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## **Japan's Recalibration of Risk: The Framing of North Korea**

by

Ra Mason

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requirements for the degree of  
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and

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the role of risk in international relations – including its interactive relationship with domestic civil society – from a case study perspective. The research aims to disentangle complex processes by which Japan has framed and recalibrated risks in response to North Korea, and how those risks have been mediated between the state, market and society . Therein, while acknowledging the relevance of established International Relations (IR) theories, it highlights their limitations in terms of an inability to comprehensively assign agency for processes of inter-state-society change, and state governance. The study is, therefore, necessary in order to better understand how such processes are socio-politically contingent in relation to risk, and the implications for issues of national security and identity. This includes stimulating further research into how risk is instrumental in justifying political agendas, facilitating policy reforms, and as a key agent in continuing discourses.

In order to gain an empirical understanding of how agency operates within processes of risk recalibration across domestic and international spheres, actors such as policy makers, mass media, and civil society stakeholders have been identified as the primary targets of analysis. A combination of Constructivist-derived theories and conceptions from literature on *risk* are employed as the theoretical framework within which to analyse empirical data – primarily pertaining to Japan's responses to post-Cold War North Korean missile and nuclear tests – assimilated from a combination of qualitative and quantitative sources relating to the areas specified above.

The conclusion drawn from the case studies examined is that the recalibration of risk by Japan in response to North Korea highlights how risk governance at the state level – via processes of mediation between the state, market and domestic society – causes reverberations at bilateral, regional and, ultimately, global levels. Specifically, in the case of Japan, there has been a significant impact in terms of changes to societal norms, national identity and state-level policies; facilitated through the aggregated processes of risk recalibration.

# Japan's Recalibration of Risk: The Framing of North Korea

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## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .....	i
List of Tables and Figures .....	ii
Abbreviations .....	v
Glossary of Japanese Terms .....	vii
Notes on Translations and Romanization, Diet References, Research Cut-off Point, In-text Referencing and Japanese Terminology .....	xi
<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
0.1 Central approach: significance and hypotheses .....	1
0.2 Definitions: recalibration and framing .....	7
0.3 Historical background .....	9
0.4 Structure of the dissertation .....	11
<b>Chapter 1. How risk has been understood in the contemporary literature on Japan's international relations: searching for theoretical innovations to explore uncharted territory</b> .....	<b>15</b>
1.1 Missing pieces in the literature puzzle .....	15
1.2 Realist/Neorealist perspectives .....	19
1.3 Liberal/Neoliberal perspectives .....	25
1.4 Constructivism .....	29
1.5 Risk literature .....	32
1.6 IR –v– domestic politics: risk and critical writings on Japan's State policies .....	41
1.7 North Korea in Japan's public sphere .....	51
1.8 Summary: the necessity of risk as a supplement to the literature .....	55

**Chapter 2. Theoretical framework: combining *risk* and constructivism in a case study research design** **57**

2.1	Outline of the methodological approach and research design .....	57
2.2	Observational –v– experimental approaches .....	59
2.3	Targeted data sampling: state, market and societal actors.....	62
2.4	Quantifying the recalibration of risk: towards a mixed method analysis model .....	67
2.5	Normative and ethical considerations .....	71
2.6	Constructivist ontology and epistemology: risk in an adapted approach	74
2.7	Historical context of an events-based theoretical framework .....	79
	2.7.i <i>Japan’s recalibration of risk: the framing of the former Soviet Union</i> .....	80
	2.7.ii <i>Japan’s recalibration of risk: the framing of South Korea</i> .....	83
2.8	Policy communities: linking actors, agency and norms with external risks .....	88
2.9	Civil society stakeholders: perceptions of the Korean community as a new risk .....	92
2.10	Media influence, foreign policy and risk .....	96
2.11	Missile tests and other events as a means for measuring risk recalibration within the post-Cold War policy community .....	100
2.12	The construction of risks and crises: relations between citizens and the state ..	102
2.13	Synthesizing risk and constructivism .....	106
2.14	Explaining realist tendencies .....	111
2.15	Conclusion: reaffirming the salience of a risk-based theoretical approach ....	115

**Chapter 3. Japan’s recalibration of risk in response to early post-Cold War events and North Korean missiles: normalization talks, nuclear crisis and the 1993 Nodong –v– 1998 Taepodong** **120**

3.1	Pivotal events in a converging recalibration of risk: identifying key areas of structure, agency and norms .....	120
3.2	From the “red peril” to fear of the kims: ideological change and the role of risk in priming a frame for the new enemy .....	123
3.3	The first Pyongyang Joint Declaration: before the risks were recalibrated .....	128

3.4	Media responses to the DPRK within Japan in the early post-Cold War years ..	131
3.5	Normalization talks stumble: the precedents of risk recalibration emerge ....	134
3.6	North Korean nuclear crisis: the policy community's initial response .....	136
3.7	Sowing the seeds of risk: the 1993 Nodong missile launch .....	139
3.8	Reframing North Korean residents in Japan .....	145
3.9	Abductions, drugs and starvation: the risks from North Korea spread .....	148
3.10	Taepodong one flies over Japan: risk recalibration sky-rockets .....	153
3.11	Market responses to the Taepodong: the power of political influence .....	158
3.12	The Taepodong as a focus-point for fear, uncertainty and the selling of risk ...	163
3.13	Policy revisions to counter the risks brought by the Taepodong .....	166
3.14	Media reaction to the Taepodong: a stark shift in risk recalibration .....	168
3.15	Conclusion: the Taepodong launch as a lesson in risk recalibration .....	174

#### **Chapter 4. Re-recalibrating risk: the impact of more missiles and a nuclear test** **178**

4.1	Escalating processes of risk recalibration in Japan's responses to North Korea .....	178
4.2	Suspicious ship or spy-boat: reaction to the events of 1999 .....	181
4.3	2001 spy-boat shoot-out: the risks from North Korea close in .....	187
4.4	The Pyongyang Summit: public backlash intensifies the policy community's recalibration of risk .....	195
4.5	The impact of multiple missile tests upon the risk recalibration process .....	203
4.6	The first nuclear test: multiplying the recalibration of risk .....	209
4.7	Recalibration of risk as a media phenomenon: the framing of North Korea ....	212
4.8	Quantifying public sphere recalibration of risk: sustained and increased levels .....	218
4.9	Policy revisions to counter North Korean missiles, nuclear weapons, incursions and abductions: uncertain targets for uncertain risks .....	227
4.10	Tightening remittances and recalibrating energy security: the market's weak response .....	232
4.11	Internalization of recalibrated risks: intensifying the framing of North Korean elements within Japanese society .....	237
4.12	Conclusion: a quantified recalibration of qualitative risk .....	240

<b>Chapter 5. Reinforced framing of North Korea: the impact of additional events upon Japan's recalibration of risk</b>	<b>244</b>
5.1 More missile and nuclear tests: the further recalibration of risks ....	244
5.2 April 2009 missile launch: reaffirmation and convergence of recalibrated risks	247
5.2.i Diet reaction to the 2009 missile test .....	247
5.2.ii Media reaction to the April 2009 missile test .....	250
5.3 May 2009 test: reaffirmation and extension of recalibrated risks ....	252
5.3.i Diet reaction to the May 2009 nuclear test .....	252
5.3.ii Media reaction to the May 2009 nuclear test .....	253
5.4 July 2009 missile launches: reaffirming and converging of the recalibrated risks	256
5.4.i Diet reaction to the July 2009 missile tests .....	256
5.4.ii Media reaction to the July 2009 missile tests .....	258
5.5 Changes in the policy community and the effects of administrative changeover: limited impact upon the DPRK's framing in Japan .....	259
5.6 Quantifiable recalibration of risk: flattening-out of Diet and media reactions .....	267
5.7 Public opinion of North Korea: recent trends of recalibrated risk .....	271
5.8 Misinformation and political performances in the continuation of risk (re)calibration: Japan's security norms and the framing of North Korea ....	275
5.9 Academic analysis: intellectual support for the recalibration of risk .....	280
5.10 Further policy revisions to counter the risks of more missiles and nuclear tests .....	286
5.11 The market's reaction: shifts in the prioritizing of domestic economic risks	291
5.12 Reaction to recent events: a new equilibrium? .....	292
5.12.i Minimal reaction to North Korea's October 2009 multiple missile test-Launch .....	293



5.12.ii	<i>Consistent levels of risk-calibration in reaction to North Korea's suspected sinking of the Cheonan naval vessel</i>	296
5.12.iii	<i>Maintenance of the recalibrated risks: the Yeongpyeong shelling and the framing of North Korea as the killer of civilians</i>	298
5.12.iv	<i>Media reaction to North Korea's continuation of provocations</i>	300
5.12.v	<i>Policy responses to North Korea's continuation of provocations</i>	303
5.13	Conclusion: from recalibration towards equilibrium	308

## **Chapter 6. Conclusion: mediating and maintaining the recalibration of risk**

**313**

6.1	Explanation of interactive processes: revisiting constructivism and risk	313
6.2	Comparison of qualitative results: maturation of risk recalibration	316
6.2.i	<i>Political reaction and recalibration of risk: the finished framing of North Korea</i>	316
6.2.ii	<i>Media reaction and recalibration of risk: the finished framing of North Korea</i>	321
6.3	Comparison of quantitative results: decreasing momentum in the recalibration of risk across a convergent policy community	324
6.4	Market and societal factors: influences upon the framing of North Korea	333
6.5	Future research goals: tracking the risk-calibration trajectory	335

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**339**

## **APPENDICES**

**360**

Appendix A:	Interview dates and interviewee titles	360
Appendix B:	Random samples of media and Diet coverage of the DPRK	362
Appendix C:	Japanese materials relating to North Korea	365
Appendix D:	Political party manifesto data for DPRK-related policies and references	368

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## **List of Tables and Figures**

Figure 1.1. The Role of Recalibrated Risk in Processes of Socio-Political Change within Japan	19
Figure 2.1. Core structure of research design for assessing influence of policy makers, media and other market actors, and civil society stakeholders in Japan upon the recalibration of risk vis-à-vis North Korea	64
Table 2.1. Targeted Data Sources for the Analysis of Japan's Recalibration of Risk in Response to North Korea	66
Table 3.1. Impact of the 1993 Nodong Test Launches in the Media and Diet	143
Figure 3.1(a). Media Reaction to the May 1993 Missile Test Launch	144
Figure 3.1(b). Diet and News Magazine Reaction to the May 1993 Missile Test Launch	144
Table 3.2. Impact of the 1998 Taepodong Launch in the Media and Diet	169
Figure 3.2(a) . Media Reaction to the August 1998 Missile Test Launch	170
Figure 3.2(b). Diet and News Magazine Reaction to the August 1998 Missile Test Launch	170
Table 4.1. Impact of 2002 Koizumi-Kim Summit in the Media and Diet	202
Figure 4.1(a). Media Reaction to the 2002 Koizumi-Kim Summit	202
Figure 4.1(b) Diet and News Magazine Reaction to the 2002 Koizumi-Kim Summit	203
Table 4.2. Impact of the 2006 Missile Test Launches in the Media and Diet	207
Figure 4.2(a). Media Reaction to the July 2006 Missile Test Launches	208
Figure 4.2(b). Diet and News Magazine Reaction to the July 2006 Missile Test Launches	208
Table 4.3. Impact of the 2006 Underground Nuclear Test in the Media and Diet	220

Figure 4.3(a). Media Reaction to the 2006 Nuclear Test	221
Figure 4.3(b). Diet and News Magazine Reaction to the 2006 Nuclear Test	221
Figure 5.1. Severity of policies and references directed at North Korea by Japan's major political parties	250
Table 5.1. Impact of the 2009 Missile Launches and Nuclear Test in the Media and Diet	268
Figure 5.2(a). Media Reaction to the 2009 Missile and Nuclear Tests	269
Figure 5.2(b). Diet and News Magazine Reaction to the 2009 Missile and Nuclear Tests	269
Figure 5.3. Levels of Public Concern Relating to North Korea	273
Table 5.2. Impact of North Korea-related Events in the Media and Diet (October 2009 – November 2010)	306
Figure 5.4(a). Media Reaction to DPRK-related Events (October 2009 – November 2010)	307
Figure 5.4(b). Diet and News Magazine Reaction to DPRK-related Events (October 2009 – November 2010)	307
Table 5.3: Quantity of Coverage on North Korea in the Diet and Mass Media	310
Figure 5.5(a). Quantity of Coverage on North Korea in the Mass Media (1990-2010)	311
Figure 5.5(b). Quantity of Coverage on North Korea in the Diet and Academic Publications (1981-2010)	312
Figure 6.1(a). Media Reaction to DPRK-related Events (1993-2009)	327
Figure 6.1(b). Diet and News Magazine Reaction to DPRK-related Events (1993-2009)	328

Figure 6.2(a). Media Reaction to DPRK Missile and Nuclear Tests (1993-2009)	329
Figure 6.2(b). Diet and News Magazine Reaction to DPRK Missile and Nuclear Tests (1993-2009)	330
Figure 6.3(a). Short-term Media Reaction to DPRK-related Events (1993-2010)	331
Figure 6.3(b). Short-term Diet and News Magazine Reaction to DPRK-Related Events (1993-2010)	332

## Abbreviations

AJISS:	Association of Japanese Institutes of Strategic Studies
APEC:	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
BMD:	Ballistic Missile Defense
CLB:	Cabinet Legislation Bureau
CIFP:	Country Indicators for Foreign Policy
CVID:	Complete Verifiable Irreversible Dismantlement
DPJ:	Democratic Party of Japan
DPRK:	Democratic People's Republic of Korea
EEZ:	Exclusive Economic Zone
FM:	Foreign Minister
GoJ:	Government of Japan
GRIPS:	National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies
G7(G8):	Group of Seven (Group of Eight)
JCG:	Japan Coast Guard
JCP:	Japan Communist Party
JDA:	Japan Defense Agency
JIIA:	Japan Institute of International Affairs
JPC:	Japan Press Club
JSDF:	Japan Self Defense Force
JSP:	Japan Socialist Party
IAEA:	International Atomic Energy Agency
IIPS:	Institute for International Policy Studies
IR:	International Relations
KEDO:	Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization
KWP:	Korean Workers Party
LDP:	Liberal Democratic Party
LP:	Liberal Party
LWR:	Light Water Reactor
MOD:	Ministry of Defense
MOFA:	Ministry of Foreign Affairs

NARKN:	National Association for the Rescue of Japanese Kidnapped by North Korea
NDPG:	National Defense Programme Guidelines
NDPO:	National Defense Programme Outline
NIDS:	National Institute for Defense Studies
<i>(Nippon) Keidanren:</i>	<i>Nihon Keizai Dantai Rengōkai</i>
NPA:	National Police Authority
NPT:	(nuclear) Non-Proliferation Treaty
OECD:	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAC-3:	Patriot Advanced Capability Three
PM:	Prime Minister
PRC:	People's Republic of China
RIPS	Research Institute for Peace and Security
ROK:	Republic of Korea
SDPJ:	Social Democratic Party of Japan
US:	United States
UN:	United Nations
UNSC:	United Nations Security Council
USSR:	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WMD:	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WWII:	World War II

## Glossary of Japanese Terms

<i>Ajia kyōdōtai</i> .....	East Asia Community
<i>America wo hajime to suru</i> .....	Beginning with/starting with/led by America
<i>Anzen hoshō iinkai</i> .....	Security Committee
<i>Anzen hoshō tokubetsu iinkai</i> .....	Special Security Committee
<i>Aratana jitai</i> .....	New undesirable situation
<i>Arata na kyōi</i> .....	New threat
<i>Beizatsu</i> .....	US pressure
<i>Bōeitaikō</i> .....	National Defense Programme Outline
<i>Bōkyō</i> .....	(outrageous/unacceptable) Aggression/violation
<i>Bōryokudan</i> .....	Organized crime syndicate (formerly known as <i>Yakuza</i> )
<i>Bukki yushutsu</i> .....	Weapons exports
<i>Busō fushinsen</i> .....	Armoured suspicious ship
<i>Busō kōgeki jitai e no taisho ni kansuru tokubetsu iinkai</i> .....	.....
.....	Special Committee Concerning Provisions for Contingencies of Military Aggression
<i>Chinmoku no rasen</i> .....	Spiral of silence
<i>Dandō misairu kyōi</i> .....	Ballistic missile threat
<i>Dōkatsu</i> .....	Blackmail/intimidation
<i>Eikyō wo oyobosu</i> .....	Impact upon/influence
<i>Fusei sōkin</i> .....	Illicit remittance(s)
<i>Gaiatsu</i> .....	External pressure
<i>Gaikoku kawase oyobi gaikoku bōeki hō</i> .....	Foreign Currency and External Trade Bill
<i>Gaikō bōei iinkai</i> .....	Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee
<i>Gaimu iinkai</i> .....	Foreign Affairs Committee
<i>(Koizumi) Gekijō</i> .....	(Koizumi's political) Theatre



<i>Giwaku</i> .....	Suspicion
<i>Gunjiteki</i> .....	(of the) Military
<i>Gunjiteki taiji</i> .....	Military facedown/standoff
<i>Gyōkakushin</i> ..	Advisory Council for the Promotion of Administrative Reform
<i>Hikiage</i> .....	Raise (of level)
<i>Hōan shingi</i> .....	Debate on legislation
<i>Honkaigi</i> .....	Main session (of the Diet)
<i>Hōkatsuteki</i> .....	Comprehensive/inclusive
<i>Hōgeki jiken</i> .....	Shelling incident
<i>Ihan</i> .....	Violation (of law)
<i>Jieiken</i> .....	Right to self defence
<i>Jiken</i> .....	(problematic/tragic/critical) Incident
<i>Jikken</i> .....	(missile/nuclear etc.) Test
<i>Jikosekinin</i> .....	Self responsibility/responsibility for oneself
<i>Jōhō</i> .....	Information
<i>Kaijō keibi kōdō</i> .....	Maritime security action
<i>Kaisetsu</i> .....	Commentary
<i>Kaizen</i> .....	Improvement
<i>Kaizoku kōi</i> .....	Piracy (piratical behaviour)
<i>Kajōna hannō</i> .....	Extreme/over reaction
<i>Kakukaihatsu (mondai)</i> .....	Nuclear development (problem)
<i>Kaku ya misairu no kyōi</i> .....	Nuclear and missile threats
<i>Kantei</i> .....	Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet (prime minister's office)
<i>Kasoku suru</i> .....	Accelerate/escalate
<i>Kazokukai</i> .....	The National Association of the Families of Victims Kidnapped by North Korea
<i>Keizai seisai</i> .....	Economic Sanctions
<i>Kiki kanri taisei</i> .....	Crisis management framework
<i>Kiken</i> .....	Danger

<i>Kinmitsu na kankei</i> .....	Close/tight relationship
<i>Kinchō kanwa</i> .....	Easing of tensions
<i>Kinsen no hakobiya</i> .....	Money carriers
<i>Kinyū anteika ni kansuru tokubetsu iinkai</i> .....	Financial Stability Special Committee
<i>Kinkyū taisaku honbu</i> .....	Emergency headquarters for countermeasures
<i>Kitachōsen</i> .....	North Korea
<i>Kitai to fuan</i> .....	Expectation and uneasiness
<i>Kōgi (suru)</i> .....	Resist/counter/argue (against)
<i>Kokusai terorizumu</i> .....	International terrorism
<i>Kōka</i> .....	Effect/result
<i>Kōsakusen</i> .....	Special operations boat
<i>Kokumin hogo hō</i> .....	Citizens Defense Law
<i>Kokusai terorizumu no bōshi oyobi waga kuni no kyōryoku shien katsudō nado ni kansuru tokubetsu iinkai</i> .....	International Terrorism Prevention Special Committee
<i>Kyōdōtai</i> .....	Cooperative body/system
<i>Mubō</i> .....	Reckless/wild
<i>Muhō</i> .....	Unlawful
<i>Naikaku iinkai</i> .....	Cabinet committee
<i>Nicchō</i> .....	Japan-North Korea (as of relations etc.)
<i>Nichibei anpo jōyaku</i> .....	US-Japan security treaty
<i>Nichibei bōeiryoku no tame no shishin ni kansuru tokubetsu iinkai</i> .....	.....Special Committee for the Purpose of Japan-US Defense Cooperation
<i>Nihon kakubusōron</i> .....	Debate over Japan's nuclear armament
<i>Nippon Keidanren</i> .....	Japan Business Federation
<i>Rachi (mondai)</i> .....	Abduction (problem)
<i>Rachimondai taisaku honbu</i> .....	Headquarters for the Abduction Issue
<i>Rakka</i> .....	Fall/drop (e.g., of missiles/misile parts)

<i>Reisei (na)</i> .....	Cool/calm/composed
<i>(Kokka) Seijōka</i> .....	Normalization (of interstate relations)
<i>San gensoku</i> .....	Three principles
<i>Sashisematta kadai</i> .....	Pressing issue/topic
<i>Seikei bunri</i> .....	Separation of politics and economics
<i>Sekai</i> .....	(the) World
<i>Sekkyokuteki</i> .....	Proactive/positive
<i>Setogiwa gaikō</i> .....	On-the-edge/Brinkmanship diplomacy
<i>Shinkokka</i> .....	Intensification (of seriousness)
<i>Sukūkai</i> .....	National Association for the Rescue of Japanese Kidnapped by North Korea
<i>Taiō</i> .....	Response (means of dealing with)
<i>Taisaku honbu</i> .....	Headquarters (responsible) for action (on a given issue)
<i>Taisho (suru)</i> .....	Deal (with)/take action against
<i>Tayō na jitai</i> .....	Multifaceted problem situation
<i>Tōchiken no shingai</i> .....	Violation of sovereignty
<i>Uyo kyokusetsu</i> .....	Twists and turns
<i>Yakuza</i> .....	Organized crime syndicate/gangster(s)
<i>Zainichi</i> .....	Resident Koreans
<i>Zentaizu</i> .....	Entire picture/broader perspective

## **Notes on Translations and Romanization, Diet References, Research Cut-off Point, and In-Text Referencing and Japanese Terminology**

### **Translations and Romanization**

Unless otherwise specified, quotations from Japanese sources (such as Diet records and newspaper articles) have been translated by the author. Where possible, all such translations should be viewed in their original Japanese form, and should be engaged with on the basis of that text.

Apart from commonly known proper nouns, such as “Tokyo”, Japanese has been transcribed into Roman script based on the Modified Hepburn (PCGN, 1976) system.

### **Diet References**

References pertaining to statements made in all chambers and committees of the National Diet (e.g., 126: 193) refer to the number of the Diet session followed by the number of the turn of the speaker. Therefore, in the above case, the statement is made in the 126<sup>th</sup> session of the Diet by Tamura Hideaki, who is the 193<sup>rd</sup> speaker (including his own previous statements in the same session).

### **Research Cut-off Point**

The research contained within the dissertation at hand essentially targets case-study analyses pertaining to events in the two decades between 1991 and 2011. Within this, practical considerations relating to data assimilation, analysis and editing have meant that, although some more recent sources are included, an approximate cut-off point for the majority of new data has been set at the end of the Kan Naoto premiership, prior to September of 2011.

### **In-Text Referencing and Japanese Terminology**

Due to their extensive coverage as primary data sources for this dissertation – and on account of their oft-times lack of a specified author – *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* articles have, in the main, not been included in the Bibliography. Conversely, they are referenced only in-text. Date and page numbers are provided wherever possible, and editions are specified when other than the standard morning edition.

A number of key Japanese terms and phrases which relate primary data central to the core discourses under analysis (predominantly those used by speakers in the Diet, newspaper editors and organization/committee titles) have been selectively preserved/included (with English translations/explanations) in the text. This is justified on the grounds that they provide specific linguistic emphasis in their original form – and allow Japanese speakers (both native and non-native) to further appreciate their significance (see also Glossary of Japanese Terms, above).

# Introduction

## **0.1. Central approach: significance and hypotheses**

This dissertation is a study of how Japan has recalibrated risk through its framing of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, or North Korea) in the post-Cold War era.<sup>1</sup> It is based upon the hypothesis that there has been a substantial recalibration of the risks that are perceived and portrayed to emanate from the entity conceptualized as North Korea (*kitachōsen*) by multiple actors – intersecting the state, market and society – in Japan.<sup>2</sup> It is also hypothesized that this has occurred through a complex interactive process – reliant upon these actors' inter-subjective identities and their disposition towards the adherence to a number of salient norms, as elaborated in Chapter 2, Section 2.6 and Section 2.13. Ultimately, the analyses below elucidate how such a process has taken place, and identify the relative influence of the key actors upon it.

The significance of the research question outlined above originates, in the first instance, from the fundamental understanding that there is a global political system, within which the state remains the primary unit of analysis. Studies into the internal (state-societal) workings of states and, most pertinently, their interdependent international relations have been given heightened significance by what Carr (1981: 4) terms “the demand for the popularization of international politics.”<sup>3</sup> Indeed, from the broader perspective, it is the increase in public interest in, understanding of, and involvement with, interactions between bilateral, regional, and global systems of states which forms the basis for justifying an exploration of how the

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1 For an explanation of terminology; referring to *recalibration* and *framing*, see Section 0.2, below.

2 Hereafter, for purposes of style, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is referred to as North Korea, the North, DPRK, and Pyongyang interchangeably.

3 Carr asserts that prior to the war of 1914 there was little general interest in political science, particularly international relations, which was considered to be the specialist pursuit of diplomats and other foreign ministry officials – hence it was underdeveloped as a scientific discipline.

state, market and civil society intersect and interact, and how they influence domestic and foreign policies, and national identity.<sup>4</sup> As such, the above elements can be categorized as constitutive parts of a system. Within this, it should be apparent that there is a high level of interdependence between states and their internal entities and actors – much of which is articulated through ideas contained in discourse. This dissertation is, therefore, premised on two key theoretical positions: a constructivist conception of the socio-political world (as socially constructed), and the contention that a vast mass, perhaps all, of politically motivated ideas are in some aspects generated, developed and mediated in relation to considerations of risk – and its variable calibration. Japan's framing of North Korea provides a relevant case study through which significant empirical research can be guided by these theories.

A constructivist perspective is central, it is argued, to understanding the dynamic processes of interaction between states internationally, and the state, market and society domestically. Constructivism exposes how interdependent ideas (expressed and acted upon, primarily through discourse) are, in the final reckoning, the function of inter-subjective, socially constructed identities (Wendt, 1999: 344-9). Therein, it is only with reference to identity (including collective identity up to the level of the state) that politically-charged action and state responses can be fully understood. This is particularly significant in terms of extrapolating meaning and causality from analyses of national responses to external threats and uncertainties, which can be constructed in terms of crises (Weldes, 1999: 37, Allison, 1971: 2-7), or crisis-equivalent situations, and mediated as the on-going source of indefinite and salient risks.<sup>5</sup>

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4 The salience of such in the case of Japan during the post-Cold War period is examined succinctly by Funabashi (2002).

5 Allison does not address the construction of crises through risk recalibration per se, but his outline of how complex interactive behavior is manifest in state actors' responses to rival states provides an excellent theoretical basis from which to examine the role of risk and its relation to the framing of external states.

Risk is embedded in international relations and the domestic structures of interacting ideas in an extremely pervasive form, though it is often under-discussed or left to the implicit, not least by constructivists and other leading-school International Relations (IR) theorists. To some extent this can be attributed to the inability of IR scholars and policy entrepreneurs to properly decouple the theoretical definition of *risk* from that of *danger*, *harm* or *threat*. However, this dissertation asserts, through its discussion of the relevant literature and theoretical frameworks, that there is a meaningful distinction to be made here. External threats (dangers, harms etc.) in themselves do not present the same form of malleable indefinite conception, which contains in itself opportunities for the organized manipulation of the future, as does risk. As Beck (2005: 90) simply states, “perceptions of risk pave the way for new opportunities for power.”<sup>6</sup> The focus of this dissertation is, then, to explore how perceptions of risk can be recalibrated through complex processes of mediation between the state, market and society – resulting, ultimately, in the revision of national posture and policy.

This broad theoretical discussion can, forthwith, be narrowed to an East Asian socio-political and economic perspective. This dissertation sharpens its focus further, ultimately to a case study of the state conceptualized of as Japan – and the primary actors which drive its policy trajectories.<sup>7</sup> Within this, in light of the above conceptualizations, the research project can be expressed constructively through a series of questions, which contextualize the focus for the specific sub-case studies examined in the chapters below. Firstly, within the conceptual structure of states, how is the socially constructed entity of *Japan* to be understood? Moreover, how does Japan generate and maintain its identity in the post-Cold

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6 As discussed in Chapter 2, Beck posits a theoretical argument that stresses the *cosmopolitanization* of political structures designed for the governance of risk. Conversely, this dissertation primarily seeks to examine the mechanisms by which the state internalizes and mediates perceived external threats into risks – in this case through Japan’s framing of the DPRK.

7 In this sense the state is treated as one of a number of elements – including the state, market and society – which interact to create and disseminate national policies (see Chapter 2, Section 2.8).

War, post-9/11 world? How does Japan come to adopt its domestic, national, regional and global security roles – i.e., upon what norms are these based? What risks does it identify and seek to mediate through its international relations, which relate to those norms? What processes have occurred and are occurring to change how it calibrates such risks? Most specifically in relation to this dissertation, what significance does North Korea and its framing by Japan have within such processes? Ultimately, how has Japan recalibrated risks in response to North Korea? By spotlighting a series of case studies, this dissertation examines the last of these questions empirically. The analyses are, furthermore, directed through an innovative theoretical approach, which, in addition, offers a route – or at least a productive methodology – by which to address multiple elements of the other related questions, as posed above.

The analyses are initiated on the assumption that there has been a disproportionate recalibration of risk by Japan, expressed or realized through the framing of North Korea as a negative entity, which poses a variety of salient, potentially catastrophic, risks.<sup>8</sup> In light of this, as outlined above, the core hypothesis posits that there are complex processes of risk mediation and recalibration which manifest themselves in responses to the DPRK, and that these can be observed across a sphere which incorporates the state, market and society of Japan. In addition, the dissertation illuminates both a deficiency in the extant understanding of these processes, and a means by which to better understand their full relevance. Within this, it attempts to conceptualize them in previously uncharted detail from an original perspective. As such, the puzzle to be addressed below is less one of *what* or *why*,

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<sup>8</sup> This is illustrated by the diverse responses to North Korean actions observed between Japan and other comparable states such as South Korea, China and the United States. For example, this was particularly apparent following North Korean missile tests in 1998, 2006 and 2009. While Japanese mass-media sources and political figures increasingly interpreted the launches as a direct threat to national sovereignty, bringing the matter to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), and contemplating pre-emptive strikes in *self-defence*, South Korean and other states' responses were notably less confrontational, and generally devoid of overtly nationalist sentiment. For discussion see: Woo and Uk (2007: 193-194), Kim Hak-Chun (2006: 448-452).



focussing rather on explorations of the *how*, in order to explain the processes of risk recalibration and their agency. Furthermore, the dissertation delineates the trajectories along which these processes have run and can be expected to gravitate towards in the future. Amid this, while the creation of magnified threats to garner greater government control and justify increases in militarization, or *normalization* (e.g. to a state with offensive military capabilities), is an important factor in these processes, they do not tell the whole story.<sup>9</sup> Therein, although domestic politics are of crucial significance to how successive Japanese governments deal with pressing North Korean issues, and despite individual political legacies often having been prioritized ahead of holistic diplomatic solutions, there are structural and systemic shifts, often manifest in changes to norms and understandings at the broader national and ideational levels which hold considerable influence in this respect (Wendt, 1999).<sup>10</sup> Such arguments are unpacked to demonstrate, additionally, that while external, particularly United States (US), pressure (*beiatsu*) exerts extensive, indeed exaggerated, political force and salience upon such processes, the recalibration of risk by Japan in response to North Korea cannot simply be attributed to US or other external pressures (*gaiatsu*) alone.<sup>11</sup>

Exploration of the outlined research question is, therefore, designed to expand knowledge in the areas of East Asian bilateral and regional relations, and elucidates the applicability of *risk* as an expansive theoretical tool in these fields. In addition to these important aspects of the dissertation, the narrower normative aim of the analyses provided is to supply a fresh

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9 For a full exposition of this idea, see: Son (2008). “Normal” or *Normal power* is used here to refer to a future Japan comparable to that discussed by Christopher Hughes (2005: 49-59). In this sense, ultimately, it amounts to a nation state which holds armed forces that are not constitutionally embargoed from external (overseas) engagement. In essence, therefore, a *normal* power is a state which has the means and potential to project military power beyond pure sovereign self defence.

10 The specifics of how recent Japanese premiers and their administrations have, largely as a result of pursuing personal or narrow-banded interests (hijacked by the abduction issue), failed to normalize relations with North Korea is critically analyzed by Wada (2009).

11 Japan’s increasing subordination and adherence to US interests, observed within its international relations and domestic politics, is explored by McCormack (2007).

body of research that offers an innovative, interdisciplinary approach to understanding Japan's relationship with, and framing of, North Korea. This may act as both an aid to policy formation and as a counter to current myths and misunderstandings regarding how Japan mediates risks in relation to its own national, regional and global security concerns. As such, a further goal of this dissertation lies in an attempt to fill parts of a number of gaps in the extant literature, which fails to comprehensively integrate all aspects of Japan's civil society and state apparatus with its international relations. Therein, this is tackled through the application of theories which expose recalibrations of risk relating to each of the specific case studies explored below.

In order to fulfil these goals, extensive empirical research – adopting actor-specific analysis – into the crucial role of policy makers and other leading political actors, the sphere of mass media, and stakeholders within civil society, which combined can be seen to constitute Japan's *policy community*, as outlined in Chapter 2, Section 2.8, has been undertaken. In relation to each sector, respectively, these largely amount to: politicians, officials, and bureaucrats; newspapers and news media, internet-based broadcasters, and private media sources; societal groups such as the North Korean community in Japan, and others with a specific market, political or social interest in DPRK-related affairs. This has primarily been achieved through discourse analysis, which highlights changes representative of recalibrated risks, in terms of the types of terminology and praxis used to describe North Korea-related actors and bodies. This is further supported by quantitative indicators, relating to the above sources. In short, the focus of this dissertation lies in the complex interactional processes manifest between the state market and society, which result, ultimately, in the realization of a given set of policy prescriptions and implementations at the level of (in this case Japan's) state governance and international relations. In the chapters that follow, this takes the form of a study into how their interactions and interrelations work to mediate and recalibrate risks identified with the DPRK.

## **0.2. Definitions: recalibration and framing**

The terms *recalibration* and *framing*, and their relationship to actors intersecting the state, market and society, are key to the theoretical framework and empirical research contained in the chapters that follow. Here, the significance of each is dealt with in turn. In the sense outlined above, the *state* primarily refers to the executive arm of government – including its associated bureaucracy, *market* to commercially based actors such as mainstream media and business groups, and *society* to non-governmental groups and individual citizens. However, it is posited that the boundaries between these spheres are dynamic and permeable. As such, because of the salient influence of the latter elements upon the former – particularly with regards to central political discourses and policy formation – a combination of powerful actors from within these sectors can, in fact, be identified as an interactive policy community, broadly representative of the Japanese state; as explained in detail in Chapter 2, Section 2.8. The definition and usage of *risk* is covered more extensively elsewhere; most comprehensively in Chapter 1, Section 1.5.

*Recalibration* refers not only to how the level of perceived risks have changed, though this is a key component of its employment, but also to how risks per se are qualitatively re-conceptualized into a form which poses a different kind of potential harm to those of a previous calibration – and hence a different kind response. Therein, the recalibration of risks refers to how a risk, such as that of being struck by a North Korean missile in Japan, is mediated between state, market and societal spheres to greatly differing levels and effects. This definition of risk (re)calibration, therefore, neither assumes nor excludes the deliberate recalibration of risk (disproportionate or otherwise to probable potential harms). Indeed, while such an understanding obviously allows for the impacts of intentionally exaggerated risk recalibration, the focus of this dissertation is primarily directed at analysis of the processes by which discourse mediating interactive elements of the spheres outlined above

creates a particular trajectory of risk recalibration that results in the on-going prioritization of specific socio-political norms and the implementation of concordant policy directives. For example, in the case at hand, what were once broadly considered as distant military potentialities (e.g., a North Korean missile strike against Tokyo), for which countermeasures were predominantly the domain of sophisticated military experts, and which bore little significance to the general public or a broader socio-economic sphere, became re-conceptualized as something which at once represented pressing and salient risks to the state, market-based enterprises, and individual citizens of Japan.<sup>12</sup>

In relation to the (re)calibration of risks at the national (or state) level, how a given external entity is framed becomes of particular significance, because it effectively justifies how associated risks are to be calibrated in response to it. In the case of Japan's framing of North Korea, the increasingly negative framing of the DPRK and its leaders, therein, facilitated a broad-ranging recalibration of risks which could be attributed to that state.<sup>13</sup> Specifically, this dissertation examines how the recalibration of risks pertaining to North Korea's military capabilities and nuclear development can essentially be viewed as a function of North Korea's multifaceted negative framing in Japan. This involves a complex process of interaction between the state, market and society, which is, among other elements, highly contingent upon media and societal reactions towards the issue of Japanese citizens abducted by the DPRK – and the ability of influential actors to conflate the issue with other risks attached to nuclear proliferation, Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), terrorism, and illicit or covert activities. In essence, this created a truncated framing of the North as one entity, even in relation to issues which were initially decoupled from one another.

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12 Moreover, the case at hand is also representative of how individual citizens are expected, to varying degrees, to take responsibility for those risks – i.e., as shifted from the state to self-responsibility (Hook and Takeda, 2007).

13 This can be compared to Professor David Nutt's famous statement regarding the risks posed by ecstasy and horse-riding (The Telegraph, 7 February 2009) – i.e., due to their utterly different framing across state and societal spheres, the calibration of their associated risks is equally unlike regardless of the probability of harms which they potentially pose.

### **0.3. Historical background**

Although greater detail will be given to items of historical significance in later chapters, such as those examined in Chapter 2, Section 2.7, it is worthwhile to briefly reflect on from whence and when the *phenomenon* of North Korea as a high-risk entity to Japan first emerged.<sup>14</sup> Following World War II (WWII) and the Korean War, Japan had yet to restore full diplomatic relations with South Korea (ROK) when, once full sovereignty was regained from the US,<sup>15</sup> it began pursuing a cautious, though largely non-confrontational, relationship with the newly formed DPRK,<sup>16</sup> based on the policy of *seikei bunri*, or separation of politics and economics. This culminated in the creation of the DPRK-Japan Trade Association in March 1956 (Byung, 2007:38-41). In retrospect, this may be seen as Japan stretching its parameters within the formula of the Yoshida Doctrine, which emphasized broad economic expansion, while relying almost entirely on the US for external military protection.<sup>17</sup>

The *seikei bunri* formula, thus, allowed Japan-DPRK relations sufficient stability to permit an increased flow of bilateral resources, in the form of human, as well as trade, capital, such as North Korean repatriations for those still resident in Japan after WWII. Indeed, these took place at a rate of up to 1,200 persons per week between 1959 and 1960 (Morris-Suzuki,

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14 *Japan*, here, refers to a geo-political entity that is located primarily throughout the five land blocks of Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku, Kyushu and Okinawa, with its central administrative core based in Tokyo. For a suitable definition, see Princeton University (2009). This point is stressed, not only because clarity over definitions is important for the purpose of scholarly analysis, but also to refute any suggestion that this dissertation is ethnocentric. There is no intention to suggest that Japan represents an, or multiple, entities which are *naturally* prone to overreaction or are *inherently* racist towards North Korea or what have you.

15 Although still effectively under US occupation during the Korean War, Japan in fact gained greatly in economic terms by acting as a fueling and military base for UN forces fighting against North Korea (Ko, 1987: 46).

16 The term 'relationship' does not refer here to full official diplomatic relations, as these were never established between Japan and the DPRK.

17 This was the policy formula pioneered by post-war Japanese Prime Minister, Yoshida Shigeru, which "centered on close alliance with the United States, minimal military rearmament, and a focus on economic recovery" (Green, 2001: 11).

2007: 224-5). Despite surface-level recognition of the repatriations serving both Japanese and DPRK national interests, however, disapproval from both Washington and Seoul, because of their animosity towards the North, led to a degree of strained relations with Japan as a result, and Japan's official political position retained a rival-state stance towards Pyongyang. Without revision of this stance, or the establishment of formal diplomatic relations between North Korea and Japan being secured, momentous events such as the collapse of the Soviet Union, the wider ending of the Cold War, the rapid economic advancement of China, and the 9/11 terror attacks have radically altered the respective geopolitical and socio-economic dynamics of the Northeast Asia region. Amid this, Pyongyang has become ever more isolated, and has repeatedly resorted to brinkmanship tactics in its international relations with its neighbours (Masaki, 1995; Michishita, 2009).

In its recent relations with Japan, *tactics* employed by North Korea have included,<sup>18</sup> amongst other controversial actions and incidents, numerous abductions of Japanese citizens,<sup>19</sup> multiple missile launches over Japanese territory,<sup>20</sup> the intrusion into Japanese sovereign waters by spy-ships, agents and other unauthorized vessels (Black, 2006), and nuclear tests in defiance of Japanese and international condemnation.<sup>21</sup> As a result, the DPRK's image has taken a particularly severe battering in recent decades across almost all sections of the state, market, and society in Japan. Indeed, negative representation and framing of North Korea developed to the point where the emergence of a *phenomenon* that included extended coverage in the media and printed press, and which witnessed sustained political attention directed at the regime in Pyongyang took place.<sup>22</sup> This also led to the

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18 "tactics" is used here in the sense of actions, which can be construed as politically motivated and authorized or administered by the central state apparatus of the DPRK.

19 Although the majority of the abductions were carried out between 1977-83, the issue became particularly prominent during the 1990s and intensified following Kim Jong Il's admission of thirteen abductees during his summit meeting with former premier, Koizumi Junichirō. For discussion, see Wada (2009).

20 See August 1998, July 2006 and April 2009, (Arms Control Association).

21 October 2006 and May 2009 (Arms Control Association).

22 The term "phenomenon" refers to the combination of various social and political issues associated

demonizing of Kim Jong Il and his dynasty. Much of this framing centres on emphasizing the condemnation of unruly actions deemed to have been taken against Japan – particularly those of abductions (Akaha, 2007) – and upon the heightened risks that the DPRK represents.<sup>23</sup> The construction and manipulation of such risks has, therefore, been made accessible by means of framing North Korea as a salient *evil*. This is demonstrated in Chapter 4 by the case study analyses of responses to a range of North Korean actions and provocations made between the maritime incursions of 1999 and the underground nuclear test of 2006. Moreover, these represent risks which contain an implicit responsibility for the Japanese state to act in order to counter them.

#### **0.4. Structure of the dissertation**

Chapter 1 consists of a literature review, which is included in order to establish the state of extant works on the subject matter of this dissertation and assess their relevance and limitations. It compares and contrasts established paradigms of International Relations (IR), such as those which derive from Realist, Liberal and Constructivist schools of thought. In addition, the chapter attempts to integrate these IR paradigms with a range of literature addressing the theoretical conception and application of socio-political *risk*, and its implications for domestic politics and civil society, as well as its broader effects upon the specifics of international relations. The existing studies are, therefore, critiqued in terms of their ability to satisfactorily describe and explain processes of *risk* recalibration by Japan, observed in relation and response to North Korea. Within this, the causal significance, in

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with the DPRK in Japan, which have been given widespread media coverage, and gained the attention of a broad range of citizens and powerful actors at the state level.

23 It should be noted that for the purposes of this dissertation the so-called *North Korea phenomenon* is understood as a social construct which includes elements of the established context outlined by Son (2004: 189), who notes that, “many observers dismiss North Korea’s threats as a pretext for Japan’s military build-up to counter-balance the rising Chinese political and military power in East Asia”. Japan’s obvious long-term concerns with a rising China do not in themselves, however, fully explain the processes by which risks are recalibrated against the DPRK.

terms of agency, of mass media and other market actors, and political elites, as well as civil society (including stakeholders such as the North Korean community in Japan) are identified as key areas upon which to focus the core body of research. Moreover, in light of this critical discussion, gaps which remain under-explored by the contemporary literature are unveiled, and the relevance of applying *risk* theories to those of IR, in order to address the processes examined through these case studies, and potential others, is established.

Deriving its focus from the most pertinent literature reviewed throughout Chapter 1, Chapter 2 focuses on building a coherent methodology and theoretical framework for tackling the research project. This explores how constructivist lines of argument may be integrated with a range of theories explaining the salience of socio-political risk in order to create a functional model, within which empirical findings can be unpacked and analysed in a productive fashion – via the accessing of a wide variety of qualitative and quantitative data sources. By addressing how Japan’s domestic and foreign policy agendas intersect to influence its framing of North Korea, and the resulting construction of pertaining risks in line with (or counter to) shifting norms of *anti-militarism*, *bilateralism* and military normalization, the ground is laid for the detailed case study research.<sup>24</sup> This is focused on the particularities of the specific influential areas within the state, market and society identified here. The events covered introduce the basis for analysis of data collected which pertain directly to those sectors constituting Japan’s policy community, as outlined above.

Chapter 3 attempts to locate and identify the processes of risk recalibration initiated by these core actors in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, focussing primarily on a comparative analysis of events such as the multiple missile test firings conducted by the DPRK in 1993 and 1998, and the nuclear crisis of 1993-4. A range of qualitative and

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<sup>24</sup> These norms are assessed in relation to the negative framing of North Korea – itself becoming in once sense a tributary norm, which can be referred to as *anti-North Koreanism*.



quantitative data are provided in an attempt to uncover how a combination of complex disparities, and broad-based convergences, in individual and organizational interests are disseminated in order to construct and mediate a range of risks that are framed against North Korea. These are addressed in terms of responses from within Japan to Pyongyang's actions and political posture. Such actions are interpreted and utilized with varying consistency to promote an agenda, albeit contested, which is representative of Japan's policy community – and the prevailing norms to which central actors attach their identity and construct policy.

The continuation of these processes, articulated by political elites, mass media and other market actors, as well as civil society – with regards to risk mediation and its socio-political and commercial functions – is scrutinized in detail within Chapter 4. Once again, data from a variety of sources are collated systematically and compared in order to build up a picture of how media and other market actors have interacted with state and non-state political elements in response to key events unfolding in the early 2000s.<sup>25</sup> These include the maritime incursions of 1999 and 2001, revelations over the abduction of Japanese citizens, revealed in September of 2002, and further missile test firings and a nuclear test in 2006. The results expose how this interaction created and inflamed political inertia in response to North Korea, which intensified and perpetuated how the DPRK came to be framed by Japan, and the manner in which associated risks were recalibrated.

Chapter 5 examines the process of risk recalibration – particularly in terms of policy revisions – through the case studies of further missile and nuclear tests conducted by Pyongyang in 2009. As with the previous chapters, it also explores the role of other societal

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25 In the main, this dissertation refers to media (newspaper and TV journalists and editors etc.) and other market actors (business associations, industrial complexes and other commercially-driven actors) separately, and predominantly analyzes them as distinct influences upon the process of Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea. However, the obvious overlap, in terms of the market-driven commercial interests of leading media sources is acknowledged and controlled for.

actors within the processes of Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea. The influence of opinion polls and the role of the North Korean community in Japan, in addition to other related socio-cultural and socio-economic agents are, therein, investigated up to the present. In addition, the North's framing, and the recalibration of risks as an interactive process intersecting the media and policy making apparatus, is examined in relation to the DPRK's most recent provocations, including the suspected sinking of the ROK's Cheonan naval vessel and the shelling of Yeonpyeong Island. In conclusion, the empirical data from these events are discussed in order to expose a plateau-like effect, suggestive of a lessening in the further recalibration of risk framed against Pyongyang following the change of administration.

In the concluding sixth chapter, the dissertation evaluates the extent, primacy and instrumental status of the various actors contributing to processes of risk recalibration by Japan in response to North Korea. In particular, Chapter 6 seeks to identify more concretely how they combine and interact to perpetuate a temporal policy agenda at the state level, which includes the framing of the DPRK as a source of multiple and salient risks. This is achieved through extensive mixed-method, comparative analyses of the results unearthed in each of the case study chapters. When evaluated in totality, the research findings suggest that Japan's framing of North Korea and the associated recalibration of risks has entered a new equilibrium, within which levels of recalibrated risk are maintained but do not exhibit obvious signs of an additional recalibration in response to recent events. In addition, spheres where risk recalibration and the norms it is based upon are accessible to potential shifts are highlighted, tentative predictions for incremental change are expressed, and areas open to and requiring further research are outlined.

# **Chapter 1. How risk has been understood in the contemporary literature on Japan's international relations: searching for theoretical innovations to explore uncharted territory**

*"The ubiquity of political risk explains its empirical presence despite its conceptual absence in the study of IR"*

Darryl S.L. Jarvis and Martin Griffiths (2007b: 7)

## **1.1. Missing pieces in the literature puzzle**

As stated in the Introduction – and alluded to by the quote above – this dissertation is premised upon the idea that there is a conceptual gap in the relevant literature, which requires filling by way of an improved theoretical model, empirically applied through use of what might be termed an enhanced *methodological toolkit*. It is hoped that such a methodology can be engineered to unlock an effective understanding of how ultimately significant the conception, mediation and recalibration of risk is to Japan's relationship with (and framing of) North Korea and, moreover, for civil societies, regional strategies and international relations as a whole. It is contended that the most effective way to empirically test the significance of the concept of risk in relation to the specific context of Japan's responses to North Korea, is by way of examining pertinent case studies that intersect the state, market and society, and which influence national policy and posture. As such, research for this study focuses on Japan's policy communities (Campbell, 1989), which can be conceptualized as constituted by policy-making elites, mass media (primarily news coverage – expanding upon analysis developed by Krauss and Pharr (1996)), and non-state, stake-holding actors (such as the North Korean community in Japan) within Japan's civil

society.<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, in order to explain why extant methodological models adapted for the analysis of these sectors in Japan's international relations exist in the forms that they do, and to demonstrate why they require supplementation, it is first necessary to establish where their current parameters lie. Indeed, it is not disputed that existing IR theories and other relevant literature offer, though often not explicitly, a great deal of guidance in the quest to understand where and how risk-based theorizing needs to be applied. In this respect, the puzzle to be addressed, through synthesis of existing theoretical models with the risk-driven theory which we hope to construct, can be expressed broadly in the form shown schematically by Figure 1.1 (below).

