constitutional Amendment: Coming Next Year. 35 % Approval Rate” (自民改憲案「来年国会に」 35 %...読売世論調査.) (December 12, 2017.)

international events. Over the past two years, Japan has been facing the threat of North Korea's ongoing missile tests. This event raised some of the Japanese people's awareness toward the constitutional amendment. Meanwhile, the factors mentioned in previous section also raised the public's attention.

Long been viewing itself as a "Pacifist" country, Japanese are more willing to stay in a "peaceful" situation, but we cannot infer that they would not take actions if their safety is threatened by the specific event. In fact, from the trend line of Figure 1.4, it is obvious that some of the international events do cause impact on the public's attitude. The pattern of the changing attitude is the main purpose of this study.



1.3 My Argument

The discussion of the constitutional amendment is not new to the academic field. Over the past decades, some of the scholars and Japanese politicians have had numerous doubts about the compatibility of the constitution, whether the constitution is able to cope with the diversified international environment. Most of the suspicions lied behind the apparent unconstitutionality of the SDF.²⁶ Generally, the content of the constitutional amendment, specifically Article 9, can be divided into four categories: the definition of the SDF, peacekeeping operation in international society, the clarification of giving up the military force, and oversea military operation. Literatures about constitutional amendment often put emphasis on Japanese politicians and elites' concerns. However, according to the Japanese Constitution, the revision of the constitution requires the public's approval. In fact, this has also become the obstacle to parties which support the constitutional amendment. Under this circumstance, we can assert that the Japanese civic perspective plays a crucial role in constitutional amendment. Since the public's opinion is likely to influence the future path of the constitutional amendment, there is necessity to discuss the change of the public's voice. Does the public change their attitude toward Article 9 of constitution?

From figure 1.4, it is clear that there is a changing trend in recent years.²⁷ So, why does the public attitude change? This study anchors neoclassical realism as the theoretical framework to solve this question. According to Rose, neoclassical realists argue that states seek for seizing and shaping external environment to cope with the uncertainties of international anarchy instead of seeking security.²⁸ However, foreign policymakers are likely to be trapped by the domestic institutional structure, also, external threats and opportunities.²⁹ Neoclassical realism can explain how the immaterial variable, such as external threats, might influence a nation's foreign policy. They argue that nation's foreign policy should include systemic, domestic and

26. Maki, John M. "The Constitution of Japan: Pacifism, Popular Sovereignty, and Fundamental Human Rights." *Law and Contemporary Problems* 53, no. 1 (1990): 73.

27. Figure 1.4 in page 12.

28. Rose, Gideon. "Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy." *World Politics* 51, no. 01 (1998): 144-72.

29. *Ibid.*

other influence.³⁰ Basically, the core concept of the Neoclassical Realism shed lights on the impact of the international system upon the state's foreign policy. And, the state's foreign policy should include some of the domestic factors. Scholar likes Ripsman, also states that, the international pressure might dominant the nation's security strategy.³¹ In this study, Japan corresponds to one of the conditions, when the "threat" comes up, but the government does not provide actual or direct policymaking, domestic factor will influence the policy. Hence, for this study, neoclassical realism is the most relevant theoretical approach.

The whole framework of this study will base on the structure of neoclassical realism. External threat, which is the independent variable in the international system, will decide the direction of a nation's security. The shifting attitude might attribute to the feeling of insecurity. The feeling of insecurity refers to people's direct feeling toward the nation's foreign policy. The public's attitude toward Article 9 is the result. According to the logic of neoclassical realists, when the nation's foreign policy is unclear, domestic factors, such as the public's voice in this study, can influence the policy. In my perspective, Japan's diplomatic policy mostly includes the instruction from their ally, the United States. However, being one of the strongest nations in East Asia, Japan needs to have its own opinion to deal with international affairs. The change of international environment let the Japanese people alert to change Japan's defense policy. The government's ambiguity in security policy made Japanese people started to change their attitude toward Article 9. Despite of the fact that Japan has been facing with the change of international environment, the coming up incidents, such as China's aggressive policy in the South China Sea, U.S foreign policy in Asia-Pacific region and the North Korea's issues, brought about Japanese people's concern. After all, to be noticed that, even though the change of Japan's defense policy contains the concept of clarifying the concept of SDF, it does not only refer to the increase of Japan's military capability, it can also imply to the abandonment of having military power. Nevertheless, I would concentrate on people's shifting attitude toward Article 9, instead of talking about how to revise Article 9.

30. Zakaria, Fareed, and Jack Snyder. "Realism and Domestic Politics: A Review Essay." *International Security* 17, no. 1 (1992): 177.

31. Lobell, Steven E., Norrin M. Ripsman, and Jeffrey W. Taliaferro. *Neoclassical Realism, the State, and Foreign Policy*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), (2010).

All in all, the main argument of this study would be based on a simple framework: if people's feeling of insecurity raise, the approval rate of the revision of Article 9 will likely to increase. When people have the fear of the changing international environment, they will seek for the revision of Article 9. In short, Japanese people are more likely to support the revision of Article 9 when the change of the international environment makes them feel insecurity.

1.4 Research Method

My study is to seek for more inclusive explanations for the change of public opinion toward Article 9 of constitution. Traditional analyses to Japanese constitution often held the discussion under the right or the necessity of having regular military. Restricted by the scope of elites' perspectives, literature seldom covers the public's viewpoint. As a result, my study will shed lights on the public opinion rather than the elites' thoughts.

Content analysis will be the research method for this study. The original source of this study is collected from printed publications and broadcast programs. By arranging the results from the three mainstream media, Asahi, NHK and Yomiuri, this study aims to analyze the change of Japanese people's attitude toward Article 9. My research aims to predict Japanese people's attitude toward the revision of Article 9 by the change of Japan's international environment. External threats from the neighboring countries alert Japanese people the necessity of the revision of Article 9. And, once the public's feeling of insecurity increases, the approval rate of the revision of Article 9 will increase.

In order to elucidate the topic, this study will cover more details of the external threats. It can be categorized by countries, followed by the order: United States, North Korea and China. I would like to use the countries to illustrate how the international incident or the countries' action influence Japanese public's feeling. As I mentioned above, the increase of people's feeling of insecurity might likely bring up their willingness of revising Article 9. To be noticed that this study will not focus on the actual content of the revision, more likely to shed lights on the reason of people's

shifting attitude.

1.5 Arrangement of chapters

This article aims to analyze the possible reasons that might change Japanese people's attitude toward Article 9 of constitution. To be more precise in this topic, this article will focus on the international level's incidents instead of domestic ones. This article will divide into seven chapters to solve the puzzle: "Why do Japanese people change their attitude toward Article 9 of constitution?" Seven chapters will be followed by introduction, literature review, the influence of the media bias, and the change of attitude affected by three countries: The United States, North Korea and China.

For the introduction part, I will talk about the change of the public opinion in recent years, and use three sections to elaborate my purpose of study. Firstly, the background aims to shape the basic knowledge of the Japanese constitution. Historical factors such as Pacifism ideology and the original principle of the constitution have deeply affected Japanese people's thought, so there is necessity to speak of the history of the constitution. Secondly, the puzzle seeks to illustrate the main purpose of this study. Figure 1.4 attempted to indicate the core concept of the study: the obvious change of the public's approval rate. Lastly, the section will give a brief summary of the argument.

The second chapter will cover some of the literature related to the constitutional amendment, also brief of my argument. Basically, literature often talks about the influence of constitutional amendment. Constitutional amendment not only refers to the revision of Article 9, also includes several laws in the Japanese constitution. Most of the literature have mentioned the legitimacy of the SDF during UN's peacekeeping operation. The scale and the scope of the SDF has created controversial issue. The fundamental concept of the Japanese Constitution has constructed the ideology of Pacifism, but the operation of the SDF could not fully follow this concept. Thus, the SDF dispatch provoked the opposing voice. The public claimed that Japan could make a contribution to the international order as an economic superpower rather than

military force.³² However, the change of the international environment once again made the revision of Article 9 become a heated topic to discuss. There will be four sections in this chapter to talk about the change of the public opinion, also, the research framework of this study. The whole study will be constructed by the framework

Chapter 3 will discuss about different media's characteristics and features. In general, different media might put their own perspective into news and their surveys. To make the consequence of the survey more objective in this study, I would illustrate their features, and their viewpoints of the revision of Article 9. Three mainstream media (NHK, Asahi and Yomiuri Shimbun) have their own perspective to it, and the survey questions conducted by them also affect the respondents' answers. Thus, I will illustrate the difference of the three media in this chapter, in order to have more comprehensive explanation for my study.

The following chapters will look at Japan and three countries' bilateral relationships. As I mentioned before, this study will take international incidents to analyze the public's attitude. To be more precise at the topic, I will put three countries (The United States, North Korea and China) in different chapters.

Chapter 4 details the strategic/security relationship between Japan and the United States, elucidating how the level of the partnership between two countries and U.S strategy on Asia-Pacific security affairs might affect the public's attitude. This chapter will use power transition theory to illustrate Japan and U.S relationship. Japan has long been U.S best ally, two countries not only share the economic resource but also have cooperation in security policy, especially in the Asia-Pacific area. Article 9 is closely connected to Japan's security defense policy, so it is vital to examine U.S viewpoint in this study. Incidents occurred in each period might possibly cause impact on the survey's result, so chapter 4 will be divided into four sections, follow by the pattern of the survey: stable, decrease, increase and sharply increase to speak of the change of the public opinion.

32. Dobson, Hugo. *Japan and United Nations Peacekeeping: New Pressures, New Responses*. (London: Routledge, 2003.)

Chapter 5 talks about how North Korea's ongoing missile threat might panic the public, fearing that being attack by neighboring countries. Some of the literature have discussed about the public's fear toward North Korea³³, this made some of the people think of increasing the power of military force. The hardline policy conducted by the United States and Japan has provoked North Korea's anger, and the situation got worse ever since Kim Jong-un became North Korea's leader. According to the record, one of the missiles testing in 2017 caused a visible threat to Japan. The missile launch directly landed in Japan's exclusive economic zone.³⁴ This chapter will focus on the bilateral relationship between Japan and North Korea, and a section to talk about South Korea's attitude toward Japan's revision of Article 9.

Chapter 6 aims to illustrate the influence of Japan's perception of China and explain why some of the Japanese people take the revision of Article 9 as a way to prevent threat from China. This chapter will divide into two sections to specify Japanese people's concern about China: economic partnership, security competitor. Also, China is an important factor in this issue; the bilateral relation plays a vital role in regional stability. Japan's revision of Article 9 is likely to influence China's military policy, under this circumstance; there is necessity to discuss the role of China in this issue.

The final chapter concludes the study with a summary of what possible reasons might cause impact on Japanese people attitude toward Article 9. This study did not focus on the domestic factors of Japan, mostly targeting the international factors. As a result, the main conclusion drawn from this study is that, the shifting attitude of the public resulted from believing revision of Article 9 might increase Japan's defense capability.

29. Chapter 2.

34. Berlinger, Joshua. "North Korea's Missile Tests: What You Need to Know." *CNN*. (December 04, 2017.) (Accessed January 10, 2018.) <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/05/29/asia/north-korea-missile-tests/index.html>.

2. Literature and Argument

The constitution has long been a controversial issue in Japan. This issue involves in not only international society, also relates to domestic power struggle. For the international aspect, the United States and neighboring countries still deeply influence the direction of Japan's defense policy. Scholars and politicians have brought about numerous opinions on this issue. Thus, this chapter is going to have a brief view on available literature, and look for further explanation for it.

2.1 The Causation for Changing the Defense Policy

Traced back to the end of World War II, the Japanese constitution itself is a negotiation between the U.S. occupation and Japanese government, the main purpose of the constitution is to eliminate Japan's possibility to launch a war. Because of this purpose, two governments added the concept of Pacifism into Article 9. The definition of Article 9 clearly clarifies that Japan is not allowed to have any military forces under any circumstance. Judging from the clause, the existence of the SDF itself is a paradox. Scholar argues that the legitimization of the SDF deployment was supported by the UN Charter.³⁵ In other words, the existence of the SDF did not violate Article 9. On the other hand, the cost of maintaining hegemonic influence around the world has caused the United States suffers from the economic restraint. Resulting from reason above, the United States gradually supports Japan for its constitutional revision. If Japan is able to defend itself independently, the self-fund policy might reduce America's economic burden.³⁶ Also, with the rise of China, Foot argues that, the U.S comes up with the great power management strategy cooperating with Japan to balance Beijing's growing power.³⁷ In general, the U.S attitude toward Japan's defense policy is highly related to the stability of East Asia region.

