CONTENTS

L	ist of Figures	ix
L_i	ist of Tables	X
C	ontributors	xv
A	cknowledgments	xvii
L_i	ist of Abbreviations	xix
	stroduction obert D. Eldridge and Paul Midford	1
1	Japanese Mass Opinion toward the War on Terrorism Paul Midford	11
2	Framing the Japanese Homeland Security Debate: Mass Media and Public Opinion Stephanie A. Weston	43
3	Japan's Insider and Outsider Media Discourse about the SDF Dispatch to Iraq Mark Hollstein	91
4	Japanese Political Parties Face Public Opinion: Leading, Responding, or Ignoring? Paul Midford and Paul D. Scott	125
5	Japanese Intellectuals and Public Opinion in the War on Terrorism Robert D. Eldridge and Chijiwa Yasuaki	159
6	Japanese Civil Society, NGOs, and Spatialized Politics: Mobilizing Public Opinion and the War in Iraq Paul D. Scott	185
7	Public Opinion in a Base Community: Okinawa and the War on Terrorism Robert D. Eldridge	207

Conclusions Robert D. Eldridge and Paul Midford	235
Bibliography	241
Index	259

FIGURES

3.1	Newspaper coverage of SDF in Iraq by square inches	105
3.2	TV coverage of SDF activities in Iraq by percentage of program time	106
3.3	Newspaper coverage of all aspects of SDF forces in Iraq by square inches	107
3.4	TV coverage of Samawah security by percentage of program time	108
3.5	Newspaper coverage of Samawah security by square inches	110
3.6	TV coverage of government positions on SDF deployment to Iraq by percentage of program time	112
3.7	Newspaper coverage of government positions on SDF deployment to Iraq by square inches	116
3.8	TV inclusions of nongovernment comments on SDF deployment to Iraq by seconds of program time	117
3.9	Newspaper inclusions of nongovernment comments on SDF deployment to Iraq by square inches.	118
5.1	Number of articles placed in each journal on the three themes (between November 2001 and August 2004).	164

TABLES

Prospect of a U.S. attack on Iraq (all figures in percentages)	16
(a) Japanese opinion regarding the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan; (b) public opinion in Germany regarding the wars (all figures in percentages)	16
"Was the war in Iraq justified?" (all figures in percentages)	17
Reasons for supporting and opposing the U.S. invasion of Iraq (Mar. 20–21; all figures in percentages)	17
Reasons for supporting Koizumi's statement supporting the invasion of Iraq (of the 36 percent who stated support in a Mar. 29–30, Asahi Shimbun poll; all figures in percentages)	18
Legitimate reasons for going to war (all figures in percentages)	20
Results of a November 2001 <i>Yomiuri Shimbun</i> poll asking how effective military force would be at routing out terrorism (all figures in percentages)	21
Results of an October 2004 cross-national poll that Asahi Shimbun participated in, asking whether the "Iraq occupation (War) contributed to the war on terrorism?" (all figures in percentages)	22
Results of an April 2003 Yomiuri Shimbun poll asking about the effectiveness of the Iraq War in reducing the WMD proliferation threat (all figures in percentages)	22
Results of a poll conducted by Asahi Shimbun asking: America invaded Iraq because that nation was developing/possessing WMD. Do you believe this was a legitimate reason for the invasion? (all figures in percentages)	22
	in percentages) (a) Japanese opinion regarding the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan; (b) public opinion in Germany regarding the wars (all figures in percentages) "Was the war in Iraq justified?" (all figures in percentages) Reasons for supporting and opposing the U.S. invasion of Iraq (Mar. 20–21; all figures in percentages) Reasons for supporting Koizumi's statement supporting the invasion of Iraq (of the 36 percent who stated support in a Mar. 29–30, Asahi Shimbun poll; all figures in percentages) Legitimate reasons for going to war (all figures in percentages) Results of a November 2001 Yomiuri Shimbun poll asking how effective military force would be at routing out terrorism (all figures in percentages) Results of an October 2004 cross-national poll that Asahi Shimbun participated in, asking whether the "Iraq occupation (War) contributed to the war on terrorism?" (all figures in percentages) Results of an April 2003 Yomiuri Shimbun poll asking about the effectiveness of the Iraq War in reducing the WMD proliferation threat (all figures in percentages) Results of a poll conducted by Asahi Shimbun asking: America invaded Iraq because that nation was developing/possessing WMD. Do you believe this was a legitimate reason

1.11	Results of an Asahi Shimbun poll asking if America's actions contribute to world peace (all figures in percentages)	23
1.12	Yomiuri Shimbun poll: Do you trust America? Do you distrust America? (all figures in percentages)	24
1.13	Has your view of America changed over the past three years? (all figures in percentages)	25
1.14	Perceptions of SDF roles (multiple answers allowed; all figures in percentages)	25
1.15	Support for SDF participation in disaster relief operations overseas (all figures in percentages)	26
1.16	Poll Question asking respondents if they agree or disagree with SDF participation in future UN peacekeeping operations (all figures in percentages)	28
1.17	Regarding the SDF operations in the future, what areas do you think it should prioritize? (multiple answers allowed; all figures in percentages)	28
1.18	Results of a poll conducted by <i>Yomiuri Shimbun</i> asking: "Since the enactment of the 1992 UN peacekeeping operations cooperation law, otherwise known as the PKO cooperation law, the SDF has gone overseas to participate in various forms of international cooperation and assistance. If the SDF participates in overseas activities, what sorts of activities do you think they should perform?" (multiple answers allowed; all figures in percentages)	29
1.19	Results of polls conducted by <i>Asahi Shimbun</i> asking: "In the wake of the simultaneous terror attacks in America, the Japanese government enacted legislation and dispatched SDF naval vessels to the Indian Ocean to supply the American military with fuel and provisions. Do you favorably evaluate these Japanese responses? Do you negatively evaluate them?" (all figures in percentages)	31
1.20	Response to a <i>Nihon Keizai Shimbun</i> poll asking: "The government and ruling parties, in order to dispatch the SDF to Iraq for reconstruction assistance, have proposed a new bill. What do you think about this new bill?" (all figures in percentages)	32
1.21	Results of a poll asking: "The Japanese government has hammered out a policy for dispatching the SDF to Iraq. Do you support the SDF's dispatch? Are you opposed?"	3 2
	(all figures in percentages)	33

1.22	Results of a <i>Nihon Keizai Shimbun</i> poll asking: "The Iraq Reconstruction Support law has been enacted and the government has a plan to dispatch troops this fall. What do you think about this?" (all figures in percentages)	33
1.23	December 2003 Nihon Keizai Shimbun poll: View of economy versus Iraq dispatch (all figures in percentages; numbers in brackets denote overall support and opposition rates for the Iraq dispatch)	36
1.24	December 2003 Nihon Keizai Shimbun poll: Policy priority versus Iraq dispatch (all figures in percentages)	36
1.25	Asahi Shimbun polls: "How do you view Koizumi's meeting with Chairman Kim Jung-il in Pyongyang?" (all figures in percentages)	37
3.1	Major themes of the <i>Pacifist Nation Frame</i> and the <i>Normal Nation Frame</i> regarding the expansion of the SDF's international role	95