With reference to the schema devised in Figure 1.1, at least three areas are clearly identifiable in terms of applying the relevant literature. In this chapter an attempt is made to address these areas in a manner that clarifies their relevance to the core issue of recalibrated risks – manifested and observed through variable responses to North Korean actions and discourse – located within Japan. The first of these areas, is the literature which solely concerns Japan's international relations (IR literature),<sup>27</sup> particularly its regional relations and orientation, and the shifting position of the Japanese state within a, perhaps increasingly, volatile global system of nation states. The following sections address texts that

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26 Minimal coverage is given in the following literature review to texts addressing representatives of the North Korean community and their intersection with other key socio-political processes, specifically their degree of direct agency and causality exerted upon Japan's national responses to the DPRK. The principal organization involved in such processes is Chōsensōren/Chong-ryon, or the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (less so Mindan, or Korean Residents Union as they are allied more generally with the ROK). Their potential significance is identified, however, and full explanation of how they are to be integrated into the research project as a whole is given in the following chapter. This critical literary absence is due, primarily, to a lack of relevant political science texts. There are, however, a number of excellent texts which address the historical precedence of the North Korean community, relating to issues such as those of how the DPRK is framed within Japan, see: Morris Suzuki (2007), Okonogi (2004), Han (2002) and Ryang (1996). Detailed description of the history, political motives, and current activities of the North Korean community in Japan is also provided in Japanese language text on Chōsensōren's (2011) own website.

27 The term "IR literature" is avoided initially here on the grounds that it connotes a kind of specialized field of knowledge which is entirely, perhaps needlessly, disaggregated from combinations of other academic disciplines and social/political/natural sciences, and from the standard lowercase adjective-noun syntax that is "international relations". However, it is also conceded that *IR literature* is a now well-recognized piece of terminology, and is, therefore, adopted intermittently for purposes of clarity and convenience.

explore the dynamics and development of *risk* in socioeconomics and political science, as much as possible focussing on important concepts which can be transferred and applied to those of Japan's international relations and, most pertinently, its responses to North Korea. Finally, literature which illuminates how the state and critical actors within the civil society respond to, and mediate, regional concerns, such as those pertaining to risks posed by the DPRK, is examined. This third area is tackled by way of discussion of materials which cover government policy formation and implementation (domestic politics), and those which can be observed in the coverage, focus and interpretation of media sources. As such, within the framework of this chapter Japan's recalibration of risk, in the sense outlined above, is addressed from a perspective that assumes threats perceived to stem from North Korea, regardless of the ultimate considerations of a rising China,<sup>28</sup> have been the single greatest tangibly identifiable means by which progressive debates relating to Japan's normalization, in geo-political terms, have been propelled (Cooney, 2007:163; Umeda, 2007).<sup>29</sup>

In essence, then, by combining the core areas of literature outlined above, it is possible to assimilate and integrate a background body of existing scholarship which articulates Japan's recalibration of risk, understood in terms of its international relations in the North East Asia region, specifically with reference to Japan's perception and framing of North Korea.<sup>30</sup> This also serves to illuminate why this is an issue of pressing concern, and the extent to which even a well-adapted combination of the literature available in these fields leaves extensive

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28 It is evidently recognized by Japanese (including official sources) and external observers that, at the very least in military terms, Japan's increased acquisition of sophisticated defensive weaponry, coordination of naval operations with the US and changes to security policy, although often only specifying the DPRK as a potential adversary (Ministry of Defense, 2009), are clearly affected by the longer-term considerations of security challenges posed by a more assertive and powerful China (Hagström, 2005: 62-63).

29 The ease with which Japan can justify the recalibration of risks emanating from the DPRK has been highlighted by a number of scholars on Japan's international relations (Hughes, 2009a; Pempel, 2010). As Philip Shetler-Jones asserted during a talk on the effects of *Globalization* (suggesting comparisons to risk recalibration in its effects) on Japan's foreign policy: "You've got at least four things: Nuclear bombs, Missiles, Abductions and Spy Ships. If that's not some kind of threat, I don't know what is?" (Japan's 2004 National Defense Programme Guidelines: A Case Study for the Effects of Globalization on National Security, lecture at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Sheffield, 21 October 2009).

30 This approach to structuring the literature review draws on that conceptualized by Cooper (1998).

openings, indeed the necessity, for extended research. Further, in this regard, while this chapter provides a concise analysis and critique of a selection of literature which addresses the core areas central to the hypotheses identified in the Introduction, Section 0.1, additional literary sources have also been included throughout. These provide both supporting empirical data for analyses conducted in relation to the case studies under examination, and act as a means by which to supplement the explanation of existing literary arguments and, therein, facilitate a more comprehensive literature review in totality.

An examination of texts that contain influential IR theories which have been utilized to assess Japan's responses to regional threats posed by states such as North Korea, and to explain its position in the East Asia region,<sup>31</sup> is, therefore, of considerable importance when trying to conceptualize the context within which risk is calibrated and recalibrated by Japan. This is the case because theoretical analyses based on established IR paradigms are influential at the level of both policy formation and, though more indirectly, comprehension within the mass media and civil society as a whole. Hence, in order to address how Japan's position in its international relations within East Asia has been evaluated, particularly with respect to the mediation of risks and its relationship to North Korea, it is evidently necessary to critique the relevant literature through explication of a cross-section of these paradigms, pitched from contrasting schools of thought.<sup>32</sup> This, therein, lays the ground work for

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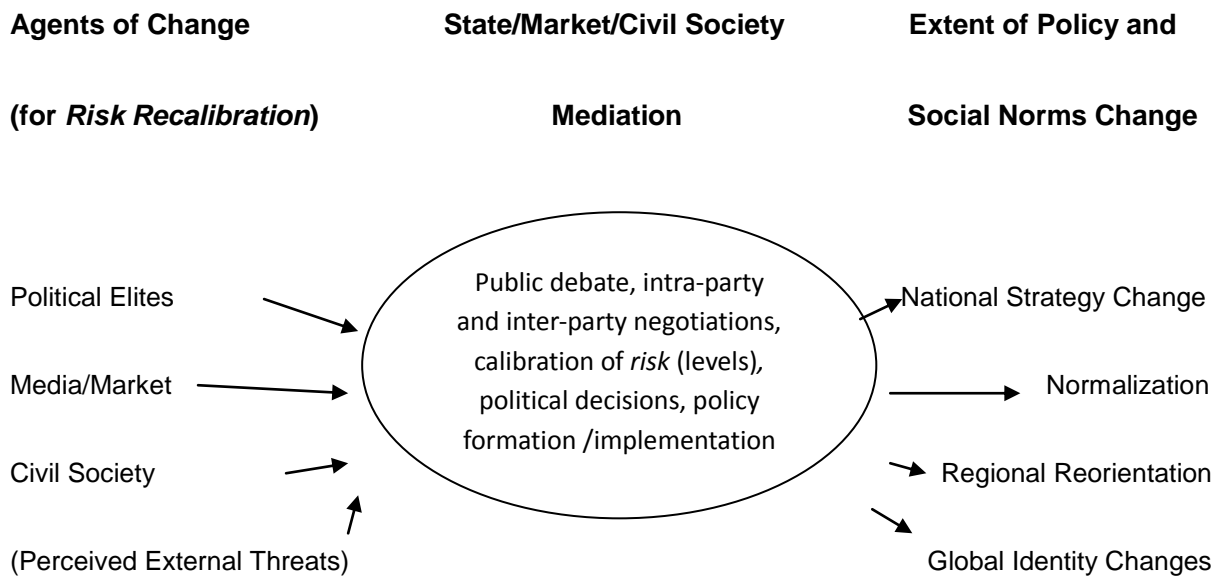
31 The core historical origins and obstacles (in relation to their affect upon contemporary, temporal considerations explored below) of such a position, including analysis of how Japan's future prospects for more favourably recalibrating risks against the DPRK are contingent upon its capacity to overcome a lingering inability to fully reconcile historically contentious disputes with China and South Korea, are fruitfully discussed by Ōsawa and Saeki (2005: 210-6).

32 It is beyond the remit of this dissertation to analyse and critique the entirety of established theories and sub-theories of the massive literature available on International Relations. As such, the IR literature under review, which is infused and integrated with the relevant strands of *Risk* literature later in the chapter, is limited, essentially, to authors who have written on or concerning Japan using theoretical frameworks that derive their logic from core strands of Realism, Liberalism and Constructivism, and those who address multiple issues of domestic politics (much of which relies on theories underscored by Etel Solingen's theoretical emphasis (Solingen, 2003)). This is a practical strategy designed to incorporate the widest breadth of theories that are obviously applicable to the case study. Further empirically based works have also been incorporated into the later chapters as secondary data sources. In addition, this

explaining and justifying the theoretical framework and methodological approach adopted throughout the remainder of the dissertation, which is developed fully in Chapter 2.

**Figure 1.1.**<sup>33</sup>

**The Role of Recalibrated Risk in Processes of Socio-Political Change within Japan**



**Source: author**

NB: Although simplified, this basic structure represents an illustration of how risk recalibration can be broken down into three fundamental phases – readily identifiable with established models of IR theory. Within this representation, however, it is the central core, consisting, it is argued below, of under-researched, complex interactional processes, which is the primary focus of this dissertation.

**1.2. Realist/Neo-Realist perspectives**

The first literary school of IR to be reviewed here, primarily because of its extensive policy-driven impact upon the field, is that of conventional (mainstream) *realism/neo-realism*. For the analysis attempted in this chapter, the definition of realist-derived theories is

chapter indirectly critiques elements of a broad range of other theoretical strands; and as such, counter-critique from, in particular, scholars of Functionalism/Neo-functionalism, Marxism/Neo-Marxism, Critical Theory, Feminism, Postmodernism, and Eclectic approaches is expected and encouraged.

33 Derived from Cooney (2007: 13) – as adapted from Hermann (1990: 13).

approximated to those based on the idea that nation states behave as rational actors, seeking power and relative gains in relation to other states. As such, the world is made up of an anarchic system of “self help” states (Waltz, 2000: 39). Regardless of political or economic developments, alliances or integrations, according to arguments stemming from the realist paradigm, the international system will, fundamentally, remain one oriented around competition between nation states (Burchill, 2002: 70-102).

Neo-realist arguments have faced a number of paradigm-shaking challenges in recent years, particularly following the end of the Cold War, as politicians, business leaders and academics have sought to find alternatives to the confrontational rigidity of an anarchic, state-centric, super-structure at both regional and global levels. As examined below, both Liberalism/neo-Liberalism and Constructivism have been influential theories in facilitating this challenge to realism, and the latter may be particularly key to conceptualizing the process by which risks are recalibrated. However, at present, the nation-state remains the primary unit of analysis in international relations, and as such a powerful contingent of realist thought remains among numerous, perhaps even dominant, influential actors and scholars, who continue to promulgate the *reality* of a system based on the anarchic self-help state.

Indeed, although this dissertation is concerned primarily with Japan’s recalibration of risk, in terms of its formation of policy vis-à-vis the DPRK, it is of considerable significance to understand how East Asian regional relations are conceptualized as a whole within the relevant literature, because this directly affects how Japan formulates policies and responds to individual challenges, such as those posed by North Korea. Furthermore, it is clear that neo-realism has been comprehensively applied to the task of describing the recent history of conflicts and security in the East Asian region, specifically with regards to events centred on the Korean peninsula. In fact, ironically however, one point of particular concern to Japan and Japanese sources regarding how current regional international relations are evaluated in this regard has been the lack of a Japan/Korea focus in leading realist texts. In other



words, Japan, South Korea and the DPRK are often relegated to the role of subsidiary territory that is to be dominated by either the United States or China, and are perceived only as instrumental to the broader systemic struggle for, and balance of, power between these larger states, which can itself be implicitly understood in terms of their grander plans for risk mediation or aversion. This strand of appraisal is exemplified by John J. Mearsheimer's assessment of the core security issues in East Asia as essentially a competition for regional dominance between the US and China. He offers the following symptomatic analysis:

If... ..China becomes... ..the world's wealthiest great power it would almost certainly use its wealth to build a mighty military machine. For sound strategic reasons, moreover, it would surely pursue regional hegemony, just as the United States did in the western hemisphere during the nineteenth century. So if Chinese relative power grows substantially, one should expect it to attempt to dominate Japan and South Korea, as well as other regional actors, by building military forces that are so powerful that those other states would not dare challenge it (Mearsheimer, 2001: 57).

A number of prominent scholars, political analysts, and military experts support Mearsheimer's argument, or though they may see it as more complex, at least agree on the conclusion that realist explanations offer the most empirically convincing theoretical approach for describing the dynamics of international affairs relating to the Korean peninsula. As Gabriel Jonsson simply states, "The United States, China, Japan and Russia have all had their own interests to pursue in their policies towards Korea." (Jonsson, 2006: 216)

The result of this pursuit, however, encounters serious conceptual difficulties when realist analyses set out to demonstrate, the less than logically coherent argument, that increases in military capabilities, specifically for Japan to counter North Korean threats, will result in greater national, regional and global security. This position is epitomized by Ōta Fumio, who devotes a considerable section of his security analysis to the alleged gravity of potential harms posed to Japan by Pyongyang's military capabilities, concluding that enhanced militarization and band-wagoning with the US are the most effective means by which to

secure Tokyo's safety and establish regional harmony (Ōta, 2006: 117-22).<sup>34</sup> Such postulations do, however, highlight in rudimentary terms how the influence of realist thinking is well-suited to facilitating the upward recalibration of risks and shaping of how Japan *should* take responsibility for them; particularly through the framing of the DPRK as a source of salient and ominous threats – which become internalized as risks.

Indeed, analyses offered by the realist derived schools of thought tend to provide pessimistic, nationally self-interested conclusions for policy prescription. As such, while leading realist scholars often omit direct references to the state-level mediation of risk, they surely pave the way for politicians and high-level government authorities to calibrate risk in a manner that incorporates an anarchic, almost fatalistic, approach to international security. Once again, Mearsheimer exemplifies this approach, stating with regards to the security of the Korean peninsula and how it should be dealt with that, "US interests would be best served by pulling American troops back so that they can stay out of future wars, or at least join them later rather than earlier" (2001: 47).

Realist discourse of the kind contained in the above statement is, therefore, a theoretical perspective that is likely to heighten Japan's sense of insecurity in the East Asian region, and is compatible with the Japanese state justifying a heightening of risk perception in relation to Pyongyang. Indeed, furthermore, a number of prominent Japanese scholars and specialists of Japan's foreign policy continue to assess responses to the DPRK, and the risks that it poses, in terms of realist-based strategic concerns, stressing the important role that the Japanese state has to play in regional affairs affected by North Korea. Moreover,

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34 Ōta Fumio is a retired Vice-Admiral and director of the Center for Security and Crisis Management Education at the Japan National Defense Academy. As such, one would have to consider his *scholarship* as, at the very least, highly oriented to Japanese defence authorities' official viewpoints and policies, and certainly reads as such. It is perhaps surprising, on account of this weighty bias, therefore, to find his work amongst other leading political science texts within university libraries. Therein, although there is not the standard attempt at objective neutrality and rigour which would normally be expected from an academic source, it is still worthy of review – precisely because it represents a particular polarized stance on this subject matter; formed within a realist-based theoretical framework.

although potential economic gains for the DPRK are expressed as a primary factor in Pyongyang's manoeuvres, they are observed by realist-minded scholars with caution and the understanding that any such agenda is driven by the power-political imperative of regime survival. Such an outlook is typified by Michishita Narushige, who evaluates Japan's options vis-à-vis Pyongyang by warning against being drawn into a North Korean-engineered game of competition over the future geopolitical and economic battleground that will likely dominate Korean affairs. Indeed, in consecutive sections of his 2009 article for the *Korean Journal of Defense Analysis*, respectively entitled "Enhancing regime security" and "A reconfigured equidistance policy" (2009: 115-17) He states that,

Normalization of relations with the United States and Japan would be the single most important turning point for North Korea's security and foreign policy strategy. If this is achieved, North Korea's regime survival would be significantly enhanced.

In this new strategic environment, North Korea would benefit from the reconfigured equidistance policy... ...Regional rivalry between China and Japan, and South Korea's concern that their influence over the northern part of the peninsula might become too strong would benefit Pyongyang. If North Korea provides appropriate incentives, it might be able to draw Russia into this game as well... ...The Japanese input would be particularly important because the Japanese have a lot of money but do not pose a political threat to the legitimacy of the North Korean regime.<sup>35</sup>

In addition to the kind of *defensive-realist* analyses provided by security experts the like of Michishita, there is also an emerging realist-rooted understanding amongst some schools of thought that Japan's framing of risk pertaining to North Korea is part of an unavoidable alignment within a strategic regional policy framework, referred to by Michael J. Green as "Japan's reluctant realism" (2001). Green notes a tangible shift in Japan's risk-mediation strategy at the level of national foreign policy over preceding decades, highlighting the clear transition from an, "...omnidirectional, risk-free formula that suggested no national strategy at all" (2001: 1) to one which, not least because of the increased security threat from North

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<sup>35</sup> In the same article Michishita also discusses how responses should counter what he terms as Pyongyang's '*cybernetic decision-making*' to refer to the DPRK's 'cyclic application of adventurism and caution, coercion and dialogue' in its attempts to maintain regime survival (2009: 110-11).

Korea,<sup>36</sup> the rise of China, and external pressure and a degree of abandonment from the United States, has prompted Japan into “more sharing of the risk” (2001: 10) in strategic realist terms. A key element of this is how North Korea is framed by Japan within the regional balance of power, as a prominent and probable source of risks attached to tangible harms, such as those contained in potential nuclear and military aggression by the DPRK. Indeed, although less overtly realist in approach, Richard Samuels concisely expresses how Japan’s North Korea policy has been structured to this affect. In a somewhat cynical passage, he asserts that,

If the cultish regime in North Korea had not existed, some Japanese strategists surely would have wished to invent it. It was easy for the Japanese public to perceive Pyongyang’s militarism and persistent provocations as a threat – one much less ambiguous than China’s, which was, after all, encased in considerable economic benefit (2007: 171).

Thus, where Green stresses the unavoidable nature of strategically orientated moves by Japan, including those which maintain a high-risk evaluation of North Korean issues, Samuels, as in the passage above, posits that there is a high degree of independent reactive planning by the Japanese state apparatus in such endeavours.<sup>37</sup> Either way, both point towards realist-informed directives that are indicative of a recalibration of risk, which includes the public framing of the DPRK as a source of serious, potentially eminent, harms.

From the perspective of this dissertation, however, there are serious concerns with realist/neo-realist perspectives which make them problematic. Not least, this is because of their seeming lack of an apt ability to effectively describe and account for domestic political concerns, particularly in terms of how they influence the mediation of risk between the state, market and society within Japan – specifically in relation to the DPRK. Indeed, this is of

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36 For Green’s full exposition of how, despite liberal-minded attempts to normalize Japan-DPRK relations, realist concerns continue to dominate the troubled relations either side of the Japan Sea, see the section entitled “*Elusive Normalization*” (2001: 117-20), which concludes by describing developments in the Tokyo-Pyongyang relationship as “a nightmare of escalating confrontation” (2001: 120).

37 Samuels suggests that this is part of Japan setting a course to hedge between the US alliance and increased integration with China, which he terms the “Goldilocks consensus” (2007: 9).

particularly key relevance when assessing the processes of *how* North Korea is framed among these core sections of Japan's socio-political apparatus in order to justify and facilitate national policy prescriptions.

### **1.3. Liberal/Neo-Liberal perspectives**

Liberal-based perspectives will be defined here as those which rely upon the theory that cooperation, largely socio-economic, between states can reduce, mitigate, and/or supersede realist concerns over military struggles for power, as any two states (or a greater number) stand to benefit more in terms of absolute gains from increased cooperative action than they would from military conflict (Russett, 1994: 84).<sup>38</sup> This is typically institutionalized in democratic governments which seek to trade and cooperate with other states, particularly their neighbours and regional powers, for the normative goal of their own prosperity and the greater good.<sup>39</sup>

Though perhaps less obviously structured around, or linked to, conceptions of risk, classical liberal political theories and their derivatives, such as neo-liberalism and neo-liberal institutionalism, offer a potentially much broader and more integrated means by which to assess national foreign policies and the structuring of reactive relationships than their realist rivals can provide. At the very minimum, they help to provide an explanation of why, for instance, there is continuing salience to the theme, at least sporadically, of attempts by Japan to normalize politico-economic relations with North Korea. Furthermore, they are broader and more integrated than neo-realist perspectives

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38 Put simply, whereas neo-realist theories often presume, or can be reduced to, a zero-sum game scenario, neo-liberal models offer a means by which to avoid necessitating an opponent's loss in order to maximize a perceived gain (plus-sum game), evidently framed here within the context of Japan's relations and responses to North Korea.

39 For a practical and theoretical outline of how a revised version of this concept might be applied and realized in North East Asia, including obstacles imposed by Japan's domestic-issue-focused policies toward Pyongyang, see Noland and Haggard (2009, 119-37).

because they exclude less the role of a number of domestic influences within the state, market and society. Moreover, as we shall observe in later sections that cover the *risk literature*, regardless of how preferentially it is subjectively evaluated, liberal-based thinking and theory has, in fact, been at the core of modern day developments in socializing and re-calibrating the conception of *risk*.

In terms of how this has been applied to literature on Japan's dealings with the DPRK, there are a considerable number of descriptive and prescriptive texts on Japan's international relations, which tend to cover similar ground, though not without contradictions, in terms of depicting a period of recent ebbs and flows in efforts to normalize Japan-North Korea relations by way of economic incentives and diplomatic initiatives for conflict mitigation. Scholars in the ilk of Funabashi Yōichi et al., for instance, advocate implementation of increased institutional dominance, through bodies such as the United Nations (UN), Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), Group of Seven (G-7 (G8)) and International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA) as a means to mediate Japan's nationally salient risks through international institutions (Funabashi, 1994: 22-25).

However, through the course of the past decade, repeated failure of such organizations to effectively deal, not least with the core issues associated with North Korea, has undoubtedly aided those agents within Japan that would wish to frame the DPRK as a high-risk "rogue state" which is beyond the bounds of internationally implemented restraint.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, for some purveyors of liberal-oriented lines of

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<sup>40</sup> It is interesting, however, in contrast with realist perspectives discussing compliance to, or independence from, US pressure, to note that Funabashi both posits and critiques the agency of domestic politics in Japan's response to *beitsu*. Essentially, his argument highlights the use of such pressure as a means to both avoid, and where necessary justify as unavoidable, more difficult or controversial policy decisions and deflect domestic criticisms under the guise of US culpability. Thus, it suggests, Funabashi sees the relocation of responsibility for security risks to international institutions more as a means to alleviate Japan's *bilateral*

thinking, such as Katahara Eiichi for example, Japan's international role, particularly in non-nuclear proliferation efforts, is a key factor of how North Korea is framed. Hence, to this effect, the risks of nuclear armament in "rogue states", and indeed caution over Japan's own nuclear aspirations as a response, need to be extrapolated from other conflated issues, and emphasis placed on the financial incentives of normalization and regional cooperation (Katahara, 1998: 30-36). In other words, preventative action, based on the incremental and conditional provision of economic incentives in return for large-scale politico-economic liberalization within the DPRK, is prescribed as a means by which Japan can both accurately calibrate and effectively respond to risks identified as rooted in Pyongyang (Takeda, 1998: 97). This is also well expressed by Christopher Hughes (1999), who establishes that Japan has been in a position to use its economic power to, potentially, alleviate security risks posed by the DPRK, normalize relations and aid in the endeavour of increasing prosperity on both sides of the northern Japan Sea. Yet, in Hughes' view, attributed to the decisions or pressures brought to bear on the *iron triangle* of the former long-term ruling LDP, bureaucracy, and big business which have oft-times been accounted for as constituting Japan's policy elite, Tokyo did not chose to do so (1999: 161). Moreover, key structural obstacles; such as Japan's need to align foreign policy with the US, an inability to resolve the abduction issues, and anti-Pyongyang focused domestic media and public opinion are consistently cited as core factors in preventing a conventionally liberal-focussed resolution to Japan's North Korea concerns.

In addressing such impediments, which – as discussed in the chapters which follow – have been integral to how risks identified with the North are recalibrated, radically liberal proposals have also, nevertheless, been suggested by progressive scholars. For instance, Okazaki Hisahiko (2003: 170-6) suggests that as a means to re-engage normalization initiatives with Pyongyang, Japan needs to actively offer, indeed "link"

(2003: 170), economic incentives in return for complete resolution – on Tokyo’s grounds – to the abduction issue. In this sense, he argues for greater understanding of the internal risks which are faced by actors within the North – particularly in order to make any concessions towards Japan. However, such literature – based on liberal ideals endorsing exchange and plus-sum calculus – fails to deal with the reality within Japan which, for the immediate future at least, essentially makes any form of perceived conciliation with regards to the abductions issues politically untenable; not to mention the increasing inability of Japan to provide financial incentives due its own economic malaise. Indeed, as the authors of Japan’s International Relations succinctly state,

...despite Japan’s pro-activity, improved relations with North Korea still remain an elusive goal... ...international and domestic structural obstacles have meant that Japan has been unable to utilize its economic power to forge greater engagement and interdependence with North Korea... (2005: 216-17)

In order to overcome these blockages to economic and political channels of access from Japan’s perspective, Hook et al. also explore an essentially constructivist perspective to Tokyo’s North Korea policy, which will be examined in more detail below.

For now, it is at least noteworthy from the perspective of this dissertation to take stock of how it might be claimed that a majority of literature from mainstream IR perspectives on Japan’s responses to the DPRK seeks,<sup>41</sup> either explicitly or implicitly, to trace the influence of a globalized neoliberal policy paradigm, promoted specifically in Japan with particular veracity and rationalized US support by Koizumi Junichirō and his successors.<sup>42</sup> In addition, it is necessary to elucidate how neoliberal institutionalist

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41 Evidently terms such as “majority” are problematic when describing literary opinion, because there is an almost inexhaustible supply of material, which could plausibly count as *literature*. However, it is used here in order to evince the consistency with which certain themes are current within numerous prominent texts.

42 Koizumi is merely the most famous in a succession of neoliberally-minded Japanese prime ministers and leading politicians, which are often times argued to stem back from Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro’s political reorientation in line with Reaganite (as of US president, Ronald Reagan) neo-liberal policy reforms initiated in the 1980s. For diverse perspectives on the influence of neo-liberalism on Japan’s regional and global policy trajectories, see: Nakano (2004), Watanabe (2005).



notions of the multilateral mitigation of associated risks through economic exchange have been thwarted, but might yet plausibly come to fruition. As will be addressed in later sections, these are issues for which it is hoped an enhanced understanding of processes relating to how comparative risks are calibrated will better illuminate their constitutive causal agents and the political structures which underlie them, and thus facilitate a more accurate analysis of the resulting policy outcomes.

#### **1.4. Constructivism**

The concept of constructivism is defined here as a knowledge-based, ideological, socio-cultural approach which, unlike IR paradigms developed from realism and liberalism, focuses less on material factors such as military power or economic trade, and more on the possibilities for transforming the identity of states through the elites who run them (Walt, 1998: 40-41). Hence, changes to state identities, norms, and values will result in shifts within the state's internal structure, and, therefore, alter the nature of its external (international) relations. Security issues, constructivists argue, are based upon the intersubjective relationships between states, which can be socially reconstructed (Wendt, 1992: 393-407).

The constructivist literature is, potentially, able to complement and even champion that which is derivative of realist and liberal perspectives in examining many areas of Japan's North Korea policy, particularly in terms of exploring the processes of recalibrations of risk. That ability is premised on the fact that constructivism focuses on the continuation and change of causal agents and norms. This allows both longitudinal comparison through time, and insights into possible futures. Hook et al., for example, seek to go beyond explanations of policy trajectories based on purely economic, trade-based, or geo-military factors, to identify the norms and larger societal structures, which are

shaping Japan's policy vis-à-vis the DPRK, and, moreover, to "demonstrate how policy making agents and other political actors are socialized through mutual interaction into patterns of behaviour, which shape their definition of interests and rationality" (2005: 42). In the case of North Korea, for example, this is seen to have been extensively shaped, in the post Cold-War era at least, by the oft-times conflicting interests of Japan's national economic (*developmental*, in terms of national economic power and influence) and *bilateral* (orientated to the US) norms (Hook et al., 2005: 215). Hence, at the structural level, although normalization with Pyongyang may adhere to the former, it has often caused the latter to become strained. Hook et al.'s work is, therefore, not explicitly concerned with how Japan calibrates and recalibrates risks in response to North Korean action or policy, but implicitly draws into question the state and societal rationales within which policies directed against the DPRK are being conceived and implemented. Therefore, it expands a view to better understand how such processes are increasingly affected by shifting understandings of future uncertainties and dangers. Moreover, as such, the processes by which potential harms are calibrated into socio-politically constructed risks can be examined.

Scholars such as Thomas U. Berger (1998) and Peter J. Katzenstein et al. (2006) expand on this constructivist perspective of security policies galvanized to deal with Pyongyang by pointing to how, in Japan, there has been a shift in the way external security concerns are mediated amongst the state, media and society. Indeed, Berger in arguing for the salience of domestic historical-cultural norms as a major influence upon defence policy making, also notes the significance of scholarship which addresses the increased risk aversion present in advanced industrial states such as Japan (1998: 201-5). However, while his own culturally based theories offer an invaluable insight into Tokyo's policy formation, which highlights the deficits of neo-realist and neo-liberal explanations, he ultimately omits analysis of how the calibration of risk is also central to such historical-cultural paradigms. Katzenstein, in contrast, suggests that such

processes are linked to a restructuring of norms concerning Japanese uniqueness, and the fear of external, foreign threats. His central claim (2006: 86-7), in terms of how the norm has been reconceptualized in relation to North Korea, is posited in the following passage:

Police and diplomatic efforts that focussed primarily on the safety of Japanese from depoliticized overseas threats also reinforced the idea of Japan as a family polity, with benevolent and protective government willing to step in to protect citizens from a world they did not make and cannot understand. Since 9/11, however, Japanese conservatives have successfully mobilized domestic fears, especially of North Korea, to justify an expanded antiterrorism role alongside the United States. Legitimized by U.S. efforts to remake security as a comprehensive phenomenon, the government has successfully pushed for a more muscular presence overseas while maintaining institutionalized motifs of homogeneity and state responsibility at home to keep at bay fears of a changing region and changing nation.

Hence, in terms of a perceptive analysis of how organs of the Japanese state have constructed and recalibrated risks that rely on the framing of North Korea as the source of potentially catastrophic harms, Katzenstein et al. express a powerfully convincing conception of the processes' outcomes. However, little attention has been paid to the actual causal dynamics of how that risk has been mediated between core sections of the state, commercial media, and civil spheres of Japanese society. It is that literary gap, in terms of a more refined understanding of socialized risk and its applicability, which provides the basis for the following sections, and indeed the research project of this dissertation as a whole.

Although, then, undeniably not a comprehensive, exhaustive, or even extensive survey of all possible IR literary sources, the above critique should have sufficiently served to demonstrate the relevance of the core theoretical paradigms to the case study of Japan's North Korea policies and, implicitly, their potential relevance to countless related others, while also highlighting a number of complex processes they, as yet, empirically struggle to explain. Moreover, it is hoped, that this broad-sweeping critical perspective on the IR literature has, once again, hinted at some of the ways in which a revised and refined

understanding of *risk* may be applied to plug many of these otherwise deceptively expansive literary gaps.

In the sections that follow, the theoretical and empirical potency of risk, as a socio-political construction, is outlined, and an image of how its core elements can be linked and applied to the case study at hand is also proffered. This is provided primarily in relation to events that occupy the central focus of discourse on North Korea within the public sphere in Japan. The specifics of how it is to be forged into a theoretical framework forming a basis (approach) for the empirical research undertaken herein are then addressed in Chapter 2.

### **1.5. Risk literature**

The pertinence of engaging theories of risk with respect to international relations stems from the understanding that risks are not necessarily equivalent to dangers (e.g., as of military threats posed by external states) but, rather, are oft-times constructed as a form of uncertain opportunity, which carries a responsibility based on the accepted *knowledge* of a given risk. Therefore, it is of crucial importance as to who holds the dominant position, in terms of defining that knowledge and abstracting the associated risks. This logically applies, moreover, to the *responsibility* for dealing with risks posed by external nation-states, and to the formulation and comprehension of transnational risks (Richter, Berking, Muller-Schmid, 2006: 4-16). In the above respect, in terms of how risk is mediated, this dissertation is premised, ultimately, on the Foucauldian contention, that power relations within society – such as those discussed between Japan’s media and other market interests, civil society, and political elite – are unequal and analogous with war (i.e. inter-state war) (Downing, 2008: 19-21).<sup>43</sup> Hence, as such, both what Ulrich Beck (2009) has termed the “cosmopolitanized” (as related to a global phenomenon that has state-reliant variances, or *glocalized* forms)

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<sup>43</sup> In essence Foucault is using a reversal of Carl von Clausewitz military theory that “war is the continuation of politics by other means” (1874: 1), applied to politically competitive actors within civil society.

production of risks, viewed amid the *reflexive* “second modernity” within which Japan’s (and all others’ it is presumed) international relations lie,<sup>44</sup> and the governance, in the Giddensian sense,<sup>45</sup> of those risks becomes an unavoidable issue of pressing concern and practical relevance. To put it another way, one cannot decouple how the state mediates and governs risks, such as those enframèd by Japan against the DPRK, from the background socio-political environment of a *risk society*, which influences the very institutions within the state that will exact such a process of risk recalibration.<sup>46</sup>

A standard definition of risk is “the possibility of something bad happening” (Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary, 2009)]. However, in terms of being interested in the processes by which Japan recalibrates how that possibility is understood and mediated at the national level as a responsibility to respond, vis-à-vis the *enemy* constitutive of the DPRK for instance, we require a definition that explores the open-ended (future orientated) construction of risk, i.e., in terms of its malleability. To this end, it is necessary to recognize Adam and Van Loon’s claim that,

The inescapability of interpretation makes risk infinitely malleable and, as Beck (1992: 23) insists, ‘open to social definition and construction’.” [And, moreover, that] “The pervasiveness of mediation, the high level of indeterminacy and the inevitability of political involvement mean that there is no one truth, that there are no facts outside the relativizing influence of interpretations based on context, position, perspective, interest, and the power to define and colour interpretation.

(Beck, Adam, Van Loon, 2000: 4)

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44 In his presentation on 18 November 2009 at the Japanese-German Center Berlin (JDZB) Conference on Risk in East Asia, Beck outlined how the term *cosmopolitan* required redefinition in order to understand how the global *risk society* has, largely as the result of almost universally adopted neo-liberal policy trajectories, become both utterly interconnected and at the same time pluralized state-to-state – hence, he claimed, requiring a *cosmopolitanized* understanding and solidarity among interstate actors, particularly in East Asia, in order to address how institutions may be better integrated to perceive and cope with the increasingly unequal challenges posed by global risks.

45 For an exposition of how Giddens’ and Becks’ theories contrast and intersect, see: Giddens, Beck and Lash (1994), and for further discussion, Giddens (1999, 1-10).

46 As such, this study adopts a somewhat eclectic, or at least theoretically integrated, approach to understanding socio-political *risk*. For an excellent discussion of how varying, distinct, schools of thought on risk relate specifically to Japan’s international relations, see Williamson (2011).

Yet, although this statement offers an insightful impression of the processes at hand, as will become apparent, at the practical level of aiding and formulating policy prescriptions Beck et al.'s *risk society* theory extensively concedes empirical precedence to theories exploring the governmentality per se of *risk*.<sup>47</sup> However, it is, nevertheless, from Beck's literary departure point, that IR theorists and security analysts now face the challenge of how to incorporate what has become an increasingly significant body of literature on the societal, and, hence moreover state, role of risk. Indeed, in light of an accelerated period of *hyper*-globalization (Ravenhill, 2008), in which risk has developed into a key discourse by which policies are, regardless of varying levels of implicitness and explicitness, discussed, formulated and implemented, the implications for future expansion of IR theories and their application is potentially immense. This is particularly poignant to issues pivoting on the framing of security concerns, such as those related to the North East Asian region, and, specifically, Japan's mediation of risk framed as a response to North Korea – not least at the state governance level in the name of maintaining *security* and *order*. Indeed, as Nils Bubandt (2005: 278) asserts,

In its conventional forms, 'security' may be defined as 'freedom from danger and risk'... Security, in other words, deals with the problem of order and disorder, being both the *ontological condition* of order, in the sense of an absence of doubt, danger and risk, and the *political means* of ensuring that order.

If accepted as a compelling argument, this conceptually innovative statement from Bubandt surely highlights how the norms that are used to (re)calibrate risk at state and societal levels must clearly permeate the political decisions and process, therein, in increasingly fundamental ways. Moreover, with the acceleration, at the very least in perception, of globalized modes of political behaviour, the role of risk in security is of particularly heightened significance. Indeed, as an analytical tool for examining such behaviour, it would

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47 Although a subjective interpretation, this state of the on-going theoretical discussion on risk is understood through expert opinion gauged, predominantly, from public debates at the University of Sheffield and the Japanese-German Center Berlin (JDZB Conference on Risk in East Asia, November 2009), particularly relating to appraisals by professors Frank Rövekamp, Werner Pascha, Glenn Hook, and Ulrich Beck himself.

appear to lend itself well to providing better access (including to the understanding of *reflexive* effects (Beck, 2009) to specific bilateral and regional international relations, including, not least, Japan's relationship to North Korea.

It seems consistent to argue that it is, therefore, necessary to examine pivotal studies (literature) which express how risks have been reinterpreted by societal actors and the state itself. Indeed, despite containing areas of limited empirically assessable data in a conceptual or theoretical sense, once again probably none has been more influential in this endeavour than Ulrich Beck. In his work on the *risk society* Beck explores how risks have been detached from their previous calibration as phenomena associated in purely negative terms with harms, towards a means by which scientific communities, commercial and other interests, and societies and states as a whole produce and justify a range of activities and industries that are reliant upon the ingredient of *risk*. He is also broadly pessimistic, and somewhat fatalistic, at the global level when it comes to assessing how scientific development has created a risk society in which there exists a paradox of catastrophic risks that cannot be fully managed (such as nuclear or environmental) and a society obsessed and manipulated by a perceived need to counter an expanding barrage of risks (Beck, 1992).<sup>48</sup> Moreover, Beck offers to supersede, while yet still making use of, the standard application of IR theories such as *neo-realism* and *constructivism* in order to better understand how risk is constructed, evaluated and utilized in foreign policy formation and societal change. Indeed, with direct reference to this function of applying risk-theories to those of IR, he states (2000: 33) that,

I do not restrict my analysis to one perspective or conceptual dogma: I am both realist and constructivist, using realism and constructivism as far as those meta-narratives are useful for the purpose of understanding the complex and ambivalent 'nature' of risk...

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48 It is the contention of this study that Japan's calibration of risks that arise from perceptions of the DPRK have been recalibrated to the level where they are seen as comparable to these, in terms of presenting the potential for equivalent, unimaginably catastrophic harms.

Therein, Beck's work is of specific interest in relation to this case of recalibrations of risk in Japan's international relations, particularly because North Korea offers an obvious source of both unmanageably catastrophic risks (nuclear, military, biological etc.) and, if framed effectively as such, a focal point around which a range of security risks *have* to be identified with, accounted for and countered or adapted to (i.e., taken responsibility for). As we observed in the literature that takes a constructivist approach, the conceptual framework, or "epistemological paradigms" (Hall, 1993: 279) that international relations are conducted within may shift, or can be shifted, over time, but Beck's analysis would put a distinctly negative spin on the ideological progress promoted by constructivism, suggesting, rather, that we would do well to look more at how powerful actors inside the Japanese state and society are able to engineer recalibrations of risk, justified in terms of responsibilities to secure Japan against a *scientifically* calculated threat from the DPRK, making use of the unequal power relations that give them a variety of controls in shifting risks.

However, prior to any attempt at comparison and application of Beck's work on risk with the relevant schools of thought in IR theory, it is necessary to acknowledge and assess a number of perspectives in the available literature, which debate, contest, and challenge the core of his thesis on the changing nature of sociological risk. These critiques and conceptual variations, after all, have important consequences for any research addressing the application and use of Beckinian *risk* theory in international relations.<sup>49</sup>

Not least within this field, though not always directly linked to the subject matter of International Relations, there are a number of scholarly works which constructively build on Beck's initially pessimistic outlook concerning the recalibration of risk across the wider global society, which may be scaled down for application to the case study of Japan's responses to

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49 For an excellent summary and critique of Beck's work, and its implications for IR and further social theories, see Jarvis (2007). Jarvis provides a range of data sources and socio-geographical evidence to refute the empirical validity of Beck's thesis, but acknowledges the importance of his theoretical constructs regarding socio-political concerns with risk.



North Korea. These, in turn, offer a glimpse of how we might re-conceptualize risk as an important construct at nation-state, regional and global levels of unit analyses. Many of the theoretical groundwork for such re-evaluation is captured in Tom Baker and Jonathan Simon's volume, *Embracing Risk* (eds, 2002), which seeks to demonstrate how there has been a fundamental shift over recent times in advanced societies from spreading risks and risk prevention per-se, to embracing risks as a means by which to maximize future outcomes and profits.<sup>50</sup>

Although focused primarily on national social insurance policies, by identifying a key distinction between the spreading and embracing of risk Simon and Baker provide an indicative insight as to how research into the recalibration of risk, justified or framed in terms of a changing security environment, might be tackled. That is, they expose the extent to which risk has been reinterpreted as a social construct throughout advanced nations during the twentieth century, not least in Japan. Indeed they assert that, "...focus is on the United States, but we think that experience is not unique. If anything, risk has been socialized to an even greater extent in Western Europe and Japan" (Simon and Baker, 2002: 3).

As such, the primary significance of Simon and Bakers', and their contributors', writings, as far as this dissertation is concerned, is their attempts to broaden Beck's overarching *doom 'n gloom* theory to allow a more flexible means by which to apply risk related theories rooted in social economics to a wider range of academic disciplines, including those concerned with international relations, and national, regional and global governance.<sup>51</sup> Therein, the central claim of the above work is succinctly encapsulated in the passage below:

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50 Baker and Simon are primarily focussed on the conception of risk in insurance practices, but their volume is pivotal in as much as, albeit from a diverse perspective, it illuminates how *risk* can facilitate political gains.

51 See Beck (1992: 57) for an example of his seemingly cynical view of the expanding growth and use of the *risk society* for commercial gain, seen as a symptom of what he terms "reflexive modernity", which holds that scientific progress is inextricably bound up with increases in potentially catastrophic risks.

...embracing risk also encompasses a broader idea of governing through risk. ...the core idea of governing through risk is the use of formal considerations about risk to direct organizational strategy and resources. ...And presidents and prime ministers alike now define themselves by the risks they would have the state lift from the shoulders of the populations and the risks they would not (2002: 11).

The above clearly reflects and engages a constructivist conception, as observed in Hook and Takeda's appraisal of "self-responsibility culture" in Japan (2007: 93-123), while also implicitly expressing a transition to the conceptualization of risk as distinct from *danger*, a position inherent in a great deal of the *risk* literature, particularly that which stems from an engagement, be it negative or positive, with theories devised by the likes of Beck and Foucault.<sup>52</sup> This is, not least, because Beck is effectively accusing state authorities of blurring scientific credentials that justify policy, under the ideological discourse of calculated risk aversion – taking place amid forms of societies which are increasingly unable to avert cataclysmic risks.

Further, in addition to the impact of recalibrated societal risks upon ideological and normative frameworks key to constructivist thinking, the risk literature also intersects with neo-liberalism and other liberal theories in a manner which holds considerable significance to international relations and national responses as a whole. The link between risk and liberalism is addressed by Pat O'Malley (2004) in his analysis of "risk, uncertainty and government," in which he highlights the paradox between calculable future risks allowing for provisions that will potentially guarantee freedoms, and the inability of freedoms to be obtained without a degree of uncertainty removing the constraints of a pre-calculated future.<sup>53</sup> O'Malley's discussions are also of specific relevance to international relations issues, such as those contained in Japan's responses to North Korea, because they expose

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52 This distinction is, indeed, expressed more explicitly by Pat O'Malley (in Simon and Baker (eds.), 2002: 111) with reference to Francois Ewald (a further contributor to the above work, and himself a distinguished scholar of risk theory).

53 See also, O'Malley (2004: 2-4) for an exposition of Beck's postulation of the latter position contrasted with Peter Bernstein's promotion of the former.

a further crucial theoretical distinction in how risk is popularly perceived to be calibrated, or recalibrated; i.e., as opposed not only to danger but also as opposed to uncertainty. In addition, they highlight the lack of analytical attention paid to risk as a key component of liberal-derived, and more specifically neo-liberal, theories which have continued to pervade and underlie a great deal of tactical provisions made at the state level.<sup>54</sup> Indeed, O'Malley stresses the need to understand how governments with a neo-liberal agenda now combine and integrate the concepts of calculable risk and *creative uncertainty* in order to recalibrate how the responsibility for risks are consequently assigned. He posits that,

the promotion of neo-liberalism and entrepreneurial governance has also pressed a new telos of creative uncertainty to the foreground. Rather than concerning ourselves about a possibly futile exercise in measuring whether risk is 'spreading', we should recognise that risk and uncertainty are *both* being valorised in new ways and forms. And they are being deployed in relation to different domains or functions of government than was the case in the post-war years. Not the least important of these changes is that both are mobilised to emphasise the choice and responsibility of individuals for the governance of their own futures and the futures of their families and 'communities' (2004: 73).

Although O'Malley neglects (excusably in light of his domestic policy focus) to define what a "community" extends to, his theorized point regarding the shift of emphasis in mediating risk and uncertainty between the state and its citizens can, with a little imagination and conceptually logical licence, be extended to national and foreign policy models, particularly those of modern-day Japan. Indeed, this potentially opens the door to justifying the relevance of an investigation into how *creative uncertainty* is used when it comes to recalibrating risks posed by Kim Jong-Il's (or Jong-Un's) North Korea, specifically those posed by nuclear, military and abduction issues. In other words, it poses the question of how O'Malley's conception of risks and uncertainty, as a phenomenon mediated and outsourced by the state to civil society, can be, is, or has been present in Japan's recalibration of risks that are identified with the DPRK.

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<sup>54</sup> For detailed exposition of neoliberal policy trends, see Harvey (2005: 64-119).

There are, of course, also other theoretical literary works, not focussed directly on international relations, which may still contain valuable insights when it comes to exploring the conception, recalibration and application of risk between the state, market and society. Indeed, many such texts provide considerable scope for interdisciplinary transfer, or reapplication, including to the case study at hand. For instance, as a tool for deciphering what factors need to be considered in order to understand how a phenomenon is framed as a means by which to evaluate risks, Handmer and Dovers (2007: 83) offer the following insight,

...it is useful to examine risk using multiple framings. Recognizing and applying different perspectives will highlight where important issues may lie and who stands to lose from different policies. But this may be difficult to do because some of the drivers of problem framing are fundamental to society and it can be difficult to step outside dominant institutional or disciplinary ways of thinking. Of course, this raises the issue as to who frames problems and why. Any stakeholder can frame or reframe the problem; but some are more influential. The media are powerful problem framers in most policy arenas; they may lead or often follow framing by political leaders, commerce may frame problems to their advantage, and so on. Framing can occur at a number of levels from the generic to policy dealing with a single hazard.

Hence, it is apparent that if adapted to the case of Japan's state, media and other commercial interests – the generic hazard being North Korea and single hazards amounting to issues such as abductions, nuclear proliferation and missile development etc. – that the above forms a very pertinent theoretical conception, necessitating consideration and application for the research undertaken in this dissertation.<sup>55</sup>

In essence, then, the *risk* literature provides a great deal of tangible insight into how risk can be understood and re-evaluated as a shifting social construction with broad-ranging political malleability that is applicable, potentially, to a vast array of interactive issues. They

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55 Although Handmer and Dovers are primarily discussing theories of risk applied to policies for disasters and emergencies at the domestic or civil level, much of the following dissertation is focussed on assessing how North Korea has been, or is being, framed in those terms, as a *risk-calculable* hazard. As such, it is claimed that the cross-application of constructive theoretical ideas akin to the above is invaluable, indeed necessary, in order to gain maximum practical fruition from the empirical research.

include those of interstate security concerns, which are open to state-societal-level mediation – facilitating the recalibration of such risks. In this sense, risk is distinct from concepts such as danger, threat and uncertainty per se, but is also able to transform the discourse connected to those conceptions into transitive, future-oriented issues,<sup>56</sup> which allocate responsibility to a given set of actors, who are required to make appropriate responsive decisions. Amid this, in the case of Japan’s framing of and responses to North Korea, such decisions are being taken within the context of a post-bubble society, which has been highly sensitized at state, institutional and individual levels, to the perception of salient external risks.<sup>57</sup>

### **1.6. IR –v– domestic politics: risk and critical writings on Japan’s state policies**

A great deal of literature on Japan’s international relations has contained sections or chapters that deal with the issues of North Korea policy. However, very little work has offered a comprehensive overview and detailed analysis with both full descriptive and prescriptive elements. This is particularly so in terms of analyses which integrate both domestic and international elements. In contradiction to this trend, however, Gavan McCormack (2007) provides an impressively well-formulated and comprehensive perspective with which to address the topic. Moreover, McCormack offers a distinct position on the key issues at hand by extending beyond the much-covered rhetoric of Japan’s threat inflation and creation of fear vis-à-vis the DPRK to expose the instrumental role that the US

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56 The idea of a future oriented, transitive understanding and application of risk (as a form of anticipation) was discussed at the symposium on Risk in East Asia, JDZB, Berlin (17-20 November 2009) in response to a presentation given by Ulrich Beck, entitled “World Risk Society: The Cosmopolitan Turn”.