35. Hughes, Christopher W. "Why Japan Could Revise Its Constitution and What It Would Mean for Japanese Security Policy." *Orbis* 50, no. 4 (2006): 725-44. doi: 10.1016/j.orbis.2006.07.011.

36. Panton, Michael A. "Politics, Practice and Pacifism: Revising Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution."

37. Foot, Rosemary. "Power Transitions and Great Power Management: Three Decades of China-Japan-US Relations." *The Pacific Review* 30, no. 6 (2017): 829-42. doi:10.1080/09512748.2017.1303535.

As for the domestic part, Japan's government and opposition politicians have been debating for the constitutional reinterpretation for decades. Constitutional reinterpretation has its limit, due to the constraint of the procedure and the public opinion. The Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) is one of the representative parties, which tried to revise the constitution. After the Gulf War, their policy focuses on stretching the constitution to enable the SDF deployment.³⁸ Basically, the LDP put the emphasis on the legal binding of the SDF. However, the opposition politicians, the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), stated that the SDF deployment in the Gulf War and other combat operations were based on the concept of "international security" or "collective security". To maintain the international stability and cooperate with international society, Japan can take part in any UN-centered multilateral military activity without violating Article 9.³⁹ Resulting from this explanation, there is no need to revise the constitution. Ever since then, the debate between the parties still cannot reach the conclusion. In spite of the oppositions, the LDP has offered a set of policies to switch the explanation of Article 9 in 2014. Prime Minister Abe and his cabinet allowed the forbidden "collective self-defense", and gave a new explanation to the constitution in 2014.⁴⁰ The reinterpretation provoked a public outcry. Despite the fact that Shinzo Abe did not gain support from the public and the oppositions, it can be asserted that Japan's defense policy has been changed.

Most of the Japanese considered their country as a peaceful country; they have embraced the concept of renouncing war and not having a military for decades. Moreover, they believed in the U.S. Coast Guard.⁴¹ There were several cases to prove that the Japanese public was reluctant to create any opportunity to trigger a war. One of the famous cases might be the nuclear weapon. Despite having the capability to

38. Hughes, Christopher W. "Why Japan Could Revise Its Constitution and What It Would Mean for Japanese Security Policy."

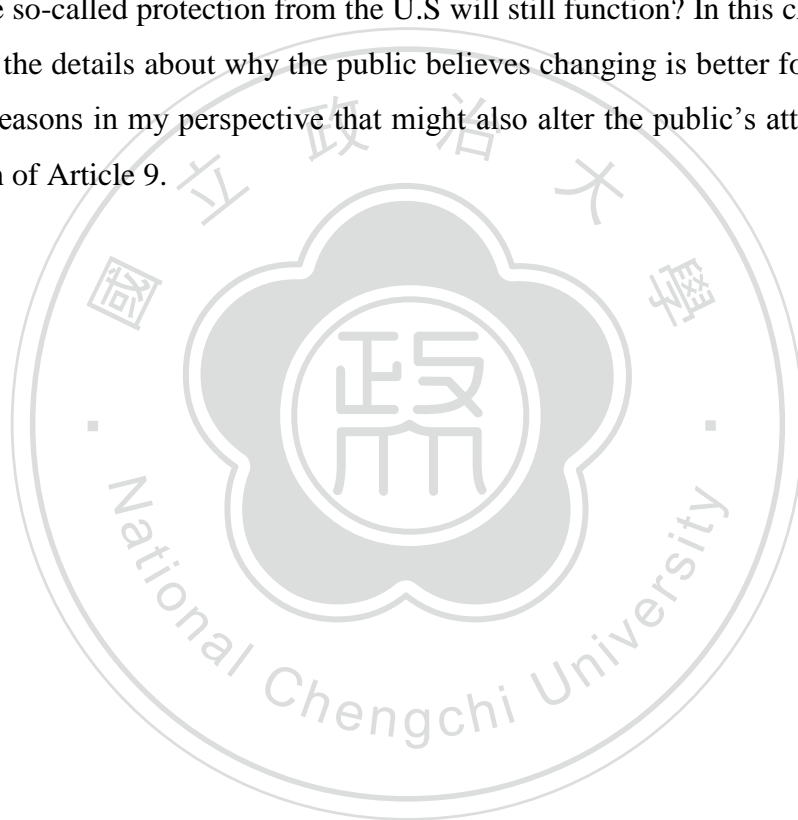
39. *Ibid.*

40. R., Shiratori. "The Change of Japan's Country Constructive Model after WWII and Taiwan's Security Policy." (白鳥, 令. "第二次大戦後日本における国家形成モデルの変遷と台湾の安全保障政策.") Speech, *International Seminar: Japan's New Defense Policy and East Asia.*, (2015.)

41. Traphagan, John W. "How Japan Sees Its Military?" *The Diplomat*. (August 17, 2012.) (Accessed February 14, 2018.) <https://thediplomat.com/2012/08/how-japan-sees-its-military/>.

possess nuclear missiles, Japanese public could not tolerate government's intention to design and deliver nuclear weapons.⁴²

Scholar like Midford stated that Japanese public opinion began to change toward a “defensive realist” defense policy due to the change of international security environment.⁴³ Other scholars also focus on the territorial dispute in Northeast Asia; they believed that the conflicts in Northeast Asia increased the Japanese public's awareness of changing defense policy.⁴⁴ More precisely, the public concerns are related to the threat from neighboring countries. In other words, they begin to doubt whether the so-called protection from the U.S will still function? In this chapter, I will go through the details about why the public believes changing is better for Japan, and two more reasons in my perspective that might also alter the public's attitude toward the revision of Article 9.



42. Kingston, Jeff. “Does the Nuclear Option Make Sense for Japan?” *The Japan Times*. (February 25, 2017.) (Accessed February 14, 2018.)

<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2017/02/25/commentary/nuclear-option-make-sense-japan/#.WltV1pP1UWo>.

43. Midford, Paul. *Rethinking Japanese Public Opinion and Security: From Pacifism to Realism?* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011.

44. Hornung, Jeffrey W. “Japan Chair Platform: Increasing Security Awareness among the Japanese Public.” *The New Southbound Policy / Center for Strategic and International Studies*. (December 13, 2012.) (Accessed February 14, 2018.) <https://www.csis.org/analysis/japan-chair-platform-increasing-security-awareness-among-japanese-public>.

2.2 The Change of Public Opinion toward Article 9

Why did the public opinion change in recent years?

Generally speaking, Japan's security problem is related to two main factors, hegemonic assurances and anarchic threats.⁴⁵ Generally, the level of Japanese security is deeply affected by the relationship with the United States. Anderson argues that if the United States provides more techniques or weapons to Japan, Japan might reduce their production of security. Aside from the assurance of the ally, anarchic threats also shape the basic direction for Japan's security production. He suggested that the combination of these two factors lead to specific patterns of Japan's behaviors.⁴⁶ The two factors were in the suitable levels to create a relatively stable situation for Japan in the past. However, with the rise of China and the increase of uncertainties in this region, Japan is facing relentless pressure nowadays. Scholars believed that the economic constraint made the United States unable to maintain the hegemonic balance.⁴⁷ Furthermore, under this circumstance, Japanese politicians started to consider the possibility of constitutional reform.⁴⁸ To be more specific, Japanese politicians attempted to revise the "Peace law", Article 9.

Unlike the politicians, most of the Japanese people agree with the constitutional amendment, but when it comes to Article 9, most of the people disagree with the change in 2005.⁴⁹ The disagreement is based on the fear of war.⁵⁰ Most of those think that the amendment of the Article 9 would become a "war announcement." Japan has been a Pacifist country since World War II. Many believe that the change of Article 9 would put an end to postwar pacifism.⁵¹ This kind of thoughts can infer that most of the Japanese are not willing to link their country image towards "war". To be more

45. Anderson, Nicholas D. "Anarchic Threats and Hegemonic Assurances: Japan's Security Production in the Postwar Era." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 17, no. 1 (2016): 101-35. doi:10.1093/irap/lcw005.

46. *Ibid.*

47. Mercado, Orlando S. "PKO Law, Japan's Constitution and the Asian Fear." *World Bull* 1411, no. 2 (1998).

48. Panton, Michael A. "Politics, Practice and Pacifism: Revising Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution."

49. Midford, Paul. *Rethinking Japanese Public Opinion and Security: From Pacifism to Realism?*

50. *Ibid.*

51. "Is Japan Abandoning Its Pacifism?" *BBC News*. (September 23, 2015.) (Accessed December 14, 2017.) <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-34278846>.

specific, they do not want to be involved in conflicts. Although Prime Minister Abe stated that the law is just a broader interpretation of the constitution, opponents said the related act is “war bills.” Protests were held in several districts, ever since the law has bypassed in 2014. The public opinions were against with the decision.

However, the public opinion has been changing over the past years. According to the survey conducted by several Medias in recent years, more and more people no longer insisted to maintain Article 9. In spite of the different forms of changing Article 9, the public seems to share a consensus: revising the constitution has its necessity. The following survey was conducted by NHK in July, 2015. This is the only survey dug into why the people agree with the revision of Article 9. The survey asked the respondents to cite reasons why they agreed to the constitutional amendment. Answers can be categorized into four reasons: (a) the definition of the Self-Defense Force (57%) (b) Peacekeeping Operation in international society (24%) and (c) The clarification of giving up military force(8%)(d) Oversea military operation(7%).⁵² I will explain more about the above four selective options in the following paragraph.

(a) The definition of the Self-Defense Force

The establishment of the Self-Defense Force resulted from the breakout of the Korean War. The United States was urgent to find a temporary military base in Asia; Japan became the best choice. Despite the fact that the Self-Defense Force was established under the approval of Western Countries, the existence of the Self-Defense Force itself violated Article 9. Judging from the function of the Self-Defense Force, it is a military force. People have been asking for the constitutional explanation for decades, some of the people consider the reinterpretation as defining the position of the Self-Defense Force.

52. Aramaki, Ma, and Miki Masaki. “Pros and Cons for Votes against the Constitutional Amendment.” *NHK Broadcasting Research and Survey*, (2015.) (荒牧, 央, and みき 政木. “賛否が拮抗する憲法改正.” *NHK 放送研究と調査*.)

(b) PKO in International Society

Japan's first actual PKO activity can trace back to 1990s. The Persian Gulf crisis in 1990 and the Gulf War were the two challenges to regional peace and international security after the end of Cold War. Due to the constraint of the constitution, Japanese government drafted the UN Peace Cooperation Bill, but failed to pass it. At the end, Japan was too late to take part in the war.⁵³ Over the past decades, Japan's contribution to PKO is financial support. According to the statistics, Japan is the second contributors to UN peacekeeping budget.⁵⁴ The case of South Sudan is the first time; Japanese government dispatched the SDF to cooperate with foreign military troops after the reinterpretation of the constitution. Some of the people think that the reinterpretation is not enough to legitimize the action of the SDF in PKO activities. In order to simplify the procedure of attending PKO event, Article 9 should revise.

(c) The clarification of giving up military force

Contrary to renew the definition of the Self-Defense Force, some of the people suggest that Japan should stick to the original concept of Article 9, which is renouncing war. Military forces should never be established, so does the Self-Defense Force. The clarification should prevent the existence of any military forces.

(d) Oversea military operation

Japan is strictly forbidden from attacking foreign countries, but some of the supporters believed that Japan should proactively attack countries with potential threat. To enhance their own military capability when having oversea operation, the constraint of constitution might force the Japanese army hardly react immediately. This might put the army at a disadvantage.

53. Watanabe, Kōji. "Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange." In *Humanitarian Intervention the Evolving Asian Debate*, 33-56. Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange, (2003.)

54. "Top 10 Financial Contributors to UN Peacekeeping Budget (Dec 2015) | Global Peace Operations Review." *Global Peace Operations Review Thematic Essays*. (December 10, 2015.) (Accessed January 05, 2018). <http://peaceoperationsreview.org/infographic/top-10-financial-contributors-to-un-peacekeeping-budget/>.

