

## Preface

During an early morning panel on Japanese foreign policy at the 2003 annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) in New York City, I was struck by several claims made there that Japanese public opinion was becoming hawkish on security, even to the point of getting out in front of the conservative ruling LDP, then led by hawkish Prime Minister Koizumi Jun'ichirō. These claims provoked me to wonder whether they were true. I started looking for answers, and soon I realized three things. First, I discovered an embarrassment of riches in polling data, especially Japanese-language data. Second, I found that, although it is common for academic works on Japanese foreign policy to cite a poll result or two here and there, there was exceptionally little scholarly research, even in Japanese and especially in English, on Japanese public opinion and its influence on security policy. Finally, I saw that Koizumi's bold plans, and the equally bold predictions of pundits, for the Japanese military to begin playing a significant (read "combat") role in international security were going largely unfulfilled.

Fortuitously, several months after the meeting I received an invitation from friend and colleague Robert Eldridge to join a project he was organizing on Japanese public opinion and the war on terrorism. He had received a Humanities and Social Science Grant (*Jinbun Shakai Kagaku Joseikin*) from the Suntory Foundation and was assembling a group of expat American scholars (plus a Japanese scholar) based in Japan to examine this topic. Robert and I eventually published the results of this project in our coedited volume with Palgrave Macmillan in 2008: *Japanese Public Opinion and the War on Terrorism*. I

would like to thank Palgrave for allowing me to include over a dozen pages from my contributions to this volume in Chapter 2 of this book. I owe Robert a big debt of gratitude, not just for arranging our funding but for being an inspiration, an outstanding colleague, and a good friend.

I would also like to thank the Japan Data Archive at the Roper Center, the University of Connecticut at Storrs, for providing me access and assistance during my visit (funded by the Suntory Foundation) to the Archive in March 2004. I would especially like to thank Roper Center associate director Lois Timms-Ferrara and archivist Cynthia Teixeira for extending a warm welcome and much assistance.

Another important step along the way toward completing this book was a short monograph I published with the East-West Center in Washington's Policy Studies series in late 2006 entitled *Japanese Public Opinion and the War on Terrorism: Implications for Japan's Security Strategy*. I am grateful to Dr. Muthiah Alagappa for the insightful comments and encouragement he provided during that project, as well as during the initial review of this manuscript by him and by the rest of the editorial board of the Asian Security Series at Stanford University Press. I would also like to thank Jeremy Sutherland for his able editorial assistance.

While working on both these volumes I was invited by Wilhelm Vosse of the International Christian University (ICU) of Japan and Andrew Appleton of Washington State University to participate in a seminar in Honolulu in early summer 2006 focusing on how Japanese public opinion responds to threats and globalization by using the data from their innovative joint research, the Survey on Attitudes and Global Engagement (SAGE). I learned a lot from this seminar and the exceptionally valuable SAGE data (which are analyzed in Chapter 3), and in the years since I have benefited from Wilhelm's insightful comments, collaboration on related projects, and friendship.

In summer 2007 I received a short-term research fellowship from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), allowing me to be a visiting scholar from June to August 2007 at Osaka University's School for International Public Policy (OSIPP). During that time I was able to complete the first draft of this manuscript. I am very grateful to JSPS for this funding and also to Professor Kurusu Kaoru for serving as my academic sponsor and for all the kind assistance and advice she provided. In summer 2008 I received a grant from the Sasakawa Scandinavian Foundation to fund a visiting research position at the Japanese Institute for International Affairs (JIIA). Although my main research during this period was for a forthcoming book on Japan's leadership in promoting East Asian security multilateralism, this grant and my

time in residence at JIIA nonetheless afforded me an opportunity to clean up some final loose ends in my research for this book. For this, as well as for support of my other project, I am grateful to both the Sasakawa Scandinavian Foundation and JIIA, especially then JIIA President SatōYukio.

There are two other individuals to whom I owe especially big intellectual debts. The first is someone I never met, the late Dr. Douglas H. Mendel Jr., a former U.S. military officer fluent in Japanese, who during the U.S. occupation helped conduct the first scientific opinion survey in Japan. Later he completed a doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan on Japanese public opinion and foreign policy, which in turn became the basis for his 1961 work, *The Japanese People and Foreign Policy*, the first and only full-length academic study published in English about public opinion as a causal factor influencing Japanese foreign policy before this book. Following his pioneering book, Mendel continued to be a prolific scholar on Japanese public opinion and foreign policy (and several related topics) until his early passing at the age of 57 in 1978. In the years that followed, no one took up Mendel's research agenda until the first decade of this century when there was a revival of interest in Japanese public opinion.

I also owe a big intellectual debt to Robert Y. Shapiro, a professor of political science at Columbia University and a leading expert on American public opinion. Bob generously agreed to sponsor a research project for me in the mid-1990s focusing on a comparison of public opinion in Japan and the United States while I was at Columbia. In the process he introduced me to the literature, theories, debates, and methods of American public opinion scholarship, and he has continued to offer valuable insights since then. The study I wrote then subsequently influenced many of the approaches I take in this book and formed the early basis for Chapters 5 and 6.

I owe an exceptionally large debt of gratitude to Noguchi Kazuhiko, one of Japan's best up-and-coming scholars of international politics, whom I first met in the late Sakanaka Tomohisa's seminar on security studies at Aoyama Gakuin University in the early 1990s, for generously double-checking the transliterations of every Japanese word in this manuscript and offering valuable substantive comments along the way. I would like to thank Wada Shuichi, my oldest friend in Japan, for much of my early education on Japanese politics and more recently for organizing a revival of our G-13 *benkyōkai* in early summer 2007, where I presented several early chapters of this book, and for the insightful comments he gave me then. I also very much appreciate the comments my long-standing Columbia friend, Toya Minae, offered me at that meeting.

I would like to thank Andrew Oros for the useful comments he offered during a panel at the 2004 meeting of the American Political Science Association (APSA), where I presented the earliest draft of this book's main argument. I am indebted to Izumikawa Yasuhiro for valuable discussion and inspiration regarding the links between public opinion during the Cold War and some aspects of realism. I would like to thank Ola Listhaug, my senior colleague at the Norwegian University for Science and Technology (NTNU) for the support and encouragement he offered me for this project and for carrying out my responsibilities for running the NTNU Japan Program.

I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for their extremely valuable comments, which helped me greatly improve this book. I would like to thank Geoffrey R. H. Burn, Director and Editor of Security Studies; Jessica Walsh and Carolyn Brown of Stanford University Press for crucial assistance in making publication of this book possible; and Margaret Pinette for copy-editing. I would like to thank Routledge Press for allowing me to use seven pages in Chapter 9 from a chapter I published in Marie Soderberg and Patricia A. Nelson, eds., *Japan's Politics and Economics: Perspectives on Change*. Finally, I would like to thank countless others who helped me in various ways during this project. Of course, any errors contained in this book are solely my responsibility.

Finally, I am forever indebted to my father, Dr. Thomas Arthur Midford, a 1961 Stanford PhD in physics, for instilling in me a respect and love of research and science, and for so much more. The only regret I have about this work is that it comes six years too late for my father to see. It is to his memory that I dedicate this book.