57 There are a wide range of phenomena through which Japan has become a so-called *risk society*, from state to individual levels, which span almost the entirety of social science disciplines – as discussed at the above conference by scholars such as Hanns Günther Hilpert, Itō Midori, Osawa Mari, Ogawa Akihiro, Suzuki Munenori, Takeda Hiroko, and Werner Pascha. Elements of these diverse areas are well combined and outlined by Yui Kiyomitsu through his Japan case-study of what he terms “multiple reflexive modernities under glocalization”. For further discussion, see Yui (2009).

has played in shaping Japan's North Korea policies and media depiction of Pyongyang. The implication is that the US, particularly unscrupulously under the Bush administration, has used a combination of political intervention, military posturing, and ideological propaganda to create a regional environment within which Japanese efforts to normalize relations with Pyongyang and mellow public opinion towards the DPRK are scuppered (2007: 94-115). The culmination of these pressures, stemming primarily from the US it is claimed, leads to Japan repeating a self-perpetuating (i.e. seized upon and whipped-up by mass-media and individual politicians) process of negatively framing North Korea in a one sided disproportionate manner, exacerbated by political and public inertia. The result is that, "North Korea exercises a powerful hold over the Japanese imagination, but the shadow that it casts is disproportionate to the reality" (2007: 95).<sup>58</sup> However, although McCormack is impressively rigorous in exposing how both the US and Japanese governments have, and at times in combination, calculatedly manipulated information in order to frame Pyongyang as a dangerous "evil", due to his highly anti-US neoconservative stance, the entire piece reads as a critique of the American neoliberal agenda and its negative influence over Japan – thus relegating the specifics of Japan's North Korea policy to a function of that process. It is, as such, necessary to be wary of analyses (while, of course, noting areas of empirical value which they may hold) that explain away too much of Japan's state, market and society agencies under the uniform label of *beitsu*.<sup>59</sup>

In this respect, Wada Haruki (2003) is more critical of the Japanese government, domestic media and political apparatus in their own right, in terms of identifying how, following a perceived genuine opportunity to recalibrate risks in relation to North Korea more positively

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58 For discussion of how the US has since also redirected Japanese policies, in line with its own changing strategic needs, and in counter to the emphasis upon the abductions issue which has influenced the particularly hard-line applied by Tokyo against Pyongyang, see McCormack (2009: 259-66).

59 Likewise, however, one must not underestimate the causal power of *beitsu* as at least *an* agent in almost all aspects of Japan's state-level policy formation. As Ronald Dore succinctly puts it, "...all questions of Japanese foreign policy are referred back to one central, axial criterion: what would be the effect on Japan's alliance with the United States" – Dore (1997: XX).

after Koizumi's 2002 summit meeting with Kim Jong-Il, the chance was both lost and relations dangerously restructured around the negative framing of Pyongyang.<sup>60</sup> Wada specifies Abe Shinzō's confrontational attitude, moulded by public support for a tough stance on North Korea following the admission that a number of abductees had been taken and eight of the thirteen had died, as a key factor in fusing civil society and the state to combine in framing the DPRK negatively.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, he establishes how, while premier, Fukuda Yasuo had, once again attempted to soften relations with Pyongyang, his resignation and the appointment of Asō Tarō again dashed hopes of improving how North Korea was publically and politically framed (Wada, 2009). This was predominantly because, once again, Asō and the LDP were entrenched in domestic troubles, and sought to garner support in the public sphere by taking a tough line, recalibrating the perception of risks attached to DPRK issues, and distracting attention from pressing domestic concerns. In terms of the processes of risk recalibration in response to the DPRK, then, Wada's analysis only provides a clear illumination of how risks have been unevenly divided between the various North Korean issues, with political leaders mediating risk through an inflated appraisal of the abduction issue. His assertions, in essence, do not establish a deliberate strategy, the like of which is postulated by Samuels (2007), but rather convey a lack of awareness and competence on the part of leading political figures within Japan's policy elite, an inference that domestic interparty infighting has taken precedence over national interest, and a sense that the abduction issue has been used as a political pawn, which exerts a disproportionate influence

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60 Koizumi suffered a blow to his popularity, and required some form of diversion from domestic criticism, following his sacking of former foreign secretary, Tanaka Makiko. Hence, he seized upon public sensitivity to the abductions issue, and the prominence of concerns directed at the DPRK. By making a historic visit to Pyongyang in 2002, receiving an oral apology from Kim Jong-Il, and securing the return of abductees and the Pyongyang Declaration, he was seen not only to have scored a major foreign policy success for Japan, but also served his own political interests. Moreover, his particular means of doing so would not have been possible without the existence of a *North Korea phenomenon* in Japan, and the ability to convince the relevant sectors of the state, market and society of its seriousness. However, the exercise ultimately back-fired in terms of normalization with the DPRK, due to outrage over Kim's admission of abductions.

61 For specific criticism of Abe's domestic and international policy stance in relation to the DPRK, see Umeda (2007: 155-75).

due to its sensationalized public appeal (Wada, 2003). Hence, while indirectly providing excellent accounts of how the political elite compete over the manner in which risk is calibrated domestically and nationally for their own or grander aims, both Wada and Samuels, despite their diverse perspectives, seem to have paid little attention to the broader processes by which risk has been recalibrated by a combined (compounded) framing of the DPRK as a national phenomenon located beyond purely political circles. In essence, whether tackled from an IR or domestic political perspective, a not fully explained tension remains over how risks framed against North Korea are constructed between the state, market and society.

In terms of prescriptions for responding to such risks, and the tension between structural changes to the post-Cold War regional environment and domestically driven agendas, Ono Naoki (2011) unpacks the theory, akin to that of Berger et al. (2007), that Japan's policy trajectory vis-à-vis the DPRK has essentially been adaptive – based on whether the calibration of risks warrants the categorization of domestic crises or not. In this sense, Ono (2011: 204-31) argues that regional dynamics and US-led *gaiatsu* have had an impact upon how risks, such as those assigned to North Korea, have been recalibrated, but that responses have been minimalized in keeping with Japan's domestic political processes. Therein, he posits that, in line with Japan's existing security policy structures, revisions have only taken place in as much as leading political actors within Japan have been forced to internalize such concerns in legalized form, such as those set out in the new US-Japan security guidelines of the 1990s, to avert domestically untenable situations. However, despite Ono's convincing arguments regarding Japan's deviance from what could be considered rational choices, based on a neo-realist account of external factors, his analysis relies heavily upon the ascription of causality to Japan's internal political structures in



themselves.<sup>62</sup> In this sense, further explanation of how media, other market, and societal actors have interacted – through their framing of the DPRK – to impinge upon how the state has recalibrated the various associated risks, is required. In addition, although limited in scope, Akaha Tsuneo (2007) provides an astute historical evaluation of both why Japan's policies toward the DPRK are manifest in their present form, and what could and *should* be done to improve them – outlined along familiar neo-liberal lines. Akaha's central claims are his assertions that contrary to the demonized image of the regime in Pyongyang (as framed by Japan's mass media for instance) Japan's political elite, in the majority at least, desire normalization of relations with the DPRK and, moreover, that the primary stumbling block to this being realized is, once again, the abduction issue, which needs to be downplayed.

Indeed, he states (2007: 297) that,

Japan must also demonstrate that it is willing to give priority to the issue of global significance, that is, the nuclear weapons development in North Korea, over the abduction issue if doing so will enhance the probability of success of the multilateral [six-party] talks.

As such, Akaha advocates a combination of bilateral and multilateral approaches, within which he believes a *globalistic* mainstream in Japan's upper political and commercial circles can out-manoeuvre a hawkish right-wing minority that wish to see risks pertaining to the North Korean *threats* maximized to justify decisions taken towards more assertive security policies.

To this end, Akaha, in line with many policy analysts outside of Japan, seeks to assess the North Korean issues, in terms of Japan's risk-governance at least, in liberal-minded terms with a view to level headed (*reisei-na*), practical mitigation, ultimately involving the

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62 Ono (2011: 207) asserts that, based on structural factors manifest in the external security environment – as derived from neo-realist theories, Japan should have revised Article 9 of its constitution, increased military spending and fundamentally reviewed and strengthened its security intelligence systems during the post-Cold War era.

wider international community to further Japan's national interests –v– the DPRK. However, there is an extensive body of texts, particularly those stemming from Japan and the Korean peninsula, but also from elsewhere, which take a more accusing, suspicious or defensive stance in their understanding of Japan's North Korea policy and its causal agents (Nishioka et al. (2005), Yoshida (2008), Lee (2009), Shigemura (2011)). As already noted, Japan's security policies and risk (re)calibrations at the international level have been closely (indeed inextricably) linked to US foreign policy interests in the region, and as such there are those (although variant, generally in concordance with McCormack's appraisal of Japan's DPRK policies) that see the high-calibration of risks and negative framing of North Korea as a function of Washington's agenda in exerting, at different times, external pressures on both Tokyo and Pyongyang.<sup>63</sup> This has also been the object of suspicion regarding the conflation of issues, even including the abduction issue, as highlighted by Suh Dong-Man who insists (2004: 136), for example, that in early post-Cold War normalization talks between the DPRK and Japan,

Due to America, the North Korean nuclear issue was raised, and as a result the talks broke down. On the surface, a North Korean backlash against Japan raising the abduction issue was thought to be the cause, but one can be pretty sure that the fundamental reason for it was actually America's prerogative to establish a US dominated Korean peninsula.<sup>64</sup>

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63 This strand of evaluation essentially depicts the US as an imperialist hegemonic power which seeks to portray the East Asian states as incapable of dealing with their own regional security concerns, and hence requiring an extensive US military presence to do so, which is then covertly used as means to maintain geopolitical, ideological-cultural and economic regional dominance. The fundamentals of this thesis are quintessentially expressed by Hirama and Sugita (2003: 89-99). Hirama and Sugita go on to accuse the US of applying disproportionate and unwarrantedly excessive pressure on the DPRK, through bodies over which it exerts extensive influence, such as the IAEA and UNSC, in order to provoke retaliatory reactions from Pyongyang. The DPRK, despite its actual weakness and vulnerability (and at times even despite its conciliatory approach (2003: 96-98)), is then framed as a source of potentially huge – or “supersized” (Hughes, 2009a) – risks, which can only be countered by the maintenance of a large US military presence and increased pressure from the subordinated surrounding states, such as Japan and the ROK, who are in turn encouraged to inflate these risks, stalling the normalization process, and perpetuating a US-orchestrated regional status-quo.

64 Translated from Suh (2004).

This view is echoed by Byung Chul-Koh, who stresses that Japanese state-level negotiators should be aware of the pressure being put on their possible normalization process with Pyongyang by Japan's over-domineering *ally*, the US. Indeed, as Byung notes, Japan has been alerted to this issue by, among others, the North Koreans. As he discusses (2007: 256) with reference to the political negotiations in 2005,

[DPRK government negotiator], Song reminded Yamamoto that it was the US, not the North, that had erected a stumbling block to Six-party Talks; hence Japan should ask its US ally to remove it.<sup>65</sup>

However, as with Akaha, Byung recognizes that it is not simply a matter of US pressure single-handedly shaping Japan's North Korea policy, as he also identifies the abduction issue as an obvious stumbling block in this regard.<sup>66</sup> Rather, he illuminates to just what extent US interests have taken advantage of powerful conservative elements within the domestic Japanese political elite in order to persuade Tokyo to identify the DPRK as a high-risk entity in line with Washington's own budgetary concerns regarding "sharing the burden" in East Asian regional security efforts. In this sense, one can clearly observe how the abduction issue has indeed, perhaps predominantly or at least to a considerable extent, come to drive the process of risk recalibration through the negative framing of North Korea.<sup>67</sup>

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65 Byung highlights how economic pressure on the North has been led by US freezing of remittances that were then extended and facilitated by Japan – thus implicitly hinting, that the US would like Japan, including even on issues such as abduction, to "make a fuss" over North Korea, because it allows them to apply pressure on Pyongyang less overtly, acting as an apparently moderating influence over Tokyo, while simultaneously persuading the Japanese public and political elite that it needs to step-up efforts, and military spending, directed at policing the North East Asia region – ultimately for the cause of meeting the challenges of not just North Korea, but a more powerful China.

66 The manner in which essentially separate concerns have been conflated with the abduction issue within Japan's political elite in order to construct a kind of compounded *super-risk*, framed inside the single heading of "North Korea", can be seen in statements released from the Headquarters for the Abduction Issue (*rachi mondai taisaku honbu*, 2008). Although the original Headquarters was dissolved in October 2009, it was immediately replaced, with an equivalent mandate and under the same name, by the incoming DPJ-led government.

67 Survey results conducted over the six years from 2002-2007 show that those without a specific concern regarding Japan's relations with North Korea have dropped from an already low 4.9 per cent to just 3.2 per cent while concerns over abductions, nuclear proliferation and missile threats have largely remained above

After all, in the early post-Cold War era, this is a process, which according to Wolf Mendl's analysis (1995: 72-5) previously caused deep divisions between the defence agency and those at the helm of the central political bureaucracy, such as former premier, Miyazawa, not least because civil society as a whole prioritized normalization with Pyongyang over the kind of public indignation depicted in today's mainstream Japanese press.<sup>68</sup>

Nevertheless, as Sakai Hidekazu (2001) has demonstrated, one should, once again, be wary of painting the Japanese policy elite as ultimately little more than powerless victims of US-lead *gaiatsu* (external pressure). Although suspiciously contorted to instil a sense of Japanese guile in the face of challenging pressures applied by US brawn, Sakai's claim regarding Japan's motivations to resume its participation in the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) programme, following suspension after the Taepodong missile incident of 1998 for instance, does present a convincing case study of how heightened risk perceptions and their mediation to the civil society have been combined with political pragmatism, which makes tactical use of *gaiatsu*, particularly US-led pressure (*beiatsu*). Sakai posits (2001: 69-72) that, the cabinet of former Prime Minister Obuchi Keizō, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), and other important actors in the Japanese policy elite were content to use *gaiatsu* from the US and South Korea as an official reason to resume participation in the KEDO, because it allowed them to take a bold stance against what was a heightened sense of danger within the media and civil society towards Pyongyang, while providing a convenient get-out-clause that also allowed them to maintain Japan's economic, bilateral (with US, which assumes a global policing role) and regional developmental

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85 per cent, 75 per cent and 55 per cent respectively, all showing an increase from the rates observed in 2002 (Cabinet Office of Japan, 2008). See also, Chapter 5, Figure 5.3.

<sup>68</sup> It is worth noting that although Mendl is a well-respected scholar of Japanese and East Asian affairs, his fundamental prioritizing of unification issues in predicting the shape of Japan's Korean Peninsula policies in the early 21<sup>st</sup> Century has not come to fruition. However, his analysis of US influence over Japan's state policy does offer a sound theoretical basis for understanding areas of the empirically testable elements of how Japan's risk recalibration vis-à-vis the DPRK has been driven since the end of the Cold War.

norms.<sup>69</sup> As examined in the following section, this process of ratcheted-up risks, combined with pragmatic policy in response to the DPRK appears to be consistent with Japan's on-going construction of national and international norms at the state-political level, which include facilitating Japan's transformation towards becoming a "normal power". Once again, however, they as yet do not fully account for how the processes of interaction between state, market and society facilitate the exact composition and expression of associated socio-political risks.

These kinds of national political trajectories, and the manner in which risks associated with them are calibrated, can also be seen through the lens of identity. Although not identifying the re-calibration and mediation of risk per se, the process by which danger and uncertainty have been attached and postulated, through the medium of identity, in pertinence to the DPRK, particularly following changes in the regional security dynamics of the post-Cold War world, are well exposed by Bhubhindar Singh. In root cause of this process, he claims that,

Despite the presence of competing threat construction processes, it is important to note that all members within the security policy-making elite support Japan's move away from the peace-state identity and the continued strengthening/expansion of the international-state security identity (2006: 106).

Such perspectives, as he points out, are in line with Japan's grander normative goals of normalization and extended regional influence. Moreover, crucially, Singh examines how, during the 1994 nuclear crises, Japan's policy elite was able to convince the media and other commercial interests, as well as civil society that North Korea presents a genuine security threat that must be countered long-term, while for a number of practical domestic

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69 The topic of Japan's willingness to tactically bend to *beijitsu* in order to further the norm of bilateralism and US-lead security in North East Asia is also discussed by Miyashita (2001).

and military-logistical reasons did not perceive the situation as an actual crisis (2006: 198-201).

For Singh, there appears to be a consistent constructivist agenda, linked to Japan's more assertive, yet (though once again not explicitly stated) risk-oriented post-Cold War identity at work, which perpetuates a process of constructing identity threatening crises, followed by strong responses, evoking Japan's vulnerability, and justifying reformatory countermeasures. This, he argues (2006: 108-09), serves the goal of,

...working towards creating a security environment that conforms to [a] positive representation [of Japan's identity, intersubjectively constructed in relation to other states] as a constitutive member of the regional and international security environment.

Indeed, in terms of understanding how the processes that the literature above points to (regardless of the actual increased military or logistic capabilities of Pyongyang, less covered by Singh) by way of the construction of higher risk calibrations (Jinbo, 2009) the issue of Japan's constructed and contested identity appears to be of considerable significance,<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, in this respect, it is noteworthy that despite the remaining five of the six parties all being more economically and (given the US's logistic support for Japan and South Korea) militarily powerful than the comparatively weak North, and making similar noises regarding normalization and de-nuclearization of the peninsula,<sup>71</sup> it seems that Japan is probably more prominent in this process of *identity-based* risk recalibration than any of her regional and global contemporaries,<sup>72</sup> In that sense, then, although for this dissertation Singh's analysis is lacking a concrete explanation of important recent events such as Japan's responses to the latest round of North Korean missile and nuclear tests and

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70 For expert analysis of North Korea's realistic military capabilities and options, see Masaki (1995: 365-425), Ogawa and Sakamoto (2007: 11-78).

71 Referring here to the members of the Six Party Talks (Japan, US, China, South Korea, North Korea, Russia).

72 For a related text in Japanese, see Jinbo (2009).

inconsistencies over the abduction issues, it functions as a persuasive introduction as to how identity may feature as a key component for better understanding the processes by which risks are framed and perceived.

### ***1.7. North Korea in Japan's public sphere***

As the literature thus far has corroborated, public spheres intersecting civil society and the market (including media and academic discourse) and their relationship to domestic and international politics are of considerable significance to an explanation of how processes such as the construction and calibration of risk are manifested at the state level. Writings and commentaries from, and upon, what might be termed the *public debate* in Japan, and media attention devoted to Japanese concerns stemming from Pyongyang are, therefore, of crucial importance to understanding how Japan has recalibrated risk in response to North Korea. Not least, this is so because they offer an obvious temporal barometer; and because such channels of discourse evidently reflect, drive, and are driven (reflexively) by the elite political thinking of the time, which ultimately facilitates the formulation and implementation of policy directives.

Whether, however, deliberately incorporated into policy or obliviously (or at least unconsciously) consumed and affected by it, much of the politicizing in Japan's responses to North Korea stems from processes and forces identified by the IR theories discussed above. Nevertheless, they increasingly require an interpretation of how those forces embrace risk, in order to more accurately and incisively explain them. Indeed, forthwith, in terms of understanding how risk is mediated between the state, market and civil society, such is deemed of sufficient importance to dedicate considerable weighting within each case study chapter of the dissertation to the study of media sources. However, prior to the systematic analysis of that primary data, it is necessary to grasp some kind of broad sample

understanding, or rough sketch, of some of the key literary sources from the public sphere, which evince an altered stance in the post-Cold War era, particularly in terms of transforming nationally ascribed policies and norms related to how Japan calibrates risks associated with the DPRK.

As noted above, Japan's responses to North Korea have shifted over time, particularly following the end of the Cold War, and again somewhat after the 9/11 attacks, as well as being consistently affected (fluctuating) in the face of domestic leadership changes. These changes are usually framed in relation to key events relating to the core issues of missile launches, nuclear proliferation, marine intrusions, and abductions. There appear to be various interactive (socio-political, geo-political and politico-economic) phenomena at work amongst these processes of change, and although the overall perceived risk levels have been raised, it is by no means a steady or even process. Within this, one intriguing element of such a process is the apparent shift in the distance at which North Korea is framed in relation to Japan, in terms of how the risks of potential direct conflict with Pyongyang are delineated. In other words, how far Japan is seen to lie from engagement with North Korea has not remained constant. Examples of this can be seen in debates and commentaries on Pyongyang's manoeuvring. Such was highlighted in an on-going discussion forum conducted in the Japanese foreign affairs periodical, *Gaikō Fōramu*. For instance, in the September 1999 issue, during a discussion held between a high-ranking MOFA official (Sasae Kenichirō (moderator)), Okonogi Masao (renowned North Korea expert), Shigemura Toshimitsu (North Korea specialist and then editor of the *Mainichi Shimbun*) and Komaki Teruo (an expert in East Asian affairs from the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO)), it is stated that one of North Korea's primary concerns is to improve relations with the US in order to begin a normalization process with Japan, that would facilitate economic aid to the North (Okonogi, 1999: 27). Indeed, all discussion of weapons and nuclear armaments are in relation to such a strategy. Hence, there is a sense of a perceived indirectness concerning the connection between Pyongyang's actions and the Japanese state. This changed



dramatically with the commencement of Koizumi Junichirō's term as leader, and his historic visit to Pyongyang in September 2002. In response, *Gaikō Fōramu* published an article expressing how Japan's relations with North Korea were the key to improving DPRK-US relations and regional stability (Hiramatsu, 2002: 25), suggesting a much greater proximity between Tokyo and Pyongyang. Despite the raising of the stated core issues of Japanese concern being present in both editions, the framing of North Korea as a greater element of concern within the public sphere in Japan under the Koizumi administration is reflected by this subtle redressing of how the Japan-DPRK relationship is expressed.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, by 2003 the journal was publishing articles which suggested a far more obvious recalibration of risk in response to the DPRK, such as that posted by former State Department North Korea Desk Officer, Kenneth C. Quinones, who warned that Pyongyang's "...large arsenal of reliable, medium-range ballistic missiles could strike anywhere in Japan" (2003: 38), and claimed that a crisis that posed serious potential harms to Japan and regional security was looming (2003: 32-4). Needless to say, although not all as concrete as that observed in *Gaikō Fōramu*, this shift in the appraisal of Tokyo's responses to North Korea, and comprehension of the associated risks, appears as a trend in a variety of leading journals and literature.<sup>74</sup>

Moreover, it is noteworthy that in the post-spy-ship incursion and multiple-missile launch era of Koizumi,<sup>75 76</sup> military beefing-up, by way of BMD systems and such like, has

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73 Therein, abduction, nuclear proliferation, missile, and commercial/criminal issues all being perceived as posing risks to Japan which result directly from North Korean action.

74 Specific demonization of current North Korean leader, Kim Jong Il within recent Japanese literature, as a function of this process, is particularly notable. For instance, searches of leading publishers and bookshop websites using the Japanese characters for "Kim Jong-Il" locate over 200 titles, the majority of which are highly negative, derogatory or *fear-provoking* from the outset, see also Chapter 4, Section 4.8.

75 For a full description of the Spy-Ship incidents and the means by which they were used, in particular by the Koizumi administration, in a temporal context to raise perceived risk levels against the DPRK and enact a more assertive maritime and coastguard defence strategy, see Black (2006).

76 i.e., as of post-1998, following satellite and Taepodong launches which took place five years after the initial Nodong missile test of 1993, and within a climate of increasingly consistent negative framing of the DPRK within the public sphere.

increasingly and predominantly been discussed in terms of Japan acquiring necessary defensive capabilities and enacting normalization (of the state) to deal proactively and responsibly with risks posed by Pyongyang.<sup>77</sup> Such public discourse is clearly distinct from that present prior to North Korea's missile launch in 1998. As discussed further in Chapter 3, although risks began, in a limited fashion, to become more extensively framed against the DPRK after the initial Nodong test of 1993 and *nuclear crisis* of 1993-4, sentiments such as those posited in the LDP's in-house journal, *Jiyū*, for example, which express as much concern for former Prime Minister Hashimoto's willingness to bow to US external pressure and take more responsibility for East Asian military security as it does for the potential harms that might be exacted upon Japan by the North Korean regime (Ishihara, 1997: 76-9), were, it seems, of greater prominence within political academia, commercial media, and civil society.

However, it is obviously important when examining the role and influence of actors, such as media and prominent strands of academic discourse, in the processes of risk recalibration not to over simplify or misconstrue what is meant by the *public sphere*. This is not a single organism or even necessarily a loose affiliation of actors. Indeed, it goes without saying that, particularly across the academic disciplines, opinions on the understanding of, and appropriate policy responses to, risks arising from actions by the DPRK which are perceived to be directed at Japan have doubtless always been utterly divided.<sup>78</sup> However, a process or processes, such as that expressed by Son Key-Young's conception of an "invention of fear", appear to have been incrementally affected, whereby (2008: 6) the totalled balance is shifted into a position within which "totally new discourses [can be] empowered" (i.e., repositioning

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77 This kind of discourse is often represented by the advocating of an inclusive (*hōkatsuteki*) or composite (*fukugōteki*) strategy employed with renewed urgency in response to potentially escalating risks attached to the DPRK, as outlined by panellists (Katayama Masaichi, Michishita Narushige, Masuda Masayuki and Gerald Curtis) at the Tokyo Foundation (2009).

78 For an example of prominent journal discussion, including academics, politicians and journalists criticizing confrontational state posture and over-calibration of risks framed against North Korea, see Wada, Iwakuni, and Aoki et al. (2008: 122-186).

of conceptual boundaries in the form of recalibrated agendas). Moreover, they are empowered in no small measure through the constructions and conceptions of risk which they contain, and, therein, the mediation of it. Hence, it is necessary to explore how such discourses are expressed when cutting across multiple political, civil society and media spheres, and to assess their temporal weight of influence. This can at least partially be achieved through examination of the specific responses which they continue to stimulate and reflect in the public sphere.

### **1.8. Summary: the necessity of risk as a supplement to the literature**

It is clear, then, from the above examination of relevant literature, that risk, specifically in its socio-politically constructed and publicly actualized form, is an integral element of how Japan responds at the level of bilateral relations to movements from North Korea. Indeed, although demonstrating implicit recognition of such, and offering partially applicable theoretical tools by which these processes can be empirically tested, none of the major strands of IR literature provides an entirely satisfactory explanation or analysis of how Japan has recalibrated and mediated risk through its framing of North Korea. Realist perspectives fail to fully develop how risk is manifest within domestic interactions between the state, market and society. The liberal-oriented viewpoints struggle to deliver a satisfactory account for why Japan lacks a whole-hearted pursuit of an economically focussed engagement strategy with Pyongyang, and are ill-adapted to explain the apparently complex process by which competing elements of the state, market and society have resulted in an increasingly high-calibration of risk construction in response to the DPRK.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, although subtle shifts in ideology and governmental norms, towards a *risk society* in Japan, can perhaps

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79 Although focussed on the US, UK and Australia, an excellent example of such an ideological shift of risk, described as, “a disturbing shift from the dominance of the Enlightenment idea of trusting in science and knowledge to accepting a post-Enlightenment idea that authority and ideology are all that can ever underpin the assessment of abstract risk” is provided Handmer and James (2007: 120-30).

best be addressed by constructivist theories of the state, the degree to which the specifics of how risk has been present, indeed integral, within this process is given scant scholarly attention (in terms of explicit application), by many of its leading theorists.

It is, then, the goal of this dissertation to adapt and supplement the above theories and their derivatives so that they better fill such a literary gap. To this end, the risk literature, by way of its concentrated focus on the effects and governance of radicalized risks, offers a potential means by which to engage with and expand upon a combination of contemporary IR theories and those of domestic politics, in order to more comprehensively research how seemingly complex socio-political processes at the national level, such as those manifest in Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea, can best be tackled and unravelled.

Ultimately, therefore, this understanding of the extant literature and its limitations, promises to provide a starting point from which to develop the framework for synthesizing a theoretical *super-tool* (or *super-theory*) with which to unscramble the puzzles left by these literary cavities and their inconsistencies. Therein, the task of identifying how such a theoretical framework can be constructed and methodologically applied to the job of empirical analysis, conducted on the results of data assimilated from research carried out into specific case studies (as stated above), is assigned to the following chapter.<sup>80</sup> It is argued that only via such a process of theoretical refinement, and its targeted pursuit through rigorous empirical research and analysis, can a more in-depth understanding of how Japan has recalibrated risk in response to North Korea be credibly established.

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<sup>80</sup> For this dissertation, Japan's policy making elites, mass media and other commercial stakeholders, and particular societal stakeholders (such as resident Koreans) have been identified as key actors in terms of providing a means to elucidate the interactive processes of framing and risk recalibration addressed. However, the specific case studies utilized for this purpose should not be considered an exhaustive or exclusive data-set for such analyses.

## Chapter 2. Theoretical framework: combining *risk* and constructivism in a case study research design

*“And so, my fellow theorists; ask not what risk can do for theory,  
ask what theory can do for the greater cogitation of risk”*

Adapted by the author from John F. Kennedy (20 January 1961)<sup>81</sup>

### **2.1. Outline of the methodological approach and research design**

As discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.1 ~ Section 1.4, the methodological approach adopted in this dissertation is that of targeted case-studies, which adopt mixed-method analyses based on a research strategy combining quantitative and qualitative data collection. Data are primarily sourced from three intersecting areas representative of the state, market and society in Japan.<sup>82</sup> This chapter outlines how, in light of the literature reviewed in Chapter 1, data sources which express these constitutive elements can be effectively accessed and analysed. It then examines how the resulting phenomena can be understood theoretically, in terms of an interactive process which results in the creation and implementation of a given set of policies at the national level in Japan. Specifically, this includes those targeted at, or utilizing the framing of, North Korea during the post-Cold War era. The recalibration of risk (justified and facilitated via an external framing) is integral to this process and is examined in

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81 The adapted section of Kennedy’s original speech read as, “And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country”. The quote is contextualized here as representative of how IR theories and theorists oftentimes assume that non-conventional approaches to analysis should be required to *prove* their functionality in terms of providing a contribution to established theoretical models – i.e., as opposed to demanding that their existing theories contain the capacity to contribute towards a wide range of analytical approaches to interdisciplinary research questions. This is particularly pertinent to those which are highly contingent upon the application and (re)calibration of risk.

82 These primarily, though not exclusively, focus on Diet minutes and government reports and papers, leading newspaper coverage and large-scale domestic and international business interests (*Nippon Keidanren*, Japanese defense industry, US defense industry, commercial media interests etc.), and opinion polls and targeted interview data (though mass media sources intersect each of the three sectors). For further explanation of data sources, see Section 2.3, below.

terms of being the function of a historically recurrent process which can best be understood within a constructivist theoretical framework that utilizes a redefined, contemporary, conception and application of risk.

Further, the ontology and epistemology of the theoretical framework outlined below is developed along constructivist lines. This is based on an understanding of agents acting within the bounds of constructed norms associated with Japan's identity. Within this, such norms are shown to be profoundly affected by recalibrations of risk realized in relation to each of the contemporary case study events analysed in Chapter 3 ~ Chapter 5. The specifics of such affects and the delineation of norms are discussed further in Section 2.12 and Section 2.14, below, but it is first necessary to establish the suitability, efficacy and applicability of the methodology to be adopted. This chapter, therein, introduces a variety of historical and methodological aspects which are deployed in combination to facilitate a theoretical approach based, primarily, upon conceptions of constructivism and risk which offer the most effective means by which to explain Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea.

In order to apply such a methodology effectively, aspects of longitudinal and comparative research designs are employed throughout the dissertation as a means by which to aid the analysis of dependent variables, including those of policy trajectory and national norms. These are measured against a succession of intersecting independent variables manifest in the (North Korea-related) post-Cold War case studies examined in the chapters below. The core of the research design, therein, adopts an events-based model, in terms of its case-study analyses of a series of related events and issues – central to Japan's framing of the DPRK and the resulting mediation and recalibration of risk. The prioritizing of this approach is justified in light of its ability to offer a coherent method for temporal investigation, which provides a range of insights and theoretical development within one concise framework. An events-based case study research design, therefore, supplies the most productive tool with

which to examine relevant data sets and samples, and to make them readily accessible to further research and supplementation. Moreover, it is particularly applicable as a method for analysing data used to explain dynamic phenomena which intersect a myriad of fluid, interactive, socio-political spheres and processes influenced by a multitude of individual and organizational actors. Specifically, such an approach can be applied to the dissemination of media coverage relating to particular on-going issues (Bryman, 2008: 53), the specific agendas of a given political elite, and the prevailing trajectories of civil and commercial stakeholders – such as those most centrally involved in Japan’s responses (mediated through the public sphere) to the DPRK.<sup>83</sup>

The specific qualitative and quantitative methods, and systems for data analysis, employed in each of the case studies are examined in further detail in Section 2.3 and Section 2.4, below, and the primary means of application for key data sources are grouped and expressed in Table 2.1. Preceding that, the following section briefly outlines the cognitive and normative rationale behind sampling techniques and data sets used to facilitate the empirical research presented in later chapters – based on the theoretical framework constructed in the latter half of this chapter. The central concept for this approach is also expressed crudely in the schematic model shown in Figure 2.1.

## ***2.2. Observational –v– experimental approaches***

As stated in Section 0.1 of the Introduction to this dissertation, its aim is to explore and re-evaluate complex processes that explain Japan’s recalibration of risk in response to North Korea. However, in terms of a scientific methodology which can hope to achieve such a goal, there are obvious areas, such as the relative causal influence of the case studies researched

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<sup>83</sup> Bryman’s methodologies are primarily concerned with domestic and transnational social research projects, rather than IR theory per se. However, the models he adopts for data collection and analysis are rigorously devised to incorporate a wide range of variables and are clearly adaptable to analyses of actors which influence national policy trajectories, such as those addressed here.

in the chapters that follow, which are not amenable to objective evaluation through conventional experimental means. In order to overcome this, however, a schematic system, as outlined in Section 2.3 and Section 2.4, below, of quantitative data sources, designed primarily to observe shifts in the volume of Japan's negative framing of North Korea in the public sphere during the post-Cold War era, has been employed. This is also demonstrated by Figure 5.3 in Chapter 5. Though crude in its design, such an approach allows an approximate tangible measure of risk recalibration to be made, which in turn provides evidence to support a more detailed qualitative assessment of the relative interactive factors involved within that process. It is thereby possible to more informatively discuss the phenomena of the DPRKs framing, and responses to it from within Japan, in terms of the causal weight applied to the process by various actors. In this sense, a fundamentally observational, as opposed to experimental, approach has been adopted. This means, unavoidably, that pronouncements made in conclusion contain an element of tentativeness (Kellstedt and Whitten, 2009: 83), but this is more than compensated for by the insights which can be generated from a more flexible and theoretically innovative approach. A hybrid methodology is also deemed necessary in order to effectively compare state, societal and market elements, due to each of the case studies being essentially divided into these three core, conceptually distinct, spatial sites (or sectors), and the focus being on a temporal shift mediated among them.<sup>84</sup> Therefore, in addition to the methodological and theoretical tools outlined above, elements of time-series and cross-sectional analyses are also employed to

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<sup>84</sup> The term *sectors*, is applied here with reference to policy making elites, mass media sources, and civil society actors (stakeholders) as a means to facilitate the application of established modes of political science research methodology. In fact, however, it is the processes of *interaction* between these spatial areas, rather than the isolated (aggregation of) influences of their individual agency, that is of central concern. Hence, this understanding motivates the employment of a methodology which includes the synthesizing of constructivist theories with conceptions of spatially pervasive socio-politically constructed risk (see Section 2.13, below). Indeed, without reference to understandings of such concepts and their causal impact, any analysis of research data cannot hope to meaningfully or fully explain the processes at work therein. Moreover, the conceptualization of spatial sectors of analysis as being both socially constructed and heavily influenced by their relation to risk, potentially benefits the further analysis of a broad range of associated phenomena manifest in the study of international relations.



facilitate their empirical investigation.<sup>85</sup> This allows each of the case studies to be tackled systematically in order to elucidate the specifics of contemporary shifts in risk recalibration, observable through their comparative examination.

In essence, because the phenomena being dealt with in relation to each of the case study events contain permeable and intersecting boundaries (Hook, 2011), delineated between the state, market and society, it is necessary to adopt an approach which provides maximum analytical flexibility in order to analyse them effectively. This is so even at the cost of sacrificing detailed empirical, particularly statistical, evaluation and accuracy in one specific area. The justification for such an approach is derived from the theoretical philosophy elaborated by David Williams (1996: 51-96), which argues against over-reliance upon Western positivism, particularly in political-science research on Japan.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, despite its largely observational approach, this dissertation does attempt empirical analyses that utilize the established forms of political science methodology outlined above. This achieves an exposition of the processes involved in the observed phenomenon of Japan's recalibration of risk, framed against the DPRK, which produces a number of significant insights and conclusions. It is, however, argued that hypotheses and conclusions made in relation to the processes of national policy formation, and other state and non-state actors and structures in this sphere, cannot be reduced effectively into solely quantifiable causal units. Therefore, the rationale for adopting a predominantly observational approach stems from the contention that it offers the most productive means by which to illuminate the totality of broader structures, or *zentaizu*, underpinning Japan's recalibration of risk in response to the DPRK. Furthermore, in this respect, observational analyses are more constructive than

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85 Essentially, in terms of theoretical origin, this form of approach is also derivative of eclectic approaches to IR issues in this area, e.g., see Katzenstein and Okawara (2001/02), O'Shea (2012).

86 William's primary concerns with positivist-reliant methodologies (particularly *sciencism*) being adopted for political science research on Japan are two-fold. In addition to the obvious concern of being weary of Eurocentric approaches, he, more pertinently, notes the conflation of positivism with empiricism (1996: 60-78), which, he argues, if left unchecked, can result in the total curtailment of meaningful research into the agency and processes of political phenomenon.

those provided by an experimental approach, in terms of contributing to the development of risk-based approaches to political science and international relations studies as a whole.<sup>87</sup> Therein, an image (impression), supported by qualitative and quantitative evidence, of the processes most central to the temporal shifts in Japan's recalibration of risk vis-à-vis North Korea is expressed. This elucidates how risks attributed to the DPRK have been mediated between state, market and societal actors – and provides a theoretical and methodological basis for further analyses in this sphere. It is, however, beyond the remit of this dissertation to conduct a scientific experiment which expresses the totality of results gained from the research undertaken in explicitly positivist or quantifiably reducible terms.<sup>88</sup>

### **2.3. Targeted data sampling: state, market and societal actors**

The data employed for analysis in this dissertation has been selected for the purpose of re-examining and extending extant explanations of the processes which affect Japan's national responses and policies vis-à-vis North Korea. As such, the potential scope for sampling within each case study is vast. As a result, it is necessary to establish the *significance levels* for data according to each of the sampling methods used. These are generally set at an optimum, though arbitrary (Cramer and Bryman, 2005: 130) maximum, and are explained further in relation to the data used for each of the case studies examined in the chapters below.<sup>89</sup> In addition, this dissertation maximizes the degree of qualitative interpretation and explanation through its targeted sampling of the relevant actors, organisations, and other

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87 I.e, an observational approach to the study of risk recalibration offers a broader theoretical analysis, which has the potential to be adapted and applied to a variety of other cases studies dealt with in the fields of International Relations and Political Science.

88 Regardless of the time and resources available, it is, indeed, highly doubtful that such an experiment would be possible within any of the established social science disciplines in their current forms; hence providing further justification for the use of an observational approach in this field.

89 As stated by Cramer and Bryman, the significance level for the majority of established methods of social science research, such as random, stratified and cluster sampling etc., is oft-times decided on the basis of such criteria, and therefore has to be adapted selectively in relation to each case study analysis.

data sources which can be justified as warranting specific significance to each of the three case study areas.<sup>90</sup>

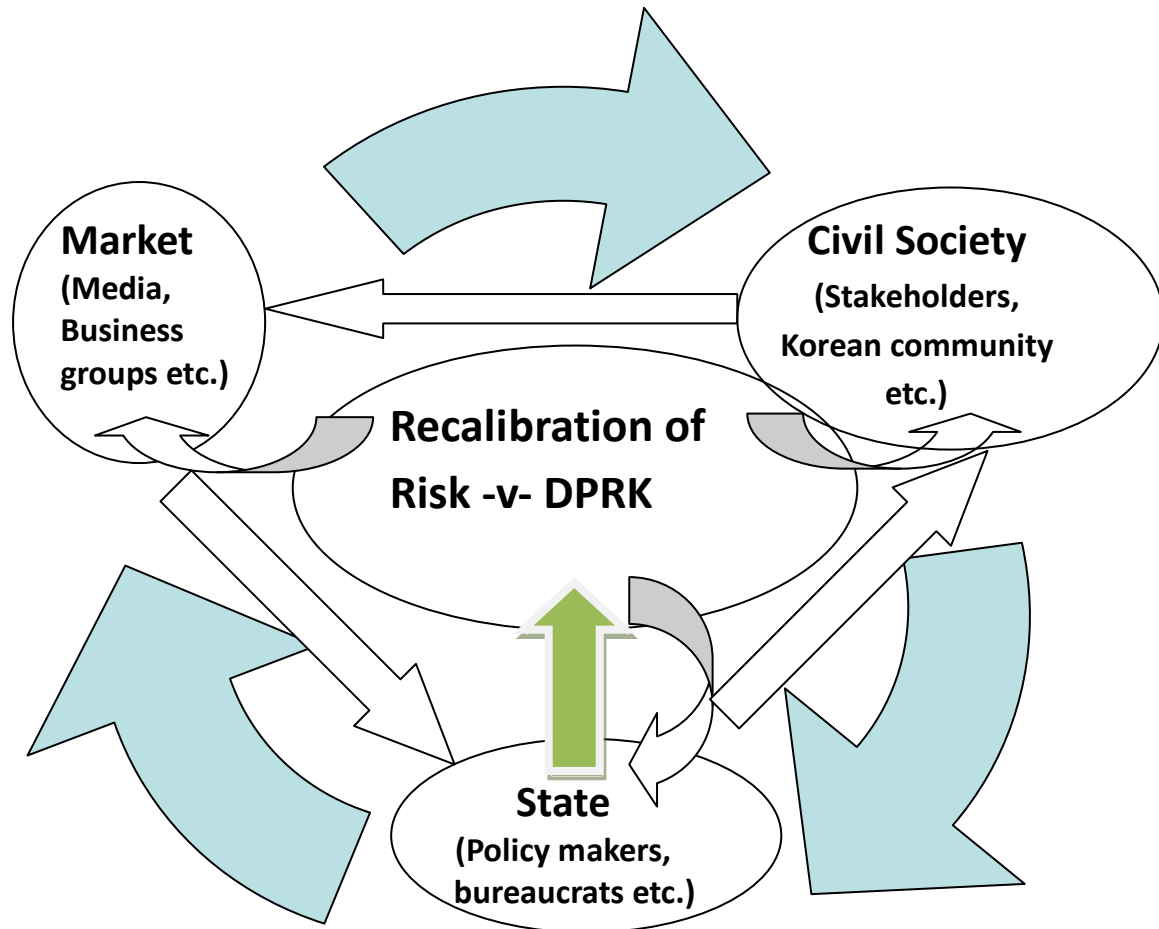
The epistemological basis for applying the sampling methods outlined below is dealt with fully in Section 2.6. However, it should be noted here that within these, the emphasis is placed on discourse analysis, in terms of assessing how each of the data sources intersect and represent influences upon national policy directives, and explain the effects of prevailing societal norms (or explain their formation and implementation). Moreover, despite a high degree of national specificity being assigned to data samples taken from the research results gathered in Japan, where possible reference is made to the potential for generalizing case studies to alternative examples. In addition, while broader international and regional comparisons are beyond the remit of this dissertation, the samples and justification for their usages are placed within a comparative historical context.

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<sup>90</sup> It should be evident that such a *common sense* approach to analysis is based on previous candidate samples, targeted by comparable or related political science research.

**Figure 2.1.**

**Core structure of research design for assessing influence of policy makers, media and other market actors, and civil society stakeholders in Japan upon the recalibration of risk vis-à-vis North Korea<sup>91</sup>**



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**Source: author**

Figure 2.1 represents a crude schematic image of how the core spheres of analysis intersect in influencing the processes of policy formation and national responses to North Korea. In order, however, to attempt an analysis of the interactive processes therein, it is

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91 As stated in Section 0.2 of the Introduction, media sources, though expected to be more extensively influenced by state and societal aspects than other significant market actors, are nevertheless categorized as such within the above schematic, due to their overwhelming reliance upon volume of sales, commercial enterprises, and other sources of revenue in order to maintain prominence and readership.

necessary to estimate their form and weight of influence.<sup>92</sup> Moreover, it is argued that while qualitative data provides the most illuminating results in terms of explaining interactions of this kind between the state, market and society, quantitative data collection is also required in order to provide a form of objective statistical support for conclusions which are reached through scrutinizing an extensive range of qualitative sources. This remains so regardless of the limitations to quantitative analysis outlined above. Indeed, the mixed-media methodology utilized for data collection in this dissertation, including comparative quantitative analyses, enables increased levels of accuracy in the evaluation of Japan's temporal shifts. Specifically, as expressed in Chapter 5, Section 5.6, and discussed further in the Conclusion (e.g., Chapter 6, Section 6.3), these serve to expose the manner in which responses to the DPRK have been altered to reflect a recalibration of risk – observed through the tangible transformation of how Pyongyang has been framed in each of these three areas.

In sum, a combination of sampling techniques and sample types are employed within the limited remit of this dissertation in order to facilitate the maximum significance level for data collection. These vary across the three central spheres of state, market and societal actors, though sources for data sampling are, where possible, replicated for each case study event – as discussed further in Chapter 3 ~ Chapter 5.<sup>93</sup> In addition, data sets are indexed in order to provide a means by which to compare those data sets and control for a range of variables and practical differences in data types. In terms of key data sources, Table 2.1, below, shows a breakdown of the various materials and sample types accessed for each of the case studies across the primary target spheres of analysis.

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92 In this respect, the above model, while derivative of Shinoda's circular (*enban*) model of foreign policy formation (2006: 61 and 177), parts company with the aforementioned in terms of offering a comprehensive re-evaluation of the interactive elements leading to a given policy directive or trajectory – i.e., as opposed to assuming that a given set of actors represent the central core and others play increasingly limited roles in influencing its creation and implementation.

93 For instance, newspaper coverage and Diet minutes are compared in relation to each case study event; whereas sources such as opinion polls, government ministry annual reports and defence guidelines are available only in relation to a limited section of the events covered.

**Table 2.1. Targeted data sources for the analysis of Japan’s recalibration of risk in response to North Korea<sup>94</sup>**

Sample Type	Primary Actors (Target of Analysis)		
	Policy Makers	Mass Media/Market	Civil Society
Semi-Structured Interviews	O	O	O
Unstructured Interviews	O	O	O
Surveys/ Opinion Polls	X	O	O
Diet Minutes	O	X	X
Newspapers	O	O	O
T.V./Internet Sources	O	O	O
Magazines	O	O	O

**Source: author**

Given the differences in context, extensive variations may be present in the specific form and, moreover, interpretation of data sets from within the same category of data listed in Table 2.1 (e.g. T.V./Internet Sources etc.) across each of the case studies. However, in each case such variations are explained and controlled for. The inability to conduct comprehensive linear and longitudinal analyses for all of the events covered does not, therefore, prevent both deductive and inductive analyses being undertaken, using a combination of the quantitative and qualitative methods listed above. Indeed, these provide the foundations for an informed interpretive evaluation and comparisons of each of the data samples.

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94 Table 2.1 constitutes a non-exhaustive list of applicable data sources. These are subcategorized within the analyses explicated throughout (see Chapter 3 ~ Chapter 5). Other sources include: academic presentations, conference dialogues and press statements.

#### **2.4. Quantifying the recalibration of risk: towards a mixed-method analysis model**

In terms, then, of analysing the precise structure of interactive processes intersecting the state, market and society – with respect to the significance of proliferating socio-political risks which operate on national and international levels – the advantages of qualitative approaches that evaluate specifics rather than solely calculating formulaic numerical values should already be apparent from the discussion above. Indeed, the most illuminative forms of qualitative data application are discussed in further detail below and are adopted consistently throughout the remaining chapters – based on the theoretical frame work outlined in the latter half of this chapter. Further, a high-degree of reliance upon qualitative methods is necessary in order to meaningfully explain the core puzzle of Japan’s recalibration of risks through its framing of North Korea. Nevertheless, even the most enlightening of adapted theoretical approaches, applied through rigorous qualitative analysis, including the constructivist-derived theories employed below, contain constitutive building blocks which are in some ways rooted in quantifiable attributions.<sup>95</sup> These are, therefore, recognized as being partially reducible to an estimation of calculable influences – presentable in schematic and statistical forms (e.g., see Chapter 5, Table 5.3 and Figure 5.5, and Chapter 6, Figure 6.1). This combination of qualitative and quantitative methodology can be, as Bryman (1988: 129) argues, particularly effective when attempting to research policy innovations, which are central to the case of Japan’s recalibration of risk in response to North Korea. In essence, the persuasive strength of qualitative data sets expressing the processes outlined above is, therefore, enhanced in as much as it increases the capacity to

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<sup>95</sup> Material is used here not to mean physically present, but rather quantifiable in terms of weight of influence. For instance, the influence of news media upon public, commercial and political opinion in Japan, in terms of how it affects the internalized calibration of external risks, may not ultimately be measurable in absolute terms, but it should be possible to estimate more accurately with the aid of quantitative data – or at least such can be made use of to provide a more convincing qualitative account.

confirm hypotheses and answer research questions in quantitative terms. In this sense, the mixed method analysis adopted in this dissertation contributes to the scientific pursuit, outlined by Jarvis and Griffiths, who ask,

Can meaningful data sets be generated that successfully correlate risk with structural features in the political composition and political practices of states, their institutions and the cultural or procedural norms that comprise their markets and social, political and juridical systems? (2007:18)

In answer to the above, Jarvis and Griffiths (2007: 19) note the applicable use of the Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (CIFP) index. Indeed, the CIFP offers a valuable reference source from which to adapt the application of indexing to Japan's recalibration of risk in response to the DPRK.<sup>96</sup> However, the CIFP and other comparable bodies of data generally attempt to assess risks in terms of the relationship between structural features of a given state and the risks they pose to other states or economically motivated investors. Conversely, the methodology employed in this dissertation hopes to facilitate both quantitative and qualitative evaluations of the interactive structural properties of Japan's state, market and society (examined via a series of case study events and issues), in terms of their cumulative relationship to risks perceived to be posed by North Korea.<sup>97</sup>

In order to tackle this task, a number of analytic techniques which provide a means to quantify risk in terms of its narrative properties have been employed. In the case of Japan, a

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96 Created as a cooperation between the Canadian government and Carleton University, the CIFP is an on-going project which attempts to engage with and more effectively prescribe policies for "failed states", based primarily on their internal structural features. As such, it employs a range of quantitative methods applied through the "events-based information analysis". Moreover, as stated, the index "employs qualitative information, as a valuable complement to the systematic collection of statistical data." Arguing that, "when correctly structured, expert opinion can provide the "why" behind the "what" revealed through structural and dynamic data analysis." (CIFP, 2010). It is this analytical goal and methodology which provides the justification for a modified version of such analysis being applied to the case study of risk recalibration in Japan's relations with the DPRK.