The survey indicated that, most of the Japanese people think that the definition of the SDF should be clarified. Opinions from the survey are mostly related to the actual function of the SDF. To conclude, people who agree with the constitutional amendment seek for the clarification and the legitimacy of the SDF. Meanwhile, the opponents still believe that the revision of the constitution would drag Japan into conflicts or war.⁵⁵

2.3 Lack of Systematic Explanation for the Change of Public Opinion

Literatures seldom put emphasis on Japanese people's attitude toward Article 9. Most of the articles focus on the struggle between policy makers and international society (including the U.S and China). There is no denying that the constitutional amendment has involved in many factors, but we cannot ignore the importance of the public opinion. Why does the public opinion play a vital role in constitutional amendment? According to the Act on Procedures for Amendment of the Constitution of Japan (日本国憲法の改正手続に関する法律), after a concurring vote of two-thirds or more of all the members of each House, the constitutional amendment should be submitted to the people for referendum.⁵⁶ In short, amending the constitution requires approval by a majority of voters in a national referendum. Public opinion has been wavering in the past decades. The trend of the approval rate in figure 1.4 can prove the wavering of the public opinion. Despite of the fact that the public opinion can partially affect the direction of constitutional amendment, the literature did not address much about the change of the public opinion. Scholar like Zou Xiao-ning published a related article in 2004 specified the constitution amending movement of Japan after the 1990s. He found that the change of public opinion toward the constitution can be divided into three reasons. First, most of the Japanese people are aware of the change of international security environment, and the domestic social ideology has strengthened ever since the uncertainty of Taiwan-China relationship increased. Furthermore, politicians and the media made Japanese people believe that the constitutional amendment has its own necessity. Finally, the author stated that Japanese people

55. Aramaki, Ma, and Miki Masaki. "Pros and Cons for Votes against the Constitutional Amendment."

56. "Act on Procedures for Amendment of the Constitution of Japan." (E-Gov 法令検索. December 12, 2016.) (Accessed March 14, 2018.) http://elaws.e-gov.go.jp/search/elawsSearch/elaws_search/lsg0500/detail?lawId=419AC1000000051&openerCode=1.

desire to create Japan's new image. Japan's new image refers to the new position in international society.⁵⁷ Even Zou's article covers the issue of constitutional amendment by emphasizing public opinion, but it mainly focused on the whole constitution, not Article 9. NHK also conducted several surveys to find out people's attitude toward constitutional amendment. NHK's reporters believed that due to the actively operation of the SDF in the Gulf War, Japanese people realized the necessity of the constitutional amendment. The ideology of revising the constitution has pushed forward after Prime Minister Abe and his cabinet tried to reinterpret the constitution. Aside from revising the constitution, people also considered that the constitutional amendment should discuss in sincere way.⁵⁸ Another literature indicated that more than 79% of people agree with revising the constitution due to the vicissitudes of time.⁵⁹ Literature available discussing about the constitutional amendment often consider Prime Minister Abe, is one of the key factors to raise the public's attention to examine the constitutional amendment.⁶⁰ The concept has been brought out through the surveys, but most of the literature did not head straight to the public opinion. As a result, attributed to the lack of systematic explanation, this study hopes to elaborate more on the change of public opinion.

2.4 More Possible Reasons? (My perspective)

When it comes to Japan's defense policy, it is usually connected to the reasons I mentioned above. In spite of having lots of scholars discussed about the effect of defense policy, most of the scholars seldom draft a page for the detailed reasons for the change of public opinion. I would like to discuss more in my study, try to find out reasons for the change of public opinion toward Article 9. There are many possible reasons to explain why Japanese people have changed their attitude toward Article 9

57. Zou, X. "New Foundation and Background in Constitution Amending Movement of Japan After the 1990s— Analysis on Emphasizing Public Opinion." *Journal of Guizhou Normal University (Social Science)* 129 (2004): 31-36.

58. Aramaki, Ma, and Miki Masaki. "The Change of Ideology toward the Japanese Constitution." NHK Broadcasting Research and Survey, (2017). (荒牧, 央, and みき 政木. "憲法をめぐる意識の変化といま." NHK 放送研究と調査)

59. *Ibid.*

60. Aramaki, Ma, and Miki Masaki. "Pros and Cons for Votes against the Constitutional Amendment." NHK Broadcasting Research and Survey, 2015. (荒牧, 央, and みき 政木. "賛否が拮抗する憲法改正." NHK 放送研究と調査.)

in recent years. Related literature focused on the Self-Defense Force did not talk about further factors. Anderson's conclusion of Japan's security production can also illustrate the concerns of public opinion. To be more comprehensive, I will redefine the factor for external threats.

The external threat refers to two aspects, the instability of neighboring countries and the terrorism. Over the past decades, Japan's preferences have been straightforward. Japan relied on the United States security guarantees and maximized the prosperity. Japan seeks for the protection from the United States; also it accepted the risk to become the United States best ally.⁶¹ Risk can be covered through countries which has hostile relationship with the United States. Scholars have tied up the relationship between the United States and Japan in several issues. The North Korea issue is one of the evidences. Scholar stated that, none of the U.S. policy toward the North Korea will succeed without Japan and South Korea's support and cooperation.⁶² Japanese people are suffered from the fear of the ongoing missile testing by North Korea. Some of the people think that if the testing continues, the regional instability will dramatically increase and threaten the safety of Japan's territory. On the other hand, being the world's third-largest economy, Japan is an alluring target for terrorists, whether the terror attack would occur in Asia. In the past, Japan often relies on the cooperation with the United States to deter or defense the external threats. However, is the United States still capable of paying attention to Asia's affair while there are problems occur inside the country? Or, does it still have the great power to interfere Asia's affair when the rising China tries to control this region? Meanwhile, although Japan can possess the minimum level of military capacity, the function of the Self-Defense Force is for "counterattack". In other words, Japan needs to "wait for" others' attack, and then the Forces can eventually fight back. Due to the constraint, Japan is not allowed to have any "precaution", this might let Japan fail to protect its territory.

Scholar found that "When Japanese people felt entrapment fear, they naturally hoped to alleviate it by resisting to strengthen its military or increasing its alliance

61. Samuels, Richard J. *Securing Japan Tokyo's Grand Strategy and the Future of East Asia*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 2008.)

62. Perry, William J. "Review of United States Policy Toward North Korea: Findings and Recommendations." *Washington DC* 12 (1999).

commitments to the United States”⁶³ This concept is to illustrate Japanese people have long been satisfied Japan’s role as Pacifism, and they are more willing to keep the same path, not involving or participating in war. However, on contrary to this statement, the survey which conducted in October 2017 by NHK, overthrew the point of view. According to the statistics, people who possessed the feeling of insecurity are more likely to support the revision of Article 9. ⁶⁴ They believed that the revision of Article 9 might be insurance for Japan’s safety. The survey also indicated that Japan’s alliance commitments to the United States became less important than past decades.⁶⁵ This description does not infer to the worsening of current relationship between the United States and Japan. Some of the Japanese people just started to consider that with the increasing threats from neighboring countries, Japan needs to form a “real” army, instead of only relying on the assistance of the United States. This also corresponded to the concept I mentioned in previous section, the feeling of insecurity. People feel the danger or the increasing threats from neighboring countries, then, they tend to seek for substantial method, such as the revision of Article 9.

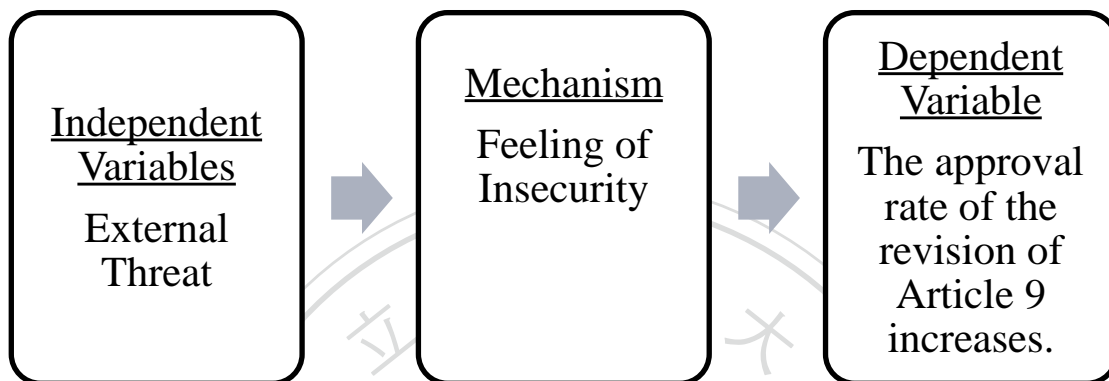
63. Izumikawa, Yasuhiro. “Explaining Japanese Antimilitarism: Normative and Realist Constraints on Japans Security Policy.” *International Security* 35, no. 2 (2010): 123-60. doi:10.1162/isec_a_00020.

64. Aramaki, Ma, and Miki Masaki. “The Change of Ideology toward the Japanese Constitution.” *NHK Broadcasting Research and Survey*, (2017). (荒牧, 央, and みき 政木. “憲法をめぐる意識の変化といま.” NHK 放送研究と調査)

65. *Ibid.*

Research Framework

Figure 2.1 Research Framework



Discussion of this topic will follow the research framework in figure 2.1. I use the independent variables and the dependent variable to explain why Japanese people change their attitude towards Article 9. In previous sections, I have briefly talked about the external threat, such as international incidents; will change the public's attitude. The following chapters will use the United States, South Korea and China to dig out more details about how the external threat will influence public attitude. Basically, the framework above is to illustrate the concept of this study. External threat might lead to Japanese people's feeling of insecurity, and bring about the consequence. In short, the increase of people's feeling of insecurity might let people more likely support the revision of Article 9.

3. The influence of Media Bias

Public opinion in this thesis based on three main media in Japan. As we all know that, media will have their own perspective in same topics, I would like to point out the difference between each media. Media bias might affect the result of the surveys. Thus, I would like to specify three media's perspective in this chapter. I chose NHK, Yomiuri and Asahi's data as my reference

3.1 The Political Bias of Three Main Media in Japan

NHK is a public service broadcaster; the funding of the company comes from viewers' payments of television license fee. This makes its perspective neutral, and focus on the public opinion. According to the statistics made by Media Bias/Fact Check, it is the most credible media sources in Japan.⁶⁶ The Yomiuri Shimbun is the newspaper with the largest circulation in Japan. Due to its largest circulation, it is called "the public's paper"(大衆紙). Its perspective is highly influenced by the Liberty Democratic Party (LDP). The political perspective of the Yomiuri Shimbun will lean to the LDP. When it comes to the constitutional amendment, it often supports the revision of the constitution. The Asahi Shimbun's circulation is the second behind that of Yomiuri Shimbun. It has been considered as the left-leaning newspaper. As a result, it does not support the constitutional amendment.

The Yomiuri Shimbun and the Asahi Shimbun share different points of view in various topic. Some of the scholars suggested that Japanese media can be categorized into two different group. One is the Yomiuri Shimbun, which represents conservative, supports the government. The other one is the Asahi Shimbun, this media often against the government, can be seen as the rebel group.⁶⁷ In other words, the media in Japan is polarized. Scholar Takekawa found that the two media's perspectives are mostly opposite. The Yomiuri Shimbun often stands for conservative nationalism, and

66. "NHK World." Media Bias/Fact Check. (May 24, 2017). (Accessed March 14, 2018.) <https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/nhk-world/>.

67. Nanri, Keizo. "The Conundrum of Japanese Editorials: Polarized, Diversified and Homogeneous." *Japanese Studies* 25, no. 2 (2005): 169-85. doi:10.1080/10371390500226258.

the Asahi Shimbun leans to pacifism. As for the attitude toward the United States, the Yomiuri Shimbun is in favor of the United States policy. In contrast, the Asahi Shimbun often stands against American policy.⁶⁸ In general, the two media have opposite perspective in various topics. Thus, in order to maintain the fairness, I will take three media as the reference for my topic.

Figure 3.1 Media Bias in different Media



3.2 Different Survey Questions to Discuss the Same Topic

The survey data in this thesis were collected from several media. Different media share different attitude toward Article 9. The survey questions are designed in specific perspectives. Sankei news has listed the questions to indicate the question might affect public opinion.⁶⁹ Based on the chart from Sankei news, I highlight the difference and the focus of the question in figure 3.2. It might be easier to distinguish the perspective of different media.

68. Takekawa, S. "Forging Nationalism from Pacifism and Internationalism: A Study of Asahi and Yomiuri's New Year's Day Editorials, 1953-2005." *Social Science Japan Journal* 10, no. 1 (2007): 59-80. doi:10.1093/ssjj/jym030.

69. Sankei Digital Inc. "Why Does Different Media Have Different Outcome?" *Sankei News*, (June 10, 2017.) ("世論調査、各社でばらつきなぜ?" 産経ニュース.) (Accessed January 5, 2018.) <http://www.sankei.com/politics/photos/170603/plt1706030011-p1.html>.