97 For related data sets concerning how risks are associated with specific states and their internal structural features, see, Aon Political Risk Map (2011), CIA World Fact Book (2010).



narrative has been constructed through the framing of North Korea, which can be delineated through a series of key events. Therein, while narrative analyses are typically associated with qualitative, oft-times biographical, data, the chapters below demonstrate that it is also possible to combine these with observational quantitative approaches, borrowing extensively from methods applied in the social and conventional sciences. As a result, a degree of empirical positivism, in terms of assigning definitive causal properties, has been sacrificed in order to produce a range of illuminative insights in conclusion. In this instance, these relate predominantly to the assessment of the relative influences of leading civil society, media, and policy making actors in Japan. Further, data relating the narrative of a post-Cold War events history – such as that leading to the recalibration of risk framed against the DPRK – has been “discretized” (Elliot, 2005: 83) for each event in order to reassess how to assign weight to each of the dependant variables. The quantitative breakdown of available data for each event can, therefore, be interpreted informatively, facilitating a meaningful evaluation of how the given variables intersect and interact in qualitative terms.<sup>98</sup> In the cases examined in this dissertation, these elucidate the realization of processes of negative framing and risk recalibration vis-à-vis Pyongyang.

In this sense, a combination of qualitative and quantitative data which relates how a narrative of risk is formed and mediated at state and societal levels can be highly illuminating in terms of deciphering how best to interpret the state’s resulting interstate (international) relations, national policy formation, and implementation of *risk-justified* measures. In addition, Elliot’s interpretation of “event history modeling” (2005: 77-9) has also been fruitfully adapted in the assessment of how Japan, as a state, maintains the civilian population as a “risk set” through a continual process of recalibrating risks via the framing of North Korea. Within this, a risk-set (i.e., as conceptualized within established methods of sociology) will often be expected to diminish as the risk of a particular event’s occurrence lessens. However, by

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<sup>98</sup> This is primarily based on the content analysis of relevant discourse.

framing a series of actions and events associated with the DPRK, and particularly Kim Jong-Il's regime in Pyongyang, as part of an on-going narrative of risk, it has been possible for the state, media and society – aided by additional market forces – to legitimate and reinforce the view of Japan as constituting a potentially indefinite risk-set.

This dissertation, as such, posits that Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea is well suited not only to qualitative interpretation, but can, without over reliance on positivism (or *sciencism*), also be quantitatively examined across each of the core sectors, through the series of case study analyses undertaken in Chapter 3 ~ Chapter 5. Indeed, the adoption of such an approach, it is argued, is particularly effective in this case. This is also qualitatively verifiable and coherent because socio-political reaction to Pyongyang within Japan, and the subsequent recalibration of risks associated with the DPRK, has clearly taken place in the form of responses to a number of identifiable events – most notably those occurring in the context of a renewed dynamism in the East Asia region following the end of the Cold-war.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, these can be traced across each of the spatial sectors (including policy makers, media and other market actors, as well as those from civil society).

In addition to a series of missile tests, pivotal events and issues relating to this process include; nuclear proliferation issues, first brought to national pre-eminence during the nuclear crisis of 1994, on-going abduction cases, reaching fever-pitch after Koizumi's summit with Kim Jong-Il in 2002, and incursions into Japan's Economic Exclusion Zone (EEZ) by North Korean intruders, already noted in terms of striking shifts in risk-related responses to the spy-ship intrusions of 1999 and 2001 (Black, 2006). Detailed specifics of how each issue is quantifiably observed and evaluated in relation to each of the socio-political sectors identified above is explored in detail in the following chapters. For now, it is sufficient to recognize that

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99 Put simply, the external risks posed to Japan are no longer as straightforward as those calibrated against (or with reference to) the military might of the former Soviet Union vis-à-vis entrapment or abandonment by the US.

data sets such as Diet minutes, extensive collections of news sources and opinion polls, and a variety of statements made in reference to and by stakeholders in the Korean community, in addition to those provided by a range of academic and other interviewees (see Appendix A), amount to key resources utilized in estimating the gravity and impact of given events in this process.<sup>100</sup>

Therein, largely through means of qualitative (abductive) reasoning, a set of hypotheses (see Introduction, Section 0.1) which tackle the complexity of the above variables as they shift through a temporal transition have been established. In addition, quantified data sets have been fruitfully utilized, assimilated from sources such as those outlined above, in order to deduce more specific relationships between the target actors and variables. Furthermore, the analysis contained within this dissertation aids substantially in deciphering the range and influence of those specifics. Indeed, these dictate the prevailing trajectory of Japan's risk recalibration in this area. Moreover, this form and volume of quantified assessment applied to the analysis of relevant samples, while not indisputably verifying or rejecting the proposed hypotheses in terms of definitive causal relationships, contributes significantly to the continuing acquisition of *clues* (Balnaves and Caputi, 2001: 61) which serve to build up a body of evidence from which to induce both descriptive and, where applicable, prescriptive conclusions that contain the greatest available degrees of explanatory objectivity possible.

## **2.5. Normative and ethical considerations**

In light of the fact that the stated goals of maximum quantitative and qualitative objectivity, and subjective neutrality, have been maintained, the research methods adopted in the

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100 The above is in no sense an exhaustive list, but rather specifies examples of the key data-sets that are scrutinized through a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Secondary literature sources are also employed widely throughout the dissertation, in addition to public statements and a variety of other secondary data, such as those gathered selectively from multiple online and electronic databases – as stipulated in Table 2.1, above.

analyses below contain few ethical pitfalls.<sup>101</sup> However, while attempting to maintain neutrality, this dissertation does contain a flexible normative framework. Moreover, a number of ethical biases are unavoidably exposed by the position of the author. Within this, the research attempts to sustain a position which is both transparent to the reader, in terms of allowing access to new knowledge, and does not advocate a nationalist or ethnocentric standpoint. In spite of this academic position, however, it is conceded that, due to its partial reliance (despite extensive use of Japanese language sources) on English language-based literary debates, there is inevitably a bias towards understandings of socio-politically constructed risk and theories of International Relations based upon established Western academic traditions. Furthermore, because it is located within the normative frameworks of such disciplines, this dissertation aspires only to achieve a contribution towards the academic fields which it intersects, in terms of explaining the processes it analyses, and generating new and original knowledge.<sup>102</sup>

Nonetheless, the subject matter is such that there is a strong tendency, both within and outside of academia, not to maintain congruency with the principle of attempted neutrality. Indeed, as argued below (see also Chapter 1, Section 1.6 and Section 1.7), mainstream academic and media debates within Japan have tended to deny the legitimacy of applying a standardized neutrality with regards to the DPRK. Specifically, in terms of the analysis of Japan's responses to North Korea, one such position – prominently visible in Japan – is quintessentially represented by Kawahito Hiroshi (2007), who is unrelentingly scathing, on ethical grounds, of highly acclaimed scholars such as (amongst others) Wada Haruki and Kan San-Jung, because, he contends, they act (and write) overwhelmingly out of their own

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101 While total neutrality is evidently not entirely possible, emotional detachment is assumed as an ethic of professionalism to be aspired to during data collection and analysis.

102 *Normative* often has a broad and malleable definition within academic disciplines, but is used here merely to refer to the stated goals of the research – in terms of contributing to knowledge and aiding the facilitation of *constructive* policy formation and revision (or implementation).

academic self-interest, which, he argues, not only distorts how events are interpreted and analysed, but also obstructs and deviates public discourse away from pressing ethical issues, such as those attached to the Japanese abduction cases.<sup>103 104</sup>

In addition, depending upon the primary actors that are likely to make use of a dissertation which covers politically controversial or loaded subject matter, such as Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea, there is a concern that it may be utilized as a function of securing power over opinion (Carr, 1981: 122). Therein, if a text is made accessible to interpretation, it is also vulnerable to manipulation, and as such applicable to use in the support and or facilitation of propaganda. However, as Carr himself counterclaims, while educational (in terms of contributing original knowledge) materials are oft times garnered to support knowledge for use in the exercise of power, including political propaganda, they are themselves also a powerful "antidote" to such usage.<sup>105</sup> Fundamentally, this is premised on the argument that new knowledge extends existing conceptual and epistemic parameters, which allow not only the capitalizing upon of that knowledge but also its further extension and reinterpretation. It can therefore be contended, as Carr posits, that "In so far as it strains and interprets facts for a specific purpose, propaganda always contains within itself this potentially self-defeating element" (1981: 129).

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103 Kawahito suggests this amounts to furthering research funding opportunities as opposed to acting out of the national interest, which, he claims, would be ethically prudent for representatives of a national university (2007: 76).

104 Comparable ethically based criticisms have been levelled at what might be termed academic *moderates* by other leading promoters of the abduction issues, such as those identified by Morris-Suzuki (2010), including Araki Kazuhiko, Okazaki Hisahiko and Satō Tatsumi. However, it should be noted that any criticism questioning the intellectual integrity of scholars such as Wada, needs to be prefaced with recognition of their considerable academic achievements and consider the significance and merit of a broad transnational (or multi-national) perspective (e.g., see Wada, 1987: 201-12).

105 For further discussion regarding the individual subjugation of political power, see Foucault (1982: 777-95).

In essence, then, Western academic biases, and the appropriation of prose for the exercise of power through acclaimed knowledge, are both ethical concerns, but neither prevents this dissertation from achieving its goal of meaningful scholarship based on a normative framework which seeks to maintain neutrality. Indeed, this research into Japan's recalibration of risk through its framing of North Korea has, while rooted in a given academic tradition and normative framework, provided a means by which to address and reinterpret many of the ethical biases and misconceptions that cloud this area of the discipline. Moreover, as inclusive analyses of Japan's security framework (e.g., Sato, 2006: 1-18) highlight, the dominant conception of Japan's relationship with other regional players within East Asia, and most specifically North Korea, has been generated largely by endogenous actors and institutions developing their own epistemological paradigms.<sup>106</sup> The normative goal of this dissertation is, therefore, not to claim universal neutrality or unequivocal objectivity, but rather to maintain awareness of the need for ethical issues to be acknowledged and controlled for from within a theoretical framework which is applied with maximum rigour and minimum bias. As explained below, the foundations for this approach have been developed ontologically and epistemologically along constructivist lines.

## ***2.6. Constructivist ontology and epistemology: risk in an adapted approach***

Any dissertation premised on the conception of a state as being fundamentally a political entity, including inseparable constitutive parts such as identity and culture, which operate at the national level in coordination with and adherence to certain norms, can be described as essentially constructivist in its epistemological position. This is so unless those parts remain structurally fixed and unchanged. Indeed, this is consistent with the core hypotheses (see

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<sup>106</sup> I.e., however exogenously derivative or influenced, such paradigms relating to the interpretation of North Korea's actions in Japan cannot be ascribed solely as an extended arm of the established Western political sciences. Hence, the argument that this sphere is essentially dominated by Western-centric discourses imposed upon academic institutions in Japan can largely be rejected.

Introduction, Section 0.1) of this dissertation, which assume a degree of change in the norms that have allowed, moreover facilitated, Japan's recalibration of risk through its framing of North Korea.<sup>107</sup> Within such a process, however, it is necessary to understand, as Wendt does in his critique of neo-realist theories developed by Waltz (1999: 251-9), "the distinction between material and ideational (or socio-cultural) elements of the underlying ontology to such a discussion" (see also Chapter 1, Section 1.2 and Section 1.4). Therein, the socially constructed nature of intersubjective ideas, crystallized into cultural norms, does not deny the existence of material aspects which they may hold influence over. Indeed, borrowing from Wendt's analogies once again, the thousands of nuclear and intercontinental ballistic weapons held by the US pose an unimaginably lower risk to Japan (or are at least calibrated and framed as lower risk) than do the materially vastly inferior weaponry possessed by Pyongyang.

In addition, as Dobson warns, it is important not to obfuscate what norms consist of, or to conflate them with what is explicitly stated in public discourses. Thereby, as he contends (1998: 44), they are essentially the "basic actions expected of actors in a given issue area". This is relevant, then, in terms of how they operate at the level of national policy formation, and the conceptualization and internalization of external risks. Therein, if it can be assumed that norms are reliant upon a given set of *world views*, the proliferation of risk within those views and its encroachment upon them will implicate it as a prevalent concept in actions stemming from the related norms. This is particularly salient if risk becomes standardized within the political language and zeitgeist of the time.

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107 It is important to note here that reliance upon a constructivist epistemology (and or ontology) of ideational and cultural norms does not, in any way, exclude neo-Darwinian or biological evolutionary approaches to case studies such as the one at hand or, ultimately, to IR theories as whole – in terms of denying objective reality. That is to say, as Dawkins (1976 and 2009) has attempted to reason, ideas (or *memes*) evolve (like genes) as those which remain as a function of evolution, which does not (though often misconstrued as such by critics) assign them with volitional causality in their own right.

In the case of Japan's shifting norms in relation to the DPRK, Son's model (2004: 66) of how policy entrepreneurship has been key to the processes of national redirection in security policy, contingent upon perceived crises, can be adapted to focus on how risk is recalibrated through its attachment to movements from Pyongyang.<sup>108</sup> For example, in addition to the "structural shocks", such as the collapse of the Cold War communist powers and the occurrences of the 9/11 New York and other terror attacks, which have already aided a process of norm reconfiguration within Japan, governmental change, in the form of a new political administration, has also allowed the potential for increased policy entrepreneurship and bandwagoning onto new or revised norms.<sup>109</sup> Son's argument suggests that this would be the case because (2004: 67), "After the inauguration of an activist government with new identity norms, 'norm bandwagons' take place, as individuals feel freer to reject old norms". In Japan's case, the full effects of administrative change upon the identity and cultural norms that underpin its framing of North Korea remains unclear (see Chapter 5, Section 5.5), but that a shift in governmental authority structures is likely to further expand opportunities for ideational revision in this area seems consistent with the arguments explicated above.<sup>110</sup>

However, while Son's theory posits that a new administration can affect a large degree of national ideational change, whereby conflicting norms surpass a tipping point to transform into a "norm cascade" (2004: 69), it is the contention of this dissertation that a cascade-like process has already been realized in Japan (prior to administrative change), through which

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108 For further discussion, particularly concerning the use of fear emanating from the DPRK as a tool to recalibrate how associated risks are framed, see Leheny (2006: 158-64).

109 In fact, however, the extent of norm entrepreneurship enacted by the incoming Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) administration has been limited by a number of internal and external factors, which are explained in Chapter 5, Section 5.5.

110 Son concedes that incoming administrations face difficulties in maintaining consistency in enacting policy trajectories towards the revised national norms which they may wish to promote. In the case of Hatoyama Yukio's DPJ-led coalition, although early discussions of engagement and increased dialogue with the North (in contradiction of the kind of ratcheted-up risk calibration discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, below) was prevalent, the problem of consistency became exacerbated because it faced entrenched domestic opposition and political inertia left-over from decades of LDP rule, internal disputes within the coalition, and a continuation of cybernetic actions from Pyongyang.



the gradual erosion of conflicting norms, and conformation and confluence of others has led to North Korea's framing as a high-risk entity.<sup>111</sup> This argument is dealt with further in relation to each of the case studies analysed in Chapter 3 ~ Chapter 5, though taken in totality Japan's recalibration of risk in response to the DPRK can be seen as representative of an increase in the prominence of norms such as *militarism*, *normal-nationism*, *neo-conservatism*, and *bilateralism*. Conversely, it reflects the decline of *anti-militarist* and *pacifist* norms. It is, therefore, the components of this process, and their relation to Japan's conceptions of national identity, by which what might be termed the *North Korea-risk norm*, or *anti-North Korea-ism*, has been realized which forms the focus for the research undertaken in the following chapters. Furthermore, in contrast to the limitations of other leading theories of international relations, as discussed in Chapter 1, it becomes clear that a constructivist-based examination of how such norms will develop offers a practical means by which to explore, describe and explain the complex interactive elements of the domestic processes contained therein. Not least, as confirmed almost universally by literary and interview data (Appendix A) gathered for the analyses of this dissertation, such can be further linked to the transferral of identity – from aggressor to victim – contingent upon a negative framing of North Korea, and a high calibration of risks associated with it.<sup>112</sup>

In terms of constructing an epistemology to justify explanations of the various phenomena involved in these processes, then, the creation and dissemination of knowledge relating to Japan as a national entity relies upon an inter-subjective understanding of the Japanese state. Therein, it also assumes comparable comprehensions to be articulated by other observers, including those constructed by each of the actors and agglomerations of actors

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111 The salience of national normative changes in relation to Japan's recalibration of risk vis-à-vis the DPRK can be placed into the context of Japan's broader shifts in security concerns and *identity norms* through the retrospective examination of literature on national goals and priorities during Japan's period of extended high growth. For a concise representation, see Murakami (1970: 1-5).

112 Though such a portrayal of Japan, as a victim – e.g., of Western oppression or discrimination – has not been absent in the post-War era (e.g., see depictions of Japan's historical struggle against the Western powers displayed at Yushukan, Yasukuni Shrine, Tokyo), during the post-Cold War era, North Korea's actions, particularly those of state-ordered abductions, has given greater legitimacy to such an identity.

(institutions, companies, parties, communities etc.) identified in the case studies examined below. Nevertheless, however, the dissertation also maintains a form of detached “epistemological realism” in the sense outlined by Singh (2006: 122), in as much as it asserts the existence of an objective reality. This may be limited to a shared cognitive understanding, and be socially constructed in terms of how it is acted upon, but mutually observed social actors and phenomena will be located within it.<sup>113</sup>

In light of the above, the processes examined in this dissertation are, in essence, those focussed on how, through a sequence of mediations, *information* (primarily concerning risks) becomes *knowledge*, and how this is linked to the perpetuation and/or alteration of cultural and ideational norms, and the determining of national policy trajectories. As expressed succinctly by Barnett (1999: 177), this is validated as an investigation into, “How information [is] framed and arguments [are] constructed; and generally how to use language that [is] consistent with the understandings and discourse”. Furthermore, this rests upon the supposition that knowledge is culturally contingent, or at least that “whether [it is] accepted and effective [is] dependant on acting in a manner that [is] consistent with that culture” (i.e., the present culture of Japan’s ideational norms).<sup>114</sup> As posited in Chapter 1, Section 1.6, and functionalized in Section 2.4, above, such knowledge relating to Japan’s changing responses to North Korea can be examined through a series of pivotal contemporary events, which have served to create the agency for Japan’s recalibration of risk, through the construction of specific types of subjective framing attached to the DPRK. These are, in turn, reliant for their public sphere saliency upon being perceived as threatening within the context of Japan’s national identity. The following sections briefly introduce how these critical events

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113 For an excellent and succinct discussion (not limited to, but offering a theoretical building block for, the realms of IR, risk theory and political science) of the ontological and epistemological properties of reality, as conceptualized within social science, see Williams (2000: 104-21).

114 In concordance with Barnett’s argument, the position of this dissertation is, therefore, that interests, such as those of policy communities, mass media and stakeholders within civil society – including the North Korean community in Japan – may *believe* they are acting out of rational (or “real”) rather than socially constructed interests, but in fact any such interests are themselves, essentially, the function of an interaction of ideas contingent upon a socially constructed reality.

can be interpreted within a historical context, in terms of having been mediated by the state and society in a similar, yet distinct, fashion to previous examples. Ultimately, this elucidates how their conception as the source of risks is integral to an on-going process of risk recalibration based on external framings; manifest during the post-Cold War era in Japan's framing of North Korea.

## **2.7. Historical context of an events-based theoretical framework**

This dissertation essentially focuses on temporal changes in the post-Cold War, and, most intensively, post-Korean Nuclear Crisis eras.<sup>115</sup> Within this period, moreover, particular emphasis is assigned to the intensification of Japan's socio-political recalibrations of risk following former premier, Koizumi's visit to Pyongyang in 2002, and the ballistic missile launches and so called Second Nuclear Crisis of 2006.<sup>116</sup> However, it is nevertheless necessary to identify the contemporary historical context from which recent recalibrations of risk on the part of Japan have occurred. This serves to allow an improved evaluation of characteristics representative of the current recalibration of risk, as a distinctive form of response to the DPRK, most pertinently those manifest in the negative framing of North Korea. There are a number of cross-national comparisons which offer potentially fruitful areas for further research, such as those relating to other stakeholder states' responses to North Korea, and to Japan's responses to sources of arguably more salient risks than those emanating from Pyongyang, such as China.<sup>117</sup> However, while these issues need to be born

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115 The exact *start* and *end* of the so-called Korean nuclear crisis is a contentious issue. However, for the purposes of this dissertation, it refers to the period between North Korea's refusal to allow IAEA inspections on 10 February 1993 up until the signing of the Agreed Framework between the US and North Korea in Geneva on 21 October 1994 (e.g., see GlobalSecurity.org, 2010).

116 The fundamental aspects of specific characteristics associated with Japan's recalibration of risk following the second nuclear crisis, including core national policy trajectories leaning towards *stick –v– carrot* approaches are succinctly presented by Funabashi (2006: 735-6).

117 It is sufficient for the dissertation, herein, to be content with assuming a pretext that renders the majority of geo-military-based responses by Japan in relation to DPRK-contingent security risks as potentially

in mind when examining the surrounding international security structure, a historical analysis of Japan's past responses to rival regional states in the post-World War II period is particularly relevant in terms of accounting for the precedents of how socio-politically constructed risks are recalibrated within the Japanese state through the framing of external actors and entities – such as in the case of North Korea. This is particularly pertinent when examining the process through an events-based approach, because there are clear parallels with previous incarnations of risk recalibration on the part of Japan. The examples of the former Soviet Union and South Korea are spotlighted here on account of their geopolitical and socio-strategic comparability (albeit contrasting) in relation to Tokyo's current framing of and responses to the DPRK. Indeed, Japan's framing of the former Soviet Union contains multiple elements of framing and risk recalibration also exhibited in the case of North Korea.

### *2.7.i. Japan's recalibration of risk: the framing of the former Soviet Union*

Throughout the cold war a series of key events facilitated a comparable yet, for obvious structural, ideational and geo-political reasons, distinct process in response to the former Soviet Union as that observed in Tokyo's contemporary framing of the DPRK.<sup>118</sup> As with Japan's current responses to North Korea, domestic politics and external US pressure (Kachra, 1981: 59-68) clearly had powerful parts to play in the shaping of Japan's Soviet-

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justifiable in terms of ameliorating risks posed by the future rise of China (Hagström, 2005). With regards to explaining Japan's responses to North Korea through a constructivist-based theoretical approach, cross-national comparison with the ROK's DPRK policy and its responses to comparable issues, such as nuclear and abduction crises, would be invaluable, and, it is hoped the discussion below will provide the basis for future research in this area. Such studies are beyond the remit of this dissertation.

118 It goes without saying that the USSR was in many material aspects not a comparable geo-political entity to today's DPRK. However, in addition, it also needs to be remembered that the Cold War provided an essentially bi-polar global structure to security issues, which were framed in terms of communist/socialist – v– liberal/capitalist ideologies, and as such represents a structurally very different regional environment to that seen today. Indeed, both Russia and China have, to a large extent been economically neo-liberalized, leaving the DPRK as a sole bastion of neo-classical, pseudo-communist, ideology – which is, therefore, historically significant in terms of how it is framed by Japan, regardless of the comparative political democratization (or not) of the surrounding powers.

directed policies and responses, but once again they cannot account for the entirety of all the complex processes that mediate public opinion, commercial interests and political capital, and create inertia effects which affect the normative framework governing national policy.<sup>119</sup> In this sense, instances during the 1970s, such as the Balenko affair,<sup>120</sup> the Soviet declaration of jurisdiction over 200km of seas surrounding its land territory, and Moscow's hostile reaction to the signing of the September 1978 Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty (followed by an extended Soviet military build-up in the Western Pacific) all, to differing levels of severity, contributed to a climate within which already anti-Soviet inclined elements of Japan's socio-political make-up were in a position to exact a further recalibration of risks in response to the Soviet Union. These were increasingly framed as representative of a threatening adversary (Hasegawa, 1998: 159-61), despite considerable doubts being present with regards to the plausible likelihood of tangible practical concerns over an envisaged military contingency.<sup>121</sup>

It is particularly relevant in this regard to note the level of risks perceived to emanate from the Soviet Union by the public and across political elites during this time, irrespective of political allegiance and occupational cohorts (Nakamura, 1984: 70). The parallels with Japan's contemporary responses to the DPRK are also striking in terms of rhetoric, justification for policy responses and adherence to specific norms. Within this, Nakamura (1984: 57-8) notes the increasing recalibration of risk in response to the USSR as identifiable by way of its public and political sphere framing during the latter half of the 1970s. Therein, Nakamura notes the usage of recalibrated risks, framed against the uncertainty of the Soviet Union's hostile intentions, as a justification by then prime minister, Ōhira, for increased

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119 For an excellent illustration of the degree to which compliance to the US-Japan alliance and cooperation in furthering US interests was assumed, at least by the US side, during the Cold War, particularly with reference to the "Ikeda outburst", see Ishi (1989: 138-44).

120 The Balenko affair amounts to a notorious incident in which a former Soviet Air Force pilot touched down his fighter jet on Japanese soil and requested political asylum (Hasegawa, 1998: 159).

121 For a full list of key geo-political events that lead to Japan's recalibration of risk in response to the Soviet Union, see Kimura (2000: 88).

military expenditure and consolidation of the US-Japan bilateral alliance (1984: 57).<sup>122</sup> Indeed, in line with observations of a broadly convergent and intensifying recalibration of risks represented by the framing of North Korea in Japan during the post-Cold War era, reaction to the Soviet Union was similarly clustered and increasing in momentum. Over 80 per cent of those polled in 1985 reportedly saw the Soviet Union as a military threat, in comparison to just over 55 per cent in 1981 – observed through a gradual upward curve (Glaubitz, 1995: 187-201). Concordantly, rhetoric not dissimilar to that used in descriptions of Kim Jong-Il's North Korea by present-day Japanese politicians and commentators was also used in criticisms of the Soviet Union, particularly in terms of identifying an aberrant entity (the USSR) in juxtaposition to a measured and just state (Japan).<sup>123</sup>

Reference to Japan's responses to the Soviet Union as an external foe that was perceived as the source of various and eminent risks, is, therefore, comparable to that of the case study at hand, with regards to the recalibration of risk in response to the DPRK. Within this, political statements and public opinion poll data reveal that during the 1980s the Soviet Union's military capabilities and political agenda became identified broadly by Tokyo as a salient risk to Japan's national interests and public safety (Asahi Shimbunsha, 1982: 23). However, despite such a framing and recalibration of risk in response to the former USSR, one element that confirms the need to investigate the framing of North Korea more comprehensively on its own terms is the degree to which responses within Japan to the Soviet Union did not pre-empt a more universally extensive justification for military strengthening and other policy revisions. Therein, policy revisions on a much grander scale are illuminated by this dissertation in relation to the DPRK's post-Cold War actions. As such,

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122 The use of the potential risks contained within the Soviet Union's uncertain militaristic intensions as a justification for increased military expenditure and the consolidation of *bilateralism* clearly demonstrate a historical precedent for the formation of risk recalibration framed against the DPRK (Umeda, 2007, see also Chapter 4, Section 4.2 ~ Section 4.5).

123 This kind of discourse's prominence, even within academic fields, is epitomized by Kajima's critical analysis of the Northern Territories dispute, in which he advocates "patien[ce] and persisten[ce] until the justice of [Japan's] cause is recognized by the dissenting nation" (1965: 114).

the examination of processes mediated between the state, market and society, in response to North Korea requires an approach which can at least attempt to explain the primary causal agents which have become present in such justifications, and explore the means by which norms such as anti-militarism have been eroded in a historically novel way – as a function of Japan’s recalibrated risk, manifest in the framing of Pyongyang.<sup>124</sup>

### *2.7.ii. Japan’s recalibration of risk: the framing of South Korea*

In the above sense, it is also worth noting the historical transition in terms of Japan’s responses to North and South Korea during the post-War period. Indeed, even at the time of writing, experts from a cross-section of academia, politics, bureaucracy, and journalism, as well as those representative of resident Koreans, consistently cited (Appendix A) the need to address Japan’s shift in perception of, and relationship to, Korea (and Koreans) as a whole when dealing with risks attributed by Tokyo to the North’s current regime.<sup>125</sup>

As Morris-Suzuki (2007) and others have exposed, if anything it was Seoul rather than Pyongyang which was considered the source of greater risks to Japan’s fledgling democracy immediately after World War II. The North’s communist ideals, conversely, were aspired to by numerous political and civil groups amid a climate of strong leftist movements within Japan – spurred not least by the image of Kim Il-Sung as an egalitarian leader who assured welfare for his populous (*Asahi Shimbun*, 2010: 363-5). However, once again the idea that

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124 Of course it is important here to be wary of making sweeping generalizations concerning how the Soviet Union was, and how the DPRK has been, perceived in terms of what national policy revisions could or can be made as a result of their framings, not least because they are not entirely separate security concerns from Japan’s perspective. Rather, the intention is to note the significance of what has now been made possible in terms of risk recalibration through the contemporary framing of North Korea. For an illustrative example of how risks perceived to emanate from China, Russia, and the DPRK are often times conflated and interposed ostensibly in order to justify Japan’s remilitarization, see Sakurai (2007: 56-66, 101-6).

125 Based on interviews, including: 20 December 2010, 8 February 2011, 25 July 2011, 23 August 2011, 27 August 2011 (Appendix A). For a detailed account of contemporary historical perceptions and treatment of Koreans by Japan – focusing on migration and repatriation issues – see Kikuchi (2009).

but for external pressure applied by the US-led international community Japan would have soon normalized relations with the DPRK and continued a frosty relationship with the ROK remains in doubt. Rather, in concurrence with the discussion above, while *beiatsu* and *gaiatsu* had important parts to play, it also appears to be as the result of complex interactional processes between civil society stakeholders (including Korean residents), domestic politics, commercial interests, and other sources of national identity and ideational norms which, ultimately, led to the recalibration of risk upward and downward respectively vis-à-vis the two Koreas.<sup>126</sup>

Within this, a number of key events prompted much of the shift in Japan's responses to South Korea; including resolution of the Korean War, economic benefits to Japan's assistance in the Vietnam War (and hence to supporting US containment strategy which included allying with the ROK), the invention of the Park Chung-Hee regime in Seoul, which encouraged pro-South Korean forces within Japan's political elite (Hook et al. 2005: 204), and the ending of the Cold War. Therein, while nationalist discourses and interests have been fuelled both sides of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel, not to mention within the Korean community in Japan, by anti-Japanese sentiment, and despite both the DPRK and ROK having potentially hostile dictatorial regimes during the post-War era, the risks pertaining to each have been increasingly calibrated with differentiation from Japan. Within this process, it would be problematic to deny the influence of *bilateralism*, but the normalization of relations with South Korea on economic grounds (Cummings, 1997: 158) nevertheless evinces a process

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126 Indeed, this can also be seen as reflective of a more general ideological shift in terms of Japan's attitude towards socialist political systems. As posited in an interview (8 March 2011, Appendix A) by one former MOFA official now employed as a university professor of political science, there was initially a sense within large areas of Japan's populous and political factions that the DPRK, particularly under Kim Il-Sung, represented, however flawed, an ideologically sound model. The ROK was perceived largely by Tokyo as an undemocratic dictatorship. Evidently, these perceptions have changed dramatically with the advents of the Kim Jong-Il administration and South Korea's democratization. Their resulting framings within the public sphere in Japan have, therefore, undoubtedly played a critical role in influencing how risks attached to each have been recalibrated.



of both social learning and socio-political risk reconstruction by Tokyo, as opposed to an isolated tactical calculation based on immediately identifiable, military, security concerns.<sup>127</sup>

Moreover, initial perceptions of the Korean community in Japan as a high-risk (in the sense of risks posed to law, order, social stability and commercial operations) group were not predominantly framed in terms of a link to the communist regime in the North.<sup>128</sup> Indeed, counters to any such trend can be observed in debates over the finger-printing of Korean residents in Japan – which targeted those originating from both North and South.<sup>129</sup>

Conversely, media attention and public concern over violence and *disruptive* behaviour perpetrated by migrants and residents originating from the Korean peninsula within Japan was more uniformly directed at Seoul.<sup>130</sup> Furthermore, consequences interpreted as threatening to civil society in Japan, were largely framed against a negative image of the dictatorial Rhee Syng-Man, the first president of the ROK, and highlighted the tense relationship between Seoul and Tokyo (Chong, 1985: 31-2). Indeed, this reaffirms that changes to the negative framing of the South were reliant upon pivotal events, such as the Korean War, and normalization and economic agreements (ultimately culminating in the Treaty on Basic Relations being signed in 1965), in order to shift the emphasis of risk calibration downward vis-à-vis Seoul.<sup>131</sup>

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127 The idea of social learning by the state, particularly for economic gain, is explored productively by Hall (1993). The conception of socio-political risk construction in this sense refers to the processes, examined throughout this dissertation, which drive levels of risk calibration based on the framing of an external entity. The premise is that risks come to be perceived differently at the national level by means of mediation between the state, market and society, stemming, primarily, from a series of identifiable events.

128 Indeed, early post-War Japan witnessed a strengthening of domestic socialist and neo-communist political factions, essentially sympathetic to the DPRK, particularly as a response, or counterforce, to the US-led occupation.

129 For an illustrative example of Japan's policy makers refuting the salience of risks attached to the North's communist elements within Japan, see former MOFA minister, Sone Eki's statement made to the Diet's Foreign Affairs Committee (4 September 1950, 8: 2).

130 For further discussion of contemporary state and societal perceptions of resident Koreans, and official discourses relating to the origins of their negative framing in Japan, including US supported repression and shifting in emphasis between South and North Korea, see Mitchell (1967: 27-47, 100-18).

131 See also, Japanese translation (Okonogi and Furuta, 1989).

Nevertheless, as far as public opinion and media rhetoric goes, Japan's conception that Korea has historically been a "dagger pointed at its heart" (Mendl, 1995: 61) is representative of a more general negative framing of that which is Korean, as opposed to the specific targeting of Seoul or Pyongyang. However, such a concept does little to dispel the conclusion that recalibrations of risk against the DPRK are deeply embedded in Japan's international relations history, and domestic political and civil contestations. Therein, while a risk-based approach to understanding the associated processes may be an analytical novelty in itself, the combination of a series of events mediated to enact a process of "confirmation bias" (Gardner, 2008: 120-8), upon which the recalibration of risk is based, can be observed from the examples highlighted above to contain substantively recurrent elements.<sup>132</sup>

In addition, Japan's shifting recalibration of risk in response to the two Koreas can be seen partially as the function of surrounding structural factors and pressures. *Beiyatsu* alone cannot fully account for all aspects of the processes by which Japan has come to frame the DPRK in the manner which it does.<sup>133</sup> Bilateralism has, however, maintained a largely consistent presence, within which the scope of other domestic socio-political processes in Japan have to a certain extent been restricted and demarcated. Indeed, although the recalibration of risk in response to North Korea since the first nuclear crisis of the early 1990s does, as argued below, represent a new form of socio-political phenomena, the initial antecedents of such a process can be traced back at least as far as the US's preparations for military engagement on the Korean peninsula in the late 1940s. In that regard, while Rhee Syng-Man may have been identified by many prominent thinkers and civil society

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132 The theory of confirmation bias posits that once a powerful conception, such as that of a high-risk external entity or state, has been formed, individual actors will assimilate all information that confirms their belief while rejecting sources which contradict it. This is a theoretical strand which supports the events-based approach, not least because impactful events are a prerequisite for both altering and perpetuating a reconfirmation bias.

133 Japan's opposition to the US's removal of North Korea from its list of state-sponsors of terrorism in October 2008 is evidence in itself that Tokyo's responses to, and calibration of, risks pertaining to the DPRK are significantly distinct from Washington's agenda. For discussion, see Bloomberg (2008).

groups in Japan as a source of potential risks, it was clear from the establishment of the Kim Il-Sung regime in 1948 that the US and leading Japanese policy makers (then the occupied interim government in Japan) intended to portray the North as a potential threat to Japan (Ko, 1987: 35).<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, it has to be questionable as to what extent it is really possible to compare Japan's perceptions of South Korea following World War II to those of its present day framing of the DPRK.<sup>135</sup> Not least, this is due to the fact that, given the US had allied with South Korea, if large sections of Japan's state, market and societal spheres perceived Korea as a dagger pointed at Tokyo's heart, the dagger had to be framed against the North, as an enemy of Japan's sole alliance partner. Put simply, the image of Korea as a "dagger" has had to be refocused on Pyongyang as a function of the increasing salience of *bilateralism* and the alignment of the US, ROK and Japan. Nevertheless, right-wing literature (Sakurai, 1999; Nishioka, 2001) which focuses on the North Korean threat is often keen to portray the fusion of Northern and Southern elements, particularly within Japan, or as led by the DPRK regime, as the ultimate risk to Japan's sovereignty and safety.

In essence, however, the issue of greatest significance raised by the comparative examples unpacked above, most extensively in the case of the former Soviet Union's framing, lies in their ability to expose a historical cross-over. In relation to Japan's post-Cold War framing of North Korea, such examples are illuminative in terms of delineating the kinds of complex processes and phenomenon which are operating interactively with external pressures, mediated between the state, market and society. Moreover, they provide a valuable insight into how such influences facilitate the recalibration of risk in Japan's international relations, not least by framing potential competitors and adversaries in contrast to its own national identity. The primary agency of such processes can, then, be examined in

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134 Not least the Japan Communist Party, which enjoyed a rejuvenation of popularity and membership in the immediate aftermath of World War II. This also aided the prominence of leading Marxist theorists.

135 This is particularly so given the relative implausibility of a Seoul-led military strike on the Japanese mainland – or any other military actions which could be compared to post-Cold War conceptions of Pyongyang's *provocations* against Japan.

terms of an identifiable, though permeable, group of actors (or *policy community*) forming the central locus of Japan's policy creation, implementation and reformation in this sphere.

## **2.8. Policy communities: linking actors, agency and norms with external risks**

As observed in the extant literature (see Chapter 1), Japan's post-Cold war foreign policy has consistently been shaped and reshaped by a combination of prevailing norms, delineated broadly by relative identity (Singh, 2006; Anno, 2007), the consolidation of *bilateralism* (Hook, 2011; McCormack, 2007), economic realism (Hughes, 1999), and regional (primarily vis-à-vis China) hedging (Samuels, 2007). At the state level, these norms are manifest in policies which can be understood as responses to risks (Williamson, 2011). Therein, policy making decisions are predominantly justified on the grounds that risks, including those perceived to be posed by Pyongyang, can only be ameliorated through Japan's political adherence to such norms within its international relations. Furthermore, this dissertation concurs with the majority of the literature discussed above, in as much as it suggests that such norms are currently leading Japan towards becoming, albeit with its own characteristics (Inoguchi, 2005: 182), a normal power.<sup>136</sup> However, analyses of the processes by which national norms of identity and shared conceptions of international status are mediated between the state and society in order to influence leading actors in setting foreign policy agendas remains an area rife with theoretical lacunas and methodological deficiencies. As highlighted in Chapter 1, Section 1.2 and Section 1.3, this is particularly so in Japan's case when tackled using extant liberal or realist based theoretical frameworks.

It is, therefore, necessary to examine the processes by which (internalized) external risks are linked to the evolution of such norms, in order to gain a more sophisticated comprehension of how those norms are constructed, and to illuminate the specifics of their

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<sup>136</sup> Essentially, "normal" once again refers to a nation-state with the capability to possess and operationalize independent armed forces. For more detailed specifics, see Ozawa (1993 and 1994).

contingency upon the mediation of risk. An understanding of such processes allows a more fruitful analysis of the causal weight of norms and the salience of risk calibration in dictating the trajectory of policy paradigms. In addition, the acceptance that risk plays a primary causal role in defining the normative parameters for policy makers provides the basis for a robust theoretical methodology with which to develop analyses beyond the dichotomy of *external pressures –v– domestic factors*.<sup>137</sup>

In concrete terms, the *uniqueness* of Japan's constructed post-War and post-Cold War norms associated with national identity, such as *anti-militarism*, *bilateralism*, and *developmentalism* (Hagström and Söderberg, 2006: 3)<sup>138</sup> are obviously fuelled, at least in terms of how they are operationalized through the state's political apparatus, by an almost infinitely complex myriad of individual and organizational domestic interests, and external pressures.<sup>139</sup> Amid this, responses to such pressures, in both endogenous and exogenous forms, are primarily made through policies which attempt to balance and reduce risks manifest within them. In the case of Japan's framing of the DPRK, analyses of the events addressed in Chapter 3 ~ Chapter 5 expose how risks have been framed and recalibrated for a range of strategic purposes – predominantly associated with adherence to the prevailing norms outlined above. Put simply, external threats and pressures can be incorporated into the process of constructing Japan's domestic norms by internalizing them

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137 Such debates are often linked to contesting arguments between essentially neo-realist and constructivist (respectively) claims concerning political causality, but are not as productive as risk-based approaches in this context, because they fail to account fully for a range of interactive processes which intersect external and internal spheres. In this sense, risk is an effective theoretical and methodological tool in terms of flexibly addressing multiple factors which can facilitate a more eclectic approach.

138 For specific discussion of the relationship between Japan's temporal political transformations and the development of security norms, see also Katzenstein (1996: 191-210).

139 Hagsröm and Söderberg's volume explores these issues in depth, through a multiple-perspective examination of Japan's North Korea policy, which exposes a variety of shifts in Japan's contemporary foreign policy making structures. However, akin to other texts which attempt to analyze the rationale for North Korea policies, an application of risk-related approaches would doubtless be beneficial to understanding how each constitutive part of such rationales can likely be linked, once again at individual and institutional levels, to the conception of responding to and ameliorating risks – which in the specific case of those perceived to emanate from the DPRK have clearly been upwardly recalibrated.

through their identification as salient risks. This process is exemplified by Tokyo's attribution of recalibrated risks attached to North Korea in the post-Cold War era.

In light of the above, this dissertation seeks to employ a functional definition of what constitutes the core of Japan's policy making actors, or *policy community*, in order to assess how political elites come to formulate and enact responses to exogenous risks – such as those posed by the DPRK.<sup>140</sup> The term “policy community” is adapted from Campbell et al.'s (1989: 86-94) conception of a fluid means of unitary analysis that can account for the interaction between "cosy little triangles" defending tightly demarcated vested interests, and the "issue networks which impinge upon them in seeking to actively change existing policy domains" (1989: 87).<sup>141</sup> The argument, then, is that policy communities, or some equivalent unit of analysis, is necessary, because, as Takahashi and Kitayama (2003: 156-71) posit, the so called *iron triangles* of prominent politicians, bureaucracies and big business are less than assured in the increasingly volatile climate of today's Japan.<sup>142</sup> As such, examination of Japan's policy making elite, understood in terms of the permeable unit of a policy community, offers a practical means by which to evaluate its interactions with media and other market actors, as well as societal stakeholders. These include Diet members, newspaper editors, *Nippon Keidanren* executives and various other issue networks and actors within civil society, such as the North Korean community (see Section 2.9) which can be assessed in terms of their relative influences upon the policy making process in Japan.

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140 *Policy making actors* in this case refers to any individuals or groups significantly influencing policy innovation and implementation at the national level, as opposed solely to politicians or bureaucrats who are responsible for their practical application.

141 Campbell et al. argue that the former are more likely to be predominant in authoritarian governments and the latter more active in pluralist systems, Japan being recognized as pluralist system.

142 This is particularly pertinent when one considers the fact that Takahashi and Kitayama are outlining the permeability and potential for reform present even in *iron triangles*, which were reinforced by LDP power. The invention of the DPJ-led coalition obviously offers increasing potential for instances of a less rigid unit of political elite. Examples might include as broad a spectrum as the erosion of iron triangles which stand to gain from base relocation and construction in Okinawa, to the overturning by the Supreme Court of convictions made against journalists and officials accused of using unlawful means to uncover secret collusions by the LDP with the US government – such as those relating to nuclear power projection from US bases during the 1960s. For related discussion, see Asahi.com (2010).

In terms of assessing how a policy community gains a mandate to affect significant policy change, particularly through the recalibration of risk, John Keeler's "crisis-mandate mechanism" (1993: 439) has been adapted.<sup>143</sup> This offers a model which can be used to evaluate the on-going ability of new governments (such as the DPJ coalition from 2009) to enact political sea-changes. Moreover, given certain alterations, the basic concepts explicated by Keeler are transferable to more extended temporal policy shifts under a ruling administration (i.e., the LDP government up to 2009). As stated in the Introduction, Section 0.1, these temporal changes to core policy trajectories can be examined through a series of events and actions perpetrated by the DPRK. Therein, this dissertation exposes how such actions have effectively been interpreted in an equivalent manner to crises by Japan's policy community.<sup>144</sup> Within this process, even when the North's provocations have not been mediated as crises per se, the risks associated with them have been recalibrated as representative of such.

Keeler (1993: 440) posits that a crisis serves as a means to secure a mandate for policy reform in so much as it "discredits the ideas and leaders of an incumbent party (or coalition)... ..stimulating both negative voting and the inclination to risk giving new leaders (with new ideas) a chance to resolve the crisis". However, it is theoretically congruent to assume that a new administration or incoming party is not a prerequisite for activating a crisis mandate. Indeed, as Luebbert (1991: 312) asserts, crises are able to "break old patterns of thought and behaviour", allowing "...possibilities for new approaches and ideas". Therein, as noted in Chapter 1, Section 1.6, prominent leaders and political figures in Japan have been able to recalibrate risks from the DPRK by expressing them as crises, even without administration change. These have, in turn, been deemed to require shifts in

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143 In contrast to Keeler's model, this dissertation does not posit that the DPRK's post-Cold War actions, in fact, amount to a series of crises. Rather, it argues that Japan's interpretation of risks, perceived to stem from the series of case studies examined, has been assigned comparable weighting to that of crises.

144 These take the form of a succession of missile launches, *illegal* incursions, nuclear tests, and, not least, unresolved abduction issues (e.g., see BBC News, 2010).

approach, in order to counter the *crisis-level* risks posed. This dissertation, therefore, examines policy communities within Japan in terms of core groups of politically motivated actors, which have responded to a series of politically-loaded events identified with North Korean actions. These events have been perceived by Japan's policy community as the source of risks, which have been successively recalibrated to a level equivalent to those manifested in crises. As a result, an interactive process has been facilitated between the state, market and society which assigns a disproportionate number of North Korean actions with crisis status, and amplifies the gravity of associated risks.<sup>145</sup>

### **2.9. Civil society stakeholders: perceptions of the Korean community as a new risk**

There are a range of civil society actors which have evidently had a significant influence upon the process of Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea. Most ostensibly, these include stakeholder organizations representing the families of abduction-case victims, such as the *kazokukai*, and pressure groups seeking to promote a specific political agenda, including *sukuukai*. In addition, NGOs such as the Japan Red Cross and Amnesty International, which have historically sought to highlight the risks posed to human security by the regime in Pyongyang and its affiliated actors, are also of significance.<sup>146</sup> Indeed, close scrutiny of these and other civil society actors holds the potential to add greater empirical detail to the explanation of how Japan has recalibrated risks framed against the DPRK through an interactive, actor-specific, process (interview, 26<sup>th</sup> October 2010, Appendix A). However, among various civil society candidates, this dissertation focuses most specifically upon the role of the resident Korean community, on account of its comparability to the DPRK in terms of framing within Japan. In particular, the North Korean-affiliated residents in Japan, and those associated with *Chōsensōren* can be analysed as representative of a microcosm

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145 This is, in essence, the societal structure which perpetuates so called "North Korea phobia" in Japan.

146 The role of coalitions, made between multiple groups within civil society and those representative of the state, is dealt with further in Chapter 4, Section 4.4.



of North Korea itself. This is particularly pertinent, given the focus on the relationship between domestic and international aspects of risk recalibration as a function of given framings.

Therefore, as a stakeholder group on the fringe of the policy community, Korean residents represent a significant body of actors within the process of Japan's recalibration of risk in response to the DPRK.<sup>147</sup> Evidently, North-affiliated groups, including *Chōsensōren*, are particularly relevant in this regard, because they amount to an identifiable sub-group within Japan with close ties, both politically and economically, to Pyongyang. It is, therefore, important to understand their influence upon processes through which risk has been recalibrated by Japan's policy community as a whole. As such, resident Koreans have been included in the case studies, employed in line with Yin's definition (2009: 18), as an aid to the "investigation [into] a contemporary phenomenon" which explores "the boundaries between phenomenon and context [which] are not clearly evident". Organizations such as *Chōsensōren* are, then, an invaluable source of accessible data in this regard, because their contemporary framing within Japan can be seen as comparable to Tokyo's external framing of North Korea as a whole.

Indeed, the North Korean-aligned section of the resident community in Japan is particularly significant due, primarily, to the lack of distinction made between themselves and the DPRK itself within Japan. This is particularly visible in terms of how their diverse forms of connection to the North are widely overlooked when calibrating risks associated with them. For example, this can be seen in sanctions which indiscriminately target kinship ties and socioeconomic aid provided by remittances, and those of direct political donations and support for the regime in Pyongyang (see also Chapter 4, Section 4.11).<sup>148</sup> Pertinently,

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147 Here, *Korean residents* provisionally refers to those of both Southern and Northern origin, though the specific significance of the North-affiliated *Chōsensōren* organization, in terms of its targeting as the source of risks associated with Pyongyang, is noted, and covered in greater detail in Chapter 4, Section 4.11.