Figure.3.2 The comparison between different Media's survey question

The comparison between different Media's survey question

	Question	Difference/Focus on
朝日(Asahi)	According to the Prime Minister, Article 9 should not only establish the concept of renouncing war, but also define the existence of the SDF. Do you think the amendment is necessary or not? (Yes 41% No 44%)	I. Focus on "revise" the constitution. II. Does it have the necessity to revise current Article 9?
讀賣 (Yomiuri)	PM attempted to add a paragraph to define the existence the SDF without revising the basic concept of Article 9. Do you agree with it? (Yes 53% No 35%)	I. Would not amend the constitution II. Just to clarify the function of the SDF
毎日(Mainichi)	"Other than the original clauses of Article 9, add a paragraph to define the SDF." Do you agree with PM Abe's constitutional amendment? (Yes 28% No 31%)	I. Implied that PM Abe wants to "revise" the constitution.
産経 (Sankei)	Prime Minister suggested that the SDF should be specified in Article 9 of the Constitution. Do you agree? (Yes 55.4% No 36%)	I. Clarify the function of the SDF II. Did not mention about the revision of the constitution.
日経 (Nikkei)	Would not revise Article 9, add a paragraph to define the SDF. Do you agree to add this clause to Article 9? (Yes 51% No 36%)	I. Emphasized that the decision will not revise the original law
NHK	Maintain the original clauses, but add a paragraph to clarify the SDF. Do you agree? (Yes 32% No 20%)	I. Remaining the original clauses

Arranged from: Sankei Digital Inc. "Why Does Different Media Have Different Outcome?" *Sankei News*, (June 10, 2017.) (“世論調査、

各社でばらつきなぜ？”産経ニュース）(Accessed January 5, 2018). <http://www.sankei.com/politics/photos/170603/nlt1706030011->

The survey question from the Asahi Shimbun focused on how the government “revises” the constitution, and implied that there is no necessity to revise Article 9. The Yomiuri Shimbun emphasized that the government would not amend the constitution, the constitutional amendment is to clarify the function of the SDF. As for the Mainichi Shimbun, it implied that Prime Minister Abe is eager to revise the constitution. The Sankei Shimbun shares the same perspective with the Asahi Shimbun, the constitutional amendment is to clarify the function of the SDF. Moreover, it did not mention about the revision of the constitution. The Nikkei Shimbun emphasized that the decision will not revise the original law. Lastly, NHK stated that the government will remain the original clauses.

In conclude, the Yomiuri, Nikkei and Sankei news put the emphasis on clarifying the function of the SDF, did not mention about the revision of the constitution. The outcome of the survey turns out to have higher approval rate. As for the other media, they attempt to remind people; Shinzo Abe is trying to revise the constitution. Compared to previous media, the approval rates in these media are lower than previous ones. It is obvious that the different approaches polls adopted for different questions would influence the result of the surveys. However, the result of these surveys led to consistent results.

3.3 Different Questions and Age of Respondents led to Consistent Results

Despite the fact that different questions conducted by different media had influence the surveys, the results of the surveys are the same. Figure 1.4 in page 12 indicates that the approval rate from the media shares the identical consequence. Frankly speaking, Japanese people do not seem to have solidified their attitude towards the issue, people might waver between agreeing and disagreeing due to various factors. It is clear that during 2002 to 2017, people's opinion changed due to several factors. Before we start to analyze what the actual factors might drag people's shifting attitude, we can conclude, from the trend line in figure 1.4, the public opinion has changed, and most of the people attempt to shift their opinion on Article 9. Despite of the fact that the questions had given from different perspectives and different media, the trend lines from each media has similar pattern. As a result, we can assert that different questions led to consistent results. In other words, Media bias did not cause impact on this issue. On the other hand, generation gap might also lead to different result when it comes to survey. Figure 3.3 indicates that people in different ages have consistent thought in this issue. Apparently, the lines in figure 3.3 have similar trend. Five generations had their peak in 2013, and a sharply drop in 2014. Due to the lines, we can conclude that the generation gap in this case did not influence the result.

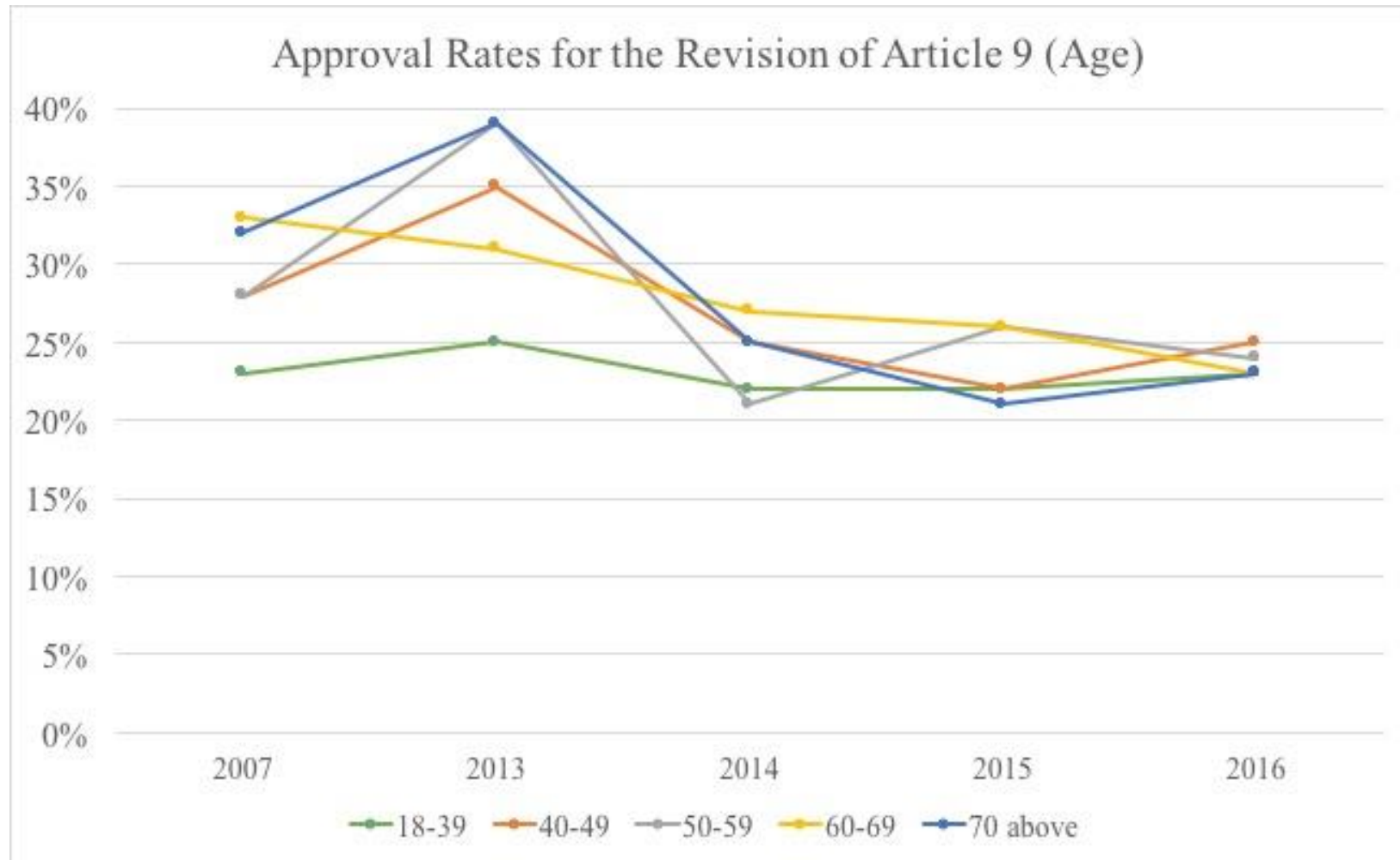
This chapter is a brief explanation for the Media bias. Normally, surveys conducted by different media have slightly difference in the same issue. Different media might imply their own perspective and position on the topic. Also, the public will likely to choose the media by their preference. The public usually prefers to read or view media whose ideological positions are similar to their own. In order to make the study more comprehensive, this study compares more than one media to stay objective. In the issue of the constitutional amendment, the commentators and mass media used to create the certain image of the Japanese government. Shaping the expression that government was more willing to adopt active security policy; the media further implied that such policy would make the bilateral relationship worsen.⁷⁰ In the past,

70. Matake, Kamiya. "Japanese Public Opinions about the Exercise of the Right of Collective Self-Defense." *Discuss Japan - Japan Foreign Policy Forum*. (September 25, 2014.) (Accessed April 10, 2018.) <http://www.japanpolicyforum.jp/archives/politics/pt20140925231907.html>

this kind of thought deeply had impact on the public, but the change of the public opinion proved that this has become less appealing than the past. As we know from this chapter, the media bias seems to have fewer effects on this issue. In response to the consistent result, there is a feasibility to talk about this topic.



Figure 3.3 Approval Rates for the
Revision of Article 9 (Age)



4. Commitment and Cooperation – United States

This chapter will use the bilateral relationship of the U.S and Japan in recent years to illustrate the possible effect from the constitutional amendment. Japan's defense policy has long been affected by the U.S since the Constitution of Japan promulgated. Also, being one of the strongest America's allies in Asia, Japan's diplomatic policy might cause influence on the attitude of the U.S toward Asia-Pacific affairs. To be more precisely in this discussion, I will use different periods to analyze the relationship. Basically, the up and down of the Japanese public opinion can be possibly linked to the stability of this relationship. As a result, the following section will point out people's perception toward the bilateral relationship of Japan and the U.S. The periods will be separated in three according to the approval rate shows in figure 1.4⁷¹: stable (2002 to 2005), decrease (2005 to 2014), increase (2015 to 2016) and sharply increase (2017).

4.1 Stable (2002 to 2005)

The U.S and Japan have become alliances for decades; moreover, they have been cooperating in several times of UN peacekeeping actions.⁷² From times of interactions and cooperation, it is obvious that they share a close relationship. Alliance theory gives definition to the link between alliance relationships and a state's overall defense strategy. According to Bergsmann, alliances often have several features: they cope with a specific behavior for a certain contingency in the future, share a mutual promise, and the agreement between them should be the realm of national security.⁷³ On the other hand, every alliance will likely to encounter one dilemma, abandonment versus entrapment. Abandonment refers to actions that might separate or destroy an alliance. Entrapment corresponds to the situation that state forces to involve in

71. Figure 1.4, 11

72. Ishizuka, Katsumi. "Japan's Policy towards UN Peacekeeping Operations." *International Peacekeeping* 12, no. 1 (2005): 67-86. doi:10.1080/1353331042000286568.

73. Bergsmann, Stefan. "The Concept of Military Alliance." *Small States and Alliances*, (2001), 25-37. doi:10.1007/978-3-662-13000-1_4.

unwanted conflict by its ally.⁷⁴ A state needs to support its ally when the ally is facing difficulty, this might drag the state into incautious danger, increase useless entrapment. The dilemma of abandonment versus entrapment is dynamic. However, mutual interests and threat perceptions can possibly decrease abandonment and entrapment anxieties.⁷⁵ In conclude, if the mutual interests and threat perceptions are profitable for a state, the state will choose to cooperate with its ally.

The alliance theory sheds light on how Japan and Japanese public reacted to the terrorist's attack in 2001. In response to the incident, most of the Japanese people still maintained the opinion of standing together with the United States. In the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, the Japanese public was shocked by the incident, but it did not bring about change in Japanese attitudes and policy. Statistics shows that more than 87.1 percentages of people still hold the opinion of cooperating with the U.S in response to combating terrorism.⁷⁶ Despite the fact that Japanese people had no intention to use force (SDF) overseas, they were willing to offer noncombat logistical support of the U.S. military operations. On the other hand, the 1997 Revised U.S.-Japan Defense Guidelines and the 1999 Surrounding Areas Emergency Legislation gave confidence to Japanese people that the U.S-Japan alliance is one of the central partnerships of U.S foreign policy, especially in Asia.⁷⁷ With the positive attitude toward both countries' relationship and the trusted commitment, the approval rate of the constitutional did not have obvious up and down during 2002 to 2005, it reached a plateau in this period.

After World War II, Japan has built a close relationship with the United States, the economic recovery made Japan be able to adjust their foreign policy. More specifically, they adjusted their strategic bargain with the United States. Scholar concluded that there were several times of adjustment after World War II. During Koizumi administration, Prime Minister Koizumi and U.S President Bush took the

74. Snyder, Glenn H. "The Security Dilemma in Alliance Politics." *World Politics* 36, no. 04 (1984): 461-95. doi:10.2307/2010183.