148 The blurring of such distinctions is clearly an important factor in the manipulation of perceptions within

furthermore, the framing of such elements as North Korean, or representative of the DPRK state, has been realized and propagated in spite of the increasing “Japanization” (Mitchell, 1967: 160; see also Ryang, 1996) within all cohorts of the Korean community in Japan. Therein, a growing proportion of citizens within Japan defined as second and third generation Korean have gradually intensified their identity as Japanese, while diluting ties with the Korean peninsula as a whole.<sup>149</sup> This dissertation, therefore, addresses the North-allied community within Japan from the perspective of recalibrated risks which have been attached to all that can be perceived to be North Korean. The relevance of such an approach is made clear when one observes how the Korean community has, as one entity, gone from facing primarily generic discrimination within Japan (see Section 2.7.ii, above) to becoming the focus of specific attention by leading media sources, state authorities and civil society organizations – as the source of risks identified with the North.<sup>150</sup> The direct targeting of groups such as *Chōsensōren* can, then, be examined as the result of Japan’s framing of the DPRK as a whole – and the recalibration of associated risks.

Furthermore, Japan’s framing of the North Korean community is illustrative of how risks have been disproportionately recalibrated in relation to their material size and influence.<sup>151</sup> It

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the state apparatus and media, and hence societal public sphere, of how North Koreans are identified and portrayed. This is exemplified by the confusion over terms which have, to a certain degree, indirectly come to connote or construe links with Pyongyang, such as that of “zainichi” itself. The consequences of this kind of definitional ignorance and opaqueness are highlighted by Kim (1981: 7-11).

149 Mitchell notes this trend as early as the mid-1960s as a result of inter-ethnic marriage and other demographic changes, which bears testimony to the obvious fruition of such a process entering into the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Inter-ethnic marriages between ethnic Koreans and Japanese amounted to 8376 in 2006, up from 1971 in 1965 (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 2010).

150 Evidently, these have been driven and exacerbated by ultra-right-wing and extra-legal groups which also engage the policy community (i.e., are themselves a fringe group with agency affecting such a process). For further discussion of the convergence of a diversity of fringe groups, in the form of coalitions constituting multiple agendas, which serve to perpetuate Japan’s recalibration of risks perceived to emanate from Pyongyang, see Chapter 4, Section 4.4.

151 Although there is also undeclared transfers of funds, remittances to North Korea from Japan (primarily from North Korean residents or their organizations within Japan), despite often being claimed in Japan as a means by which the regime in Pyongyang gains access to international funding, actually represents only a portion of the already negligible eight per cent of North Korea’s international trade which is conducted with Japan. In material terms, the DPRK is far more economically reliant upon both China and South Korea,

is also reflective of the juxtaposing of national identity against a framed rival state, and the reconstruction of norms which underpin the construction of such an identity. The Northern half of the *zainichi*, or “residents in Japan”, therefore represent a suitable case study through which to review a domestic microcosm of the national (bilateral) phenomenon under investigation in this dissertation.<sup>152</sup> This is coherent in as much as the North Korean *zainichi* have been framed in a comparable form to the DPRK’s framing as a whole within Japan’s public sphere. Within the constructivist framework, as delineated in Section 2.12, below, the *zainichi*’s identity has been framed in a processes involving mediation between the state, media and other market sources, as well as society, as that which is counter to Japan’s national interests and political ideology. This includes emphasizing not only the intimacy of organizations such as *Chōsensōren* to the political philosophies promoted, in the name of self reliance, or *juche*, by the North’s leaders, but also to their links with unfashionable or controversial political factions in Japan.<sup>153</sup> Hence, the North Korean community within Japan has been consequentially framed as that which contains the potential for harbouring elements of risks perceived as being posed to Japan by Pyongyang. As a result, this framing, and the following recalibration of risks associated with resident North Koreans, has facilitated a number of tangible policy measures. These include the raiding of *Chōsensōren*’s offices and the termination of tax-relief measures in 2003 and 2006 (Akaha, 2006: 32; Hughes, 2006: 476) which were identified as allowing the *zainichi* to generate funds to aid and abet the North’s government, stricter search and port entry (insurance etc.) rules for shipping brought into effect by the Japanese Coastguard, and other measures designed to reduce

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and is arguably affected very little by sanctions directed from Tokyo, not least those enacted through repression of North Korean elements within Japan. For reference and discussion, see Akaha (2006: 19-35).

152 The official estimate for the total number of those of ethnic Korean origin living in Japan is approximately 600, 000. For detailed statistics on resident and returnee Korean numbers, see Mindan (2010). However, the numbers may actually be far higher, particularly considering unofficial residents and those of mixed race. Within this, as Morris-Suzuki (2007) suggests, the identity of North – v – South can at times also be far from clear cut or rendered as peripheral (i.e., vis-à-vis Japanese – v – Korean identity).

153 For a full discussion of the connection between *zainichi* and the Japanese Communist Party, see Moon (2000: 191-204).

contact and exchange between the *zainichi* and the DPRK.<sup>154</sup> Further unilateral sanctions imposed upon the DPRK by Japan also include the strict control of remittances, particularly those sent as international cash transfers, by individuals within Japan directly to North Korea.<sup>155</sup> These measures, in combination with illegal (at times violent) actions perpetrated by extremists from the political ultra-right-wing and others, therefore, represent a tangible measure, in microcosmic form, of Japan's upward recalibration of risk and related responses to North Korea.

## **2.10. Media influence, foreign policy and risk**

The examination of media discourses, particularly those contained in leading newspapers, is a key methodological tool by which to measure Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea. This is applied to both qualitative and quantitative analyses, and is contextualized within the media's cross-interaction with political and societal spheres. Qualitative analysis focuses primarily on the comparative reactions – in terms of changing discourse – of two historically ideologically contrasting broadsheets; the *Asahi Shimbun* and the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, which can be seen as representative of traditionally liberal, or progressive, standpoints, as taken by the *Asahi*, and conservative positions, in the case of the *Yomiuri*.<sup>156</sup> In addition to these sources, quantitative evaluation for the full spectrum of major national newspapers, NHK coverage, and news magazine articles is provided in order

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154 For full details of the measures employed to target North Korean groups operating within Japan, see Chapter 4, Section 4.11 and Chapter 5, Section 5.10.

155 The limits for individual transactions were reduced to ¥10,000,000 from ¥30,000,000 and from ¥1,000,000 to ¥300,000 in 2009 (Yomiuri Online, 2010), with approval of a further extension of existing sanctions passing the Diet to come into effect from 13 April 2010. It is also notable that when sending remittances anywhere abroad from Japan, the individual has to declare that they are not destined for North Korea (Appendix C, Item II), symbolizing how the state has shifted the perceived risks of the DPRK onto a responsibility born by citizens.

156 As such, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* is effectively identified as representative of a majority of major national newspapers in Japan, which can be seen to lean towards the right, particularly on issues concerning North Korea. This includes staunchly right-wing tabloids, such as the *Sankei Shimbun* and less overtly hard-line publications, including the *Mainichi Shimbun* – as highlighted by Figure 6.1(a), Chapter 6.

to offer greater empirical support for qualitative analyses, and as a means by which to place their shifting trajectories of risk recalibration within the broader context of national media responses. Moreover, the degree to which political and civil society actors rely upon mainstream media as the basis of their information on international affairs, and the close relationship between media actors and policy makers is highlighted in order to expose the extensive prevalence of convergence – both within the media and in its cross-relationship to state and societal sphere actors.

The media are, therefore, a core means by which risk is mediated between the state, market and society in Japan. However, this understanding does not assume that the media does no more than reiterate and reflect the direct concerns of a narrow political elite responsible for policy formation. Indeed, news media in particular play an important function, in themselves, with regard to driving debates over issues of national concern in the public sphere.<sup>157</sup> This in turn galvanizes societal consensus, which compound or reform existing mainstream norms, and influence the policies adopted within their bounds (Smith, Hadfield, Dunne, 2008: 141). A central objective of this dissertation is, hence, to evaluate the causal power of those norms, delineate the policy parameters which they facilitate, and illuminate how they are expressed through the media. It should be noted, however, that there is no intention to conflate pervasive normative consensus observed with uniformity across what is a sizeable variety of news sources, some of which vary widely. Specifically, it is worth noting the distinction between national news gathering agents and major newspapers, such as NHK, the *Asahi Shimbun*, and the *Yomiuri Shimbun* (which would at least all claim to attempt neutrality and objectivity), and those such as the *Sankei Shimbun* or North Korea Daily which do less to conceal their weighty bias.

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157 For the analysis of this dissertation, a maximum of accessible sources that can be linked to Japan's national policy responses to North Korea, manifest in recalibrations of risk set against its negative framing, are included in order to assess their impact in totality.

In this respect, with regards to the case study of Japan's recalibration of risks vis-à-vis the DPRK, although policy provisions and debates may remain within the context of accepted national norms, they are also complicated by domestic political competition, and the public inertia that it creates, particularly in terms of maintaining a mass media focus upon Pyongyang. As noted in Chapter 1, Section 1.6, domestic politics are a key factor in how North Korean issues are framed. Yet, this has often involved political opposition for its own sake, as in the case of the DPJ blocking LDP moves to implement powers for stop-and-search rights on North Korean vessels, which was then enforced following its election victory. Pertinently, this has also been present within media coverage – particularly as a form of competition over who can take the toughest line against Kim Jong-II's Pyongyang administration.<sup>158</sup> These influences reverberate into the public sphere, whipping up further anti-North Korean sentiment – and stimulating further harsh political and media rhetoric and so forth (political inertia).<sup>159</sup>

A model for how to assess the extent and processes of this phenomenon can be adapted from the arguments provided by Hyung (2006: 483-508), who confirms the relevance of such a case study by succinctly asserting that, “The power of the virtual, constructed, and mediated reality of North Korea... ..cannot be overlooked when formulating or analysing policies towards [the DPRK]” (2006: 507). Hyung's approach is particularly applicable because it focuses on elements such as media-societal pre-conditioning, priming of audiences, and media collusion. Indeed, large sections of Japan's mainstream media sources have aligned market interests in terms of how they are commercially linked. This,

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158 In the run up to the 2009 general election in Japan, following PM Asō's announcement of the dates for the dissolving of parliament, the DPJ and opposition parties moved against him to submit a censure motion in the House of Councillors and a motion of no confidence in the House of Representatives, and made it clear that they would not cooperate with relevant deliberations in the National Diet. This can be seen, largely, as a means to scupper key LDP bills to be passed prior to the election, most prominently one that would have allowed inspection of DPRK cargo ships by the JCG.

159 This phenomenon can be observed, as examined in the following case studies, by the relentless coverage of North Korea, as the source of multiple and salient risks, with increasing – albeit irregular – fervour. For quantitative illustration, see Figure 6.2, Chapter 6.

Hyung posits, contributes to “intensive agenda setting and framing effects” (specifically regarding Japan’s responses to North Korea) and offers an explanation of “how mass media affects international relations through the construction of mediated realities” (2006: 484-5).<sup>160</sup> Moreover, Hyung highlights how, due to the lack of real first-hand experience of almost all areas of the DPRK’s society by those within Japan, North Korea is, as a socially constructed entity, ideally suited to societal-level manipulation by mass media interests<sup>161</sup>. Furthermore, this serves to meet a range of socio-political, emotional and ideational, and economic needs in Japan<sup>162</sup>. Thus, the US and other external pressures, as well as the political consensus discussed above, which are predisposed to encourage the negative framing of North Korea within Japan, amount to only one part of the puzzle in terms of the overall process of risk recalibration in response to Pyongyang.

Therein, citizens, through the consumption of media discourse and imagery, are also able to exonerate sentiments of national guilt towards Korea, appropriate blame for socio-economic decay onto an external *assailant*, and demand strong leadership to counter a perceived threat (Hyung, 2006: 499). However, in terms of the methodology used to analyse the impact of media sources, the last of these functions (the perceived threat) requires supplementation to Hyung’s conceptualization. This can be achieved through an appreciation of how the framing of the DPRK is reliant upon an understanding of the threat being calibrated into a range of risks. Particularly given their multifaceted nature (nuclear,

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160 As such, although Hyung focuses primarily on television sources (and indeed argues for their primacy), the inference is that despite a declining proportion of younger adult newspaper readers, and a surprising lack of internet usage in Japan for accessing information on current affairs, each of the leading providers of media information on North Korea, across all major sectors (along with journals etc.) contain not only subjective and objective collusion on issues concerning the DPRK, but also hold tangible business links in terms of cross-shareholding – inferring that further media consensus, albeit with variations in style, is present.

161 Evidently, the degree of manipulation vis-à-vis a first-hand objective analysis of sources within the DPRK is not accessible, but the lack of access to target subjects in North Korea demonstrates in itself the potential for one-sided framing and manipulation – without objective means for a strong counter-argument to develop within central discourses in Japan.

162 *Economic* in this sense, however irrational, refers to a combination of distraction and scapegoating directed against North Korea to alleviate and apportion blame over Japan’s long term fiscal downturn and gloomy business and employment market.

abduction, military, sovereign etc.), these are seen to require nationally orientated responses from Japan. Indeed, as such, not only from the state, but additionally from the entirety of individual citizens and, moreover, society as an interactive, collective whole.<sup>163</sup>

In light of the above, media influence as an aggregate impact upon national responses to North Korea can, then, be seen as one significant sector of an interactive structure that constitutes Japan's policy community. As such, this dissertation posits that analysis of central media discourse is, in addition to the examination of other market, political elite, bureaucratic, and civil society group sources, essential to elucidating the interactive process of macro-national risk recalibration vis-à-vis North Korea. Moreover, as stated in Section 2.4, this requires both comprehensive qualitative and quantitative systems of data analysis in order to index and evaluate the myriad of causal influences therein – and the (re)calibration of perceived risks which they are seen to engage. This can be fruitfully achieved through analysing variables consistently against a series of comparable case studies, as provided in Chapter 3 ~ Chapter 5. Amongst these, responses within Japan to the North's multiple missile and nuclear tests provide a consistent source for such analyses.

### ***2.11. Missile tests and other events as a means for measuring risk recalibration within the post-Cold War policy community***

As stated above, this dissertation identifies the nature of Japan's policy community and attempts to track its recalibration of risk in response to North Korea since the geo-political restructuring initiated from the ending of the Cold War.<sup>164</sup> As such, it is hypothesized that the

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163 This phenomenon is a further example of the noted recurring theme of a shifting or re-appropriation of risks from the state onto citizens. Associated issues are discussed in depth with regard to each of the case studies examined (see Chapter 3 ~ Chapter 5), and the salience of resulting socio-political impacts are evaluated in conclusion.

164 The permeable, indefinable, nature of Japan's policy community is addressed in Section 2.6, above. Terminology such as "political elite" and "policy elite" are employed (interchangeably) to describe the operational front of the policy community, which is assumed to be represented by



response of the political elite to actions and issues associated with Pyongyang started out slowly and became increasingly fervent as a momentum of anti-North Korean framing took hold in Japan. Within this, by employing an events-based analysis it is possible to identify a number of surges in risk recalibration made by Japan's political elite in response to actions by Pyongyang. As discussed in Chapter 3, the first such surge was generated in response to the Taepodong 1 test missile launch of August 1998 (see Chapter 3, Table 3.2). Moreover, in light of analyses discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, the on-going process by which the cumulative framing of the DPRK facilitated that recalibration, mediated through interactions between the political elite, media and civil society begins to exhibit a qualitative and quantitative form, which can be objectively observed (e.g., see Chapter 5, Figure 5.5).

As explained in Section 2.3 and Section 2.4, above, a wide-range of data and information have been utilized to provide illustrations and comparisons of how risks were recalibrated. This has been applied for the junctures immediately prior to and after each missile test launch. Within this, the primary data sources used to identify observable shifts in the policy community's recalibration of risk during the post-Cold War period are those of Diet (upper and lower house, and committees) records and archival data for the leading newspapers – with specific attention paid to the *Asahi Shimbun*, as discussed in Section 2.10, and further in Chapter 3, Section 3.16.<sup>165</sup> This specified focus is adopted on the grounds that these two core sources of relevant data demonstrate the most clearly identifiable features of risk recalibration, as expressed in Chapter 5, Table 5.3. Additionally, it should be noted that electronically generated quantitative data, of significance to analyses for the missile test launches, generally relates to the broad search term, *kitachōsen*, because this is how North Korea is standardly referred to within the public sphere.<sup>166</sup> Research results have been

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bureaucrats and members of the National Diet. This is distinct from the policy community as a whole, which is defined as including media and other market, as well as societal, actors.

165 This utilizes the digitalized search-engine databases (<http://kokkai.ndl.go.jp/>).

166 Although the full (official) term, "*chōsen minshushugi jinmin kyōwakoku*" does exist, Japanese texts generally contain less equivalent variant usages compared to English terminology, such as *DPRK* (an abbreviation of the above), *Pyongyang* or *The North*, particularly in terms of general use within discourse

quantified and assessed selectively according to the relevance of the discourse's content. The primary focus, therefore, essentially prioritizes statements from the security and foreign ministry committees. Further, although explications have preferentially been restricted to the Diet sessions which took place immediately following key events such as missile launches (in addition to nuclear tests, incursion incidents etc.), mention of relevant statements relating the state of discourse during intervening periods is also included.<sup>167</sup>

Furthermore, in addition to scrutinizing the positions of the ruling administration's and opposition's leading, and most outspoken, representatives on North Korean affairs, a variety of political statements conveyed by related bureaus, committees and ministries are also examined. These are further supplemented with input from other political organizations and parties outside of government which can be seen to play a significant role in the policy community, as outlined above. Conclusions drawn from the archival data located within Japan's leading media sources and political elite are buttressed by a range of qualitative assessments made by experts in the field and are supported by the predominantly quantitative results of opinion polls. In addition, responses are analyzed and contrasted with the positions of a variety of secondary literature which covers the same events. The theoretical foundations for the conclusions reached are discussed below.

## ***2.12. The construction of risks and crises: relations between citizens and the state***

As noted in the Introduction, Section 0.1, at least three powerful vested interests stand to gain from the framing of North Korean actions as equivalent to crises that bear salient

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and official records.

167 Citations from the Diet are standardized for reference using the speakers name and date within the text. The Diet session number and turn of the speaker are also provided in parenthesis following each quotation (see Note on Translations and Romanization, Diet References, Research Cut-off Point and In-Text Referencing and Japanese Terminology).

security risks for Japan. These include the US's geo-political strategic concerns, Japan's policy community's expansionist convergences (or consensuses), and distractive (foremost from negative attention within the public sphere) or leadership roles for leading domestic political actors. However, it is necessary to note the discrepancy between conventional events that have been assigned the status of crises in the sense outlined by Keeler (see Chapter 1, Section 1.7 and Section 2.8, above), and those that relate to Japan's recalibration of risk in response to the DPRK. Indeed, it is the fact that *risks* have been *abnormally* and innovatively constructed, and reconstructed by the state, to convey a level of calibre equal to that of crises which is of particular significance.

Akin to the analysis provided by Singh (2006: 99), this dissertation attempts to explain, "how a state (Japan) uses or relies on the crisis element as a source of legitimacy in bringing about change to its security identity and behaviour". However, it parts company with the aforementioned in both its definition of crises, and its focus on the salience of risks per se – i.e., as opposed solely to the events they are attached to. Moreover, the construction of crises within a risk-based approach is reliant upon the understanding of how the recalibration of risk, as that which is potentially so catastrophic it facilitates the overriding of established scientific knowledge in order to act pre-emptively (or out of amplified precaution) to counter it, becomes the norm of state governance. In this sense, the management and pre-emption of risks gravitate towards the core discourses of governmentality.<sup>168</sup> Therein, risks are shifted, primarily by the state, though observed through processes of mediation (facilitated not least by vassals of the mass media) between government, the market and society. Essentially, *shifting* occurs from the quantifying of crises based on the calculation of material and strategic dangers, into a focus on the associated risks. In the case of those framed against

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168 This is also employed in general congruence with the Copenhagen School of "securitization." For discussion, see Stritzel (2007).

North Korea, risks take the form of “a scenario, followed by a policy proposal of how to prevent this scenario from becoming real” (Rasmussen, 2006: 2).<sup>169</sup>

In this sense, it is argued that risks have been identified with Pyongyang, and mediated effectively enough across large spheres of domestic society, to the extent that justifications for policy changes do not require the previously established criteria for a crisis. This is contended in as much as events framed within Japan as a function of North Korea’s hostile actions have not consistently or unequivocally met international crisis conditions. These would often include those requiring clear time-pressures for response, a multiple threat to national values, or the likelihood of imminent military engagement (Brecher and Wilkenfeld, 1997). Rather, it is posited that each of the key temporal events (discussed in detail throughout the chapters below) identified as evidence of the DPRK’s hostile intentions, and assigned crisis status, have been used as tools, or compounding elements, in the incremental accumulation of risk that has been attached to North Korea.

Therein, the recalibration of risks identified with Pyongyang, via their framing by the state (oft-times via mediation through news media) in an arbitrary, or at least less than statistically valid, form can be observed in terms of a “negative optimism-bias” (Gardner, 2008: 258). This results in exaggerated perceptions by citizens and societal actors, and is frequently present in conceptions of risk mediation. Gardner uses the example of Americans’ perceived risks of suffering a terrorist attack in the wake of the 9/11 disasters to highlight how individuals (in contradiction to their normal optimism-bias) overestimate the likelihood (to themselves) of being adversely affected by an external harm.<sup>170</sup> Moreover, the fact that citizens are so inclined to arbitrarily estimate external risks, particularly at the national level,

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169 Rasmussen explores the broader theoretical phenomenon (upon which, given the explicit focus on North Korea, Japan’s contemporary responses to the DPRK evidently appear to be based) of risk recalibrations in the post-9/11 world through an examination of risk-orientated doctrines, within which he highlights the proliferation of “precautionary principles and anticipatory defense” enacted by the state in response to perceived crises.

170 *Optimism bias* refers to the phenomenon whereby people consistently view themselves favorably compared with others.

is symptomatic of the fact that such risks are simply too complex for the individual to accurately estimate (Gardner, 2008: 108). It is, therefore, within this context of risk that readily available and easily digestible sources of authority, such as news media or political statements are digested as *facts*. In the case of the US and the perception of terrorist attacks, this phenomena of overestimated risk perception has been perpetuated by powerful media imagery and politically charged events associated with the remembrance of 9/11. Likewise, this phenomenon is observable in the case of Japan's framing of North Korea. However, in the case of Japan's perceptions and responses (at the levels of both state and the individual citizen) to North Korea, there are arguably a far more extensive and diverse range of recent events (abductions, missile launches, nuclear tests, maritime intrusions etc.) which lend themselves to the accentuation of such processes of risk recalibration.<sup>171</sup>

This dissertation, therefore, adopts an approach which assumes there has been a temporal process of negative optimism-bias, which has allowed the Japanese state to frame itself, in juxtaposition to the DPRK. Through the mediation of perceived risks between the state, market and society in Japan, this process has been sustained by a number of events identified as hostile North Korean actions (or hostile national posture). As such, the state is portrayed as responsible for the protection of citizens, albeit precariously, from an unknown yet salient composite of externally generated, though now internalized, risks which are perceived to emanate from the regime in Pyongyang. In essence, this approach is consistent with that developed by Buzan, who posits that, "The stability of the state derives... ..from the understanding by its citizens that it is the lesser of two evils" (1991: 38). Therefore, the state may be seen as the source of risks in itself, if, for example, it should suddenly implement a range of repressive or militaristic policy reforms. However, in the case of

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171 Gardner notes (2008: 260-2) that the actual chances of an American (over their entire lifetime) being killed as the result of an act of terrorism could be lower than *one in a million*, as opposed, for example, to the relatively high chance (1 in 79,746) of being wiped out by a venomous plant. Likewise, this gap between perceived risk and statistical probability can be compared to the chances of a Japanese citizen being abducted by North Korean agents or struck by a missile launch from Pyongyang.

Japan's responses to North Korea, the processes of risk-perception outlined above have led to the DPRK being framed as a persistent source of both imminent and latent risks, for which citizens apparently have little choice other than to entrust appropriate action to the state. The state, in turn, where possible, shifts responsibility onto its citizens. The concept of a *recalibration* of risk in this process is, therefore, central because it captures the means by which risks are not only constructed and mediated by the state, but also how they are maintained indefinitely. This is achieved via the risk-perceptions of individual citizens (and their societal consensuses), such as those of being abducted or facing a nuclear attack (Buzan, 1991: 136), and is reliant upon a lack of objective calculability and perceived inability to be effectively countered at the micro level.<sup>172</sup> Therein, the lack of objectivity facilitates the subjective (re)construction of risks.

### **2.13. Synthesizing risk and constructivism**

Within the process of risk recalibration outlined above, then, a constructivist understanding of international relations theory, as opposed to so-called reductionist positions often represented by realist schools, forms the basis for theoretical analysis. This posits not only that ideas are inherently critical to the formation of norms, agency and behaviour, but also that the interaction of ideas, including those articulated through the nation-state, contain a distinct level of structural analysis in themselves (Wendt, 1999: 145-57). If, therefore, a huge proportion of any such structure is based on ideas which are contingent upon an evaluation of risk, in a socio-politically constructed form, how that interactional structure is manifest between agents such as the state, market and society, is evidently reliant upon how risks are calibrated by each of those agents (or actors) through those interactions.<sup>173</sup> In other words, it

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172 That is to say, citizens do not have the means (time/resources etc.) at their disposal to compile empirical studies on the multitude of risks that they perceive to be faced with at any one time (or during any one lifetime).

173 For an excellently concise outline and evaluation of the core elements of contemporary constructivist

is not sufficient to simply calculate (numerically or otherwise) and aggregate the isolated properties or influences of, for instance, policy makers, mass media and the North Korean community in Japan, because part of their effect upon national posture and foreign policy is likely to be manifest within their interactions per se.

It is, thus, the intention of this dissertation to draw, as Wendt (1999: 317-36) does, on interactionist social theory in order to provide an evolutionary account of the process by which Japan has come to calibrate risks framed against the DPRK. Within such an account, Wendt (1999: 319) seeks to “explain the movement of variable(s) over time”, “specify a means for generating variation in the dependant variable.. ...from unit-level changes in the structure of state-society relations and from the strategic choices of foreign policy decision-makers”, and to “incorporate inertial tendencies that stabilize these changes”. The inference contended here is that recalibrations of risk within Japan in response to the DPRK should, in essence, be determined by such a process. For this dissertation, then, the moving (in one sense dependent) variable is the level of risk perceived to emanate from North Korean adventurism, which is salient to Japan. The means for generating variation is examined and expressed, therein, through the interactive influences of actors in response to the series of case studies (independent variables). Inertial tendencies are then explored as the result of such an interactive process - resulting, ultimately, in Japan’s extensive contemporary recalibration of risk in response to the DPRK.<sup>174</sup>

Therefore, by synthesizing theoretical strands of risk and constructivism, as outlined above, a practical methodology can be applied to unravelling the hypotheses expressed in the Introduction. Within this, attention is primarily focussed on the manifestation of these

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theory, including how they can be reconstructed to intersect with Ulrich Beck’s conceptions of “reflexive modernity”, see Guzzini (2000).

<sup>174</sup> Concrete examples of the process of unit-level interactions resulting in a specific direction of political inertia (towards re-militarization in Japan), including the need for public and commercial recognition/agreement towards increased joint US-Japan military initiatives in response to a perceived threat from North Korea, are expertly explicated by Smith (1999: 69-93).

interactive processes in discourse, often representative of continuing narratives (see Section 2.4). Therein, by analysing how risk is integrally manifest in the interactions between socially constructed ideas contained in discourses mediated between the state, market and society, it is possible to elucidate an image of how these sectors intersect and affect concrete shifts in the development of social and national norms. Moreover, this illuminates the process through which they result in the creation and implementation of reactionary policies and influence the direction of national policy trajectories. Further, the theoretical foundations for explaining how the recalibration of risk is framed against North Korea by Japan are grounded in an appreciation of the proliferation of so called soft power and the influence it holds over its harder counterpart. Concurrently, the significance of ideational crystallizations becomes of particular salience “whenever there are ‘willing interpreters and receivers,’ that is, whenever there is a cultural and ideational context that is shared and commonly understood” (Chiozza, 2007: 99 (quotation from Nye, 2004)).<sup>175</sup> In addition, it is contended that, in concordance with Aradau and Munster (2007: 89-115), risk as a construct central to domestic socio-political concerns (here within Japan) is the subject of contestation and, ultimately, governance.<sup>176</sup> It is, therefore, the contested governmentality of risk, and its constitutive processes, embedded within the state, market and society, which become of primary importance to the dissertation below. Evidently, the prominence of such a phenomenon, which has resulted in the upward recalibration of risk in response to the DPRK, is present in contemporary Japan.

Within this, constructivist concepts of how “systems of signification” (Milliken, 2001: 138-45) are produced through discourse can also be applied fruitfully to the case of Japan’s

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175 Chiozza’s quantitatively based concepts (2007: 93-126) are adapted to form part of Katzenstein and Keohane’s edited discussion of anti-Americanism, much of which serves to highlight parallels with Japan’s negative framing of the DPRK, or *anti-North Koreanism* in Japan.

176 Aradau and van Munster draw, once again, on the work of Michel Foucault in order to note the importance of distinguishing between the risk discussed by Beck (as that which is all-encompassing, exponential and catastrophic) and the use of risk as a kind of heterogeneous “dispositif”, containing a multiple of socio-political elements for utilization in various and complex processes of governmentality.



discursive responses to North Korea.<sup>177</sup> Milliken adopts a form of “predicate analysis” (2001: 140-2) to enhance the systematic rigour with which examination of discourse can be used to understand a given issue in international relations. This entails analysing the syntactic predications of language used by different state and societal agents and actors in order to frame the conceptions of a specific issue area (such as those associated with North Korea in Japan). As she states (2001: 139), the significance of this approach is that a systematic analysis of the linguistic means utilized to frame international issues allows an understanding of how it is that,

beyond giving a language for speaking about (analysing, classifying) phenomena, discourses make intelligible some ways of being in, and acting towards, the world and of operationalizing a particular “regime of truth”, while excluding other possible modes of identity and action. More specifically, discourses define *subjects authorized to speak and to act* (e.g., foreign policy officials, defence intellectuals, development experts)...

In addition to Milliken’s analytical framework,<sup>178</sup> this dissertation posits that the legitimization of such discourses and the actors that propagate them is largely justified in relation (and with reference) to the risks that they offer to engage, and seek to ameliorate.<sup>179</sup> As such, systematic analysis of linguistic predications contained in key discourses relating to the case studies discussed in the chapters below also requires an understanding of how risk operates within those discourses. In the above sense, this dissertation attempts to demonstrate how

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177 *Systems of signification* are used here to refer to how a particular discourse leads to the construction of a given social reality based largely upon linguistic sign systems, as opposed to materialist conceptions that would contend a kind of *reverse* logic. Therein, materialist theories lean towards assigning inherent meaning to material structures, presumably including, for example, the text contained in discourse.

178 Milliken’s epistemological position on the socio-political salience of discourse is concisely expressed in her discussion of Western (of which Japan would be included) Alliance identity formation through its framing of North Korea. She asserts that, “state insecurities... ..are not given but are (re)constructed through discourse, and ordering of terms, meanings, and practices that forms the background presuppositions and taken-for-granted understandings that enable people’s actions and interpretations. Discourses provide people with the capabilities to represent a situation to themselves and to others. Those capabilities give ways of naming and characterizing the subjects and objects of international relations, including states” (1999: 92).

179 In concordance with Milliken, this dissertation in no way excludes other forms of discourse analysis (such as metaphorical, syntactic-statistical, or purely interpretive), but rather asserts that a predicative approach lends its self effectively to the task of exposing how risk has been recalibrated within the discourses present in Japan which relate to its framing of the DPRK.

risk can be seen to operationalize globalized conceptions of *legitimate* political behaviour, which operate at the level of “statehood” to affect (or dictate) transformations in “cultural identity, economic and military foundations, democracy and legitimation” (Beck, 2005: 257) – such as those that dictate how Japan frames and responds to North Korea. This approach is derivative of Beck’s conception of a risk society, in as much as it identifies the escalation and exponential construction of risks in the public sphere, which determine how knowledge is packaged and acted upon from discourse to policy. In contrast, however, to Beck’s evaluation (2005: 249-79) of a globalization and transnationalization of risk which legitimizes a standardized form of global governance (in light of the *perceived globality of risk*), this dissertation posits, rather, that the effects of globalization upon the nationalized construction of discourses defines how, at the national level, risk is increasingly utilized (or inadvertently adopted) by a broad range of actors incorporating the state, market and society. This affects both the construction of cultural norms and the direction of policy based upon them. In other words, the globalization of risk intensifies the process of glocalization of those risks, and also amplifies the nationalizing of discourses and responses that relate to them.<sup>180</sup>

Furthermore, socio-politically constructed risk, and its influence upon prominent sections of discourse within core public and political spheres should be understood in terms of containing a high-degree of what Taleb (2007: 62) has termed the “narrative fallacy”. This premises that once a powerful discourse has been constructed, and the interactions between constitutive parts organized into a coherent structure, however dynamic or impermanent, that the discursive narrative of that discourse may take on logics of its own.

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180 Beck contends that a national perspective and methodology for understanding the political use of risk is insufficient because the, “threat to humanity from self-generated risks of technological civilization... ..brings with it an autonomous source of global political legitimation for domination”, which “occurs when actors not only states, but advocacy movements from civil society and, not least, corporations as well – are able to claim that they are working to avert or counter the risks facing humanity from technologized civilization.” (2002: 252-3). However, it is the counterclaim of this research, that such influences from civil society and corporations (or the market as a whole) are highly nationalized in character, and as such Japan’s recalibration of risk in response to North Korea is most effectively conceptualized through a nationally-based methodological approach.

More concretely, due to essentially biological tendencies in human psychology, actors (or agglomerations of actors) will seek to theorize and make connections between events regardless of their empirical connections or the statistical likelihood of similar future events. This can be clearly exposed in the case of discourses relating to Tokyo's interpretation of North Korean actions.<sup>181</sup> Indeed, the presence of cognitive causal theorizing, associating highly intangible linkages between events identified as symptomatic of Pyongyang's policies, lends additional weight to the pertinence of examining Japan's framing of and responses to the DPRK. Congruently, this is so in terms of them being primarily based upon a socially constructed discourse, which illuminates how risks have been repeatedly recalibrated.<sup>182</sup>

#### **2.14. Explaining realist tendencies**

Within the essentially constructivist framework outlined above, the intensified reliance upon risk as a key explanatory factor in the processes of interaction between the state, market and society, which lead to Japan's national responses toward North Korea, means that an explanation of the seemingly realist-heavy policy tendencies which emerge as a result is required. As discussed throughout Chapter 1, many leading scholars of International Relations, such as Green (2001) and Samuels (2007), have noted that Japan has moved, albeit incrementally, towards a realist national position in the restructured post-Cold War

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181 The *narrative fallacy* is evidently problematic to comprehensively *prove* as a social or material reality, but what is significant for the purposes of this thesis is Taleb's exposition of how unexpected events (such as a North Korean nuclear or missile strike against Japan) may be interpreted in radically different ways, depending upon their presence in contemporary discourse. As he succinctly states, "...there are two varieties of rare events: a) the *narrated* Black Swans, those that are present in the current discourse and that you are likely to hear about on television, and b) those nobody talks about, since they escape models...the incidences [are] overestimated in the first case, but severely underestimated in the second one." (2007: 77). This understanding is of key relevance because it evinces both the socio-politically constructed nature of salient risks, and the empirical and statistical inaccuracy of how they are identified and interpreted, hence allowing considerable capacity for their multifaceted recalibration.

182 See Michishita's exposition of the DPRK's "cybernetic policies" (2009: 110-7), reviewed in Chapter 1, Section 1.2, for an appraisal of how the Pyongyang regime deliberately alters and scrambles its internationally directed actions, particularly vis-à-vis Japan.

geopolitical environment of the region. Not least, this has been interpreted as a means by which to counter a range of perceived (as material, but defined here as socio-politically constructed) risks.

In addition, the global proliferation of neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005), whilst overtly seeking to promote liberal values and the associated modalities of international relations, as representative of ideologies posited by the likes of Immanuel Kant, Ernst Haas and, more recently, Francis Fukuyama, has in reality been more reminiscent of those projected by Thomas Hobbes and Hans Morgenthau. Within this, protectionism against exogenous (as of the individual sovereign state) risks, resulting from a world of anarchy based, in Carr's terms, on the intervention of "Darwinism in politics" (1981: 46-9) holds sway. Thereby, it is posited that a combination of *natural* (biological) competition and socially galvanized and agglomerated understandings of economic wealth and power at societal and national levels, has increasingly led to the domination of zero-sum, realist-based national postures and policies. Theoretically, such are founded, broadly, on the primary socioeconomic logics of fundamentalist *laissez-faire* thinking, stretching forth from Adam Smith to Milton Friedman. Moreover, they are adopted strategically, it is contended, as a means through which to ameliorate salient, impending and prospective risks. As such, Japan is no exception to the realization of predominantly realist socio-political, economic and, in finality, military-based responses to risks it perceives to be prevalent within its international relations. Therein, these have been increasingly framed against the DPRK.

However, such an observed pseudo-realist positional movement at the national level neither excludes the existence of its own socially constructed causality, nor confirms that a more ratio-materialist theory need be adopted. Concurrently, the process by which Japan has recalibrated risk in response to North Korea can be investigated as interactions between domestic and external elements that result in a particular, in Wendt's terms "cultural" (1999),

construction of national interest which may, un-problematically, increasingly contain prominent *realist* elements.<sup>183</sup>

In this respect, revision of the theoretical application of risk from a theological standpoint is also fruitful in explaining such tendencies. Indeed, in order to reaffirm the ultimate salience of a risk-based approach, it is apt to review the origins and conceptualization of risk. From a theological perspective, risk has extensively formed the basis for rational thought based on probability calculus, which has in many ways supplanted a reliance on divine pre-determination. Therein, contemporary understandings of risk in international relations have assumed that any omnipresent overpower (i.e., *God*) can, even if existent, be calculated against, or assumed to accept calculations made by their mortal subjects.<sup>184</sup> Although this has become an almost universal (or common sense) appraisal of how risk is manifest in decision making processes (Luhmann, 1996: 5), including those of foreign policy and international security discourses, it might be argued that Japan's highly secular cultural norms and national identity further enhance this conception and diffusion of risk. Indeed, Japanese policy makers would be unlikely to gain public support or domestic acceptance for security policies promoted in the name of religious righteousness. Moreover, they would doubtless be particularly unpopular if there were salient risks that any such policy implementation might encounter or incur. It is, then, within this conception of risk, that the DPRK becomes an accessible target against which to not only frame risks, but also to recalibrate them in rationalized (as having been calculated through probability) terms. Therein, although North Korea is framed negatively in ideological terms, as discussed in

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183 A significant element of realist tendencies is the phenomenon of neo-nationalism in response to external threats – such as can be seen in Japan's responses to North Korea. However, while this dissertation accepts that nationalism is an important function of Japan's recalibration of risk in response to the DPRK, it contends that nationalist tendencies per se are not privileged as the sole, or even necessarily primary, causal factor of such a phenomenon, and as such limits references to nationalism largely to implicit understandings. For an excellent discussion of nationalism in relation to Japan's perceptions of Korea and Koreans, see Abe (1989).

184 This is assumed whether the unitary categorization of would be subjects is the individual, an institution or, most pertinently, the nation state.

Chapter 4, Section 4.7, it is primarily as a risk-laden external entity, rather than solely as a source of *evil* (as opposed to a religious conception of *good*) per se. This contrasts to the conception of responses which *should* be taken to counter that which challenges the divinely condoned or envisaged.<sup>185</sup>

In concordance with this established *modus operandi*, the process of risk recalibration, resulting in increased realist concerns, as opposed also to prioritizing more conceptually positive cultural norms – specifically in response to North Korea – is captured by Kliman’s term, “Transitional Realism” (2006: 146-62).<sup>186</sup> Indeed, this concept helps to illuminate how constructivist approaches to risk can explain the emergence of realist policy trajectories, which result from the “complex interaction between systemic changes and sub-systemic variables” (Kliman, 2006: 162). In essence, realist national tendencies may result from the recalibration of apparently salient risks, but both the processes by which those risks are recalibrated, and the risks themselves, are essentially socially constructed. Moreover, they are reliant on the structure of interactions and resulting inertia generated by domestic elements, which realist-based theories are comparatively ill-equipped to explain (see Chapter 1, section 1.2, above).

As such, each of the case studies identified within Japan are approached in terms of how the resulting interactions influence essentially realist policy trajectories at the national level. However, this dissertation assumes that their impact stems not solely from the aggregation of rational actions imposed by the vested interests of individual actors, but from a multiplicity (i.e., variable and not necessarily predetermined by the material interests of those agents) of socio-cultural structures, or roles, embedded within macro-level socially constructed cultural

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185 An obvious contemporary example of the latter would be *jihads*, justified on grounds of religious righteousness.

186 In Japan’s case, such norms include *developmentalism*, economic expansion, and cultural expansion (or prestige), all of which are more readily persuadable in times of lessened external geopolitical risks (e.g., during the relatively stable geopolitical structure present during the Cold War).

norms and identities.<sup>187</sup> Furthermore, it is posited that any such norms are, increasingly, reliant upon, and constructed in relation to, competition over shared understandings of perceived risks. How those perceptions are mediated (e.g., through public sphere discourses) between entities such as the state, market and civil society is, thus, of particular significance.<sup>188</sup>

## **2.15. Conclusion: reaffirming the salience of a risk-based theoretical approach**

Amid the historico-cultural context outlined above, resulting from, among other candidates, the intense and as yet not fully known consequences of globalization, risks have then, as explored by Beck (2009), become increasingly prevalent and salient across almost the entirety of socio-political reality. Therein, risk has become, whether explicitly defined as such or not, a key component to understanding a vast majority of domestic, transnational and international phenomena which involve processes of human interaction and confrontation.<sup>189</sup> As observed from the review of available literature accessed in Chapter 1, all theoretical strands contain implicit considerations of risk, and analyses rely largely on an understanding

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187 The term *role* is included here in order to note the distinction between a neorealist or rationalist conception of agents viewed in terms of being totally analogous with (or actually amounting to) the individual rational actor, and a constructivist approach which recognizes a variety of institutional and organizational actors which affect national structure through their adherence to (and interaction with) cultural norms.

188 Once again it should be reiterated that *market* does not refer purely to a single (or multiple) financial institution which is separate from the state or civil society, but rather is used to convey a loose affiliation of economically motivated actors and forces which are inextricably linked to the causal agents which likely influence any processes concerning national posture (including Japan's recalibration of risk), such as those identified in the case studies of mass media, as well as policy elites, and civil society stakeholders.

189 As noted in Chapter 2, core strands of IR theory, such as those derived from realist, liberal and constructivist perspectives do not use the term *risk*, even when it is the unarticulated focus of discussion. This lacunae in explicitness, it is argued from the perspective adopted herein, often times serves to obfuscate the causal role which risk plays in justifying policy. More concretely, the risks perceived to be posed to Japan by North Korea are left in danger of being either reified from *situations* into objective threats (realist), talked of in economic terms as though not fully connected to (or not interactive with) military or geopolitical issues (liberal), or left partially unexplained in discussions of cultural or ideational transitions (constructivist).

of international relations which justifies actions and policies in relation to the risks which they seek to ameliorate.<sup>190</sup> However, there is a particularly heightened degree of salience to a focus on risk with regards to the case study of Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea. This rests, centrally, upon its explicit operationalization within justifications of national policy, and the degree to which it has been employed in, or at least integral to, the shifts in cultural norms that shape such policy.

The above assertion can be justified with reference to the massive amounts of media material alerted to in Section 2.10, the reorientation of societal stakeholders, such as those relating to resident Koreans, covered in Section 2.9 and Chapter 4, Section 4.11, and the open ended nature of national (governmental) statements. All of these elements reaffirm a framing of risks identified with North Korea which evinces their continued proliferation as both unavoidable and inevitable. Amid this, the resulting policy trajectory can be observed, as confirmed in Chapter 5, Section 5.10, amongst other sources, through examination of successive National Defense Program Outline (NDPO) and National Defense Program Guidelines (NDPG) documents. This emerged as particularly evident in the NDPO of 2005, which outlined a series of new contingencies, stemming primarily from North Korea (Fouse, 2005)<sup>191</sup> that were interpreted as requiring a response in the form of urgent policy reforms that could facilitate the state's ability to counter those *new risks*.<sup>192</sup> Hence, while standard conceptualizations of national security policy (and often times IR as a whole) tend to locate

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190 It is intriguing, once again, to note Taleb's retort to the assumptions of those such as Beck, and in differing degrees the majority of political and social science scholars, who assume that such an endeavour can be meaningfully undertaken. He posits, with reference to the "unadvertised structural limitations on our ability to predict" that, "...we tend to both tunnel and think 'narrowly' (epistemic arrogance) and our prediction record is highly overestimated... ..These limitations may arise not from us but from the nature of the activity itself – too complicated, not just for us, but for any tools we have or can conceivably obtain" (2007: 165).

191 See also, online version of *Asia Pacific Security Studies* (2005).

192 The focus of the delayed 2010 NDPG, released under the Hatoyama administration, is less overt in its assertion of policy prescriptions and their justifications identified with specific threats, but nonetheless maintains an emphasis consistent with the theme of recalibrating risk, which continues to frame the DPRK as a source of multiple and salient risks, which require national policy provisions to be made in response. For full translated text, see MOD (2010).



risk as a function of policy decisions made in relation to national security, this dissertation adopts a phantasmagorical approach; assuming that both the domestic processes and corresponding international relations observed, in this instance through Japan's responses to North Korea, are ultimately a function of the construction, mediation, and recalibration of risks.<sup>193</sup> As such, this dissertation examines how such a process has been facilitated through the framing of the DPRK in Japan.

Further, with regards to the related shift in national and international norms, the concept can be understood in terms of how a tension exists between domestic and externally focussed norms within Japan, which in Katzenstein's terms,

...lies not in the decentralization or centralization of power but in the number of people and the density of institutions involved in defining, interpreting and reinterpreting different kinds of norms (1996:20).

Concordantly, this dissertation asserts that all such actors do so through processes which, inevitably, involve mediating and recalibrating their perceptions of risk. In other words, regardless of discrepancies in the density of institutions involved, and those made between domestic and national levels, the so-called cultural norms that are constructed and transformed as a result, are contingent upon the conceptualization of risks being posed to any such institution. Within this, it is important to reemphasize the distinction between the risks themselves (under investigation in this dissertation), which are internalized decisions carrying a responsibility to respond to potentially infinite uncertainties, and the concrete or tangible dangers and threats which are framed against an external source of potential harms. In this case, these apply to such identified with the DPRK from within Japan. This can be clarified and reaffirmed through Luhmann's conception, which posits that,

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193 Phantasmagorical is used in the metaphorical sense adopted by anthropologist, Carlos Castaneda (1972: 143) to describe a reality that is the inverse of what might initially be *logically* interpreted or intuitive.

Since decisions are always operations of a system, be it an individual person or a social system [or state], we can characterize risk by the internal attribution of possible harm. A possible harm caused by the environment [or in this case another state] has to be external and can be called danger (1996:6)

Hence, Luhmann's argument illuminates how an acute appreciation of the socially constructed nature of risk, and its distinction from danger/threat, can be applied fruitfully to the analysis of interstate relations, as well as to the domestic processes which underpin them.<sup>194</sup> Furthermore, the distinction between risks (and/or uncertainties) and dangers (threats and harms), and how they are calibrated, becomes crucial to any such analyses, because it exposes how dynamic situations, such as those present in international relations, are evaluated and acted upon through processes of decision making which are distinct from those observed only in the individual (objective) calculation of threats. Moreover, the mediating processes which assign responsibility and justification for such decisions, taken on the basis of an evaluation of the inherent risks, form a central area of competition from which emerges the formulation of intersubjective *knowledge*. Hence, it is within these subjectively contested bodies of so-called knowledge that parameters for national norms, which ultimately delineate the bounds of policy formation and implementation, are created and realized.<sup>195</sup>

In sum, the methodological framework discussed in this chapter fuses an essentially constructivist theoretical approach with an understanding of the salience of risk in all transactions. This is consistent whether located at domestic or international levels, and enables the creation of testable hypotheses which intersect both spheres. The hypotheses

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194 The fundamental advantages to this approach for the use of risk in IR theory were posited convincingly by Piers Williamson, when asked by fellow panelist, Andrew Oros at the 2010 ISA Convention in New Orleans to justify the use of risk-based terminology as opposed to that of threat perception, already much used by academics and security analysts, particularly, it was claimed by Oros, in the US (see also Oros, 2008: 149-69).

195 For further discussion of how risks can be understood in terms of decisions taken under the premises of responsibility – as opposed to tangible objective dangers, see Luhmann (1993: 102-24).

addressed in this dissertation, therein, essentially draw their explanatory power from the conception that national policy creation and implementation is administered in line with cultural norms which are reliant upon a mutually constitutive group of entities (actors) intersecting the state, market and society. These interact to create a delineation of norms representative of national identity and interest (Weldes, 1999: 10-13). A central research goal of this dissertation is, therefore, to elucidate how those norms are driven by such an interactive process. Specifically, it seeks to expose how the agency of constitutive actors is reliant upon their conception and (re)calibration of risk. This is achieved through an examination of the related socio-political processes observed in the case study of Japan's framing of and responses to North Korea. The following chapter examines how the initiation of such a process can be observed in relation to the missile test firings of 1993 and 1998.

## **Chapter 3. Japan's recalibration of risk in response to early post-Cold War events and North Korean missiles: normalization talks, nuclear crisis, and the 1993 Nodong -v- 1998 Taepodong**

*“Now, more than ever, Japan must take measures to convince North Korea that it is both wasting its time and hindering its own interests by firing missiles and such like. If, due to its constitution, Japan is not allowed to make provisions to counter-aggression, then all the more reason why it should establish a robust defence posture and take every step possible to prepare itself for a contingency”*

Sakurai Yoshiko (1999: 131)<sup>196</sup>

### **3.1. Pivotal events in a converging recalibration of risk: identifying key areas of structure, agency and norms**

The August 1998 Taepodong 1 test missile launch probably acted more than any other single event or action as the most significant catalyst in the processes driving Japan's post-Cold War recalibration of risk vis-à-vis North Korea.<sup>197</sup> As such, the precursors to the launch, and the reaction by key actors to it, form a logical starting point from which to examine how the process of risk recalibration was embedded in discourse. Moreover, such an examination needs to be undertaken with respect to central structural transformations occurring in the

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196 Although Sakurai is well-known as a hard-line right-winger, her statement is significant in as much as it is representative of growing discourses associated with North Korea's framing in the post-Cold War era.