75. Cha, Victor D. *Alignment despite Antagonism: The United States-Korea-Japan Security Triangle*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2000.)

76. Midford, Paul. *Rethinking Japanese Public Opinion and Security: From Pacifism to Realism?*

77. Chanlett-Avery, Emma, W. H. Cooper, and M. E. Manyin. "Japan-US Relations: Issues for Congress." *Current Politics and Economics of South, Southeastern, and Central Asia* 20, no. 2 (2011): 313.

alliance to the global stage. In response to the terrorism, Koizumi's government promised that Japan would support U.S' decision.⁷⁸ The announcement made the alliance more solid, and this also let Japanese people have faith in both countries' relationship. Thus, the approval rate in 2002 to 2005 remained stable.

4.2 Decrease (2005 to 2014)

From the perspective of alliance theory, we can know that if the state faces dilemma such as unwillingly involving in a third-state conflict, there will be two choices for the state, whether standing together with the alliance or not engaging in the fight. Both of the choices might consider through benefits from the certain actions. Regional powers in Asia (especially Northeast, Southeast and South Asia) often need to take two factors into consideration. Most of the regional powers have to directly or indirectly coordinate with the United States.⁷⁹ Not only the strong power of the U.S, but also the U.S commitment to the Asia-Pacific region. The other factor has been more important. That is, region powers in Asia are trying to avoid choosing between China and the U.S.⁸⁰ Apparently; most of the countries do not want to lose the relationships with both China and the U.S. As for Japan's viewpoint, standing with the United States has been a correct choice in the period of 2005 to 2014. However, the level of the closeness with the United States separated two groups of people: Japanese politician and the public. On behalf of the Japanese politician's attitude, Prime Minister Abe gave his speech in NATO in 2007, claimed that Japan would not "hesitate" from overseas peacekeeping operations. Moreover, due to the complicated changing security environments, it is Time for Japan to work with the Alliance, engaging in various movements to promote global security and peace.⁸¹ Despite that Japanese government had such positive attitude and enthusiasm in international affair, the public did not share the same feeling with the government. In fact, after the SDF's deployment of the Iraq War, the public's feeling of insecurity has grown bigger. According to the Nihon Keizai Shimbun in 2007, the public was opposed to involving

78. Green, Michael J. "The US-Japan Alliance a Brief Strategic History." *Education About Asia* 12, no. 3 (2007): 25-30.

79. Shambaugh, David L. "The United States in Asia: Durable Leadership." In *International Relations of Asia*, 93-114. Rowman & Littlefield, 2014.

80. *Ibid.*

81. Ikegami, Masako. "NATO and Japan: Strengthening Asian Stability." *NATO*. (2007). (Accessed March 14, 2018). <https://www.nato.int/docu/review/2007/issue2/english/art4.html>.

U.S or even global conflicts after the action in Iraq.⁸² Public had concern in these actions: Long been playing a supporting role as the U.S acts out its worldwide military strategy might likely turn Japan into worst condition, become a target of terrorism, or provoke hatred from other countries. Public's concern got worse after Prime Minister Abe followed the route of Koizumi's security policies. Most of the Japanese people did not approve Abe's policy to reinterpret the constitution; they were worried that the redefinition of collective self-defense might put Japan in danger.

Despite the fact that the United States was optimistic about the relationship, the public was concerned about the U.S.-Japan alliance. They were worried about two negative factors.⁸³ Since the U.S has found a way to open dialogue with North Korea, some are fear of being abandoned by the U.S. In the past, Japan could be defined as the frontline against North Korea's threat, if the U.S and North Korea cease the tension, the cooperation between two countries' military force would shrink. Besides, Japan also has the fear in a potential nuclear war. These concerns match the features in Alliance theory. As a result, the problem is, does the mutual interest still meet Japan's need? Does the threat perception decrease the anxieties or make it worse? The uncertainty of these questions made people doubt that the alliance was not as solid as the Koizumi's administration. Nonetheless, the uncertainty did not actually react to the approval rate, it has decreased.

4.3 Increase (2015 to 2016)

With the change of international security environment, the function of the assurance from the past gradually becomes doubtful. Due to the rapid development of neighboring country, China, Japanese government needs to consider the Sino-Japanese relationship more than before. Also, due to the uncertainty and instability of East Asia, there is necessity for Japan to put more efforts on enhancing their own military capability. Dated back to the cooperation between the U.S and Japan, the pattern is simple and predictable. With the constraint of military capability, Japan

82. Midford, Paul. *Rethinking Japanese Public Opinion and Security: From Pacifism to Realism?*

83. Sonoda, Koji. "Japan's Security Alliance Dilemma." *The Diplomat*. (March 24, 2018). (Accessed March 27, 2018.) <https://thediplomat.com/2018/03/japans-security-alliance-dilemma/>.

relies on U.S military forces for national security and regional peace. Some of the U.S elites claimed that the U.S should use the security protection as leverage against Japan's economic invasion, but they still possess close relationship.⁸⁴ Generally, the relationship between the United States and Japan is more stable than other countries in East Asia, but the Japanese public had their concern in their closeness. In the past, neorealism provided perspectives to explain why Japan would maintain its security alliance with the United States. Scholars stated that, the U.S presence in Asia serves many of Japan's national interests, such as freedom of navigation, extended nuclear deterrence and the prevention of regional conflicts.⁸⁵ Thus, Japan was willing to cooperate with U.S. Japanese politicians believed that their strong ally would bring assurance for their security defense policy.

Article 9 is a special clause for both internal and external. The clause itself not only contains part of the ideology of Japanese, "Pacifism" but also includes the requirement for Japan to launch military actions. The reinterpretation of Article 9 has promulgated at the end of 2013, with the huge domestic opponents, Prime Minister Abe insisted to conduct the reinterpretation. Liff stated that this might be easier for Japan to share intelligence with the United States. Also, this reform had been requested by Washington for decades.⁸⁶ From Washington's point of view, the reinterpretation might enhance Japan's military capability and possibly reduce America's economic burden.⁸⁷ As a result, Washington was satisfied with the reinterpretation of Article 9. After President Trump took the office, the U.S forces still believes that the coalition of the U.S. forces and the Japanese forces is capable to deal with the region issue, and the alliance with Japan has improved in recent years.⁸⁸ The United States is confident about the relationship with Japan.

84. Christensen, T. J. "China, the U.S-Japan Alliance, and the Security Dilemma in East Asia." In *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, 25-56. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

85. Kliman, Daniel M. *Japans Security Strategy in the Post-9/11 World: Embracing a New Realpolitik*. (Westport CT: Praeger, 2006)

86. Liff, Adam P. "Japan's Defense Policy: Abe the Evolutionary." 79-99.

87. Panton, Michael A. "Politics, Practice and Pacifism: Revising Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution."

88. "U.S.-Japan Alliance Never Stronger, Secretary Says." *U.S. Department of Defense*. (December 5, 2016.) (Accessed March 27, 2018). <https://www.defense.gov/News/Article/Article/1020645/us-japan-alliance-never-stronger-secretary-says/>.

From the perspective of alliance theory, we can know that if the state faces dilemma such as unwillingly involving in a third-state conflict, there will be two choices for the state, whether standing together with the alliance or not engaging in the fight. Both of the choices might consider through benefits from the certain actions. Regional powers in Asia (especially Northeast, Southeast and South Asia) often need to take two factors into consideration. Most of the region powers have to directly or indirectly coordinate with the United States.⁸⁹ Not only the strong power of the U.S, but also the U.S commitment to the Asia-Pacific region let the neighboring countries in Asia often cooperate with the U.S. The other factor has been more important these days. That is, region powers in Asia are trying to avoid choosing between China and the U.S.⁹⁰

Apparently, most of the countries do not want to lose the relationships with both China and the U.S. In this period, Japan hopes to hold stable relationships with both countries. However, China's hardline attitude toward South China Sea and the Senkaku Island dispute cannot be ignored. Chinese "aggressiveness" somehow alerted some of the Japanese people to increase Japan's military capability. Overall, the approval rate in this period gradually increased.

4.4 Sharply Increase (2017)

Donald Trump became the United States' President in 2017, his hardline attitude toward Trade and other foreign policies have made countries around the world question and wonder, what might change after his inauguration. Japan will not be an exception. From the previous sections, I put the emphasis on the solid relationship between the U.S and Japan, after the inauguration ceremony of the U.S president, Japanese government actively interacted with the U.S, hopefully to create close ties with their ally, the U.S. The official meetings have certainly created image in Japanese public's mind. According to the survey made by Japanese government in 2017, there are 84.4 percent of Japanese people think that Japan has good relationship

89. Shambaugh, David L. "The United States in Asia: Durable Leadership." In *International Relations of Asia*, 93-114.

90. *Ibid.*

with the United States.⁹¹ Compared to the survey in 2016, the rate decreased less than three percentage points. This survey indicated that the public still gives positive attitude towards their ally after the new president of the United States took the office. Another question in this survey also gave us an indication: more than 95 percent of Japanese people agree that the connection between Japan and the United States is important for Asia-Pacific affairs.⁹² Judging from this viewpoint, Japanese people still have faith in their ally. We can assume that the anxieties and the concerns did not lower Japanese people's belief in the U.S. It is clear that the relationship between Japan and the United States mostly remain the same.

Over the past decades, in spite of not directly being involved in the actual war, Japan has gained experience from the cooperation with the U.S. Although the consequences did not always meet U.S' standard, the cooperation pattern can be concluded. Japan's role can be defined as a back-up at war and in the peacekeeping operations. As I mentioned above, Washington do think that the rise of Japan's military ability will make the future operation easier. On the other hand, through the constitutional amendment, the determination of Abe administration to maintain the regional peace is foreseeable. From the Gulf War to Iraq Crisis, scholars claimed that expectation is the key for Washington to win Tokyo's support. Besides, as for Japan itself, the confluence of foreign threats, historical precedent and domestic politics has rendered Japan's security behavior to higher level than the United States expect.⁹³ To sum up, if the constitutional amendment goes as Abe's administration planned, Japan's military prowess could grow. Under this circumstance, the United States would be willing to see the constitutional amendment be in progress. As for Japan's point of view, compared to China, United States has been its trustable ally for decades; it can be easy to claim that Japan prefers United States instructions toward Asia-Pacific affairs more. In all, the security environment is changing, but the United States' commitment and cooperation are still important for Japan, the public also takes the relationship as one of the insurance when facing oversea threats.

91. Cabinet Office. "Public Opinion Poll on Diplomacy" (October 2017.) (内閣大臣官房政府広報室. "外交に関する世論調査.") (Accessed March 27, 2018). <https://survey.gov-online.go.jp/h29/h29-gaiko/2-1.html>.

92. *Ibid.*

93. Kliman, Daniel M. *Japans Security Strategy in the Post-9/11 World: Embracing a New Realpolitik*. 116-145.

5. Maintaining the status quo and Facing the Missile Threat – North Korea

This chapter aims to illuminate how the Korea peninsula's incidents in recent years affect the Japanese public's attitude toward constitutional amendment. Despite the fact that Japan is in dispute with South Korea over historical incidents and territory problem, this chapter will focus on Japan's cooperation with South Korea in security policy. North Korea has long been a threat to regional or even global peace. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, Japan needs to cope with North Korea's threat, the bilateral and regional relations with North Korea plays a vital part in Japan's security defense policy. On the other hand, Japan, the United States, and South Korea have formed security triangle to restrain North Korea's every movement. In response to Pyongyang's strong insistence on the ongoing missile test, three countries (especially Japan and South Korea) enhanced the level of brinkmanship to ease the domestic public concerns and the pressure from North Korea.⁹⁴ This guideline made by three countries certainly let North Korea assure that the hard-line stance might be the best way to request for extortion money and resources.⁹⁵ On account of this, North Korea became an unstable threat in East Asia. This chapter would also follow the pattern as former chapter, divided into three sections: stable (2002 to 2005), decrease (2005 to 2014) and increase (2015 to 2016; sharply in 2017). Also, South Korea, the other important role in the Korean Peninsula, will be discuss in this chapter in one of the sections. In the following sections, the effect of several incidents and the specifics of how these incidents cause impact on the approval rate will outline.

5.1 Stable (2002 to 2005)

Due to North Korea's unpredictable missile testing, Japanese public was highly aware of any possibility that might engaging in regional conflicts. In the period of 2002 to 2005, the most heated incident might be the second North Korean nuclear crisis broke out in October 2002. North Korean was accused of concealing a uranium-

94. Nishihara, Masashi. "Japan's Defense Policy and Asia-Pacific Region." Lecture. (March 30, 2011.) (Accessed March 27, 2018.) [http://www.ca.emb-japan.go.jp/2011_shared_images/Cultural Events/nishihara_lecture_text.pdf](http://www.ca.emb-japan.go.jp/2011_shared_images/Cultural%20Events/nishihara_lecture_text.pdf).

95. Hook, Glenn D., Ra Mason, and Paul OShea. *Regional Risk and Security in Japan Whither the Everyday*. (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2015.)

enrichment program to build nuclear weapon.⁹⁶ In response to North Korea's threat, the United States and Japan took hardline policy to deal with it. In spite of having same attitude toward this incident, the United States and Japan had slightly different method to cope with it. With the support of domestic voice in the United States, President Bush promised to remove North Korea from the list of sponsoring terrorism in exchange for the disability of nuclear facilities.⁹⁷ At the same time, Japanese government not only insisted on continuously pushing hardline policy, but also claimed that there was necessity to put North Korea on the terrorist state.⁹⁸ Why did Japanese government insist on having North Korea on the list? The decision was deeply affected by the abduction issue. During the Koizumi administration, Japan and North Korea has been trying to normalize their bilateral relationship, but the abduction done by the North Korea provoked the public outcry.⁹⁹ The Japanese public viewed North Korea as a terrorist state, and it was likely to pose unforeseeable threat to Japan. Even though the abduction issue has worsened the bilateral relationships, Prime Minister Koizumi's visit to North Korea still alleviated the tension between two countries. As a result, the approval rate in this period did not have obvious change, it remains stable. North Korea's movement in this period did not call for Japanese public to revise the constitutional amendment.

5.2 Decrease (2005 to 2014)

North Korea's uncooperative attitude toward the denuclearization action plan, the United States and Japan decided to change their policy's direction. The change of the two countries' attitude attributed to the missile tests conducted by North Korea in July, 2006. Japanese government strongly accused North Korea of threatening Japanese security and regional peace.¹⁰⁰ As I mentioned in the previous section, the

96. Sanger, David E. "North Korea says it has a program on nuclear arms." *The New York Times*, (October 17, 2002). (Accessed March 30, 2018). <https://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/17/world/north-korea-says-it-has-a-program-on-nuclear-arms.html>.

97. DiFilippo, Anthony. *US-Japan-North Korea Security Relations: Irrepressible Interests*. (Florence: Taylor and Francis, 2013).

98. Nicksch, Larry A. *North Korea: Terrorism List Removal?* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, 2009).

99. Manyin, Mark E. "Japan-North Korea Relations: Selected Issues." *CRS Report for Congress*, (November 26, 2003), 1-17. . Japan-North Korea Relations: Selected Issues.

100. "Japan Protests against Launch of Missiles by North Korea." *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*. (July 5, 2006.) (Accessed April 3, 2018.) <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/announce/2006/7/0705.html>.

Bush administration adopted a conciliatory policy toward North Korea in exchange for the termination of nuclear facilities, but North Korea did not shut down the facilities.¹⁰¹ Under this circumstance, President Bush and Prime Minister Abe went back to the route of hardline policy; moreover, President Bush claimed that he would not hesitate to use more sanctions to force North Korea to complete its commitment.¹⁰² The confrontation and tension have become more serious ever since North Korea broke the promise of denuclearization. On the other hand, according to the Yomiuri Shimbun poll conducted after the nuclear test indicated that over 80 percent of the public felt threatened by the ongoing missile testing.¹⁰³ In spite of having a fear of North Korea's missile and nuclear testing, Japanese public still opposed changing the Defense policy.¹⁰⁴ Under this circumstance, we can infer that the missile testing did not endorse the change of public's attitude toward constitutional amendment. The drop of approval rate indicated in 2005 to 2007 is an evidence of the public's opinion.

Ever since the first Nodong missile launched in 1993, most of the proclaimed "satellite" tests conducted by North Korea have flew over or dropped in the vicinity of Japanese territory. These tests undoubtedly posed a threat on Japan's security. In the viewpoint of Japanese public, North Korea is a walking-time bomb, a threat to Japan. The mainstream media, Yomiuri Shimbun even noted that "Normalization with a nuclear armed North Korea is out of the question".¹⁰⁵ In response to the missile test, Japanese government has long been adapting to hardline policy, but there is no further evidence to prove that the public was willing to take constitutional amendment as a method against North Korea's missile test.

101. DiFilippo, Anthony. *US-Japan-North Korea Security Relations: Irrepressible Interests*.

102. Rennack, D. E. "North Korea: Economic Sanctions." *CRS Report for Congress*, (October 2006).

103. DiFilippo, Anthony. *US-Japan-North Korea Security Relations: Irrepressible Interests*.

104. *Ibid.*

105. Hook, Glenn D., Ra Mason, and Paul OShea. *Regional Risk and Security in Japan Whither the Everyday*.

5.3 Increase (2015 to 2016; Sharply in 2017)

Long been trapped in the fear of ongoing missile tests, Japan often uses brinkmanship and imposes economic sanctions as measures to deal with North Korea. However, North Korea has already operated three times of missile testing in the past two years.¹⁰⁶ Despite of the fact that the target was set to be the United States, the missile still influenced Japanese territory. The most threatening one was directly fired across Japan, and let the tension between two countries raise. Prime Minister Abe criticized the ballistic missile test as dangerous provocative action.¹⁰⁷ As for the public, the survey conducted by Yomiuri Shimbun in December of 2017 indicated that more than 80 percent of Japanese view North Korea as the largest military threat.¹⁰⁸ Compared to the survey conducted in 2007¹⁰⁹, the public's cognition on North Korea did not have any change. Regardless of the fact that this is not the first time Japan needs to cope with the missile threat, with the apparent level-up of the missile, Prime Minister Abe took the constitutional amendment as the method to enhance the defense. Scholar stated that, the North Korean Threat might likely become a measure to convince the Japanese public to revise the constitution.¹¹⁰ In fact, the approval rate did reflect the influence of the North Korean threat in 2017. It can be asserted that the tension with North Korea has brought about different viewpoint to the public. The public started to consider that the enhancement of the military capability might be an option to cope with the North Korean missile issue.

From the past, Japan has viewed North Korea as a timing bomb; it is hard to predict when the bomb will explode. Apparently, the hardline policy has long been Japan's strategy for North Korea affair. For the Japanese public, North Korea is never a friendly neighbor or a cooperator. Like I mentioned in the previous paragraph, the

106. Berlinger, Joshua. "North Korea's Missile Tests: What You Need to Know." (*CNN*. December 04, 2017). (Accessed April 3, 2018). <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/05/29/asia/north-korea-missile-tests/index.html?no-st=1527592056>.

107. "North Korea Fires Second Ballistic Missile over Japan." (*BBC News*. September 15, 2017). (Accessed April 3, 2018). <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-41275614>.

108. "2017 November and December: Japan and United States Poll." (Yomiuri Online. December 19, 2017). ("2017年11-12月 日米共同世論調査.") (Accessed April 3, 2018).

<http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/feature/opinion/koumoku/20171219-OYT8T50129.html>.

109. See Footnote 89

110. Weeks, Donna. "Can Abe Use the North Korean Threat to Change the Japanese Constitution?" (*The News Lens International Edition*. December 13, 2017). (Accessed April 5, 2018). <https://international.thenewslens.com/article/85281>.

public's cognition on North Korea still maintain the same, but the public is more willing to take further action for the intensive missile testing launched by North Korea.

5.4 South Korea's Attitude

Speaking of North Korean issue, we cannot ignore South Korea's position in Korean Peninsula. This section will divide into two parts: the bilateral relationship between South Korea and Japan, the position of South Korea in North East Asia.

Long been indulged in the historical factor and territorial dispute, Japan and South Korea share an awkward relationship. Historical factor referred to the comfort women incident, Japanese government denied what they have done in World War II. Moreover, the actions of Japanese government, such as Prime Minister's visit to Yasukuni Shrine and whitewashing of history textbooks, triggered South Korea's anger.¹¹¹ Even though South Korea and Japan have created economic cooperation and military alliance with the U.S, the colonial past still deeply influence their relationship. With the trend of globalization, countries have signed different kinds of free trade agreements in order to enhance their cooperation in economy. The intraregional trade between Korea and Japan increased in the 1980s, ever since then, these two countries has been defined as the economic representative in East Asia.¹¹² The two countries signed up Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 2005; Korea then became one of the important export markets for Japan.¹¹³ In spite of having such close-knit interactions with each other, Japanese and Koreans' perception of the other did not have higher favorability. Figure 5.1 indicates that over 50 percent of Koreans do not have good impression on Japan/Japanese.¹¹⁴ Meanwhile, Japanese also have

111. Soh, Chunghee Sarah. *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.)

112. Lee, Chang-Jae, and Ihk-Pyo Hong. "A New Approach towards the Enhancement of Northeast Asian Economic Cooperation." *East Asian Economic Review* 3, no. 3 (1999): 101-37. doi: 10.11644/kiep.jeai.1999.3.3.49

113. Aminian, Nathalie, and Cuauhtémoc Calderon. "Prospects for Closer Economic Cooperation in Northeast Asia." *Review of Development Economics* 14, no. 3 (2010): 417-32. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9361.2010.00562. x.

114. East Asia Institute. "Korea-Japan's perceptions toward each other" *The Sixth Korea-Japan Citizen Perception Survey*(June 18, 2018.) (동아시아연구원 "한일국민상호인식조사." 제 6 회 한일 국민 상호인식조사.) (Accessed June 2018).

http://www.eai.or.kr/main/research_view.asp?intSeq=9659&code=4&keyword_option=board_content

much more negative impression on Korea. Nevertheless, the cooperation between two countries is evitable, not only on the economic aspect also the military aspect. To cope with the North Korean issue, South Korea and Japan are part of the defense alliance system with the United States. Under this circumstance, the success of the Japanese constitutional amendment might possibly cause impact on U.S-Japan-South Korea alliance. As I have mentioned before, the United States considered the revision of Article 9 would enhance Japan's military capability.¹¹⁵ Thus, being one of the allies, South Korea might likely to have positive reaction on the Japanese constitutional amendment.

At the same time, South Korea believed itself would be the balancer to promote peace and prosperity of both Northeast Asia and Korean Peninsula.¹¹⁶ In order to achieve the goal of being a balancer, South Korea needs to adjust its own position to a more active role, involving in Northeast Asia's affair in a more independent way. In other words, this might let South Korea to have a departure with its strong ally the United States. However, South Korea had announced that the goal of being a balancer would achieve through stronger alliance with the United States.¹¹⁷ These words implied the concept of standing/following the same policy with the United States. In conclude, we can assert that South Korea might support the Japanese amendment of Article 9, if South Korea continues stand together with the United States' strategy in Northeast Asia affairs.

In sum, this chapter elucidated the how the Korean peninsula's incident might influence Japanese public's attitude toward the constitutional amendment. For the stable era (2002~2005), Japan has faced with second Nuclear crisis in 2002, Japan redefined North Korea as terrorist state. Meanwhile, Prime Minister Koizumi visited North Korea to normalize the bilateral relationship. With the hardline policy and the visit of Prime Minister, Japanese people did not have the feeling of highly insecurity.

&keyword=일본&gubun=research. Japan and South Korea's comparative perceptions

115. Page 41

116. Kim, Byung- Kook. "Between China, America, and North Korea: South Korea's Hedging." In *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Politics*, 191-217. (Cornell University Press.2008).

117. Sheen, Seong-Ho. "Out of America, into the Dragon's Arms : South Korea, a Northeast Asian Balancer." In *The Rise of China and International Security: America and Asia Respond*, 140-58. (Routledge,2009.)

Thus it still remains stable. As for the decrease era, in spite of having numerous times of missile testing, Japan relies on the cooperation with U.S. At the same time, Prime Minister Abe's policy of revising the constitution did not gain public's support. Furthermore, the public did not take constitutional amendment as a method to cope with North Korea's issue. In the past three years, especially after Kim Jung-En became the leader of North Korea, the intensive missile testing gave the Japanese public a new impression on North Korea's attitude. As a result, the public realized the constitutional amendment might be a way to cope with North Korea's ongoing missile threats. After all, Korean peninsula has been a threat to Japan due to North Korean's ongoing missile tests. Japanese is likely to use the constitutional amendment to enhance its military capability in order to defense the missile tests. This strategy might possibly convince the public the necessity of revising the constitution. Also, staying in the same alliance might let South Korea tend to support Japan's decision.