197 The first Taepodong launch was identified as such independently by, amongst others, representatives of the Institute of International Policy Studies (IIPS), National Graduate Research Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS) and Research Institution for Peace and Security (RIPS) in both open discussions and single interviews on the subject (Appendix A). This is a striking concurrence, considering that all represent independent academic bodies which focus on this field, and gives weight to the impetus for scrutinizing the actors which facilitated the deployment of this event in such a process.

post-Cold War security environment of East Asia, and has to be contextualized in relation to a number of prevailing norms which influence how risks are mediated between the state, market and society in Japan. In addition, it should be made clear that the Taepodong launch was by no-means an isolated incident, and has to be placed in the context of precursory events and on-going political discourse, particularly that which surrounded the break-down of Japan-DPRK normalization talks in the early 1990s, Pyongyang's withdrawal from the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which sparked the so-called nuclear crisis of 1993-1994, and increasing public and political attention to the abduction issue. Most pertinently, in terms of understanding the recalibration of risk, reaction to the Taepodong 1 incident can be illuminatingly analysed in stark contrast to the relatively indifferent response shown within Japan to the comparable Nodong missile test launch of May 1993. This chapter elucidates the extent of the gap between the two events; as illustrative of the process of framing North Korea, and the consequent recalibration of aggregated risks in Japan.

At the outset, Chapter 3, below, outlines specifically how, in the wake of the first Taepodong launch, the agents identified above initiated and affected an accelerated process of risk recalibration through the framing of North Korea. It next explains how the key political actors involved intersect and interact with Japan's media and civil society, i.e., how risk has been mediated through the public sphere, in ways that have exerted a powerful influence upon the on-going political process. Concretely, the focus is on how and to what extent actors outside, as well as inside, of party politics can be seen as representative of a single policy making structure, which mediates risk in Japan. As described earlier, in Chapter 2, Section 2.8, the encompassing core units of national policy formation are termed "policy communities" (Campbell et al., 1989: 86-94), in order to convey their permeable and dynamic nature, and malleability in terms of their vulnerability to the effects of perceived risks. This term is also adopted to avoid the limited view of Japan's state-level policy making as being solely a fixed, reified, iron triangle of business, bureaucracy and big-time politicians,

which, is not congruent with the findings of this research.<sup>198</sup> The issue of central concern is how the perception of risks, such as those emanating from Pyongyang, is used to shape national norms and justify policy innovations. This is addressed specifically by employing an epistemology based on constructivist theories, as outlined in Chapter 2, Section 2.6, above, to explain how the conceptualization of risks within Japan's policy communities has been recalibrated.

In order, then, to identify the key agents of power within this context (*vis-à-vis* North Korea), the bare bones of what can be conceived of as the core of Japan's policy community in this area is first sketched through a contemporary-historical account of how it has developed since the end of the Cold War and the first North Korean nuclear crisis.<sup>199</sup> How that policy community has shifted its calibration of risk via the framing of the DPRK is then traced up to and after the key event of Pyongyang's test missile launch in August of 1998. Making use of discourse analysis, discussed in detail in Chapter 2, Section 2.12, this is tackled chiefly, as extrapolated below, through scrutinizing statements within the National Diet and corresponding coverage in news sources and academic debate relating to Pyongyang's movements and actions.<sup>200</sup> The tangible impact of civil society stakeholders and mass media upon the political core of the policy community is, therein, discussed in depth prior to and following the pivotal events of the 1993 Nodong and 1998 Taepodong test launches.<sup>201</sup> These analyses elucidate qualitative and quantitative data which evince the conclusion that a complex process constituting a distensible recalibration of risk took place

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198 Business in this sense refers to leading, domestic, commercial pressure groups, represented by large agglomerations of enterprise networks such as *Keidanren*, military equipment firms and energy companies.

199 It is argued here that isolating a policy communities, which relate solely to North Korea policy, is problematic. However, because the focus of this chapter, and indeed the dissertation as a whole, is that of Japan's responses to the DPRK, discussion is concentrated on elements of state-level policy elites which have specific impact and or authority in this area.

200 For full details and justifications for data sources, see Chapter 2, Section 2.3 and Section 2.4, above.

201 While due attention is given here to the interactive processes by which such actors may influence the policy community as a whole, extended discussion of these elements as an on-going source for the sustained recalibration of risks is tackled in greater depth throughout Chapters 4 and 5.

between the end of the Cold War and the end of the millennium. In addition, it is contended that this has been facilitated through responses to actions and political posture orchestrated and assumed by a negatively framed DPRK.

### ***3.2. From the “red peril” to fear of the Kims: ideological change and the role of risk in priming a frame for the new enemy***

When considering Japan’s recalibration of risk in response to North Korea, it is necessary to consider both how novel that process is and to what past or present empirical models it can be compared. The precedents to Japan’s socio political recalibration of risk through the framing of the DPRK might logically, then, be found, as examined in Chapter 2, Section 2.7, in its framing of previous highly-calibrated external entities perceived as the source of salient risks, such as the USSR during the Cold War. Indeed, in the same way that it is questionable as to what practical, geo-military, function the development and dispatch of BMD PAC-3 anti-missile launchers by Japan could realistically be likely to have in countering risks from North Korea, Tokyo’s stationing of large-scale land forces on Hokkaido during the Cold War, on the grounds that they would prevent a Soviet-led land-based attack, would also appear to represent an erroneous calibration (at the state level) of risk. Indeed, as one leading expert confirmed (14 December 2010a, Appendix A), the perception that an imminent contingency would occur in either case was “ridiculous.”<sup>202</sup>

In this respect, corroborative expertise accessed for this dissertation (Appendix A) confirms that the Taepodong incident of 1998 was critical in propelling proactive debate (and ultimate purchase and introduction) on the subject of BMD systems to counter risks identified

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202 It is also noteworthy that the same source cited not only individual political capital targeted by specific politicians or administrations as the motivation for Japan’s raising of risk levels and subsequent deployment of SDF forces in these cases, but also posited the need for the state to ostensibly demonstrate its international presence in relation to regional players, regardless of the accurate evaluation of short-term risks which they may pose.

with North Korea's missile development programs. This was made possible also because of the uncertainty of those risks. While statistically being (undeniably) minimal and largely understood by policy makers as such – as the empirical data below will demonstrate – the mere possibility, aided by Pyongyang's continual sabre rattling, justified the ultimate deployment of the BMD system PAC-3s to Akita in 2009, as explained in Chapter 5, Section 5.10. Likewise, there is little doubt, retrospectively (though probably also understood at the time), that the Soviet forces would only have been interested in a potential strike on the US's Japan-based forces, and would have been extremely unlikely to attempt a gruelling landing on Hokkaido, which surely promised little strategic or political gain. However, as covered in Chapter 2, Section 2.7.i, Japan's domestic framing of such external entities as the Soviet Union, as being capable of such action, warrants attention when assessing the processes behind the contemporary recalibration of risk in response to North Korea.<sup>203</sup>

Indeed, in terms of Japan's media and political reaction to the Soviet Union during the Cold War, coverage analysed in Chapter 2, Section 2.7.i generally exhibited a number of characteristics comparable to that of how the negative image of North Korea has been created and mediated during the post-Cold War era. However, one contrast clearly visible in the political debate and media coverage of the later Cold War years, as compared to that expressed in reaction to today's North Korea, is the broad-range of disagreement and variance between parties and actors of the time. The prevalence of this tendency, particularly within the political elite, is captured by the media in headlines such as “Defence White Paper: Tendency Towards Becoming a Military Superpower, Opposition Parties Criticize Government Stance” (*Asahi*, evening edition, 14 September 1984). The above article reports on the fact that four of the leading opposition parties oppose the LDP-led administration's proposals to exceed the agreed 1 per cent of GDP budget limit on defence spending in

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203 The theory of Japan's highly politicized use of troop deployments and military apparatus, and their comparative relevance to the historical and contemporary utilization of recalibrated risk, was outlined in an interview by one of Japan's most experienced political scientists (19 October 2010, Appendix A).



response to a perceived latent threat from the Soviet Union, and warn to varying degrees against being led by “The Nakasone Cabinet’s clear trajectory of a dangerous path towards military strengthening.”<sup>204</sup> The trend of overt political competition over taking the toughest line against Pyongyang (as opposed to contestation over whether or not to take a tough line against the Soviet Union) has been one of the most illustrative political features of Japan’s framing of North Korea and its according recalibration of risks, and has escalated during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, as demonstrated by the evidence exposed in Chapter 4, Section 4.6 and Chapter 5, Section 5.2.i. However, the general policy community convergence on how Japan should respond as a state towards the DPRK is, as discussed below, visible from the time of the 1998 Taepodong launch – evincing the existence of a (at least partially) novel process in the post-Cold War era, by which risks pertaining to the same external entity (the DPRK) are almost universally assigned similar agency across the political spectrum in this sphere.

Nevertheless, aspects of precedents to such a process do appear visible from historical analysis of reaction by Japan to risks identified with the former Soviet Union. Moreover, the potency of missiles as both a symbolic and tangible means by which to recalibrate risks in this manner bears a degree of resemblance in the two cases (*Asahi Shimbun*, 7 and 9 August 1984).<sup>205</sup> Conversely, however, the perception of North Korea as a source of such diverse and salient multiple risks, not only per se but also as specifically targeted at Japan, is a development – initiated in the wake of successive missile launches in 1993 and 1998 – that cannot be found to the equivalent degree in political elite and media discourse pertaining to the Soviet Union of that time.<sup>206</sup> Indeed, though numerous sources in Japan

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204 At the time, the four opposition parties included the Democratic Socialist Party (Minshu-Shakaitō), Socialist Party (Shakaitō), Communist Party (Kyōsantō) and later to be coalition partner Clean Government Party (Kōmeitō).

205 See articles such as “*Soren, shinmisairu wo kaihatsu: bei MX ni taikō koji*” and “*Soren taiheiyō misairu jikken*” (respective dates, anonymous authors).

206 Such a gulf in risk calibration made between the Soviet and North Korean threats is particularly pertinent in consideration of the comparative scale of former Soviet forces and their undisguised status of being

identified the risks associated with Moscow's weapons programs as something of growing concern, the highly emotive rhetoric used to describe the Kim dynasty's Pyongyang regime and the consequent recalibration of risks framed against North Korea is disproportionate to that which was visible in the late 1980s vis-à-vis the former Soviet administration.<sup>207</sup> This is particularly so when comparing reaction in newspapers and on the Diet floor.

Concerns over risks to Japan posed by a Soviet military build-up were, moreover, largely discussed and framed in terms of entrapment by the US, which was locked in an arms race with Moscow, and how Tokyo should negotiate to avoid a resulting military contingency.<sup>208</sup> Such debate in the political and media spheres can be observed throughout the Cold War era, and at no time exhibited the calibration amounting to the kind of socio-political furore expressed through the modern-day framing of North Korea. Hence, while the Soviet Union remained a constant reference point for external risks and a justification for foreign policy trajectories across Japan's state, market and society (and mediated within the public sphere)

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locked in a Cold War with Japan's sole ally. Yet, the move towards framing Pyongyang as a source of risk equal-or-in excess of that posed by Moscow is also identifiable through opinion poll questions from the respective periods. Opinion poll data in themselves, while illuminating, are very much dependent upon how questions are framed. In that respect, as North Korean issues first rose to a degree of prominence within the public sphere in Japan during the early 1990s, leading polls contained questions such as, "How much of a threat, if any, do you think North Korea poses to the national security of Japan...?" and "If North Korea has nuclear weapons, would you favour or oppose Japan developing its own nuclear weapons?" (Roper Center, 2009). The above, then, demonstrates how the North's framing, as constitutive of risks posed directly to Japan, is primed – replacing questions that were previously targeted at the Soviet Union with, at times (in the case of that pertaining to nuclear weapons, above) even more antagonistic terminology targeted toward the DPRK.

207 The poll items cited in the preceding footnote are a case in point. Not one of them identifies the Soviet Union as posing immanent, pressing risks, or as a direct threat to Japan – as opposed terms referring to Japan's security and the threat (*kyōi*) continually identified with North Korea in comparable articles of the post-Taepodong era. Greater length and use of emotive language and personal description are also more extensive in the articles relating to the DPRK.

208 For chronologically illustrative examples of Diet debates on the Soviet Union's military capabilities and their relevance to Japan, see statements made by Okada Sōji (Honkaigi, 2 November 1957, 37: 3), Nagasue Eichi (Honkaigi, 15 May 1964, 46: 25), Senaga Kamejirō (Special Committee for Okinawa and the Northern Territories, 20 December 1973, 72: 45) etc. A counter-argument (though also highlighting the then converse emphasis on not framing external states as enemies) to the trend of concern over US entrapment is provided, with incidental reference also to North Korea, by Hiranuma Takeo (4<sup>th</sup> Special Security Committee, 24 April 1984, 101: 6).

in the post-War era, North Korea – particularly following its 1990s missile tests – became framed in such a way as to provide a far more overt, and universally accepted, political tool with which to recalibrate risks. This is so in terms of the feasibility and probability of a combination of potential cumulative harms to be exacted upon Japan by a specified external foe. Indeed, as will be observed in Chapter 5, Section 5.6, below, quantitative examination of media and Diet materials relating to North Korea in the post-Cold War period – as opposed to those pertaining to the Soviet Union during the Cold War – bear out this comparison. Moreover, as expressed by Table 3.2 and Figure 3.2, below, the pivotal role of the 1998 Taepodong launch in the framing of the DPRK and resulting recalibration of risk becomes apparent.

One key area which can be attributed at least partial causality for the form in which the framing of North Korea within Japan's public sphere has taken place to such an extent, is that of a shift in ideological emphasis. During the Cold War, for instance, the Soviet Union was framed as a risk to Japan in terms not only of military contingencies, but as the source of an ideology which restricted freedoms and compromised the dominant norms of Japan's post-war social democracy. Likewise, comparison between how social movements and groups in Japan targeted the military regime of post-World War II South Korea and how their contemporary post-Cold War counterparts direct fears towards the North is illuminating in this respect. The framing of the ROK's militarized junta or of Soviet socialism, as an underlying source of ideological risks posed by Japan's newly formed post-War neighbours, as opposed to individualized criticisms of Kim Jong-Il, or of specific acts he is deemed to have presided over, highlight the apparently individualized ideological shift within civil society. This is suggestive of a shift towards an atomized perception of risks identified with specific incidents and individuals, rather than risk recalibration as a function of coordinated social movements based on ideological principles (Ōta, 2003: 139-43). Put simply, responses to North Korea are framed less in Japan as right versus left or, capitalist versus communist. Rather, they are placed in a context which amplifies fears of a range of risks which will

directly affect the individual as a function of the state (of Japan). Furthermore, it is suggested that these will be perpetrated by an isolated external individual, framed as a malevolent entity (Kim-Jong-Il's DPRK), who's intentions are uncertain – though perceived certainly as the source of those risks.<sup>209</sup> In this sense, for Tokyo, the post-Cold War framing of the North has, in combination with insecurity over risks arising from a changing regional power structure and drives to reaffirm (US) *bilateralism*, been a key factor in facilitating an ideological shift, which has given momentum towards embracing a more robust security stance (Soeya, 2005: 174-9).

### **3.3. The first Pyongyang joint declaration: before the risks were recalibrated**

In September of 1990 Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), Japan Socialist Party (JSP) and the Korean Workers Party (KWP) issued a joint statement at the Three Party Talks led by Deputy Prime Minister, Kanemaru Shin in Pyongyang – effectively stating that Japan and North Korea would move towards a diplomatic normalization process. In the present day climate (framing) of North Korean affairs in Japan this could have been expected to have been a publicly focal and ultimately momentous political event. Yet, in the sessions of the Diet during the preceding year, the DPRK was addressed a total of only seventeen times. It is also notable that much of such discussions mentioning Pyongyang related to North Korea only in as much as it was identified as one of a number of ideologically distinct, yet potentially perceivable as non-confrontational or not regarded as enemy (*tekishi de nai*) states, in terms of Japan's continued efforts to promote economic prosperity and development within the East Asia region.<sup>210</sup> Indeed, the DPRK was predominantly framed at

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209 This is the so-called *mad dictator* thesis. As we have seen from the analysis provided by Michishita and others (see, Chapter 1, Section 1.2, above), the internationally targeted strategy adopted by Kim's regime has been rational if nothing else – and as such, while often times not as successful as claimed by those who seek to depose it, can be seen as no more or less *mad* than any number of politicians and administrations the world over who adopt comparable power-mongering tactics design to support regime survival.

210 I.e., the DPRK was addressed by government sources as part of a communist ideological block, including

this time, not as a threat which posed a multitude of salient risks to the security of Japan, but rather as one half of a troubled peninsula for which Japan could play an almost philanthropic role in softening the détente (*kinchō kanwa*) between the Northern and Southern halves. To this end, the central focus of discourse was geared towards tackling how politico-ideological problems could be overcome in order to secure a sound platform upon which to initiate a process of effective normalization (*seijōka*). As part of which, former Prime Minister, Takeshita Noboru's apology for Korean suffering under Japanese occupation, made in March of 1989, can be seen as a significant precursory event to this process. Such sentiments were also reiterated by Prime Minister, Kaifu Toshiki in his address to the main chamber (*honkaigi*) of the Diet on 12 October 1990, in which he preceded his apology to the Korean people with a statement which evinced Japan's equidistant policy towards the two Koreas and a playing down of risks associated with Pyongyang's gun-g-ho attitude towards external relations – including the capture, and imprisonment of Japanese nationals. Kaifu asserted that,

With regards to relations with North Korea, the multi-party envoy has been successful in realizing the return of the two persons of concern and resolving the No.18 Fujiyama-maru issue.<sup>211</sup> In addition, I welcome the establishment of bilateral dialogue between the respective authorities, with respect to moving towards full normalization between Japan and the DPRK (119: 19).

Such a conciliatory and all-embracing (*dove-ish*) approach – which minimizes the calibration of risks – towards the North serves to illustrate a stark contrast to the kind of framing and criticism Pyongyang can now expect to receive from all corners of Japan's political elite, as spotlighted in Chapter 5, Section 5.2 and Section 5.5. Certainly, taking anything other than a hard-line against the detention of Japanese nationals, particularly when imprisoned on highly dubious grounds by North Korea, has come to run the risk of likely political suicide –

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states such as China, the former Soviet Union and Vietnam, rather than as an independent geopolitical or geo-strategic threat, which might harbour multiple and salient risks.

211 The No.18 Fujiyama-maru incident involved the seven year detention of two of the ship's crew members, Beniko Isamu (Captain) and Kuriura Yoshio (Chief Engineer), by North Korean authorities on (denied) suspicion of subversive activities.

particularly, as noted in Chapter 4, Section 4.4, following exacerbation of the abductions issue in the wake of Koizumi's 2002 visit to Pyongyang.

Conversely, although concerns were raised by members of the Diet's Security Committee (*anzen hoshō iinkai*) and opposition parties over the potential risks of a Euro-American reduction in East Asian regional military power at the turn of the Cold War, in juxtaposition to that posed by the out-going communist block's continued armament (including North Korea), the DPRK was not forcibly identified as either the key player in such a movement, nor as a likely combatant adversary to Japan. This was particularly so in terms of representing an independent military contingency – or as posing major risks to Japan's security. Hence, the potential risks emanating from North Korea were evidently not highly-calibrated (or as of then not made accessible in the public sphere) by Japan's policy community of the late 1980's and early 1990s – including its *risk entrepreneurs*.<sup>212</sup>

Following the final collapse of the Cold War structure in East Asia, then, the Pyongyang Joint Declaration was representative of this political leaning towards normalization with the North. Indeed, the greater part of relevant Diet minutes reflect an overtly low-calibration of risk by Japan's political elite in response to the DPRK. Such a stance was reflected across the chambers, and on 13 March 1991, during a session of the Special Security Committee (*anzen hoshō tokubetsu iinkai*), Social Democratic Party spokesman, Seki Haremasa contended that,

Whether as a representative of the LDP or as of my own party... ..today, as the government indeed, we are building constructively in our dealings with the DPRK. Therefore [given the alleviation of the previously perceived Soviet threat] I believe it is time for us to draw a line under the era when our nation was inclined to expand the budget for defence, and continued to rely on the US (120: 160).

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212 *Risk entrepreneur* – essentially derived from the concept of *norm entrepreneur* – is used herein as a means by which to express actors who seek to manipulate knowledge attached to potential risks in order to justify or legitimate policy reform or implement reactive measures. This is based on the use of risk as a means to purport scientifically backed knowledge, and hence administer power, as explored in-depth by Beck (1992).

Moreover, the potential, and necessity, for Japan to provide aid to a North Korea precariously trapped by its reliance upon the former communist superpower, is also pushed forward by LDP ministers as part of a restructuring of the East Asia region. Such an initiative was to include full and rapid normalization of political relations between Tokyo and Pyongyang.

### ***3.4. Media responses to the DPRK within Japan in the early post-Cold War years***

As Japan specialist, John Creighton-Campbell has stated, “Everyone around the Japanese government seems to read three papers a day and to take from them his or her own notions of what problems facing the nation deserve attention and what might be done about them” (Krauss and Pharr, 1996: 187). Yet, mass media reaction – including that of national newspapers – in Japan to the first joint declaration made between Tokyo and Pyongyang in 1990 was limited, inferring that the policy community might not feel the need to do that much with regards to North Korea. This is particularly so if compared to the kind of public sphere fervour surrounding events such as Koizumi’s visit to Pyongyang just over a decade later.

However, coverage of the DPRK in the early post-Cold War years was by no means absent. Indeed, responses to the delegation of the LDP and JSP led by then political heavy weight, Kanemaru Shin, demonstrate subtle precursory signs of the norms that have come to govern the media’s responses to Japan’s North Korea policy in the present era. Nevertheless, the Japanese government (and the political elite as a whole) were keen to rapidly improve relations with Pyongyang in a North East Asian region that was undergoing a considerable degree of inter-state political restructuring (or realigning) following the aftermath of the Cold War (Fouse, 2006: 137). However, the media were already, albeit in an understated manner, seemingly seeking a way to forge a new national identity, espousing a greater degree of autonomy, which could appeal to large sections of Japan’s populous. The prevalence of this phenomenon within the media, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, has

come to be a source of intense debate over Japan's identity, which is consistently juxtaposed vis-à-vis the negative framing of the DPRK. Furthermore, the extent to which the negative framing of North Korea has been created in the past two decades can be gauged to a degree by the types of language being used to discuss normalization efforts of the time. Illustratively, the *Asahi Shimbun's* evening edition commentary section (*kaisetsu*) of 8 September 1990, for example, announces that,

The fact that both the LDP and JSP, and the North Korean authorities, have agreed upon the delegation to visit the DPRK (North Korea) demonstrates that, at long last, relations between Tokyo and Pyongyang, which have been effectively severed since the separation of the Korean Peninsula, have the potential to move towards normalization.

Going on to assert that,

The fact that the North's supreme leader, Kim Il-Sung, has agreed in advance to hold talks with the delegation evinces the firm resolution of the North Korean authorities to pro-actively seek real improvement of relations between Japan and the DPRK.

However, even the *Asahi* does not omit mention of the various stumbling blocks to normalization, and the likely rocky road (*uyo kyokusetsu*) such a process will face. As suggested above, the *Asahi* exhibits the greatest *swing* in risk recalibration among the leading quality newspapers in terms of how North Korea is framed. Concordantly, such concerns are more vigorously aired by other news sources, including the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, which assesses the Pyongyang visit as containing both "expectation and uncertain concerns" (*kitai to fuan*) (16 September 1990) – a position which has shifted to focus almost entirely on the uncertain concerns in the present day. As such, although public opinion and media coverage alike were optimistic about the possibilities of Japan forging a new relationship with North Korea, the apparently over conciliatory nature of the Kanemaru team's approach to negotiations with then leader, Kim Il-Sung's regime, drew criticism – particularly retrospectively – in the public sphere as *dogeza gaikō*, or grovelling diplomacy (*Sankei Shimbun*, 21 October 2004, evening edition).<sup>213</sup> Nevertheless, the *Asahi* was highly

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213 Though Fouse identifies a greater long-term political and economic influence for Japan in a potentially unified Korean peninsula as the underlying motivation behind Japanese government efforts made towards



critical of extremist right-wing groups and their associations with organized crime syndicates (*yakuza*) which sought to hijack the normalization process initiated through the envoy to Pyongyang led by Kanemaru (see editorials, 10 and 23 September 1992). In this sense, the paper rapidly became a largely isolated – and indeed ridiculed by the right-of-centre media – bastion for playing-down risks posed by North Korea, and promoting a less uncompromising normalization process. This was a stance which, as illustrated by the analysis provided in Section 3.14, below, of its comparative reactions to the events of 1993 and 1998, began to shift substantially towards a recalibration of those risks.

Hence, while at this stage in the early post-Cold War years risks were not being calibrated as particularly high-level in terms of those posed to Japan by the DPRK, it might be seen as already having been primed as a potential target for negative framing. This was due not least to the North's overtly left-of-centre (communist) stance, harbouring of suspected terrorists, and unwillingness to return Japanese detainees.<sup>214</sup> Indeed, positive mainstream media coverage of the early post-Cold War bilateral diplomatic initiatives made between Tokyo and Pyongyang was premised on the idea that North Korea would, indeed, have to change its communist ideology and political structure in order to survive in the newly created East Asian environment (Watanabe, 1990) – something which it can now be accused of not having done, and hence further exacerbating the way it is framed within a convergent right-of-centre mainstream media in Japan. Within this, although the framing of North Korea may be more overtly promoted by traditionally right-of-centre print-media such as the *Yomiuri Shimbun* or *Sankei Shimbun*, and right-wing politicians and activists, even sources which initially contended a more measured approach to Pyongyang's sabre-rattling, such as the *Asahi*

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the DPRK at this time, it is clear that individual, short-term political capital was also at stake for Kanemaru. It might also be argued that any meaningful autonomous bilateral advancements were always likely to be curtailed by US foreign policy and security interests in the region (McCormack, 2007).

214 The timing of the LDP-JSP mission to Pyongyang came soon after the end of the Cold War at a time when Japan's high calibration of risks against a communist threat were still ideologically fresh in the mind. Hence, in one sense, associations with a strong communist-based ideology held weighty negative influence upon perceptions in the public sphere (see Chapter 2, Section 2.7.i, above).

*Shimbun*, have been swayed. This has been driven by a process which combines pressures of state, market and society towards the recalibration of risks perceived to emanate from the DPRK; leading the *Asahi*, ultimately, towards a stance on North Korea which is closer to its ostensibly right-of-centre counterparts – particularly in the wake of a series of pivotal events (as discussed sequentially in sections and chapters below) framed as hostile acts undertaken by North Korea.

### **3.5. Normalization talks stumble: the precedents of risk recalibration emerge**

After seven rounds of sluggish, though promising, normalization talks between the delegations of Japan and the DPRK, the process finally hit a major stumbling block during November 1992 in the form of the Japanese side's allegations over an abduction case. A woman, known in North Korea as Ri Un-Hye, it was suspected, had been abducted from her home town in Japan for the purposes of teaching Japanese language and culture in North Korea.<sup>215</sup> This issue, combined with rumblings over Pyongyang's increased military build-up, in particular that which involved nuclear developments, brought about the first clear signs of risk recalibration and a negative framing of the DPRK in the Diet. Then Minister of Defence, Nakayama Toshio warned, during a session of the Diet Security Committee on 18 February 1993, that the development of "nuclear-related facilities and extension to the range of intercontinental missiles" (126: 2) in North Korea represented a major cause of instability in the region (*ōki-na fuantei no yōin*). However, it is striking that the "abduction issue", or *rachi-mondai*, had not taken full hold in the mass media, and was yet to be pushed forward within public discussions in the Diet at that time. Indeed, concerned voices pointing to potentially expanding risks emanating from the North were almost entirely cased in technical concerns over Pyongyang's nuclear facilities and (non)cooperation with the International Atomic

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215 Details of this case remain contested, but it has been confirmed by corroboration from within the DPRK that this woman is Taguchi Yaeko, who was kidnapped from Japan sometime in the early summer of 1978 (Headquarters for the Abduction Issue, 2009a).

Energy Authority (IAEA).<sup>216</sup> This was termed as the “nuclear development suspicion” or *kakukaihatsu giwaku*, but not yet re-standardized as “*kakukaihatsu monda*” (nuclear-weapons development problem).<sup>217</sup>

Nevertheless, the fact that the North began to be the target of criticism and blame within political circles and the mass media in Japan did come to the fore, and can, once again, be seen as part of a process of priming the DPRK to be framed as an entity warranting the recalibration of risks. The *Asahi Shimbun*'s editorial of 8 November 1992 displays signs of this phenomenon, by both maintaining its promotion of the Tokyo-Pyongyang normalization process, but at the same time blaming the North directly for stalling negotiations because of its lack of flexibility and transparency – particularly over the nuclear issue. The article, entitled “Don’t stall Japan-North Korea negotiations!” states that,

North Korea has begun to show some signs of flexibility, but they are as yet still insufficient. We need them to consider matters carefully at this time. The primary reason for this malaise [in the negotiation process] is North Korea’s rigid stance and the suspicions over its nuclear programme. North Korea’s nuclear development will have a serious impact upon the security of Asia and the Pacific.

Commentary from the *Yomiuri Shimbun* a day earlier is less understated in its criticism of the North Korean authorities. Therein, the DPRK is accused of causing the rupture in normalization talks due to its aggressive negotiating style, on-going nuclear suspicions, playing for time in order to assess the changing political situation in surrounding states, and possible domestic competition (7 November 1992).

In this sense, North Korea was framed not as the source of absolute *evil* which can be seen as portrayed in the public sphere of today’s Japan (particularly with regards to the abduction issue, see Chapter 5), but was painted more as an unknown, though perhaps dangerous and potentially volatile problem, which needed to be nipped in the proverbial bud

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216 See discussions in the Foreign Ministry Committee between Ikeda Tadashi and Kubota Manae, 7 December 1992.

217 Further discussion of the *kakukaihatsu mondai* is reserved for the succeeding section, and is dealt with more extensively in terms of the transformation of media terminology in Chapter 4, Section 4.7.

through proactive (*sekkyokuteki*) addressing of the immediate stumbling blocks. These, it was still largely being argued, were a prerequisite for the ultimate – and expected – establishment of full diplomatic normalization between Tokyo and Pyongyang.

### **3.6. North Korean nuclear crisis: the policy community's initial response**

On 12 March 1993, the DPRK announced that it was to withdraw from the nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT), following a series of demands made by the IAEA and the US government to allow special inspections of its processing and other facilities. This provided political fuel for the initial creation of the foremost foundations of Japan's risk recalibration process. The framing of North Korea as not just an awkward and suspicious anomaly, but as a prolonged and serious cause of concern (warranting an all-reaching recalibration of risk) began to take shape, though it was yet to be fully developed or escalated – something which, as demonstrated in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, the abduction issue, multiple missile launches, and nuclear tests were particularly pivotal in achieving. In the Diet, on 25 March 1993, Foreign Minister, Watanabe Michio referred to the “nuclear development suspicion problem” (*kakukaihatsu giwaku no mondai*), representing a strikingly tortured piece of terminology that would seem to epitomize the midst of a transition from one calibration of risk to the next.<sup>218</sup> He also described the North Koreans' withdrawal from the NPT as presenting a “major source of concern” and a “challenge to the framework of non-proliferation” (126: 2). The terminology used to predicate discussion of the DPRK within the Japanese Diet at this time is of interest here, because it points to a recurring theme of indicating an increase in risk and uncertainty about how best to deal with issues attached to North Korea. At the same time, there was growing certainty behind the premise that legitimate provisions must be made to ameliorate those risks. This process was facilitated not least by Cabinet discussions following the North's NPT pull-out, which also began to frame the DPRK as a bastion of

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<sup>218</sup> I.e., from the rather vague (lower risk) sounding “suspicion” to an obvious risk presented by a “problem”.

unknown, but distinctly negative features – i.e., as a clear source of risks. These include increasing references to the *totalitarian regime*, the lack of knowledge about the North's civil society, and the dangers of potential socio-political instability in a regional neighbour.<sup>219</sup>

Further concerns were also voiced about early indications that long-range missiles may have been exported and questions asked of how Japan could counter these emerging sources of risk – including the possibility of imposing sanctions.<sup>220</sup>

The tone of both Diet discussions and coverage in the media was still markedly less accentuated, however, than can be observed in the post-Taepodong 1 period, up to the present – and, indeed, unlike the more recent clamours to impose sanctions and take preventative measures against Pyongyang, focused as much or more on the necessity for dialogue as for concrete actions vis-à-vis North Korea.<sup>221</sup> Yet, the elements to begin such a process of risk recalibration, mediated between the state and society, were, retrospectively, identifiable. The tipping point between an optimistic outlook with regards to the DPRK and its extensive negative framing is exemplified in an article carried in the *Asahi Shimbun* on 27 May 1993, in which former ambassador for disarmament at the Institute for International Policy Studies (IIPS), or *sekai heiwa kenkyūjo* (research centre for world peace) in Japanese, Imai Takayoshi posted a piece calling for domestic debate on North Korea's nuclear weapons. The article highlights the use of nuclear and missile development as part of a political game being played out by the regime in Pyongyang, but despite such an understanding also stresses the potential risks that such a strategy adopted by the North poses to Japan. Imai posits, with regards to the DRPK that,

It is one of only a handful of third world states which exports weapons. With the introduction of a little know-how from elsewhere, it would be possible for them to build a missile with a

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219 See discussions between Ikeda Osamu and the Cabinet Committee (126: 144-9).

220 Government ministers, and prominent speakers such as Ikeda, assumed a sympathetic stance to such inquiry and requested understanding that information on North Korea's *unknowns* was uncertain and problematic to obtain – yet of increasing national concern.

221 For examples of more hysterical (accentuated) reactions to the North Korean issues within the Diet, see Chapter 4, Section 4.6 and Chapter 5, Section 5.3.

range of 600km carrying a 500kg warhead. In response to the 'possible danger' [risk] that Japan finds itself within range of a North Korean nuclear missile, it needs to think more seriously about its options for a possible means of response, with regards to its security.

The *Yomiuri Shimbun* presented a more urgent slant on the issue, but was also broadly of a similar voice in terms of espousing how risks presented by North Korea's withdrawal from the NPT amounted to a future source of potential, but as then not clearly calibrated, harms for Japan. In his commentary for the standard edition of 16 March 1993, Ikeda Toyoharu simply lines the risks up together, stating that "The DPRK (North Korea) has pulled out of the NPT treaty. With the proliferation of WMD being the new threat of the post-Cold War era, it presents a grim state-of-affairs for the security environment of East Asia."<sup>222</sup> Here again, the risks are stressed, but not calibrated to the point where a broad range of specific state or societal actions are being prescribed. Indeed, media reports and Diet records from 1993 remained largely devoid (or at least only implicitly prescriptive) of proposals for particular sanctions, practical military contingency plans, or the introduction of sophisticated BMD systems and so forth. Moreover, the targeted framing of North Korea in a consistently negative manner as a means by which to justify such measures had not taken an established form, and, despite the understanding of its associated risks having been instigated as a broad concept, was maintained as a relatively background (creeping) phenomenon until the Taepodong launch of 1998.

In terms of the all-encompassing process of recalibration of risk in response to North Korea it is also notable here that the Kim dynasty (Il-Sung and Jong-Il) were, as with the issue of suspected abductions, yet to receive widespread mention in the Diet or, moreover, the mass media. This reflects their then still not fully established framing in the public sphere

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<sup>222</sup> It is noteworthy that the article also identifies the Kim dynasty's need for regime survival as the primary rationale behind its desire to procure nuclear capabilities, as a deterrent against external aggressors – though there is little attempt to personalize or demonize the Kims per se, i.e. to overtly frame them as hate figures. This kind of subtle referral can also be seen as illustrative of how the Kims, particularly Jong-Il, came to be framed in a more specific and personalized way over time, oft-times in order to represent and emphasize the salience of risks associated with North Korea in Japan.

as *hate figures* – covered in greater detail in Chapter 4, Section 4.8 and Chapter 5, Section 5.7. Indeed, this was an image less prevalent amid the early days of the Japanese policy community’s recognition of the DPRK as a source of negative framing. In addition, however, the interactive process of mediation between media and political elite (forming a significant section of Japan’s policy community), as representative of that which led to the ultimate candid framing of Kim Jong-Il and the DPRK as a whole, could already be observed in the Cabinet discussions noted above, as also outlined in Section 3.12, below. Most overtly, members of the Diet repeatedly referred to reports in the newspapers about the state of North Korea, in terms of the risks it might pose to Japan. In other words, therefore, if Diet members can be seen as important members of the policy community, and their information is based to a large degree on that which is sourced from the national news-print media, then Japan’s political elite can be expected, interactively, to have been considerably influenced by mass-media currents.<sup>223</sup>

### **3.7. Sowing the seeds of risk: the 1993 Nodong missile launch**

Given the clear design of North Korea’s first Nodong test missile launch on 29 May 1993 as being geared toward a possible direct attack upon Japan, the related risks were, at least in the public sphere, interpreted in a relatively understated manner by the political elite in Tokyo, as well as across the vast majority of civil and market actors and stakeholders.<sup>224</sup> This is something which is also reflected by the minimal media coverage, displayed in Table 3.1,

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223 It is also of interest to note here that as North Korea was increasingly framed negatively and risks recalibrated against it, the salience of the US-Japan alliance as a counter to such risks and an emphasis on the norm of *bilateralism* was stressed in the inter-political dialogue, including that referenced within the Diet.

224 This should not be misconstrued to mean that the DPRK regime ever actually intended to launch a missile strike upon Japan. The point of interest here is the fact that far greater shock-waves (and a more tangible consequential recalibration of risk) were caused in Japan by the Taepodong launch of 1998 than that of the Nodong in 1993, despite the fact that in terms of design and range the Taepodong was clearly developed as a weapon capable (and ultimately made as such with the Taepodong 2) of striking US targets, whereas the Nodong only has the capacity to strike those within Japan or the ROK (Yoshida, 2008: 168).

below, and is in total contrast to the massive impact and resulting rapid re-calibration of risk triggered by the 1998 Taepodong 1 event, discussed in Section 3.14, below. Additionally, it is striking that what language was used by politicians in the Diet following the test-launch of 1993 bore resemblance, albeit with a far less fervent tone, to that used to discuss the Taepodong launch of 1998, but was, at that stage, qualitatively less risk-oriented (or *risk-obsessed*) and more measured. The same kind of qualitative linguistic and voluminous quantitative gap can be observed in reactions within the media, as tackled in terms of comparative newspaper reactions in Section 3.14, below. Indeed, there were as few as twenty entries listed on the National Diet database for comments of any kind made on the 1993 Nodong launch in the months immediately following it, and targeted searches bring up only three magazine articles throughout the whole of 1993 which cover the incident in itself. In fact, according to established academic data-bases, only nine recognized magazine and periodical publication articles covered North Korean missile issues in Japan during the entire period from 1993-7. The figure for 1998-9 reaches sixty four.<sup>225</sup> Nonetheless, in terms of sowing the seeds of risk recalibration – which were metaphorically brought to fruition some five years later by the 1998 Taepodong test launch – by way of initializing the identification and framing of North Korea as a persistent source of multiple risks, NHK news reports from the same year pinpoint the policy community's shift at this time. A news article of 30 July 1993 stated that,

Today's Defence Agency white paper raises the problem of North Korea (DPRK)'s new-model missile development, stating the grave concern that 'if this missile development is combined with the development of nuclear weapons it may present an extremely dangerous situation.'

The above article goes on to express how the Defence Agency has specifically identified North Korea as a source of risks (given the new missile's range, covering almost the entirety

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225 Based on targeted searches of The Complete Database of Japanese Magazines and Periodicals from the Meiji Era to the Present (*Zasshi kiji sakuin shūsei dētabēsu Meiji kara genzai made sōgō zasshi kara chishi made*).



of Japan), in an otherwise improving East Asian security environment. In this way, the above article directly presents how and when the state initiates its recalibration of security risks to Japan through the framing of North Korea.

Among the few Diet commentators on the Nodong launch, the most outspoken statement came from former JSDF officer and LDP minister, Tamura Hideaki, who sought to emphasize the risks posed by such a missile from North Korea – inciting concern by way of questioning what Japan was practically capable of doing in response to such an attack, and conflating the missile issues with that of nuclear development. Most pertinently, Tamura also stood out at this time; as a Diet member who was willing to openly identify and frame the DPRK as a hostile state – something which he became far less unique in following the Taepodong launch of August 1998. On 10 June 1993, during a session of the Cabinet Committee (*naikaku iinkai*) he stated (126: 193) that,

North Korea's Scud missile range has been extended to operate at a further 1000 kilometres (the Nodong 1). If it succeeds in producing nukes it could attach them to the missile. It is absolutely clear that North Korea is not a country which is benevolent towards us. In such a case as the North finds some reason or other to launch a missile at our country, at present do we have the defence capabilities to shoot it down or not? What are your considerations for such a case? What provisions and countermeasure have been made?

Therein, while the precursors for the recalibration of risk can be seen to have been crystallized at this time, as explored further below, the gap in calibration between reactions to the events of 1993 and 1998 is clearly observable. Once again it should be understood that specific events, such as the above, are used as focal points to initiate and perpetuate a process which has led to the *compounding* of a range of risks framed against North Korea – as was the case with Tamura's combative statement above, which introduces the idea of a North Korean nuclear warhead, something which nearly twenty years later is as yet still to be realized officially.<sup>226</sup>

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226 "compounding" is used here to refer to the manner in which events such as the Nodong and Taepodong launches are used by politically interested actors in order to make reference, oft-times in the same breath,

In 1993, the early precedents of such a discourse of risk framed against the DPRK can, then, be observed in a small number of statements from the policy community, here conflating the two issues of nuclear development and missiles, although the terminology does far less to frame North Korea or Kim Jong-Il's regime in specifically demonized form than that which began to take hold following the Taepodong launch five years later.<sup>227</sup> For instance, on 11 November 1993, using uncertainty over relevant information available for the Nodong launch during a session of the Diet Security Committee, Minister of Defence, Nakanishi Keisuke further highlighted the potential risks to Japan if the DPRK's nuclear and missile threats were coordinated. He posited that, "...the docking of nuclear-armaments on missiles would be something of serious concern to Japan", going on to stress that the Prime Minister is "...very concerned about such points" (128: 7). However, while this was also used to justify the "...need to make provisions for national security", the terms used to describe the level of such risks framed against North Korea are predominantly limited to those of "concern" (*ki ni naru*), and attention or interest (*chūi, kanshin*). The comparable event of 1998 was greeted not only with a more rambunctious response in terms of the quantity of statements made in reference to the DPRK, but was, as detailed in Sections 3.10 and 3.14, below, extensively cased in emotive language and framed North Korea more universally as a stipulated source of animosity (evincing a portrayal of *evil*). In this sense, examination of key events, and the discourse attached to them, demonstrates a qualitative and quantitative

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to other risks, such as those stemming from abductions or illicit economic activities, framed against the DPRK – regardless of their actual or tangible links.

227 The media's role in priming the framing of North Korea is also, as noted above, expressed through the types of terminology and responses which came to be adopted in leading opinion polls during the period between the Nodong and Taepodong launches, such as those conducted by the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, *Asahi Shimbun* and NHK. In addition to the questions highlighted in Section 3.2, above, including terms such as "threat", "danger" and "attack", these included highly subjective and loaded items such as the *Yomiuri's* "Is your impression of North Korea very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or very bad?" (January 1995) and the *Asahi's* "Do you like or dislike North Korea, or is it difficult to say?" (June 1995). Responses show a gradual inclination towards negative public perceptions (Roper Center, 2009). While such questions are also posed pertaining to other countries, those linked to North Korea are juxtaposed with articles which highlight risks perceived to emanate from Pyongyang – such as those regarding missile, nuclear and incursions issues – and so escalate the process of risk-related reconfirmation bias, identified by Gardner (2008: 120-8, see also Chapter 2, Section 2.7.ii ).

recalibration of risk between, and after, the key events of 1993 and 1998.<sup>228</sup>

**Table 3.1. Impact of the 1993 Nodong Test Launches in the Media and Diet**

	Numbers of articles/items prior to			May 1993 Nodong Missile Launches	Numbers of articles/items post		
	12~	6~	3~		~3	~6	~12
Asahi	1374	659	445		375	736	1964
Yomiuri	1089	576	406		346	663	1889
Mainichi	1383	649	423		380	746	2060
Sankei	927	691	478		410	786	2252
NHK News	435	240	198		149	285	900
Diet	71	60	38		10	42	91
Magazines※	35	16	13		11	23	52

**Source: author**

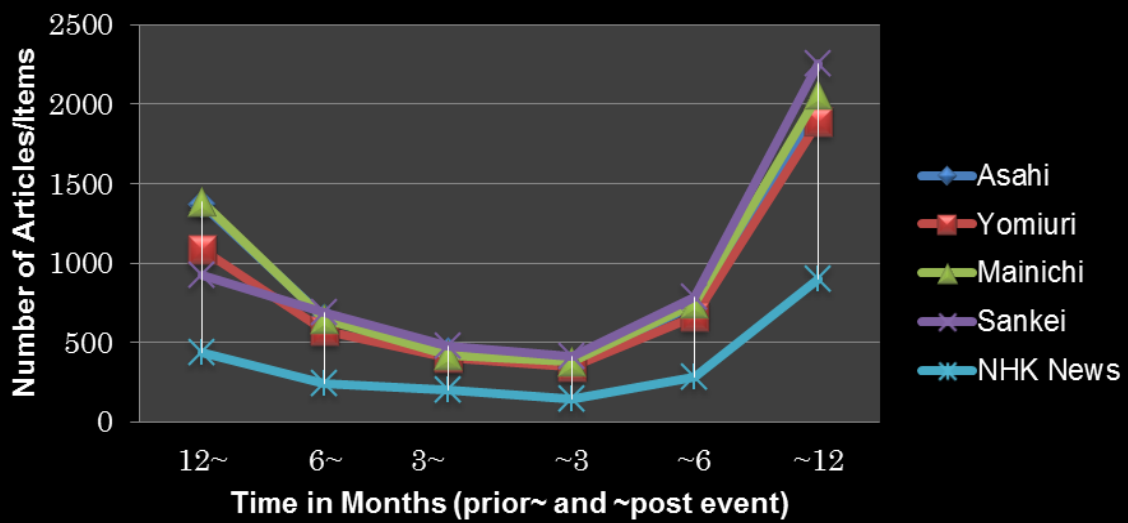
Figures shown above are based on official database (NDL search engine, Asahi Database, Yomiuri Database, Nikkei Telecom 21 Database) hits for “kitachōsen.” ※ Based on a selection of national magazines, primarily sourced from those listed on the Nikkei Telecom21 database.

NB: *kitachōsen* has been selected as the key search term on account of its overwhelming usage in both media and Diet materials (i.e., as opposed to equivalent terms such as *chōsenminshushugijinminkyōwakoku* etc).

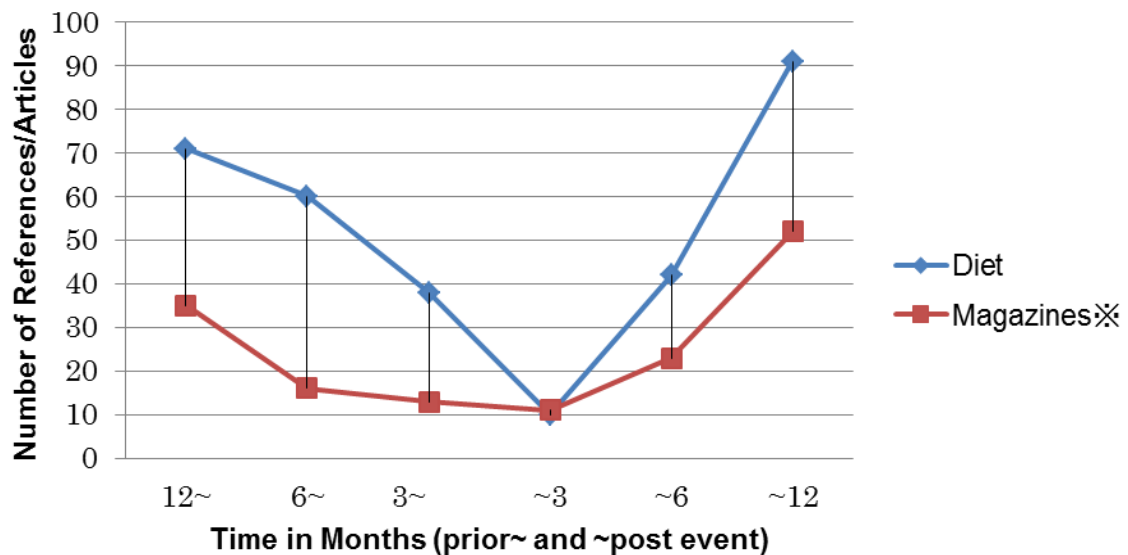
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228 Quantitative, not least, in terms of the number of statements made by political figures during Diet sessions which followed the Nodong and Taepodong launches. Eighteen referrals to North Korean missiles were made in the six months following the 1993 launch, as opposed to 68 in the same period after the 1998 incident (Kokkai Kaigi Roku Kensaku Shisutemu, 2010).

**Figure 3.1(a). Media Reaction to the May 1993 Missile Test Launch**



**Figure 3.1(b). Diet and News Magazine Reaction to the May 1993 Missile Test Launch**



Source: figures adapted by the author from data expressed in Table 3.1, above.