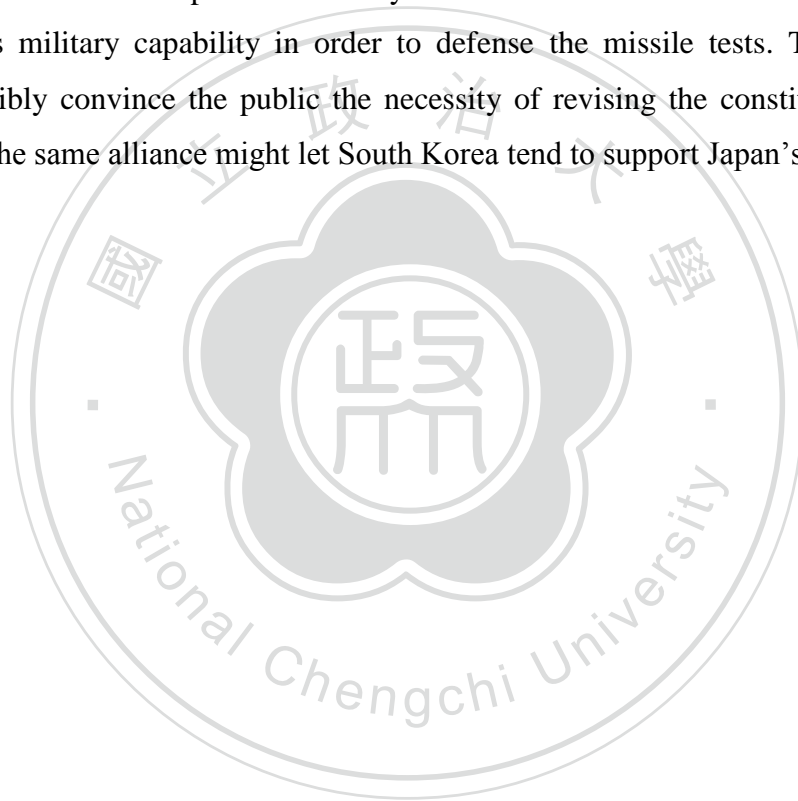
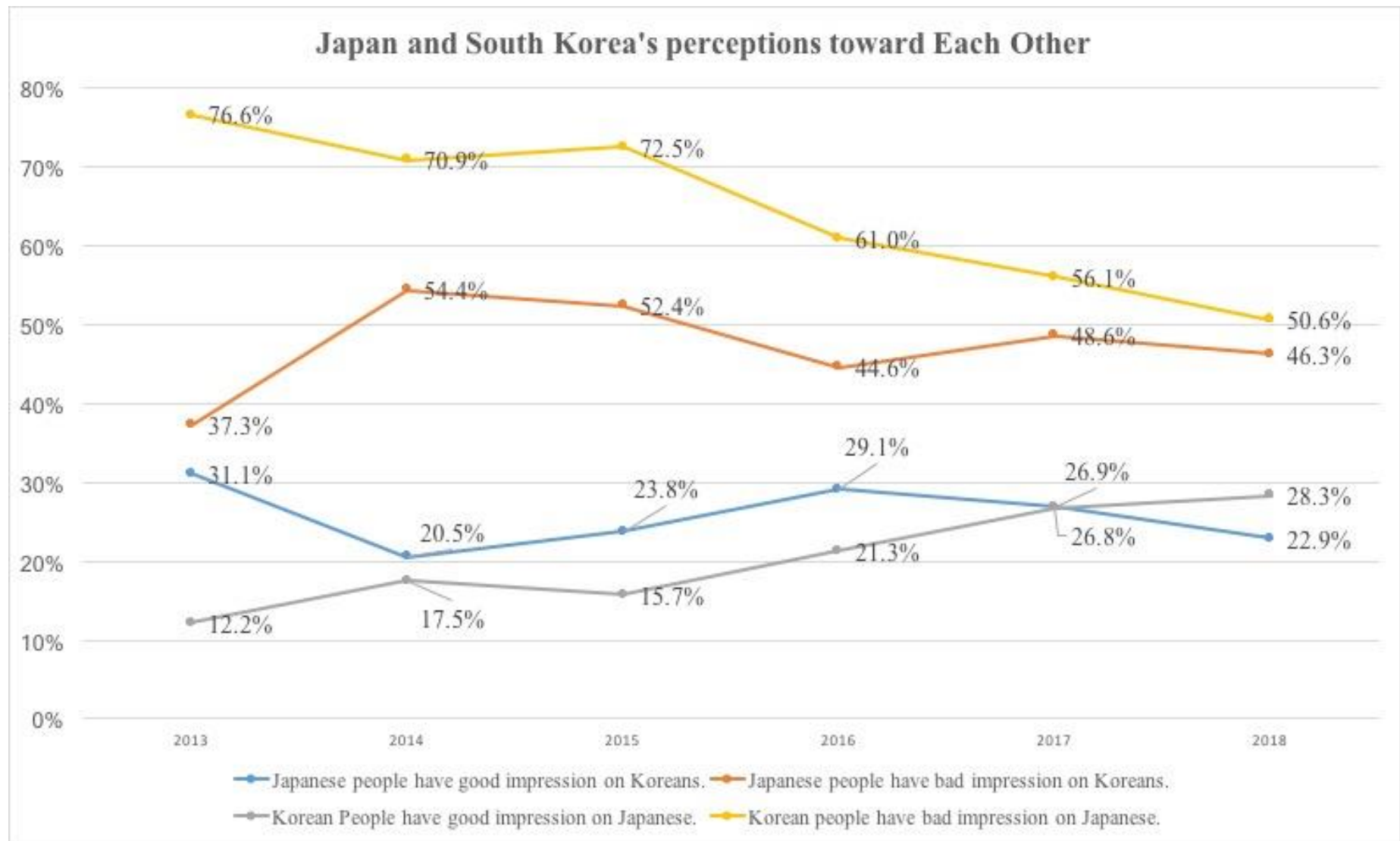


Figure 5.1 Japan and South Korea's perceptions toward each other



6. Partner or Competitor – China

This chapter will analyze how the bilateral relation between China and Japan influence the change of Japan's public opinion. When it comes to regional peace in East Asia, it is inevitable to take China as a critical factor. With the rapid economic growth and military modernization, China seems to restore its historical pattern, gradually become stronger and more prosperous.¹¹⁸ From Japan's point of view, the rise of China brought about advantages and disadvantages in different aspects; as for the security, China's growing political influence in East Asia poses a threat to Japan. This put two countries into more complicated situation. Basically, Japanese perception of China is constructed by several factors. Tangible economic and military growth made China become Japan's both cooperator and competitor. Apart from these factors, historical and cultural factors also deeply affect Japanese perception of China.¹¹⁹ Scholars believed that, China's increasing aggressiveness in the territorial dispute has become the main reason to trigger the shifting of Japan's security policy.¹²⁰ This chapter will use two countries' partnership and competitive relationship to explain the possible reasons affecting the public's attitude. Basically, the actual timeline of Japan and China's relationship will elucidate in the second section. China has long been a special neighboring country to Japan, so the arrangement of this chapter will not divide into eras like previous chapter.

118. Sato, Yoichiro. "Tango without Trust and Respect? Japan's Awkward Co-prosperity with China in the Twenty-first Century." In *The Rise of China and International Security America and Asia Respond*, 94-119. (London: Routledge, 2009).

119. Sato, Yoichiro. "Tango without Trust and Respect? Japan's Awkward Co-prosperity with China in the Twenty-first Century."

120. Schulze, Kai. "Japan's New Assertiveness: Institutional Change and Japan's Securitization of China." *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific*, 1st ser., 18, no. 2 (May 1, 2018): 221-247.

6.1 Economic Partnership

The Sino-Japanese relationship in this era is often defined as “warm economics and cold politics”¹²¹, this characterized the basic pattern of the cooperation between China and Japan. With the rapid economic growth and actively interacting with the world, China has engaged in the world trade system, and its population made it becomes the largest market in the world.¹²² Compared to the huge potential market of China, Japan relatively lacks a large domestic market. Being one of the export-oriented country, Japan certainly needs to do business with China. Earlier in 2002, Prime Minister Koizumi told the public that he did not see China’s development as a threat. In fact, he viewed it as an “opportunity” for Japan.¹²³

However, the declaration did not convince Japanese public, most of the people and the media believed Chinese industrialization will threaten Japanese manufacturing sector.¹²⁴ Figure 6.1 clearly indicates the trade volume between Japan and China. Apparently, two countries have active interaction in Trade. According to the statistics from Ministry of Finance, China is Japan’s biggest trade partner in import and total trade in 2017.¹²⁵ Also, the statistics announced by China’s Ministry of Commerce, China is Japan’s second export trading partner and the largest import trading partner in September of 2017.¹²⁶ Evidence of Japan and China’s trade interaction can prove that the two countries have close-knit relationship.

The growing trade brought about growing economic interdependence, but this did not eliminate the public’s concern about China. Scholar even stated that the growing trade between Japan and China has created trade frictions due to political-diplomatic

121. Dreyer, June Teufel. “China and Japan: ‘Hot Economics, Cold Politics’.” *Orbis* 58, no. 2 (June 23, 2014): 326-41.

122. Barboza, David. “China Passes Japan as Second-Largest Economy.”

123. KYODO. “China Is Not a Threat: Koizumi.” *The Japan Times*. (April 13, 2002.) (Accessed May 1, 2018). <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2002/04/13/national/china-is-not-a-threat-koizumi/>.

124. Lall, Sanjaya, and Manuel Albaladejo. “China’s Competitive Performance: A Threat to East Asian Manufactured Exports?” *World Development* 32, no. 9 (2004): 1441-466.

125. Japan External Trade of Organization. *Analysis of Japan China Trade in 2017*. (JETRO, 2017).

126. “Ministry of Commerce People’s Republic of China.” *Statistics of FDI in China in January-July 2017* -. (November 22, 2017). (Accessed May 1, 2018.)

<http://english.mofcom.gov.cn/article/statistic/lanmubb/ASEAN/201712/20171202691134.shtml>.

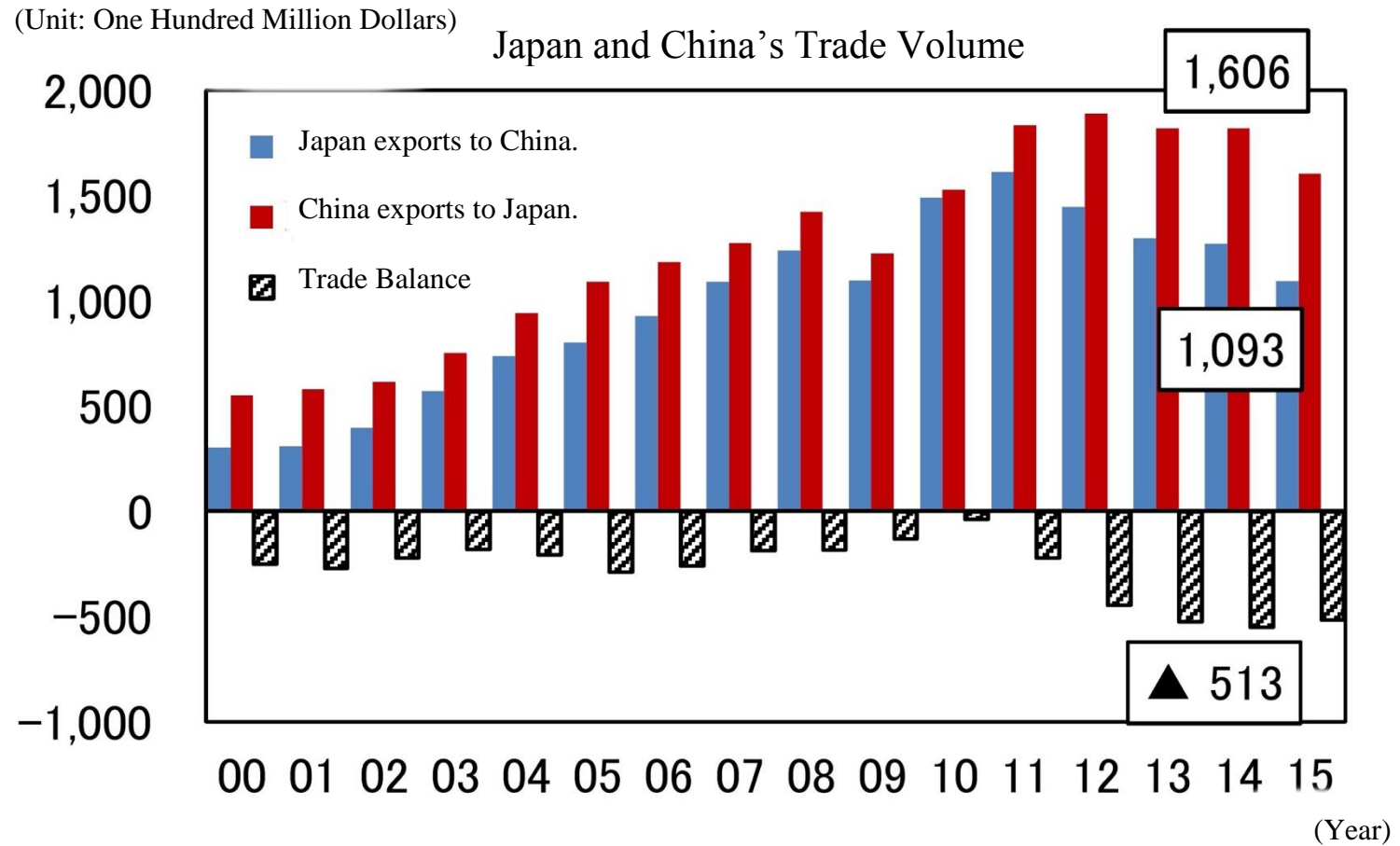
matter.¹²⁷ Political-diplomatic matter refers to several incidents: Prime Minister's visit to Yasukuni Shrine and the SCS dispute.¹²⁸ Meanwhile, Japanese's impression on Chinese also causes impact on their bilateral relationship. These factors brought about more uncertainty to their cooperation. In spite of having cooperation in economic affairs, Japanese public did not view China as a good ally.