### **3.8. Re-framing North Korean residents in Japan**

The key events of the Nodong and Taepodong launch, in consistency with the hypotheses outlined in the Introduction, Section 0.1, clearly contributed, then, to an internalized recalibration of risk. This is further evident in terms of how resident North Koreans in Japan came to be framed. In order to illustrate the process by which such a recalibration of risk took place, it is again worth exposing the tangible precursors and causal factors to many of the issues which have come to exert political influence in this area. As posited in Chapter 2, Section 2.9, the negative framing of North Korean elements in Japan, including resident Koreans allied with the DPRK, and specifically Chōsensōren, has been something which developed through a transitional phase over the course of the Cold War, in line with domestic and US foreign policy interests.<sup>229</sup> In order for politically motivated actors to realize such a framing of resident North Koreans, and recalibrate the risks attached to them, appropriate sources of risk have had to be identified.<sup>230</sup> One such area is the scrutiny and governance of remittances sent from Japan to the DPRK. Indeed, as concerns about the North's nuclear programs began to take hold during the early 1990s, statements were already being submitted to the Diet voicing alarm at the volume of funds being remitted through Japan's "money pipeline" to Pyongyang (Eberstadt, 1996: 523). Moreover, the initial response by the state to Japan's North Korean-allied residents, in terms of them being perceived as the source of security risks, also reflects the broader proliferation of risk recalibration pitched and justified through the negative framing of all that is associated with

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229 As such, being driven largely by the norm of *bilateralism* under the framework dictated by the US-Japan Security Treaty (e.g., see Hook et al., 2005: 253).

230 The realization of such a process has undoubtedly been expedited by the predominantly unguarded and publicly accessible alliance maintained between Chōsensōren and Pyongyang. Such an alliance has at times been misconstrued (deliberately or otherwise) with the more broadly expressed close affiliation held between Japan's resident Koreans and the Korean peninsula as a whole – which can be more uncontroversially referred to (e.g., see Yan, 2001: 133).

the DPRK.<sup>231</sup>

By the time the Taepodong launch of 1998 had catapulted the calibration of risks identified as a whole from North Korea, the issue of resident North Koreans as a kind of latent threat lying within the body of Japan, and specifically the risks posed by their remittances to the DPRK, were ripe for further recalibration – and the policy community’s political and media arms rapidly exacted such a process accordingly.<sup>232</sup> In the Diet, on 10 September 1998, Nishimura Shingo (143: 327) described North Korean residents regularly coming and going between the DPRK and Japan as the “money carriers” (*kinsen no hakobiya*), and noted with concern their substantial unchecked transfer of funds to the North from Japan. Six months later, citing his information source as Aera Magazine, on 3 March 1999, during a session of the Security Committee (145: 6), Sakaue Yoshihide further raised the appraisal of risks with his statement apprehending that the government had not taken full account of the potential influence exerted by North Korean remittances. He asserted that, in addition to the direct remittances sent from Japan to the North through the banking system, Japan represented the DPRK’s second biggest trading partner after China, with a total value of some ¥58,000,000,000, and went on to suggest that as such Japan was in effect aiding the funding of North Korea’s nuclear and WMD programs. Indeed, Sakaue insisted that, “It has been observed that a number of Russian technicians are involved with North Korea’s nuclear development program. It is these remittances which, reportedly, are effectively being used to provide their salaries.”<sup>233</sup> No specific proof of such a process was outlined, but the inference

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231 For details of the practical measures that have been taken by the state and private actors in Japan against resident North Koreans in the decades that have followed, see Chapter 4, Section 4.11 and Chapter 5, Section 5.10.

232 This can be seen as representative of what Shigemura has termed “Japanese Orientalism”, in terms of an underlying prejudice towards Koreans, which shifted during the post-War era from generic towards targeting the South, and which has, ultimately, in the post-Cold War era been redirected against a framing of the North (2011: 24-9).

233 It is significant, in terms of noting a sustained process of political and media interaction, that Sakaue quotes Aera, because the publication is produced by the *Asahi Shimbun* – and indeed its articles are

and implications of Japan fuelling risks emanating from the DPRK was clearly stated and provides an illustrative example of how media sources and politicians combined to mediate risks within the public sphere through the framing of North Korea.

Intriguingly, at this stage of the risk recalibration process, resisting such a trend of converging policy community mediation was not, necessarily, tantamount to political suicide, as in the current climate of anti-North Korean framing within Japan. As such, controversial statements made by certain counter-administration sources offer a further illuminative data-source in terms of highlighting how deliberate, and or (state) orchestrated, such a process of risk recalibration may have been. For instance, on 14 May 1999, later to be Social Democratic Party Leader, Fukushima Mizuho demanded to know the details of a report suggesting that government sources and police had deliberately constructed a criminal investigation targeting North Korean (Chōsensōren) run Pachinko parlours in Japan, recognized as the route of funds for providing remittances to the DPRK. The controversy was caused by the alleged existence of a secret document, entitled “Plan to Promote Measures to Deal with Illicit Remittances to North Korea” (*Kitachōsen e no fusei sōkin taisaku suishin keikaku*), which outlined how internal actors with links to Pyongyang were to be dealt with.

The implication exposed by Fukushima’s address to the Diet, was that state forces were willing from a relatively early stage to frame (by fair means or foul) all North Korean elements within Japan as being representative of a broad base (range) of risks, which could be identified with the DPRK as a whole – and to justify taking coercive measures against them.<sup>234</sup> Moreover, the use of remittances as a political target is illustrative of how the policy community has been able to seize upon uncertainty over the extent of risks identified with

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included in the *Asahi*’s own historical data-base archives; in a sense, therefore, his statement indirectly evinces a representative shift in risk calibration within the *Asahi Shimbun*.

234 Revelations about the above named document emerged in the June 1999 edition of *Sekai* magazine in an article entitled, “The domestic contingency framework is at the ready” (*Kokunai no yūji taisei ga junbi sarete iru*).

Pyongyang in order to recalibrate them. For instance, direct remittances in the second half of the 1990s were purportedly estimated to be upward of ¥200,000,000,000, but due to the inability to access North Korean sources from Japan, there is a scarcity of concrete evidence to demonstrate how much, where and for what purposes any such remittances were actually being used (Han, 2002: 221-2). The combination of suspicions regarding the illicit means of remittance from Japan to the DPRK and opacity of information regarding the quantity and final usage of any such funds, therefore, left the issue open to a high degree of subjective interpretation and speculation.<sup>235</sup> The result was the further creation of an element in the negative framing of North Korea, manifest in potential risks posed to Japan. This was initially termed the remittance suspicion (*sōkin giwaku*) and later recalibrated to a remittance problem (*sōkin (giwaku) mondai*). The recalibration of risk was, then, here realized through an interactive process driven by politically motivated actors and mediated through conflation with other issues attached to the DPRK in Japan's public and political spheres.<sup>236</sup>

### **3.9. Abductions, drugs and starvation: the risks from North Korea spread**

Conclusions submitted to the Diet by the police authorities in May 1997, which confirmed that seven cases, involving ten people, amounted to suspected North Korean abductions additionally served to reignite the risk recalibration process. The timing of the police's announcement came at a particularly pivotal juncture, as during November of the same year high-level delegates from Tokyo and Pyongyang attempted to restart the scheduled normalization process. However, with North Korea's overtly negative framing taking shape in

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235 For example, risk recalibration based on speculative information regarding North Korean elements can be observed in Japan's responses to the collapse of the Chōgin bank, for which it is estimated that approximately 1,400,000,000 yen of public funds were invested. This effectively allowed speculation up to that amount as to the extent of Japanese tax-payers money being transferred to North Korea, potentially for use in Pyongyang's weapons and nuclear programs. It is also pertinent here to note the bank's awareness of North Korea's increasingly negative framing – as it removed the *chō* (Korea) from all of its official titles following restructured opening. For further details, see *Chōgin tte nani, kōtekishikin tte nani* (2011).

236 For illustrative examples of discourse representing this phenomenon, see Nomura (2002: 19-103).



the public sphere within Japan, the process of risk recalibration reverberated through the following Diet sessions. This was exacerbated by a perception of socio-economic instability in the North and further revelations regarding Pyongyang's possession and development of ballistic missile capabilities.<sup>237</sup> The result was a heated and oft times conflated debate, whereby more than one issue was brought to the fore. These included not only the abduction issues, and those of the so-called Japanese wives, but also narcotics importation into Japan, the continuation of fears of a North Korean military build-up and concerns over the impending collapse of the country as whole, particularly in the wake of a chronically desperate humanitarian crisis caused by prolonged food shortages.<sup>238</sup>

Destined-to-be prime minister and emblematic critic of the regime in Pyongyang, Abe Shinzō epitomized this method of multiple risk recalibration vis-à-vis North Korea. On 4 June 1997 (140: 16), during a discussion initially focused on the remittance issues discussed above, he predicated his concerns over financial assistance from Japan to the North by warning the Foreign Ministry Committee with regards to the DPRK that,

In terms of Japan's security too, it [North Korea] has previously been viewed with suspicions over nuclear issues, so in a sense it has become an extremely salient threat. Furthermore, there are also the suspected abduction cases and so on, and there is the issue of the Japanese wives. Recently too, there has also been a problem with narcotics.

The overall shift of emphasis observable from within the Diet discourse during this time, was, indeed, one of a range of risks, perceived to be spreading within and from the DPRK. The number of references to the "suspected abductions issue" (*rachigiwaku mondai*), for example, rose to some twenty-one specific addresses in the period immediately following the 1997 police report, in comparison to only a handful of individual statements from Diet

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237 Attempts by experts such as Okonogi Masao were made during advisory sessions to the Diet (1997, 141: 11) to try to avoid conflation of issues surrounding North Korea, but appear as a small minority among the background of a growing political animosity and competition over a *strength of stance* against what was rapidly becoming a perceived *evil* in Pyongyang.

238 The *Japanese wives* issue concerns the repatriation of Japanese nationals married to nationals of North Korea who it was agreed could return home for brief periods to visit family and friends as part of the Japan – DPRK normalization process, see World News (1997).

members in years that had passed since the incidents had supposedly taken place.<sup>239</sup>

Moreover, the pros and cons of attempting to administer food-aid to a country in which state authorities apparently had unscrupulous and total control over internal resources raged.<sup>240</sup>

The shift in perceptions of the Pyongyang administration from within Japan's policy community at this time is particularly noteworthy in light of it occurring despite a combination of peripheral and, where present at all, largely optimistic references to Japan-DPRK relations outlined in the major parties' 1996 election manifestos.<sup>241</sup> Among which, for instance, the SDPJ offers the most pro-active statement, but still limits direct reference to the North to only three lines, concisely positing that "Normalization with the DPRK will be promoted, making every effort to realize successful four-party talks between the US, China, South Korea and North Korea, with a view to being developed into six-party talks including Japan and Russia" (1996: 7).<sup>242</sup> Moreover, although the ruling LDP's manifesto document, which referred vaguely to "monitoring movements on the Korean peninsula" (1996: 53) and "measures for a contingency in areas surrounding Japan" (1996: 54), does exhibit greater wariness toward the potential risks posed by the DPRK, it does not significantly deviate from the general mood across the political spectrum at this time, which was one of optimism and expectancy over normalization of Pyongyang-Tokyo relations. Furthermore, as is made evident from the content of both Diet statements and manifesto contents up to the revelations of the 1997 police report, the attention paid to North Korea in any form was minimal, even after the Nodong launch of 1993 and *nuclear crisis* of 1993-94. As unearthed below, the impact of the Taepodong test was comparatively gargantuan in this respect, in terms of stimulating the

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239 The suspected abduction cases which took place within Japan occurred between 1977-1980. Two cases of Japanese nationals snatched from Europe in the early 1980s also emerged. For details, see Headquarters for the Abduction Issue (2009).

240 The primary concerns being that Japan should not be assisting a state which had violated its sovereignty with abductions and incursions, and that resources may be channelled into illicit pursuits or nuclear facilities.

241 The major parties of the time amounted to the LDP, SDPJ (having been formed as a succession to the former JSP), DPJ, Shin-shintō, Shintō Sakigake, and the Japan Communist Party (JCP).

242 Manifestos referenced herein are predominantly sourced from Keio World Manifesto Forum (2007).

recalibration or risk – internalized from the “super-sized” (Hughes, 2009a) threat – framed against Pyongyang.<sup>243</sup>

In the period preceding the Taepodong launch, the incremental intensification of North Korea’s negative framing, and the significant part played by the public sphere, particularly in terms of mass media, is once again represented by Diet members’ referrals to such media-news sources as their reference point for information. For instance, in Takano Hiroshi’s single short address to the Diet on 3 June, 1997 he frames the DPRK as a source of piracy, sovereign infringement, humanitarian crises, abductions, and criminal organizations, citing a quality daily newspaper to illustrate his concerns.<sup>244</sup> In this way, on-going concerns such as nuclear and abduction issues can be seen both to have primed the public sphere for a particularly intense reaction to the Taepodong missile test of 1998, and also to have been further revamped by it. Moreover, as discussed further in Chapter 4, Section 4.6, this counter-ratcheting up of risks played off between single *shocking* events, such as missile and nuclear tests, against a background of continued disquiet over the uncertainty of persistent, unresolved, issues can be seen to have actually created an environment where media and public opinion interactively drive foreign policy vis-à-vis Pyongyang (Hirasawa, 2004: 22-4).<sup>245</sup> Indeed, the salience of risks posed by the North Korean state have, as a

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243 Indeed the magnified impact of the Taepodong event, even in comparison to revelations about abductees, becomes clear through examination of the (pre-Taepodong launch) 1998 upper-house election manifestos (e.g., LDP, 1998: 48, SDPJ, 1998: 26), which demonstrate little policy change – or increase in volume of reference – toward the DRPK from those highlighted in 1996, despite growing voices in the public sphere and on the Diet floors over the risks Pyongyang may harbour.

244 In fact, Takano acknowledges the conflation of too many issues, but in doing so presses home a negative framing of North Korean issues himself. For Takano’s statement and reaction to it, see Diet records (140: 41, 3 June 1997). This includes foreign minister, Ikeda Yukihiro’s assertion that issues need to be considered in general terms – once again highlighting the conflated nature of issues framed against the single target of North Korea within Japan’s policy community.

245 Hirasawa also points to the impact of specific events (primarily Koizumi’s 2002 visit to Pyongyang and Kim’s admission of the abduction cases) – comparable to missile or nuclear tests – which have resulted in a shift of agency driving North Korean policy issues, from that which was contained almost entirely within government and diplomatic channels to a phenomenon driven by mediated public-political sphere reaction. In other words, the recalibration of risk framed against North Korea has gained such momentum that to a certain extent it has taken the ability of policy makers to set the agenda out of their hands.

result, been aired as a justification for imposing a more state-led (provisionally to be orchestrated by MOFA) method of public diplomacy, or “media approach” (Harada, 2005: 133-48) in order to avoid Japan’s foreign policy becoming hijacked by an errant media.

Conversely, however, the interactive process between state and mass media represented by a proliferation of the recalibration of risk in response to North Korea is also evinced from the very sources quoted by political spokespeople (politicians in the Diet) which, contrarily, cite government as the basis for their information. For instance, in the first *Yomiuri* article to cover the revelations of the suspected abductees on 1 May 1997, reports pertaining to the cases refer to statements supplied by MOFA, Japan Defense Agency (JDA) and National Police Authority (NPA). Similarly, in general concordance with Abe’s position (cited above); concerned with the multiplicity of risks emanating from the DPRK, media sources also conflated a parallel plurality of issues – framed against North Korea.<sup>246</sup> Indeed, as noted by one prominent Japanese journalist specializing in the Korean peninsula (27 August 2011, Appendix A), the close overlap of information and, moreover, core political standpoints observed between politicians, ministries and leading newspapers is unsurprising given the fact that most reporters are closely tied to specific officials or Diet members and – through the notorious system of close connections present within the Japan Press Club (JPC) – are totally reliant upon those actors for up-to-date data with which to compose and publish articles.

The *Asahi Shimbun*’s coverage of North Korean affairs immediately preceding the 1998 test launch was still, however, comparatively liberal and defensive in its use of discourse regarding Japan’s appropriate responses to problems linked with the DPRK at this time,

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246 See also *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 11 October 1997 (*‘Kim Jong-Il jidai no kitachōsen’: nicchō seijōka kitai to fushin*) for an example of how the cross interaction and dissemination of information between different sections of the policy community, specifically the inclusive elements of the political elite and mass media, is manifest within discourse in the public sphere. The above article is additionally relevant because it shows the early signs of a stigmatization of Kim Jong-Il, something which proliferated in the years that follow and helped to facilitate the demonic framing of North Korea as a whole – something also present in other leading newspapers and news sources (see Section 3.14, below).

cautiously referring repeatedly to the goals of improvement (*kaizen*) and normalization (*seijōka*) of links between Tokyo and Pyongyang. Nonetheless, the broader converging tide across the policy community, espousing a multitude of risks, being recalibrated through the framing of North Korea in the public sphere, became visible, too, even within the pages of the *Asahi*. For instance, in its morning issue of 11 October 1997, an article entitled, “Focusing on Security Strategies: The Un-paintable Picture of Normalization (How will things progress under the Kim Jong-II regime)”, reference is made to a variety of government and other sources in a combined discussion of abduction, nuclear, missile, Japanese wives and famine – all posited as risks identified with the DPRK which pose a potentially negative set of contingencies for Japan.<sup>247</sup>

In this way, reaction by the state and mass media to a range of risks beginning to be established within a public sphere frame encompassing everything which is linked to the DPRK, started to develop a consistent pattern. Examination of this interactive process prior to the first Taepodong test launch, then, exposes a reiterated phenomenon of conflating issues associated with risks framed as North Korean, which primed the policy community and public for an event which could take the recalibration or risk to completely new levels.

### **3.10. Taepodong 1 flies over Japan: risk recalibration sky-rockets**

North Korea’s launching of the Taepodong 1 missile in August 1998, part of which flew over Japan and splashed into the Pacific, could not have come at a more apt time for Japan’s risk entrepreneurs.<sup>248</sup> In June of the same year, the North Korean Red Cross had categorically confirmed that none of the suspected remains of abductees were those of Japanese citizens.

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247 The article’s Japanese title was “*Anpo seisaku jūshi: egakenu kokka seijōka (dō susumu kitachōsen Kim Jong-II taisei)*”.

248 Debate remains over the definition of the Taepodong because it was claimed by the DPRK to have been launched as a means to set a satellite in orbit – not as a test of a military missile (weapon) designed for offensive purposes. Indeed, it was also, initially at least, recognized as such by US military intelligence sources (Yoshida, 2008: 160).

This combination of perceived economy in revealing the truth about abduction cases and aggressive geo-military sabre-rattling prompted a fierce response from Japan and catapulted North Korea's negative framing to a point of national fervour. The process by which this happened can once again be observed through examination of how Japan's interactive policy community mediated the affectation of risk recalibration. The ensuing discourse from the Diet was representative by then, not just of a political issue influenced by civil society, but more obviously of a growing national phenomenon, which the Taepodong launch served to bring to fruition. The test firing galvanised the framing of North Korea as a pressing and salient threat in the public sphere, and as such recalibrated the risks associated with it. The resulting reaction from Japan's political upper echelons was virtually instantaneous and far reaching, and was tangibly expressed by Japan's imposition of sanctions and the suspension of signing for the cost-sharing agreement of the Agreed Framework's Light Water Reactor (LWR) project, until November of 1998. In the months and years that post-dated the Taepodong launch, the risks assigned to the missile threat were repeatedly referred to when justifications were made to revise Japan's security posture and apparatus. Indeed, in arrant contrast to the manifestos of 1996-98 highlighted above, the LDP's first lower-house election manifesto following the Taepodong event contained an entirely new section entitled "dealing with new problem situations and the promotion of provisions for a crisis management framework" (*arata na jitai e no taisho to kiki kanri taisei no seibi no suishin*), which was unprecedented in its targeting of the DPRK, stating that,

There are major causes for instability in the areas surrounding our country, such as those manifest in the problems of the Korean peninsula. With the occurrence of events such as North Korea's ballistic missile launch of two years ago and its suspicious ship incursion into the Sea of Japan last March, we are engaged in policy resolutions for national security and crisis management as issues of utmost urgency. (2000: 41)<sup>249</sup>

In this sense, the political gravity of the 1998 Taepodong launch is illuminated, and

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249 The culmination of security-policy revisions made in reference to North Korea, and justified as a means by which to ameliorate risks posed to Japan by the DPRK can be viewed in Section II of the FY 2005 National Defense Program Guidelines (MOD (then JDA), 2004).

elucidates the extent to which it was a pivotal event in the process of Japan's framing of North Korea. Moreover, reaction to the launch at the highest state-level spotlights how risks perceived to arise from Pyongyang had come to be recalibrated.

Not surprisingly, the number of statements made by Diet members regarding the DPRK after the Taepodong incident increased dramatically in comparison to previous events identified with actions initiated by Pyongyang. In addition, the two temporally influential issues of missile launches and suspected abductions were then not being mixed in with other concerns about nuclear proliferation, EEZ incursions, humanitarian crises and socio-political instability. Rather, they had at once been effectively compounded by the Taepodong test-launch in to a multi-prong set of risks which were, in a sense, being recalibrated as a single unit – i.e., equated with the entity of *North Korea*. Amid this, the initial emergence of the abductions issue, in particular, offered a supplementary means to whip-up nationalistic and moralistic, or as one political analyst put it, “emotional” (29 September 2011, Appendix A) sentiment across Japan, framed in crude terms as *good* versus *evil* – as exposed in greater detail in Chapter 4, Section 4.4.<sup>250</sup> The other pre-eminent concerns presented tangible military contingencies, which could be manipulated to open a discourse on a broader range of Japan's national security issues – and the Taepodong represented a tangible object with which to justify successive policy revisions. Indeed, on 2 September 1998, for the first time simultaneously, both missile and abduction issues were to be found on the official agenda of

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250 The extent to which North Korea, and specifically Kim Jong-II, became demonized (or framed as an evil and high-risk assailant to Japan) can be crudely gauged by qualitative and quantitative examination of the content of Japanese language publications on the subject in the post-Cold War era which offer such a portrayal. For example, searching major electronic databases of online book stores using terms such as “Kim Jong II” (金正日), as many as 953 titles (Amazon.co.jp, 2010) can be found for a single source; many of them showing photos of Kim overwritten with titles depicting him in such a light. These include direct condemnation, such as *Kim Jong-II's Great Crimes (Kim Jong-II no taizai)* and *Accusing Kim Jong II (Kim Jong II wo kokuhatsu suru)*, as well as those implicating him with other terrorists or evils, featuring the likes of *Kim Jong II and Bin Laden (Kim Jong-II to binradin)*. There also seems to be a marked attempt by a number of authors to stress that Kim Jong-II is even more war-like and dictatorial than his father and predecessor, Kim Il-Sung.

the Foreign Ministry Committee session.<sup>251</sup> In the months that followed, unlike previous debates where vociferous opposition parties had aired concerns about entrapment into US-led military initiatives justified by the North Korean threat, now attention almost unanimously focussed on assessing the scale of risks posed by the DPRK and how best to ameliorate them. A number of questions, akin to that posted during the Foreign Ministry Committee session of September 1998 (143: 6) by Sakaue Yoshihide (though himself a LDP member), who demanded to know what the Government of Japan (GoJ) would do should a North Korean missile go off-target and mistakenly land on Japanese territory, were duly asked.<sup>252</sup> Representing the DPJ in the upper house's main debate (*honkaigi*) of 3 September (143: 6), for example, Hironaka Wakako expressed her "intense outrage" (*hageshii ikidōri*) at the "rogue state's violent aggression", and in raising a list of the North's various (albeit not all directly related to Japan) terrorist activities, demands to know what the government will do to counter the multiplicity of associated risks.<sup>253</sup> She also frames the DPRK as the source of fear and uncertainty, by stating that,

Every citizen must have felt a shiver go down their spine in fear when they found out the reality of what had happened... ...this country [DPRK], of which we have little idea about what it is up to, sits on our border... ...the [Japanese] people's sense of insecurity and fear is unimaginable... Hironaka goes on to demand, ...what on earth is the government going to do in order to protect our state security and the lives of our citizens from such a country" – and posits that, "...the North Korean missile launch has brought up serious questions about our preparedness for state defence and the status of our crisis management framework.

The point of critical interest here is that dialogue which discussed the risks posed by North

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251 The abduction issue was listed as a carry-over from the committee's session on August 28. For details, see *Gaimuinkai* (143).

252 Sakaue's questioning of the GoJ was followed by a response made by government committee representative, Kondō Yō, which involved identifying the "ballistic missile threat" (*dandō misairu kyōi*) and once again citing close ties with the "technically capable" US government as means by which to counter the ensuing risks (18 September 1998, 143: 6-10). Similar questions were also asked regarding the GoJ's ongoing response to the North's continual denial of the suspected abduction cases.

253 Concretely, Hironaka refers to the risks of part or all of missiles, even if not directed at Japan, landing on Japanese territory and the difficulty in accurately confirming when and what was launched from the DPRK.



Korea shifted dramatically following the Taepodong 1 incident.<sup>254</sup> As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, this reverberated not only as a direct response taken by the policy community in Japan, but as a growing phenomenon of risk recalibration and framing of North Korea across the entirety of its media and civil society. The full extent of this phenomenon can be observed not only in the qualitative shift in focus and language used in discourses within the public sphere, but also quantitatively in terms of media and civil society attention paid to issues concerning Pyongyang's every move – as revealed by Table 3.2, and also in Section 3.14, below.

This framing of North Korea, as observed further in the case of the abduction issue, also posited in Section 3.9, was reflected within the political elite, both in terms of the volume of DPRK-related references in Diet sessions, and through the types of discourses and terminology being presided over. The abduction issue, for instance, was no-longer an awkward stumbling block that acted as an impediment to normalization talks, but rather became almost unanimously referred to as the “abduction problem” (*rachi mondai*) and framed as an assault on national sovereignty (*tōchiken no shingai*).<sup>255</sup> At the same time, the potential risks of a North Korean missile strike were recalibrated as an exigent military threat (*gunjiteki kyōi*) and the DPRK regime was framed as culpable for imposing military intimidation (*gunjiteki dōkatsu*).<sup>256</sup> However, it is also important to note that in terms of personalizing the risks emanating from Pyongyang the process was far from complete. The full demonization of DPRK leader, Kim Jong-II, fulfilled this function, but was as yet in its early stages, and little direct mention was afforded to him in the Diet sessions which took place in the aftermath of the Taepodong 1 test firing. Ultimately, however, as a result of the

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254 As noted above, the timing of the missile launch, coming little more than two months after the North Korean Red Cross' denial of the abduction cases, presented a particularly potent cocktail for framing the DPRK.

255 It is particularly noteworthy that Diet references to the abduction issue in the months following the Taepodong 1 launch were actually higher than those in the same period following the DPRK's denial of Japanese abduction victim remains.

256 See Diet session (18 September 1998, 143: 12).

negative framing attached to all aspects of the DPRK, the image of the eccentric head-of-state, as likened to an evil villain (who was possibly one *dong* short of a full missile), became, as extrapolated in Chapters 4 and 5 below, a key focus point for the continued recalibration of risks in response to North Korea.

What is more, it is also significant that the political and social norms which have come to dominate the agency of how Japan's North Korea relations are formed, most ostensibly in the negative framing of Pyongyang's regime and recalibration of associated risks, appear even to have out-weighed the would-be prevailing economic market interests within Japan when it comes to dictating policy generation and counter-measures vis-à-vis the DPRK. Indeed, while it is an arduous task to accurately locate the cross-interaction between Japan's political and economic elites, large-scale stakeholder enterprises would surely have little to gain from such a negative framing and political trajectory made in response to the North.<sup>257</sup> However, as explored in the next section, market influences upon Japan's post-Cold War, and post-Taepodong, recalibrations of risk in response to North Korea are at once more complex and less capricious than they may appear at first glance.

### **3.11. Market responses to the Taepodong: the power of political influence**

As expressed in Chapter 2, Section 2.3, this dissertation takes the position that, to whatever extent, there will be market influences (outside those already noted pertaining to commercial media) upon the processes mediating Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea – indeed, such a process clearly intersects the state, market and society. However, in terms of locating how a recalibration of risk – achieved via the framing of North Korea –

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<sup>257</sup> As noted by one expert on Japan's domestic and international policy formation (26 October 2010, Appendix A), it can be unyielding to explain policy formation and implementation in Japan in concrete terms because of the intense reliance upon *informal* connections between various parties and actors. While close scrutiny has come to be paid to the donations of big business to political parties, particularly following the 2009 scandals surrounding then DPJ Chairman, Ozawa Ichirō, there remains a myriad of political ties made through *gift-giving* and social networks which obfuscate a more straightforward understanding of the agency behind political and economic interests.

might benefit Japan's leading stakeholder enterprises, as represented by organizations such as *Nippon Keidanren* and *Keizai Dōyūkai*, the trend would appear to be reversed. Minimal public reaction was expressed by *Keidanren* members and representatives to North Korea's initial Nodong launch of 1993 and, more notably, during the period immediately preceding and succeeding the Taepodong 1 test. Furthermore, the organization consistently sought to prevent the DPRK's nuclear development program and withdrawal from the NPT from subverting efforts to establish more stable economic relations with the North. Moreover, *Keidanren* openly cited its intentions to develop enterprise initiatives in North Korea as the primary reason for avoiding the escalation of tensions between Tokyo and Pyongyang. In an article for the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* on 14 June 1994, *Keidanren* president Toyoda Shōichirō stated, with regards to the discussion of possible economic sanctions being imposed against the DPRK due to its nuclear development program, that,

It is a serious problem facing Japan's national security. We hope that North Korea will rapidly come in to line with the international community, and that the imposition of economic sanctions can be averted.

Conjointly, *Keidanren* continued to oppose the majority of sanctions, even following staunch reaction across political, societal and media spheres to the Taepodong launch of 1998.<sup>258</sup> The economic benefits for *Keidanren* associates and other business groups, in terms of opening up North Korea's markets and taking advantage of potentially cheap (and promisingly submissive) labour seem clear. It is, therefore, no surprise they have predominantly sought to resist a process of rampant risk recalibration in response to North Korea – or at least to ensure that it does not subvert their financial interests. More puzzling, at first appraisal, is why the likes of *Keidanren*, and other potential economic stakeholders of the DPRK's untapped market within Japan, have not been more successful in such an endeavour.

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258 This stance – failing to fully recalibrate risks against the DPRK – has been interpreted by some political factions as part of a drive by *Keidanren* to exploit cheap labour conditions in the North – hoping, effectively, to economically colonize parts of the DPRK (e.g., see Mizuno, 2010).

At least three major factors would appear salient in explaining the inability of such market interests to stem the tide of risk recalibration manifest in North Korea's negative framing within Japan. Firstly, while groups such as *Keidanren* would, indeed, surely benefit from an open, accessible market in the North, the total value and capacity of any such market to Japan is in fact extremely limited and its exploitation is fraught with logistical difficulties, especially when compared to rival international markets.<sup>259</sup> This has most likely contributed to the fact that there has, for the most part, been a lack of highly prioritized motivation to mount a concerted effort with which to influence policy makers, media sources and other societal stakeholders in this sphere.<sup>260</sup> Furthermore, without wholesale administrative change in the DPRK, Japan's enterprises face the immutable threat of commercial assets and funds being appropriated by the North Korean state – and may find themselves at the mercy of North Korean authorities in terms of regulatory impositions, corruption and embezzlement.

In addition, perhaps because of business groups', such as *Keidanren's*, limited practical interest in DPRK affairs, powerful actors within the policy community have, generally, been able to resist what market forces do oppose the negative framing of North Korea – as an entity deemed *bad-for-business*. Conversely, they have gained proportionally from emphasizing the existence of risks emanating from Pyongyang, in terms of political capital

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259 For instance, while in 1998 Japan held a total share of North Korea's external trade in excess of 15 per cent (accurate/precise figures are illusive due to the large degree of *informal* trade), it still amounts to less than 1 per cent of Japan's total external trade. By 2004 Japan had slipped to providing just 7.1 per cent of North Korea's dwindling foreign trade – and moved to being only its fourth largest trading partner. It was second prior to 2001 (Lee, 2005 (Korean Institute for International Economic Policy)). In addition, North Korea's poorly developed infrastructure, culture of military infringement and lack of accountability, provide poor business conditions for would be investors. Furthermore, the North's image as a source of illicit financial and trade practices (according to the US State Department (2003) the DPRK was found to be the source for 35 per cent of all seizures of methamphetamine in Japan between 1998-2002) is damaging for the reputation of Japan's established enterprises hoping to extend operations in North Korea.

260 A position upheld, when interviewed (14 December 2010b, Appendix A), by one of the US's leading experts on Japan's international relations and security policy.

seized through adopting a tough stance vis-à-vis North Korea.<sup>261</sup> Concordantly, as documented throughout this chapter, the media have additionally played a core role, interacting with the political elite, in creating a powerful momentum behind a process intersecting the state and society which mediates the recalibration of risk through the negative framing of North Korea. The story-like imagery and dialogue attached to Pyongyang, manifest in the media's depictions, is also evidently an effective means by which to maintain the Japanese public's interest in DPRK affairs and, perhaps more pertinently, the sale of news-media products which carry related stories.

Finally, there are powerful commercially motivated groups outside of the media who stand to gain enormously from recalibrating the risks posed by North Korea to Japan. Most obviously, with the collapse of the Cold War framework that identified the Soviet Union as a sustained source of risks which required large-scale military provision to counter, Japan's arms industry was left needing to rapidly find a suitable replacement for Japan's sole source of immediate geo-political animosity. The DPRK filled the *enemy state* void. Furthermore, along with arms developers and manufactures, Japan's military itself faced an immediate lacuna, which if left unfilled, Umeda (2007: 72-9) argues, would have resulted in the financial and dimensional downscaling of the JSDF – an outcome which might also have had serious repercussions for US forces stationed on Japan and the US-Japan Security Treaty as a whole. The rapid identification by such actors of Pyongyang as a source of salient, uncertain and frightening risks, including those of potential geo-military contingencies cannot, therefore, be easily dismissed as coincidental. Indeed, the explicit (collusive) relationship between Japan's political elite, domestic (and US) arms producers and the recalibration of risks following the missile launches of 1993 and 1998 is exposed in an article contained in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* of 20 December 2003. Having singled-out North Korea's Nodong and

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261 Most notoriously, Koizumi Junichirō (though initially for promoting improved relations with the DPRK), Abe Shinzō and Asō Tarō all maximized such a strategy for personal political gain (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4 and Section 4.9, and Chapter 5, Section 5.1 for discussion).

Taepodong missile threats as the primary motivation for improving Japan's defence capabilities, it states, in reference to the introduction of Japan's \$9bn (ultimately rising to \$11bn) ballistic missile program (developed, and now deployed, in collaboration with the US) that,

Due to the inability of Japan to export weapons, purchasing customers for domestic defence industry manufacturers are limited to the Defence Agency.<sup>262</sup> Tanks and defensive apparatus are produced in small quantity at high cost. Defence Agency Chief, Ishiba [Shigeru] stated during the October session of the Diet that 'We can buy six American tanks for the price of one Japanese tank'. Large-scale defence industry manufactures also claim that, 'because domestic demand is limited, we want to open up a means by which to export to the US and expand our sales outlets.'

By emphasising the *need* for an expensive BMD system in order to ameliorate the missile threats posed by Pyongyang, the above statement once again evinces an interactive process of risk recalibration, mediated between the state and market, and expressed by news media in a form which justifies to society the resulting policy revisions.<sup>263</sup> Such a combination of powerful vested interests, then, have garnered a significant degree of influence in terms of how market actors have indeed affected the process of Japan's recalibration of risks in response to North Korea – having been successful, both literally and metaphorically, in the buying and selling of risk.<sup>264</sup>

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262 In addition to Japan's three principles of non-nuclear proliferation and nominal 1 per cent budget cap for defence spending, the GoJ maintained an anti-militarist set of guidelines which included the non-export of weapons and weapons parts – with exception of certain weapons technology to the US (Drifte, 1998: 74) – during the Cold War. Hence, the North Korean missile threat was used by advocates of a more robust defence posture, such as former JDA chief, Ishiba Shigeru, in order justify revision of the legal framework which supported such principles. As a result, Japan's domestic arms manufacturers stood (along with their American counterparts) to gain enormously from the ability to extend their market overseas – especially given an increase in demand for weapons that could counter a hostile regime in the DPRK.

263 In this case, the *Yomiuri* article quoted above points to the necessity for speedy revision of the three principles governing weapons exports (*bukki yushutsu san gensoku no sōkyūna minaoshi mo hitsuyō to naru*).

264 The initial role of the media (represented by the *Asahi Shimbun's* article of 29 July 1995) in emphasising the need for a "new threat" (North Korea) and the significance of such an entity for the maintenance and justification of Japan's security forces in the post-Cold War era is discussed in detail by Umeda (2007: 72-6).

### **3.12. The Taepodong as a focus-point for fear, uncertainty and the selling of risk**

Political reaction in Japan to the Taepodong launch of 1998 bore all the hallmarks of Beck's risk, science and uncertainty matrix (Beck, Adam and van Loon, 2000) which, as discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.5, plays on the fact that there are potentially cataclysmic risks, which require counter measures (based on scientifically justifiable information), but which maintains the ultimate uncertainty of the size and salience of those risks. This uncertainty allows an on-going process of subjective recalibration of risk, which is mediated between the state, market and society.<sup>265</sup> In concrete terms, political actors recalibrate risks and stress the need for counter-measures, without necessarily specifying precisely how they are to be finitely ameliorated or expunged – i.e., they do not clarify explicitly at what point those risks can be adjudged to have been nullified. This reconfirms the significance of focusing analyses on risk recalibration as opposed only to threat perceptions, because, as Luhmann – covered in Chapter 2, Section 2.14, above – demonstrates, risk is concerned with how a threat such as the North Korean Taepodong missile is internalized into a series of *responsibilities*.<sup>266</sup> These require appropriation, usually by delegation or outsourcing of the responsibility for those risks, from the state to either its own policy making organs, or to sections of the broader market and civil society; or indeed, where deemed necessary or beneficial to the state, directly to the individual citizen.<sup>267</sup>

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265 Once again this idea of risk as an on-going, dynamic yet uncertain, force which has to be controlled for, demonstrates why it is not sufficient simply to discuss “threat perceptions” – as such terminology tends to deal narrowly with concrete sources of harm, as opposed to the diverse appropriation of responsibility for employing a given set of choices with which to alleviate resulting and unwanted adverse circumstances.

266 Media opinion polls, such as that conducted in October 1998 by the NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, reflect how this is internalized to the level of individual citizens, asking, “After the incident in which North Korea launched a missile, Japan and the United States have agreed to cooperate in developing technology to detect missiles using satellites and shoot down an enemy’s missiles from land or sea. Do you think these countries should cooperate in developing such technology, or is there no need?” Once again, the subtle juxtaposition of *North Korea* and *enemy* is illustrative of the direction in which discourse drives the framing of an external entity, such as the DPRK, particularly after the Taepodong launch.

267 For instance, North Korea has also been associated with the aiding and abetting of terrorist organizations and activities, and, particularly following George W. Bush’s stigmatization of the DPRK as a rogue state, with

For instance, speaking to the Financial Stability Special Committee (*kinyū anteika ni kansuru tokubetsu iinkai*) on 1 September 1998 (143: 2), LDP representative, Yamamoto Kōzō states in reference to the missile flying over Japanese territory that, “As the government we must seek to work with other countries, making all necessary provisions to ensure that our people are not thrown into a state of uncertainty”. The nature of the limits to *all those provisions* is omitted, allowing the potential for risks to be assigned an indefinite calibration, and responsibility for them appropriated to potentially any conceivable range of actors, from the international community to the individual citizen in Japan.<sup>268</sup>

Nevertheless, as discussed in the following sections, most comprehensively Section 3.15, in fact the measurable recalibration of risk following the Taepodong 1 incident to a higher level – one against which a tangible hardening of Japan’s stance in relations with Pyongyang and, ultimately, a number of policy revisions could be justified – was far from uncertain in terms of its resulting practical application. Hence, there is a contradiction between the uncertain and subjective manner in which the policy community recalibrates risks, and the objective – justified as scientific – prescriptive form in which it makes policy adjustments to counter them.

During the lower house’s Foreign Affairs Committee (*gaimu iinkai*) on 2 September 1998, the discourse representative of this process is visibly (or aurally) played out through the discussions of the various associated government members in the Diet. Epitomizing this dialogue, committee member, Yoshikawa Takamori (143: 13) urges his foreign minister to provide a “message for the people from the MOFA” regarding what happened up to and after

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the use of more diverse illicit means. As such, Japanese citizens are asked by the state to be on their guard for suspicious situations, ranging from unidentified bags on railway stations or carriages and forged currency, to possible North Korean agents operating within Japan’s shores.

268 In this sense, leaving a certain scope for the retrospective defence of statements made is commonplace in the Diet. This makes the increasingly strong language and specificity of policy provisions promoted by speakers following later missile launches and nuclear tests (See Chapters 4-6) all the more striking in terms of their starkness compared to previous reactionary statements made with regards to, for example, the 1998 Taepodong launch.



the Taepodong launch. Prior to the above demand, he re-quotes the government statement, of the preceding day, asserting that,

The ballistic missile fired by North Korea which flew over our national territory and landed offshore from the Sanriku coast represents a situation which absolutely cannot be left as it is in terms of provisions for our national security. Along with all the citizens of this country [Japan], we express our strong anger in strictly condemning this action. These actions taken by North Korea seriously threaten the peace and security of the East Asia region, and amount to an aberration which has raised tensions among the entire international community.

Foreign Minister, Kōmura Masahiko (143: 14) responds (and recalibrates further) by repeating the assertion that the Taepodong 1 incident amounts to “an extremely grave (*taihen shinkoku na*) situation which poses a great menace (*taihen na kyōi*) to our country’s security and threatens the security of East Asia”, going on to also posit that, “it also has to be considered as posing a challenge to the non-proliferation of WMD”. These dialogues demonstrate a remarkable consistency in terms of highlighting the grave, and yet uncertain, harms harboured by risks emanating from the DPRK. The Taepodong test launch, then, acted as a clear focus point for political actors addressing the risks perceived to be posed by Pyongyang, and featured extensively in how they were *justifiably* recalibrated (appropriately) in the public sphere.

The use of the 31 August 1998 Taepodong launch as a means by which to justify the recalibration of risk, in terms of being a response to a negatively framed North Korea, was also striking by way of its distinct veracity across a broad span of Japan’s policy community. Indeed, as noted by Yoshida (2008: 161), although the governing LDP administration reacted angrily to the test firing and was quick to demand policy revisions accordingly, in terms of scaremongering over a possible threat from North Korea, it was in fact then opposition leader, Kan Naoto, who was “the most active” (*ichiban sekkyokuteki*) in promoting, for instance, Japan’s investment in four surveillance satellites to monitor the skies over Japan

and its neighbour(s) across the Japan Sea.<sup>269</sup> In this sense, while there were still dissenting voices, as seen in Fukushima Mizuho's Diet statement quoted in Section 3.9, above, the Taepodong 1 launch can be considered to have been a pivotal event in creating a momentum of overtly perceived fear and uncertainty, which allowed risks to be disseminated, or *sold* (largely through *top-down* mediation), in a recalibrated form across the political spectrum. Moreover, there is little argument that it is the recalibration of the risks exposed (or portrayed to have been exposed) by the Taepodong test firing which served to justify a multitude of counter measures, rapidly proposed and implemented by the state. Furthermore, indeed, with such risks having been recalibrated effectively, the presiding actors of Japan's policy community, who proposed and authorized measures against the DPRK, faced minimal questioning or resistance to the subsequent revision of state-level North Korea policies.

### **3.13. Policy revisions to counter the risks brought by the Taepodong**

Japan was distinct among neighbouring states in terms of its public, media and political reactions to the Taepodong test-launch, and to the policy revisions that were made in order to counter the perceived risks which had been newly recalibrated in its wake.<sup>270</sup> Initial measures justified with direct reference to the Taepodong 1 launch included refusal to re-enter normalization talks with the North, prohibition of public sector staff visits to the DPRK and the termination of charter flights between Nagoya (and Niigata) and Pyongyang, and the cessation of major trade links (Yoshida, 2008: 158). As examined in Chapters 4 and 5, below,

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269 The suggestion that leading opposition parties were almost as fervent in their recalibration of risks following the Taepodong launch as the LDP government raises at least two important points; the fact that there was apparently overwhelming, if not total, convergence over the manner in which risks were recalibrated and mediated by the policy community in Japan, and that that policy community apparently has little consistent, coherent divide over Japan's grand strategy in foreign policy trajectories vis-à-vis the DPRK – rather operating on a case by case basis, as various factions compete for political capital.

270 In addition to the Taepodong launch being given comparatively little media attention within other stakeholder states, it was, as noted above, not framed as an imminent geo-military security concern (e.g., by the US, PRC, Russia or the ROK). Therefore, the risks associated with it were not given the same level of calibration or precedence as they were in Japan.

the Taepodong test launch can, furthermore, be interpreted as a key event in terms of initiating a process via which risks perceived to be posed by North Korea have maintained a high calibration in Japan. Therein, in combination with the recalibration of risks associated with North Korea's nuclear development program and the persistently inflamed abduction issue, this resulted in the justification and ultimately successful implementation of the Foreign Currency and External Trade Bill (*gaikoku kawase oyobi gaikoku bōeki hō*) which allowed Japan to impose direct unilateral sanctions upon North Korea as a (legally) "necessary means to maintain national peace and security" (Park, 2005: 261).

The speed and severity of the unilateral sanctions imposed upon North Korea by Japan following the August 1998 Taepodong incident, coming as they did less than two days after the suspected missile test, were also a striking illustration of the recalibration of risk that took place in the five years which interposed it from the first Nodong launch. This is particularly so considering that, as noted in Section 3.16, below, it took two weeks before details of the Nodong firing were even officially confirmed. Furthermore, the range of justifications for the compilation of measures applied, showed a clear shift in what Japan's policy community was willing to project as sovereign defence, and how it could do so with relative impunity in the public sphere through the negative framing of North Korea. For instance, cancellation of the minimal charter flight service (amounting to approximately 80 flights per year<sup>271</sup>) from Nagoya to Pyongyang was justified on the grounds that North Korea's Taepodong launch violated the conditions of aviation security laid down by the Chicago Convention, which Pyongyang signed in 1977 – a far cry from the alleged risks to national security outlined as the central premise behind other proposed measures, such as the freezing of normalization talks.<sup>272</sup>

Further, it was in the aftermath of the first Taepodong test launch into the Japan Sea that

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271 See, *Asahi Shimbun*, 3 September 1998, "Nicchōkan no chātā bin mitomezu, seifu ga tsuika seisai dandō misairu jiken de".

272 For details of ascensions to the Chicago Convention, see Convention on International Civil Aviation Signed at Chicago on 7 September 1944 (2005).

Japan's DPRK-aligned community also began to emerge as the target for framing new risks and adopting counter-risk policies accordingly. Indeed, in combination with the measures outlined above, the ruling LDP administration also officially considered sanctioning North Korean sympathisers within the resident Korean community by imposing a sweeping ban on remittances and authorising means by which to freeze individual assets (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 4 September 1998). In the arena of quantitative concrete policy revision too, then, the Taepodong 1 launch can be identified as a crucial event amid a creeping process of qualitative risk recalibration, mediated via the framing of Pyongyang – a process driven, sustained and perpetuated, not least, by the cumulative interactive actions of state and media in Japan.

### **3.14. Media reaction to the Taepodong: a stark shift in risk recalibration**

Media reaction to the North's 1998 Taepodong test launch was monumental, and pivotal in itself in terms of sensationalization and amplification of issues attached to the DPRK in Japan; particularly in terms of how North Korea was framed in the public sphere and how risks emanating from Pyongyang became perceived and re-calibrated. While this dissertation seeks to address a broad range of news media sources through a qualitative, targeted (case-specific) perspective – as discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.10, it focuses most intensely on the *Asahi Shimbun* and (subordinately) the *Yomiuri Shimbun* newspapers as its central media case studies (barometers), in order to delineate a consistent mixed-media (quantitative and qualitative) measurement of how risk calibration has undergone a tangible shift through the altered framing of North Korea during the post-Cold War era.<sup>273</sup> This is deemed empirically applicable because the *Asahi* has traditionally had a left-of-centre, or at least comparatively liberal, standpoint which has historically attempted to play down the risks posed by the DPRK and the North Korean community in Japan, as opposed to the

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<sup>273</sup> I.e., in contrast to news media sources which have consistently looked to emphasize the potential risks posed to Japan by North Korea (*Sankei Shimbun*, *Yomiuri Shimbun* etc.).

*Yomiuri* which has projected a more consistently right-of-centre viewpoint.<sup>274</sup> Indeed, a Korea specialist at one of Japan's leading political think-tanks posited (29 August 2011, Appendix A) that the 1998 Taepodong launch was pivotal in as much as it marked the traditionally North-supporting *Asahi's* unequivocal switch to criticism of Pyongyang – and a recalibration of associated risks. As illustrated by Table 3.2, below, a quantitatively distinct comparison between media sources is at first glance difficult to extrapolate. However, as analysed in this section, close scrutiny of articles' discourse content reveals that, in qualitative terms, the *Asahi's* coverage of the Taepodong test firing of 1998 is particularly illustrative of a swing toward what would more consistently be expected from the pages of the *Yomiuri* in this respect.