127. Alvstam, Claes G., Patrik Ström, and Naoyuki Yoshino. "On the Economic Interdependence between China and Japan: Challenges and Possibilities." *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 50, no. 2 (2009): 198-214.

128. Discuss it in section 6.2

Figure 6.1 Japan and China's Trade Volume



Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. *Japan and China's Economic Relationship and Chinas Economy*. PDF. (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, August 2016.)

6.2 Competitive Relationship

Over the past decades, the foreseeable military development of China had brought about the Japanese politician and public's concern. Due to historical incidents and conflicts, China and Japan have long been military rival. In the past, two countries had fought for neighboring territories. Nowadays, East Sea maritime and island dispute still remain unsettled.¹²⁹ In spite of having such a close relationship as economic partners, the sovereignty problem between China and Japan cannot be ignored. With the constrained military capability, Japan is sensitive to China's actual military power. Some of the Japanese elites even questioned the lack of transparency in China's military spending.¹³⁰ It is obvious that Japan is deeply suspicious of China's military movements. On the other hand, scholar inferred that China's military is becoming a more effective tool in term of its combat and security.¹³¹ From Japan's point of view, having such an aggressive and strong neighbor might threaten its own security, this might provoke Japan's desire to enhance its military capability. Then, there is no surprising that Japanese government is eager to revise the constitution. As for China, Ryu believed that, China would perceive Japan's constitutional amendment as a mean to suppress China's rise. In response to Japan's action, China might strengthen the level of its military power to secure this region.¹³² Whether the speculations of each other are correct or not, the military build-up of two countries is predictable.

The dispute and conflicts between Japan and China have let the two countries share abnormal diplomatic relationship. Political-diplomatic matters create trade friction for Japan and China, and pose an uncertainty to the economic cooperation. Early in 2002 to 2005, Prime Minister Koizumi insisted on visiting Yasukuni Shrine, ignored

129. Hook, Glenn D., Ra Mason, and Paul OShea. *Regional Risk and Security in Japan Whither the Everyday*.

130. Xinbo, Wu. "The Security Dimension of Sino-Japanese Relations: Warily Watching One Another." *Asian Survey* 40, no. 2 (2000): 296-310.

131. Shambaugh, David L. "The United States in Asia: Durable Leadership." In *International Relations of Asia*, 93-114.

132. Ryu, Yongwook. "To Revise or Not to Revise: The 'peace Constitution', Pro-revision Movement, and Japan's National Identity." *The Pacific Review*, (2018), 1-18.

China's anger. The visit to Yasukuni Shrine worsened two countries' bilateral relationship. The confrontational feelings between Japanese and Chinese rose due to the visit. China took Prime Minister Koizumi's action as sabotage, triggered the anger of Chinese people. The relationship back to normal in the end of 2005, Japan announced that they were going to provide economic aid to China. Prime Minister Abe and China's leader Wen Jiabao paid their official visit to each country in order to fix their relationship.¹³³ Through the joint agreement, Japan and China declared the two countries would form a strategically and mutually beneficial relationship to achieve their common interests. China-Japan Joint Statement has broken the diplomatic deadlock. Traced back to figure 1.4¹³⁴, the decrease of the approval rate in this era might be influenced by the stable relationship between Japan and China. However, the situation has changed ever since China's leader Xi Jinping took the reins. In recent years, China holds a strong attitude toward the South China Sea conflict. Xi claimed that China will unswervingly safeguard its sovereignty and national interests in South China Sea in early 2016.¹³⁵ China's non-stopping intensive action in the South China Sea has provoked Japan's anxiety. To insure the sovereignty right in South China Sea, China's leader Xi Jinping built islands, consolidated the reefs and set up a city in South China Sea.¹³⁶ These decisions have brought the South China Sea conflict to another level. Scholar believed that Japan could play a vital role in containing China's expanding submarine capabilities.¹³⁷ Scholar stated that Japanese involvement in the security of the SCS has been related to new bilateral defense policy agreements made by the U.S.¹³⁸ On the other hand, having strategic and economic partnerships with the Asia-Pacific countries made Japan play a vital role in the SCS conflict. In quest for regional peace, Japan needs to

133. McCurry, Justin. "Wen Jiabao's Visit to Japan Could Signal a Genuine Thaw in Sino-Japanese Relations." *The Guardian*. (April 11, 2007). (Accessed June 2018).

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/apr/11/japan.china>.

134. Figure 1.4 in page 12.

135. Pti. "Play Constructive Role in South China Sea Dispute, Xi Jinping Tells Barack Obama" *The Times of India*. (September 03, 2016). (Accessed July 2018.)

<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/china/Play-constructive-role-in-South-China-Sea-dispute-Xi-Jinping-tells-Barack-Obama/articleshow/53997722.cms>.

136. "Xi Personally Behind Tough Stance on South China Sea Dispute." *South China Morning Post*. (July 28, 2017). (Accessed June 2018). <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/2104547/xi-personally-behind-island-building-south-china-sea>.

137. Sheldon, Simon W. "Conflict and Diplomacy in the South China Sea." *Asian Survey* 52, no. 6 (2012): 995-1018.

138. Drifte, Reinhard. "Japan's Policy towards the South China Sea - Applying Proactive Peace Diplomacy?" *PRIF Report* 140 (2016): 1-31.

conduct hardline policy in SCS conflict. Other than that China's attitude toward the South China Sea has become one of the factors to alert the Japanese public to the necessity of revising Article 9.

After all, with the rapid development, China has been viewed as both partner and a threat to neighboring countries. Japan is no exception to hold the same point of view. In spite of offering an olive branch to China during Koizumi's administration, Japan still pays highly attention to China's every movement. The abnormal relationship also affects Japanese public's impression on China. Fear of the power of China, the public is more likely to approve the constitutional amendment than before.



7. Conclusion

The change of the international environment during the past decades resulted in some of the countries attempted to change their strategy on dealing with international (security) affairs, Japan is one of the countries. The special regulation restricted by Japanese constitution made Japan be unable to possess a regular military force. Japan's constitutional amendment has been a heated topic in both domestic and overseas. It has never changed ever since it promulgated in 1946. According to Japanese constitution, the constitution amendment requires both politicians' legislation and the public's agreement. Article 9 is the most controversial law in the Japanese constitution. Article 9 contained the core concept of Pacifism and Japan's determination of not embroiled in any conflicts or dispute. The change of the international environment forces Japanese to rethink the necessity of revising the constitution. Prime Minister Abe and his cabinet/party have insisted on amending the constitution for years, they believed that with the revision of constitution, it would be more reasonable and convenient for Japan to launch a war or actively secure its own territory. Even with the huge ambition, Prime Minister Abe has encountered obstacle from the public. Most of the Japanese people were reluctant to get rid of the tag of "Pacifist country". Fear of being target or getting embroiled in war has decreased people's desire to change the constitution. Disagreement between the Japanese government and people made the constitutional amendment become more complicated. Despite the fact that Prime Minister Abe determined to revise the constitution, Japanese people mostly refused to amend the constitution. Thus, the constitutional amendment had been unsettled for years. However, the survey in the past two years had dramatically changed. The public realized that there might be necessity to revise the constitution. This study tried to find out the reasons of Japanese people's shifting attitude toward Article 9.

Literature nowadays discussing the Japanese constitution amendment mostly focuses on the Japanese politics elites' attitude and the reactions of countries affected by the constitutional amendment (such as the United States and China). These discussions mainly circulate in the consequence of conducting the constitutional amendment, seldom consider about the public's perspective. However, the constitutional

amendment not only requires agreement and consensus from the government, also demands the public's referendums. This regulation gives Japanese people right to examine the necessity of revising constitution. Even though the public's opinion plays a vital role on the issue of constitutional amendment, literature rarely put the emphasis on the public. Basically, this paper illustrates the possible reasons that might influence the change of the public's attitude toward Article 9. Reasons attributed to mostly external threats. Neighboring countries like China and North Korea have threatened Japan's security in different ways; these conditions successfully raised the public's fear. Although Japan has long been suffered from territorial dispute and tensions with neighboring countries, the change of international security environment nowadays is more challenging and dangerous. The increase of fear makes the public gradually agree with the constitutional amendment.

Chapter 1 tried to illustrate the history of the constitution and attempt to shed light on the importance of Article 9. Article 9 is one of the controversial article in Japanese constitution, not only does it shape the basic image of Japan as a Pacifism country but also make the people have the ideology of staying peace. In spite of insisting not to revise the constitution, some of the Japanese people gradually change their mind; this is what this study aims to look beyond.

Chapter 2 reviewed partial literatures which covered the constitutional amendment, found out that most of them put the emphasis on the elites' and experts' viewpoint, and seldom mentioned the public's thought. On the other hand, some of the literature gave us the possible reasons that might affect the public's attitude. The external threats might likely trigger the public's feeling of insecurity, and bring about the increase of the approval rate.

Chapter 3 is an additional chapter for this article. In order to maintain the objectiveness of the study, chapter 3 distinguished the difference between the three mainstream media: Asahi, NHK and Yomiuri Shimbun. Three media share different perspectives on the constitutional amendment, the surveys conducted by each indicated consistent results, proved that there is feasibility for this study.

Chapter 4 elucidated the relationship between the United States and Japan. Two countries possess trustable alliance for decades. Even though there was up and down in their bilateral relationship, they still share close relationship. Japan tends to rely on United States for dealing with Asia-Pacific affairs. In the U.S' point of view, the constitutional amendment would be effortless way to enhance Japan's military capability.

Chapter 5 illustrated how the North Korean ongoing missile tests triggered Japanese people fear. After Kim Jong-En became the leader of North Korea, he has launched several times of missiles tests to threaten the US-Japan-South Korea alliance. Worst of all, some of the missile directly fell into Japan's exclusive economic zone. This has let some of the Japanese people believe that there is necessity for Japan to defense itself by increasing its own military capability. Also, due to the security triangle with Japan and the United States, South Korea is likely to support Japan's constitutional amendment. Overall, North Korea is one of the main reasons that Japanese people shifted their attitude toward Article 9.

Chapter 6 took China as one of the visible threats that might panic the public. With the apparent increase of economic and military power, there is no denying that China has become one of the major powers in East Asia. Japan, the strongest economy in this region, is facing with the challenge from China. Although both of the countries cooperate in several aspects, Japanese people do not have trust on China. Unsettled sovereign problem of the South China Sea brings more uncertainty to the regional peace. As a result, the constitutional amendment might be the guarantee for two countries' cooperation.

Eventually, reasons in this paper might be partial explanations for the change of the public's attitude due to the unpredictable international society, but these could reflect Japanese people's concern over national security.

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