**Table 3.2. Impact of the 1998 Taepodong Launch in the Media and Diet**

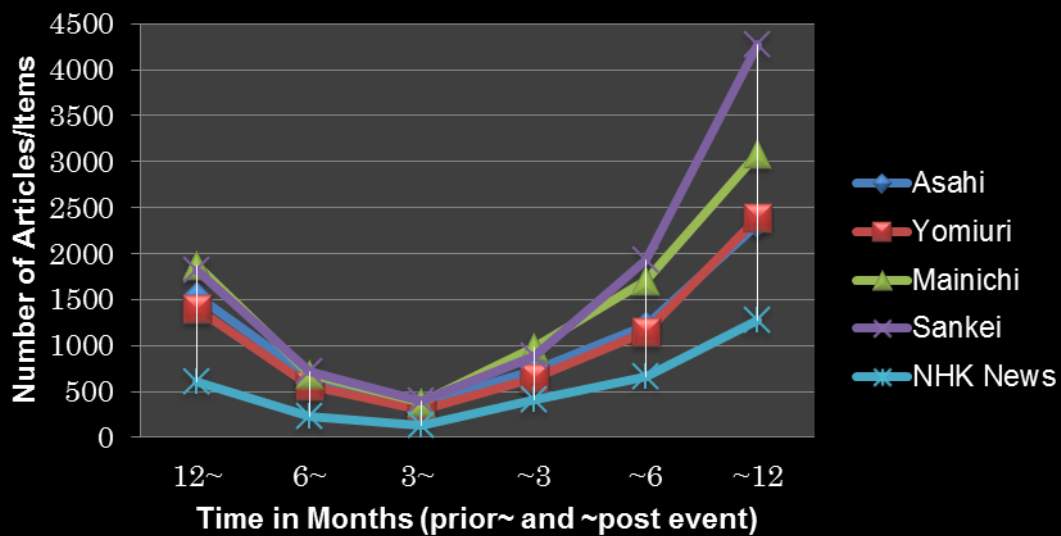
Months	Numbers of articles/items prior to			August 1998 Taepodong Launch	Numbers of articles/items post		
	12~	6~	3~		~3	~6	~12
Asahi	1538	665	367		733	1216	2318
Yomiuri	1403	564	295		647	1153	2388
Mainichi	1873	683	381		985	1700	3085
Sankei	1820	723	392		878	1927	4273
NHK News	608	224	124		414	661	1270
Diet	134	84	14		48	97	228
Magazines※	58	27	12		32	43	68

**Source: author**

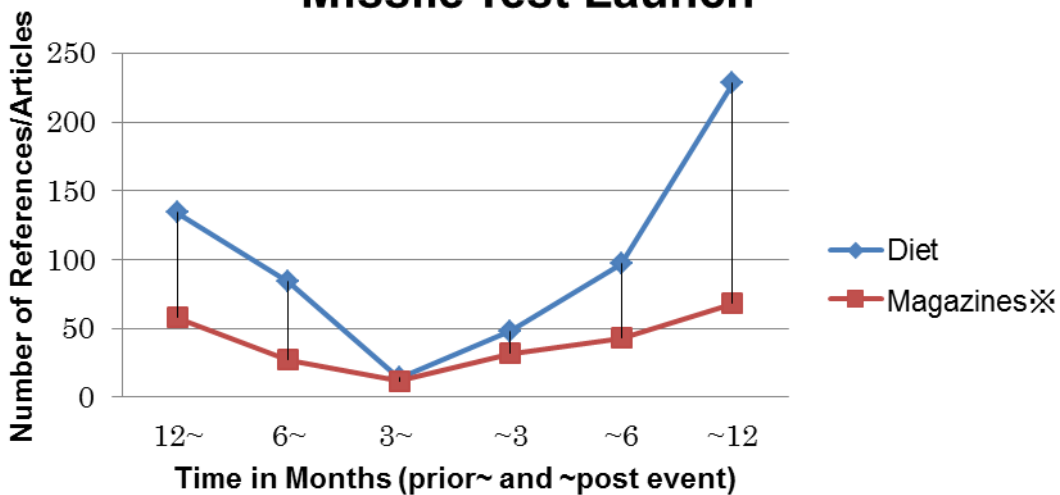
Figures shown above are based on official database (NDL search engine, *Asahi* database, *Yomiuri* database, *Nikkei Telecom 21* database) hits for “kitachōsen.” ※ Based on a selection of national magazines, primarily sourced from those listed on the *Nikkei Telecom21* database.

274 Therein, such an assertion is made in terms of comparison to its nearest rival, and most widely read newspaper, the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, and to the wealth of more linguistically extreme right wing dailies in national circulation within Japan.

**Figure 3.2(a). Media Reaction to the August 1998 Missile Test Launch**



**Figure 3.2(b). Diet and News Magazine Reaction to the August 1998 Missile Test Launch**



Source: figures adapted by the author from data expressed in Table 3.2, above.

The *Asahi's* editorial of 1 September 1998 frames the Pyongyang regime as being the source of multiple and uncertain threats and makes direct comparison to the Nodong launch of 1993 – recalibrating the associated risks accordingly. Moreover, as discussed further in

Chapter 5, Section 5.9, below, the *Asahi* editor's standpoint can be seen as typical in terms of how highly-educated and academic discourses in Japan have, at the very least indirectly, served to justify the broader recalibration of risks across public and political spheres in response to North Korea. This is realized through an analytical understanding of the North's ultimate intentions, which typically cites politically motivated actions on the part of Kim Jong-Il's regime, but which is predicated with reference to the, nevertheless, potentially catastrophic (however unlikely) implications for Japan of possible strategies to be adopted by Pyongyang.<sup>275</sup> As a case in point, the article referenced above states that,

North Korea's missile test heightens the tension within our country and the East Asia region as a whole, and is, as such, unacceptable.

Also questioning what the aim (*nerai*) of the launch might have been, it expresses strong condemnation of the test and posits that,

without any prior announcements... ..it was as if it were a test which directly targeted Japanese territory. It seems this was not the Nodong of 1993, but an improved model with greater range, known as the 'Taepodong'.

Moreover, the article goes on to discuss how, whatever the ulterior motives might be, the North's missiles do represent a salient threat, and efforts should be made to reduce the risk level that they pose, implicitly implying that the risks had, following the Taepodong launch, already been substantially heightened. In this way, as confirmed in an interview with one former *Asahi Shimbun* editor (3 June 2011b, Appendix A), the *Asahi Shimbun's* position can be seen to have shifted fundamentally after the Taepodong test in terms of laying the foundations for a more substantial and consistent recalibration of risks framed against the DPRK in the successive years. Indeed, in quantitative terms too, the *Asahi* covered North Korean issues in 521 articles during the month that followed the Taepodong launch, compared to just 132 in the case of the 1993 Nodong launch, for which the missile launch

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275 The point here is, essentially, that even comparatively moderate media sources such as the *Asahi Shimbun*, which looked at the broader reasons behind provocative DPRK actions, responded to the Taepodong launch in terms of it representing a new kind of risk that had as yet been unseen.

isolated in itself was barely covered.<sup>276 277</sup> This is significant, not least, because, as previously alluded to, the Nodong was actually a missile being developed by the DPRK with the assumed purpose of a potential strike against South Korea or Japan – as opposed to the Taepodong, which is a longer ranger missile, ultimately conceived of, particularly in its latter forms, as a means by which to threaten a strike on the US mainland.<sup>278</sup> In 1993, while a considerable amount of coverage was given to articles discussing (primarily US-DPRK) negotiations over the ensuing nuclear crisis, the first articles confirming the missile launch did not appear in the *Asahi* until almost two weeks after the incident, on 11 June. Not only does this demonstrate the extent to which missiles fired by North Korea were not calibrated as bearing intensely grave risks, but also illustrates how the DPRK was yet to be so candidly framed as the focus of a clearly identified risk recalibration.<sup>279</sup>

However, the precursory process of how Japan's political elite came to frame Pyongyang, as being identified with multiple and salient risks, mediated through the public sphere (in this case through quality newspapers), is clearly visible in the limited number of articles which do cover the 1993 Nodong launch story in the *Asahi*. As a case-in-point, one article of the 11 June evening edition conflates the issues concerning risks of nuclear armament and missile launches, stating that,

Concerning North Korea's missile test launch, the government has confirmed that it took place immediately prior to high-level US-DPRK talks over the nuclear issue. It [the ruling administration] is taking the position that 'the launch was probably intended as a means to constrain how the US entered the high level discussions'. Additionally, government officials

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276 Based on searches using the *Asahi Shimbun* online Visual Database with the search term "*kitachōsen*"; observing headlines and first page text for content (Kikuzō II bijuaru, 2010).

277 Using the same search method, the equivalent figures for the *Yomiuri Shimbun* are 337 and 135 respectively (Yomidasu Rekishikan, 2010), with the *Nikkei Shimbun* covering 352 and 160, and the *Mainichi Shimbun* 573 and 132 in turn (Nikkei Telecom 21, 2010).

278 Indeed, such an understanding is largely implied by Japan's BMD provisions adopted by the MOD (2010b).

279 It should also be noted that surveillance technology of the time did not necessarily provide the kind of instant and comprehensive analyses made possible by following technological advances. However, the idea that it would take two weeks to be informed of a North Korean missile launch into the Japan Sea by US intelligence authorities is now unthinkable. Indeed, it would no doubt cause a major scandal in Japan's public sphere if such a test went unreported for so long, due not least to the risks attached to the DPRK having been recalibrated so extensively.



stated the following, should economic sanctions be imposed in the case of high-level discussions between the US and DPRK breaking down, 'If the US moves to impose sanctions we will likely have to align ourselves with them. A nuclear armed North Korea represents a grave threat to Japan'. This expresses the position that the Government of Japan will cooperate with the US in imposing economic sanctions, should US-DPRK talks fail.

This kind of discourse itself illustrates how the process – as identified in the Introduction and Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 – combining high-risk perception concepts and the framing of them at one source (North Korea) can, then, be seen as stemming back at least as far as the 1993 Nodong test launch. Furthermore, the launch acted as the starting point for establishing North Korea's missile capabilities as a target which could later be more fully assigned to the attachment of salient and pressing risks. These then became identified as something which required tangible policy measures in order to alleviate the uncertain harms that might be exacted by them upon Japan. The *Asahi Shimbun's* coverage is once again revealing in as much as it represents a barometer for the (non-extremist) public level of framing assigned to North Korea and the perception of its cumulative risks. On 12 June 1993 an article (one of only a handful of *Asahi* pieces covering the issue) entitled "A New Threat for Japan, Government Urgently Seeks Confirmation on Details of North Korean Missile Test Launch" highlights, without any counter criticism, that for the first time the government is,

...urgently seeking to confirm the precise details of North Korea's missile development program, which it perceives as a new threat to the security of Japan. Due to almost the entirety of Japanese territory from Nagoya westward being within range of a potential missile deployment, it will need to make a comprehensive review of its security position.

As discussed in the chapters below, the intensity, quantity and range of how such a threat has been internalized into risks which have been both quantitatively and qualitatively recalibrated through an interactive process which intersects the state, market and society in Japan can, thereafter, be delineated through the examination of reaction to subsequent missile launch events. As this chapter has exposed, the first clear-cut example of this process rapidly accelerating (following the 1998 Taepodong launch) can be observed at source through micro analysis of the precursors laid-in-place by reaction to the Nodong test.

Although such precursory reactions were quantitatively minimal in number and scope, it is argued that they, ultimately, facilitated the higher recalibration of risk adopted after the Taepodong incident of 1998.

### **3.15. Conclusion: the Taepodong launch as a lesson in risk recalibration**

Reaction to the Taepodong launch of 1998 and the manner in which information pertaining to it was mediated between the different sections of Japan's state, media and other market elements to the wider (civil) society offers, then, an illustrative example of the process of socio-political risk recalibration, and why it is significant, particularly with regards to Japan's regionally embedded relationship with North Korea.<sup>280</sup> This chapter has demonstrated how *dormant* risks can be quite dramatically recalibrated at the state level in a short (indeed, almost instant in the Taepodong's case) space of time in relation to specific events. This is particularly so if the background conditions have already been primed, which in this case includes an encompassing mediation of a specific negative image, or framing, associated with the DPRK and its leaders.<sup>281</sup> While reaction to the 1993 Nodong incident was delayed and comparatively cautious, it contributed to set in motion a particular kind of political discourse directed at the DPRK within Japan. Combining multiple issues (missile, nuclear weapons, abduction etc.) related to North Korea, such a discourse then began to become prevalent and was expressed through statements in the Diet and initially somewhat

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280 Risk recalibration is a significant topic here, not just in terms of unearthing the process itself, but also for the relevance it provides to studies of international relations which seek to expose more than solely a shift in threat perception – here looking at the effects of mediating risk through discourse to create a particular status-quo within society which facilitates behavioural change at the state level. Once again, refer to Luhmann's explanation with regards to the distinction between 'risk' and 'threat' (see Chapter 2, Section 2.14, above).

281 Discussion of the specifics of how Kim Jong-Il's demonization played a significant role in this process is covered more extensively in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, particularly with regards to how the attachment of a negative framing to Kim (and most notably its association with the abduction issue) served to intensify public-sphere attention to North Korean affairs and further politicize the abductions cases – thereby increasing its influence upon the policy community and constricting its ability to set the agenda for resulting North Korea-targeted measures at the state-level.

indifferent, though increasingly loaded, reporting of the political elite's reactions in the mass media. Quantitative levels of coverage and recalibration of associated risks then skyrocketed in reaction to the Taepodong launch of 1998.

With regards to Pyongyang's continual brinkmanship diplomacy it is, in fact, problematic to make a clear-cut case which points to a measurable escalation of hostile or provocative actions towards Japan during the first decade of the post-Cold War era (Michishita, 2009: 117-131).<sup>282</sup> However, when the Taepodong test launch took place, the precedents (e.g., the Nodong test launch) and socio-political risk climate were already ripened, allowing pivotal actors to interpret information and (re)calibrate risks as they saw fit – not least to further their own vested political agendas for policy revisions. In light of the above, the salience of risk recalibration in this processes is evident in that, although individuals will react to information gained from the public sphere with varying degrees of scepticism and extremity, a culmination of continued exposure to a particular external framing of risk (i.e., as associated with North Korea in Japan) buttressed by specific key events is a highly effective collaboration when it comes to realizing such a process. In short, in Japan, while many individual citizens may have little interest in North Korea, and their responses to the risks it reportedly poses may be minimal, the gradual accumulation of a perception that a number of serious risks are represented by the DPRK, propagated by so-called experts in the field, can facilitate the society as a whole being manoeuvred into a position, or societal state, of panic (Nakayachi, 2006: 29-31).<sup>283</sup> Ultimately, this leads broad sections of that society into a

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282 Michishita refers to a "chronological continuity" (2009: 131) in terms of documenting how the North has sustained a largely consistent pattern of brinkmanship diplomacy and provocation throughout the entire period of its military campaigns from 1966 to the present. In this sense, North Korea's actions cannot be seen to have escalated in sync with Japan's recalibration of risk in response to them. It is noteworthy that Michishita is, himself, a self-professed advocate of Japan's normalization and has numerous close associates within the military. As such, it seems a logical premise to assume he would look for such a synchronism if it were possible to convincingly project the idea of a proportional reaction to Pyongyang by Japan.

283 With reference to the propagation of a given calibration of risk by experts in Japan, Nakayachi notes that while it is often assumed that civil society or mass media sources exaggerate or misconstrue the extent of risks and their salience – having then to be corrected by experts – in fact, it is predominantly the use of ambiguous language used by specialists and those recognized as having scientific authority which facilitates

tendency of willingness to respond to those risks through altered behaviour and support (or at least non-resistance) for policy provisions, justified in light of the recalibrated risks; proposed and implemented via an interactive process by a loose affiliation of powerful actors within the policy community.

In this way, the empirical evidence examined here regarding significant factors prior to and immediately after the Taepodong event of 1998 demonstrates the salience of the theoretical and analytical frameworks developed in Chapter 2. Therein, the process of how Japan has come to recalibrate risks in response to North Korea can be effectively explained in terms of how a number of tributary norms concerning Japan's defensive identity, and fear of the externally unknown and risk-endowed, have been created and converged in response to on-going issues, such as those of abductions, nuclear development, and the construction and use of WMD by Pyongyang's ruling administration, stimulated by high-profile events such as the Taepodong launch. These have resulted in the formation of a norm cascade (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998: 887-917) amounting, in effect, to the internalization of a norm of *anti-North Koreanism* – as distinguishable from more generic xenophobia or exclusionary nationalism – in Japan, which has been galvanised by a series of key events.<sup>284</sup> Those of missile and nuclear tests, in addition to specific revelations over the abductions issues, have been particularly pivotal in this respect, though realization of the process initially came to fruition in the aftermath of the first Taepodong test launch into the Japan Sea.<sup>285</sup> Moreover, through careful observation of changes in the discourses which mediate such socio-political norms, it is possible to delineate specific tipping points and alterations to ideologically

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the misconception and manipulation of risks by politically motivated actors (2006: 56-7). Hence, such a process can be seen to be present within Japan's recalibration of risk propagated via the, risk-loaded, framing of North Korea. In addition, Nakayachi (2004) also argues that the contemporary trend of seeking *zero risk* is a key causal agent in the proliferation of this phenomenon.

284 This process is elucidated more clearly with reference to Kim's growing profile as a negative figure within Japan's public-political sphere, which escalated following Koizumi's visit to Pyongyang in 2002, and the aggregated impact of reaction to North Korea's successive missile and nuclear tests conducted up to 2009 (see Chapter 4 and Chapter 5).

285 For a distinct, though related, discussion of the significance of norms in Japan's contemporary foreign policy construction, see L. Hughes (2007).

established positions within the policy community and society in Japan, fore-mostly through the examination of such events. Pertinently, as discussed throughout Chapter 2, it is once again made apparent via this kind of event-based analysis that a constructivist-based understanding of the creation and proliferation of norms such as *anti-North Koreanism* (expressed through the DPRK's negative framing within Japan) can be convincingly applied, and measured in terms of how the (re)calibration of risk identified with North Korea operates as the primary agency for such a process to evolve.

Furthermore, by utilizing the comprehension of risk recalibration, as a central agent in such socio-political processes, illuminating analyses can be achieved not only in terms of qualitative examples of how risks have come to be interpreted and perceived differently by a variety of specific stakeholder actors, but also in quantitative terms. As demonstrated above, these are most ostensibly provided in the case of the two missile events at hand by Diet (political discourse) and newspaper coverage records, and a myriad of background sources, which objectively document how, and the extent to which, Japan recalibrated risk through its framing of North Korea in the immediate post-Cold War era. The following chapters elucidate how this process has been further extended and perpetuated during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century up to the present.

## Chapter 4. Re-recalibrating risk: the impact of more missiles and a nuclear test

*“Japan’s policy makers have reacted increasingly strongly towards North Korea’s military provocations since the 1990s. The first North Korean nuclear crisis of the mid-1990s, the North’s Taepodong-1 missile test of 1998 and missile tests in July 2006, and the nuclear test of October 2006, coupled with bilateral tensions over North Korean incursions into Japanese territorial waters and the abductions of Japanese citizens, have spurred shifts...”*

Christopher Hughes (2009a: 292)

### **4.1. Escalating processes of risk recalibration in Japan’s responses to North Korea**

Hughes’ statement, above, succinctly identifies a number of the key events and factors up to the nuclear test of 2006 which facilitated North Korea’s negative framing in Japan. However, how the “policy makers” he points to were able to recalibrate the risks associated with each of those factors requires further scrutiny in order to generate a more comprehensive analysis of the constitutive process therein.<sup>286</sup> As seen from the discussion of Japan’s framing of the DPRK following the 1998 Taepodong launch in Chapter 3, one of the clearest measures of how risks have been recalibrated by Japan’s policy makers can be viewed through their

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286 I.e., in order to extend analysis beyond an essentially neo-realist model, which leans towards interpreting Japan’s responses to North Korea in terms of a rational actor reacting *logically* to concrete events, the use of recalibrated risks within a policy community represented by a multiplicity of socio-economic and political actors requires further examination; principally to answer three core questions relating to the events dealt with below: 1. Why did the GoJ take the specific policy steps that it did towards the DPRK? 2. Why then? 3. Why those policies and not others? The above were adapted from questions posed in an interview (8 February 2011b, Appendix A) by a leading American commentator on Japanese affairs. In essence, an elucidation of *how* (through what politically contested and socially constructed process contingent upon the (re)calibration of risk) the specifics of Japan’s framing of the DPRK in response to such events as the North’s admission of state-sponsored abductions, continued missile test-firings, and first nuclear test emerged is required.

responses to North Korean missile tests. The events that unfolded during 2006, however, presented a second, additional element, with which risks framed in the context of the DPRK's weapons programmes could be further compounded and recalibrated. In addition to the multiple rocket launches in July, which served to remind and re-confirm the risks framed against Kim Jong-Il's *provocative* regime, the nuclear test in October of the same year elevated their calibration to a yet higher level.<sup>287</sup> Once again this can be observed across a sphere that intersects the state, market and society – mediated to the citizen through a broad range of information sources; including mainstream newspapers, television and other electronic sources.<sup>288</sup>

This chapter examines the key events of 2006 (nuclear and missile tests) in the context of reactions within Japan to a series of preceding incidents and issues that continued to stimulate the recalibration of risk through the framing of North Korea in the period after the 1998 Taepodong launch. These include the “suspicious ship” and “spy boat” maritime incursion incidents of 1999 and 2001, and the furore surrounding the abduction issue. The latter is shown to have pivotally hinged on political party and media responses to former Prime Minister, Koizumi Junichirō's, historic visit to Pyongyang and the ensuing admission by Kim Jong-Il that the DPRK had, indeed, abducted a number Japanese citizens during the 1970s and 1980s. Exploration of how leading actors in Japan utilized these high-profile elements as a means by which to frame the North and recalibrate risks pertaining to it accordingly, elucidates a consistent process by which discourses in the public sphere prime a particular external object (Kim Jong-Il's North Korea), making it highly susceptible to the

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287 As noted in the discussion of Japan's response to the missile test-firing of 1998, it is the process behind the extremity of how Japan reacts to a continuing sequence of North Korean actions which is of particular interest. Indeed, while beyond the remit of this dissertation to attempt a full comparative analysis, the significance of such is evinced by the “difference in temperature”, or *ondosa* (Oe, 2007: 33) between Japan and other stake-holder states in their responses to North Korea.

288 It should be born in mind that while certain information sources may be limited solely to the internet, there is widespread usage and readership of internet-based TV channels and newspapers, which predominantly carry a similar content to their printed or television forms. These included, for instance, Asahi.com ([www.asahi.com](http://www.asahi.com)), Yomiuri Online ([www.yomiuri.co.jp/](http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/)), and NHK Online ([www.nhk.or.jp](http://www.nhk.or.jp)).

justification and implementation of sudden and oft times reactionary measures in light of particularly conspicuous events. The amplified reaction and policy revisions shaped within Japan in the aftermath of the missile and nuclear tests performed by Pyongyang in 2006 can be seen as representative of this process, i.e., in terms of state-societal level justifications made on the premise of ameliorating highly (re)calibrated risks.

Within this process, then, the extremity of Japan's framing of, and responses to, North Korea, and the use of risks as a justification for policy provisions and implementations is a recurrent theme. Furthermore, how leading governmental actors were once again able to utilize the framing of North Korea to gain political capital for their own individual ends, as well as those of broader political agendas is spotlighted.<sup>289</sup> In the wake of events unfolding up to the end of 2006, the combined result of the above was a complex convergence of domestic and external actors and interests attempting to maximize the malleability or risks mediated in reference to the negatively framed entity of North Korea. Amid this, as Umeda (2007: 17) states in his comprehensive criticism of then Chief Cabinet Secretary (and soon to be Prime Minister), Abe Shinzō's administration, "The only [stakeholder state] where government and mass-media united to demand and implement sanctions was Japan." Indeed, illustrative of this process, was the combination of Abe's unilateral statements regarding Japan's worsening security environment, as a result of the risks posed to it by a range of North Korean threats, and the right-of-centre print media's ratcheting-up the mediation of risks within the public sphere – optimised by the *Yomiuri Shimbun* in an editorial ultimately laying the blame at Pyongyang's door for Japan being in its "worst security environment since the end of the Second World War" (4 January 2007: 3). In addition, television coverage of the issues surrounding the DPRK's *provocations* in the week following the nuclear test boasted

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289 Most overtly, Abe Shinzō used the North Korean issues in an attempt to both demonstrate strong foreign-policy leadership skills and to forward his agenda of military normalization and constitutional reform in Japan – i.e., as opposed to former Prime Minister Koizumi and later Prime Minister, Asō (See Section 4.4 and Chapter 5, Section 5.1, below), both of whom fore-mostly utilized the North Korea phenomena in order to create a political distraction from their own specific domestic woes, though at least in Asō's case, also to push a right-of-centre policy restructuring agenda.



seven times that of its nearest rival (Umeda, 2007: 21).<sup>290</sup> Furthermore, the full dissemination of this interactive risk recalibration within broader sections of Japan's political elite and media elements (constituting a core policy community) can, again, be traced in considerable detail with reference to reaction in the Diet and Japan's other nationally distributed newspapers. Moreover, it can be fruitfully analysed through a successive, comparative, examination of events during the period preceding the 2006 tests. As this chapter reveals, these laid the foundations for Japan's re-recalibration of risk in the years succeeding North Korea's 1998 Taepodong 1 launch, which, as observed in Chapter 3, demonstrated how missile test firings served to catapult an already creeping process of risk recalibration vis-à-vis the DPRK.<sup>291</sup>

#### **4.2. Suspicious ship or spy-boat: reaction to the events of 1999**

Outside of the ongoing rumblings over nuclear proliferation and unresolved abduction cases, one of the most clearly identifiable issues associated with the negative portrayal of North Korea in Japan has been that of incursions into Japan's declared sovereign territory made by DPRK agents and other North Korean actors – suspected to be for the purposes of conducting illicit activities which pose risks to Japan's security.<sup>292</sup> The two incidents of 1999 and 2001, involving direct confrontation between North Korean vessels and Japan's state forces (primarily the JCG and MSDF) highlight the extent to which such events serve to facilitate an escalating process of risk recalibration framed against the DPRK, and also

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290 Twelve hours and fifty-six minutes of coverage, as compared with one hour and forty-six minutes for the second most covered issue/news item of the same period (Tokyo Broadcasting Systems, Inc., 2007).

291 This is observable, regardless of whether or not any of the North Korean missiles/satellites were aimed at or towards Japan. In fact, at no stage has Pyongyang's regime or official media sources stated or suggested that missiles were being tested in response to, or targeting, Japan. Indeed, they have denied that any such test-firings pose any risk to Tokyo. For general comment on the North's position on test-firings, see related news coverage (BBC News, 2009).

292 Most notably these include the smuggling of narcotics produced in the DPRK into Japan – primarily in association with domestic criminal gangs (*bōryokudan*), formerly known as *yakuza*.

provide a tangible measure of how such a recalibration of risk affected the introduction of practical counter measures in the interim (see also Section 4.8, below).

The comparatively limited extent of reaction in Japan to the first incident, in March of 1999, involving Japanese state authorities' pursuit and firing of live warning shots over, but not at, a suspected North Korean spy vessel, illustrates both how such risks were then yet to be so highly calibrated and how the failure to deal more robustly with them could be used as a later means by which to justify the recalibration of those risks.<sup>293</sup> Further, this process, as in the case of previous incidents, such as the missile launches of 1993 and 1998 (examined in Chapter 3), can also be observed by way of the comparable, interactive, reactions of the political elite and mass media to the two events.<sup>294</sup>

In terms of priming a given external target in order to recalibrate risks framed against it, the assessment of Japan's relevant strategy for dealing with such incidences as the suspected spy ship incursions (particularly following the 1999 case) by government officials is striking in its immediate referral to possible future contingencies – pertaining to the risks posed by North Korea. The rhetoric of heightened risks and *necessary* counter measures was led by, amongst others, then government minister, Norota Hōsei, who asserted during the main Diet session of 24 March (145: 10) that,

In the 45 years since the JSDF's inauguration in 1954, this is the first time that Article 82 of the Self Defence Law has had to be employed in order to facilitate defensive maritime action, and the result is that the suspicious [North Korean] ship escaped because of the strictness of the law, which constrained effective usage of weapons and the like. I am, however, convinced that, we showed, both domestically and internationally, our country's resolute determination, in response to this kind of incident, demonstrating that when the Coast Guard is incapable alone, the Self Defence Force will also be deployed for such tasks. This will provide the greatest deterrent against the future occurrence of this kind of incident.

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293 Namely, as a full-scale, potentially highly grievous, national security concern, which required punitive action at all costs – as contrastingly demonstrated by the response to the comparable situation of 2001.

294 The recalibration of risks attributed to North Korea by Japan, despite a lack of discernible alteration to the threat posed by Pyongyang's specific capabilities can also, as discussed further below, be observed in relation to comparative measures taken by the GoJ in response to the DPRK's 1998 and 2006 missile tests (see Section 4.5).

As noted in Chapter 1, Section 1.7 (and discussed further in Chapter 5, Section 5.10), the JCG has been beefed up to form effectively a fourth arm of the military, complete with a range of sophisticated weaponry and security equipment. Norota's statement, above, highlights the process of justification for such a strengthening as it emphasizes risks which are identified with a hostile North Korean state.<sup>295</sup> Indeed, this process is further cemented through the inclusion of direct reference to "suspicious ships" in the LDP's upper-house election manifesto (Article 18, Paragraph 3);<sup>296</sup> placed within the context of more effectively utilising the security alliance's new defence guidelines in order to undertake joint military exercises with the US, and further develop BMD systems as part of a security policy which includes provisions against the risks of nuclear, biological, chemical, and cyber attacks.<sup>297</sup> It is also significant here that a converging shift towards an almost universal recalibration of risks posed by the DPRK is observed across the political spectrum, with, for example, both DPJ and Kōmeitō Diet members essentially supporting the ruling LDP's response and policy imposition after the suspicious ship incident of March 1999.<sup>298</sup> It is also pertinent, however, that North Korean affairs were still some way from peaking in terms of their weighting within public discourses in Japan – once again something which can be seen, retrospectively, to

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295 The change in policy directive following the 1999 incident is documented in the JCG's pertaining annual report (JCG, 2000).

296 For full details of North Korea-directed policies at the time, see Article 17 and 18 (Keio World Manifesto Forum, 2007b). It is once again noteworthy here that a higher calibration of risks framed against the DPRK is combined with an emphasis on strengthening security initiatives with the US – therein, as discussed further below, the norm of *bilateralism* continuing to demonstrate considerable causal influence in this sphere.

297 These refer to the "U.S.-Japan Defense Cooperation Guidelines" released publicly in New York on 23 September 1997.

298 Although the Kōmeitō was a coalition partner in the GoJ – and so would be largely expected to back LDP policies, its manifestos, while aligning broadly with the LDP, did not whole-heartedly support its leading partner on all security issues. For full details of the position of each party vis-à-vis the actions undertaken by state security forces – focussing on the JCP and SDP as the only dissenting voices – and the government's official position, see the evening edition of *Asahi Shimbun* (24 March 1999: 2).

demonstrate how the recalibration of risks attached to the DPRK facilitated the focusing of greater debate and political attention onto issues associated with Pyongyang.<sup>299</sup>

Further, it is illuminating to note here the transitional process manifest in how North Korea is framed. Therein, while Japan's leading political figures had begun to lump together the various issues that bore risks perceived to emanate from Pyongyang and project them into the public sphere, the primary goal of full normalization with the North remained very much at the forefront of discourse at the highest levels.<sup>300</sup> However, the combination of an increasing recalibration of risks (expedited by the 1999 suspicious ship incident) as a compounded (multifaceted) phenomenon, vis-à-vis early indications that normalization efforts would ultimately be de-prioritized, is illustrated by then Prime Minister, Obuchi Keizō's conciliatory address to the Special Committee for the Purpose of Japan-US Defense Cooperation (*nichibei bōeiryoku no tame no shishin ni kansuru tokubetsu iinkai*) on 26 March 1999, in which he states (145: 33) that,

Furthermore, for Japan too, it is important to be proactive in engaging with North Korea. In this respect it is very troublesome that there has been events such as the recent missile launch over our air space, and prior to that the suspicions over abduction cases. Most pressing of all, is the previously mentioned problem of two suspicious ships apparently escaping into North Korean waters. As such, we are in a situation where it is very difficult for us to deepen relations with the North.

The predominantly consistent, interactive, overlap between media sources and political speakers, in relation to how North Korean actions were discussed and how pertaining risks were evaluated, is, furthermore, reflected by leading newspapers' reaction to the events of

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299 Symptomatic of the proportionally lesser weighting (specifically, prior to the high-profile events of 2002 and 2006) of North Korea on the political agenda; only two of the major parties (LDP and SDP) made direct references to a policy vision for dealing with Pyongyang in their 2000 manifestos (Keio World Manifesto Forum, 2007c, 2007d).

300 The use of mass media, specifically television reports and newspapers, as a source of information is once again illuminated by numerous Diet speakers' referrals to reports from such when making statements regarding the suspicious ship incident. For illustrative examples, see Akagi Norihiko (Special Committee for the Purpose of Japan-US Defence Cooperation, 26 March 1999, 145: 2), Saitō Tsuyoshi (Foreign Affairs Security Committee, 25 March 1999, 145: 39).

1999. In this respect, while the *Asahi Shimbun* takes a cautious line on the incident, noting that the activation of “maritime security action” (*kaijō keibi kōdō*) and firing of warning shots were very unusual occurrences, it nevertheless introduces the *inevitability* of revising policies towards North Korea as a result of the DPRK’s illicit activities. Moreover, in addition to expressing the implications of how a revised legal debate would likely be influenced in terms of dealing with future maritime security contingencies (*kongō no hōan shingi ni mo eikyō shikanenai*), the paper also provisionally bundles in the previous year’s missile launch – hence compounding the framing of North Korea as a source of multiple risks. Furthermore, the *Asahi* documents the broad consensus among leading political actors, which assumes that Japan will play a more active and cooperative role in North East Asian security affairs under the new guidelines laid-out within the framework of the US-Japan Security Treaty (*Asahi Shimbun*, 24 March 1999: 2).<sup>301</sup>

The issue is more forcefully pressed by the *Yomiuri*, which, in addition to linking the growing risks posed by a militarily assertive North Korea with the revised US-Japan security agreement guidelines, highlights the potential role of provocative North Korean activities in swinging public opinion behind constitutional reform.<sup>302</sup> Indeed, support for constitutional reform is also inferred through the noting of a rise to 70 per cent backing in opinion polls for clarifying the status of Japan’s “right to self defence” (*jieiken*), something documented, the paper asserts, “even prior to the fiasco over the North Korean suspicious ship” (*Yomiuri*, 9 April 1999: 16).<sup>303</sup> Here too then, as previously noted, the significant impact of highly scrutinized events upon discourses mediating risks between the state and society identified

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301 See details of endorsement for the guidelines and emphasis on US-Japan cooperation with regards to North Korea in the Diet debates immediately following the 1999 suspicious ship incident, such as those from which extracts are referenced above (main session and committees, March 1999, 145).

302 Although discussion largely omits direct references to revision of Article 9, attention towards reconsideration of debates over the abandonment of war and right to self-defence are prioritized.

303 For an emphatic exposition of the *Yomiuri*’s full-blooded support for legal reforms in response to the security risks perceived to be posed by North Korean incursions – and in order to “make provisions to prevent such a crisis recurring” (*kiki no sairai fusegu sochi wo*), see special feature (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 3 May 1999: 8).

with North Korea is evinced. These included the 1999 suspicious ship chase, which spotlighted such a phenomenon in the public sphere within Japan.<sup>304</sup>

Furthermore, the risks pertaining to the DPRK identified in the wake of the 1999 suspicious-ship incursion were quickly seized upon by Japan's security forces as a suitable justification for the greater strengthening and modernization of military equipment. Most notably, this was led by the JCG, which headlined its 1999 Annual Report with the suspicious-ships incident occurring in March of the same year; claiming widespread public support for a range of counter-measures designed to deal with such incursions. The report (*Kaijō hoan repōto (heisei 11 nen)*) states that,

The responsibility of the coastguard to deal with the existence of suspicious ships and this kind of grave situation in the seas surrounding our country is widely recognized by the public. The coastguard has taken firm steps to completely review measures for suspicious ships, including conditions for the use of weapons and the strengthening of patrol-boat capabilities.<sup>305</sup>

Through its justification of public support and emphasis upon the necessity of practical revisions in order to effectively deal with perceived security risks, the above statement once again highlights the interaction between various arms of the state and the broader civil society. Within this, the highlighting of risks posed by suspicious ships was, once again, in keeping with the norm of *bilateralism*, contextualized within the US-Japan alliance, which was consistently stressed by all but those on the far-left as the core framework from which to engage North Korea and tackle risks emanating from it – including during the ensuing aftermath of the March 1999 suspicious ship chase.

Yet, at the same time, prioritization of bilateralism was supplemented with repeated discussion of a new world order, and Japan's potential leadership role within a dynamic East

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304 The types of discourses which have become established in right-of-centre debate over North Korea policy, propagating the salience of risks posed by Pyongyang, also emerged more prominently at this time in academic texts. For an illustrative example, see Nakajima and Fukada (1999: 28-37).

305 For extended contents of the JCG's annual reports dating from 1998-2008, see the official Japan Coast Guard homepage (JCG, 2008a).

Asia in the post-Cold War security environment, which also pervaded almost all parties and elements of the broader policy community. Indeed, such concepts continued to play a prominent role in central political discourses almost a decade after the conclusion of the Cold War. There is little doubt, then, that within that socio-political context, North Korea's growing presence (and evolving framing), highlighted not least by maritime incursions, as a provocative and hostile external state, influenced the course of such discourse. This is particularly so, in terms of providing a negative frame against which Japan's policy community could juxtaposition its regional identity in a comparatively positive, and *justifiably* pro-active, light.<sup>306</sup>

#### **4.3. 2001 spy-boat shoot-out: the risks from North Korea close in**

The second North Korean maritime incursion, or spy-boat engaging with the JCG, represented an important milestone in Japan's recalibration of risk in response to the DPRK. Not least, this is because it showed a clear differentiation from previous risk calibrations and (risk-tackling) counter-measures, such as those applied in the 1999 incident. Therein, in the 2001 incident, the risks of violating Japan's constitutional constraints and international maritime law, and those of escalation into a full-fledged military contingency, were re-prioritized subordinately to those of North Korea making further sovereign violations – i.e., based on the justification of ameliorating apparently greater risks being posed to national security by vessels illegally entering Japan's EEZ (Black, 2006). In essence, the December 2001 sinking of the DPRK-registered vessel demonstrated that Japan had not only recalibrated the risks framed against North Korea, but also that it was willing to justify

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306 The oft times conspicuous absence of North Korea in academic debate over Japan's identity at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, however, illustrates how this process was only realized in earnest via the escalation of risk recalibration during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century – e.g., see Tamamoto (2003: 191-212), Nau (2003: 213-41).

assertive responses and actions towards them, based upon a perception of their increasing salience.<sup>307</sup>

When the Diet resumed in the early months of 2002, North Korea was very much an issue at the forefront of parliamentary debate. Yet, direct references to the spy boat incursion were still limited in scope and volume when compared to the flux of vociferous addresses made in the wake of successive events in the years that followed.<sup>308</sup> However, the shoot-out had clearly allowed the framing of the DPRK to pick up pace within Japan's policy community, and was, thereafter, rolled into a snowball of rapidly increasing size. Through the first half of 2002 this included abduction (though far more so post-September 2002), nuclear proliferation, ballistic missile, spy-boat incursion and humanitarian issues which were regularly lumped together as "all the North Korea problems" (*kitachōsen no shomondai*). Representative of this position, and adhering closely to terminology expressed by then Prime Minister, Koizumi Junichirō (main session, 4 February, 154: 9), in her address to the Security Committee on 26 February 2002 (154: 21), government minister Kawaguchi Junko listed the 2001 "armed suspicious ship" (*busō fushinsen*) incidence as a central element in the dangers facing the regional security environment, sandwiching it between those stemming from the multiple 9/11 terror attacks and the proliferation of WMD.<sup>309</sup> This demonstrates a remarkable recalibration of risk in response to North Korea, towards which, conversely, the

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307 Sinking refers here to the fact that there was an exchange of fire between the JCG and the North Korean vessel, which sank. The actual sinking was caused not by the JCG's offensive weaponry, but by the detonation of an explosive device activated by the North Korean crew, having realized it was unable to escape the JCG's patrol boats. For a chronology of events leading up to the sinking and discussion of each parties' tactics – including those related to the various contingent risks, see Gotō, Ogawa and Shigemura (2005: 78-91).

308 There were a total of 44 direct references to the Spy-ship incident in the Diet during the six months that followed its occurrence. For comparative responses, see Table 4.1, below, and Chapter 5, Table 5.3.

309 Various terms were used to describe the two incursions of 1999 and 2001, of which *armed suspicious ship* is a particularly awkward rendering. However, as explored by Leheny (2006: 158-64), the broad shift in usage from suspicious boat/ship (*fushinsen*) used generally to refer to the 1999 incident, to the widespread references to a spy boat/ship or special operations boat (*kōsakusen*) with regards to the 2001 vessel demonstrate a marked recalibration of risk expressed through the prevailing terminology of public discourses – i.e., due to the fact that in the latter case the boat had been salvaged, so could be publically identified and defined as such by official sources.



subject of diplomatic normalization was relegated to a brief statement buried later in her passage. Furthermore, the springboard provided by the 1998 Taepodong launch and following years' maritime incursions (1999 and 2001) are suggestive of how specific events were used, metaphorically speaking, as increasingly large dots which could be joined together in creating and inflaming an image which framed the DPRK as an expanding source of multifaceted risks (attached to nuclear, abduction, WMD etc. issues). The combination of such risks was then mediated between the state, market and society at increasingly higher calibrations, as a single phenomenon, to the point where Japan was apparently required to tackle the *North Korea problems* head-on.<sup>310</sup>

In addition, evidence that the political tide had begun to flow steadily, at the national level, in the same general direction; i.e., that of greater sensitivity towards Pyongyang from within Japan, is corroborated by the fact that opposition parties were also notably quick to combine issues in their framing of North Korea and recalibrate risks accordingly. Further, indeed, extra-governmental actors were already clamouring for a tough, or intensified, response to risks posed by the DPRK's incursions in combination with demands for a more comprehensive crisis management system for contingencies relating to national security as a whole. During the main Diet session of 7 February 2002 (154: 4), for instance, the Liberal Party (LP), or *Jiyūtō* contended that North Korean missiles and international terrorism represented the greatest threats to Japan's security; having proceeded to press the government over more robust ways to deal with the incursions issue. LP representative, Tsuzuki Yuzuru criticized that,

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310 While in one sense this can be seen purely in terms of an interactive domestic process affecting the calibration of external (identified with the DPRK) risks, the salience of US influence upon such a process should not be underestimated. Indeed, while Japan's policy community may have recalibrated risks pertaining to North Korea in such a way as to stress Japan's requirements to alter policy provisions, security measures were still taken very much within the framework of the US-Japan alliance – in adherence to the 1999 New Guidelines, which were initially negotiated for by US foreign policy advisers, such as Joseph Nye, who were concerned about Japan's preparedness (or lack there-of) to deal with potential risks emerging on the Korean peninsula (Shinoda, 2006: 77-8).

No lessons have been learnt from the escape of the North Korean spy-boat which escaped in 1999 having violated our sovereign waters off the coast of the Noto Peninsula. And now, again, the lack of the government's ability in crisis management is there for all to see.

Conversely, however, according to then JCG commander, Gotō Mitsuyuki, it was due to the fact that the risks posed by North Korean incursions had been recalibrated which allowed his team to take more robust action against the “spy-ship” of 2001, having, he claims, learned the lessons from the failure of the “suspicious-boat” incident of 1999 (Nishioka et al., 2005: 80-4).<sup>311</sup> Hence, to that end, there was likely a temptation to blow up the cases. Indeed, in the wake of the 1998 Taepodong launch and their inability to deal effectively with the 1999 maritime incursion, the JCG had been equipped with the ability to engage unauthorized ships with 20mm Vulcan machine guns from behind a reinforced bullet-proof bridge. This, therefore, illustrates the gap between the policy community's perceptions of Japan's vulnerability to risks framed against the DPRK, and the already more than proportional equipping of Tokyo's security forces, justified as an appropriate means by which to ameliorate them.<sup>312</sup>

The JCG's 2002 Annual Report (pertaining to the events of 2001) is also illuminating in this sense, particularly in terms of tone and terminology, when compared to the equivalent report made in response to the incursion incident two years previously (see Section 4.2, above). Though unchanged in the initial report, the North Korean vessel was later re-termed from suspicious-ship (*fushin-sen*) to spy-boat (*kōsaku-sen*), and in addition to justifying the

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311 It is also significant that in the same interview, albeit with an element of bravado, Gotō cites the risks of the North Korean vessel escaping and of inadvertently inflicting casualties on the North Korean side as his primary concerns, having “calculated” (*shōsan*) that the JCG patrol boats would easily out-gun the DPRK's vessel. This calibration of risks is counter, then, to those portrayed in Tokyo's public and political spheres, which highlighted the risks such ships posed to citizens within Japan.

312 For a full breakdown of the JCG's then weapons capabilities, see table, “*kōsakusen tsuiseki ni shutsudō shita junshisen*”, Nishioka et al. (2005: 82). The extent to which the JCG's hardware (now comparable to that of light military vessels) has been upgraded further in the years that followed – officially as a response to the risks, and injuries to crew members, faced during the 1999 and 2001 incursions, though pertinently not implemented until 2006, can be seen in the JCG's 2006 Annual Report (Japan Coast Guard, 2007).

affirmative action taken against the vessel as the result of “having learned lessons from the 1999 incident”, the report sets a JCG precedent by conflating North Korean maritime incursions with the broader risks apparently posed by terrorism. Therein, by stating that anti-terrorism measures amounted to the JCG’s most highly prioritized operation, and sandwiching the assertion that key nuclear and other coastal facilities had to be defended between direct reference to the incursions issue, a clear cognitive link was made between the DPRK and security risks per se (JCG, 2002).<sup>313</sup> This projection of risks sourced in North Korea was further compounded by succeeding events, such as those concerning the abduction issue, discussed further in Section 4.4, and the salvage of the newly termed spy-boat, or *kōsaku-sen* in 2002. In the latter case, due to the recovered cargo containing a variety of weapons and narcotics, an additional selection of risks posed to Japan and its civil society were identified specifically with Pyongyang’s operations by the JCG, including the potential risk of “accomplices working within Japan” (*kokunai ni kyōryokusha ga iru*) facilitating multiple and grievous crimes (JCG, 2003). Such terminology used by the JCG, alluding to those who might aid and abet a negatively perceived DPRK regime, therefore, further reaffirms the significance of the North Korean community within Japan, in terms of how, even indirectly, risks recalibrated as a function of Pyongyang’s framing also became attached to the shifting public sphere identity of all that is framed as North Korean.

Retrospectively, then, the incursions of 1999, and particularly 2001, gave greater momentum to the trajectory of recalibrating risks and implementing revisionary policies in response to North Korea; something which the Taepodong launch of 1998 had, as discussed in the preceding chapter, clearly laid the foundations for. Nevertheless, prior to the revelations over abductions which emerged in 2002 and, moreover, the impact of further missile and nuclear tests conducted in 2006, there remained a substantial area of political contestation over North Korea within Japan’s policy community. Indeed both the DPJ and

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313 The report’s same leading paragraph concludes with the succinct statement that, “This year the JCG has accelerated efforts to combat suspicious-ships and spy-boats, and counter terrorism” (JCG, 2008b).

SDP opposed Koizumi's combative style over the 2001 incident. In the same (as above) main session of the Diet on 8 February 2002, SDP representative, Fukushima Mizuho called for an integrated, international response, rhetorically asking the Prime Minister (154: 25), "Is normalization of relations with Japan not the best way to insure national security? Is making peace, and not creating a military contingency, not the responsibility of politicians?" The DPJ's Yanagida Minoru (154: 17) also proposed a regionally coordinated strategy, and, re-quoting Koizumi's statements regarding the potential risks posed by incursions – which stated that, "It has again been made clear that forces exist which pose potential harm to people's lives" – pertly demands to know, "what on earth do such forces amount to?". As examined in Section 4.4, below, and further in Chapter 5, the degree to which such conspicuous political resistance to a hard-line against Pyongyang could be maintained in the mainstream of Japan's political elite diminished considerably following the events of 2002 and 2006 – something which the events of 2009-10 have provisionally extended up to the present. In this respect, targeted close examination of how risks were (re)calibrated following each of the missile launches is particularly illuminating in terms of measuring how North Korea's framing has taken hold in Japan, because each of the events offers a clear-cut comparison to that which preceded it. In addition, however, it is also necessary to incorporate analyses of the surrounding events and issues, such as the maritime incursions, abductions and nuclear programmes, in light of the fact they play an integral part in the extending process – in terms of maintaining the established level of recalibrated risks.

Once again, media responses are further revealing in this area, particularly in the case of the 2001 spy-boat incursion, because they too are indicative of a shift within an inclusive policy community, towards a higher calibration of risks framed against the DPRK. Quality print news-media, however, remained comparatively moderate in this respect, prior to recalibrating risks more dramatically during the early 2000s and then catapulting the calibration higher still following the missile launches and nuclear test of 2006. The regular front-page commentary piece (*tenseijingo*) of *Asahi Shimbun's* 2001 Christmas Day edition,

for instance, reflects this – initially subtle – creeping recalibration of risk. While the text ends with a call to be wary of over-reaction (*kajōna hannō wo imashimeru*), it highlights the unusual and dangerous nature of the incident, and draws readers’ attention not only to the huge amount of explosives on the ship, but also to the potential for North Korea to be the source of massive quantities of narcotics entering into Japan (*Asahi Shimbun*, 25 December 2001: 1).<sup>314</sup>

The re-termining of North Korean ships invading Japan’s coastal waters (from *suspicious* to *spy*), in combination with their association to other risks perceived to be posed by the Pyongyang regime, and the broader uncertainties of a risk-afflicted regional security environment as a whole, can be seen, then, to have held considerable sway in expediting convergences of discourses, mediated between the state and society, resulting in a recalibration of risks framed against the DPRK within Japan. In addition to the specified events of 1993, 1998, 1999 and 2001 (involving missile tests and incursions) and the on-going concerns over the unresolved nuclear proliferation issue, the considerable emotional impact of the abduction cases, particularly concerning new evidence that had come to light in the public sphere (see Section 4.4), was also reflected in its repeated isolation by Diet members as an issue which had to be solved before any headway could be made on normalization between Tokyo and Pyongyang.<sup>315</sup> Hence, the combination of a series of geo-strategic, objectively identifiable events, and subjectively charged on-going issues with uncertain implications, can be seen to have primed the domestic environment within Japan

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314 The piece also refers to the inhumane (*hijō*) nature of the crew members’ mission and fate – here indicating a precedent for how the DPRK’s regime, and particularly the socio-political system administered by Kim Jong-Il, as whole came to be framed (in implicit contrast to Japan) as both hostile and *cold-blooded*.

315 The new evidence concerned the case of Arimoto Keiko, who is suspected of having been abducted by North Korean agents in central Europe during 1983, allegedly having died thereafter in a gas accident with fellow abductee Ishioka Jun, see “12. *Shōwa 58 nen (1983) 7 gatsu goro*” (Headquarters for the Abduction Issue, 2009). The use of this and the other abduction cases as a means of recalibrating risks from the North and justifying a tougher stance in relations with Pyongyang, including no progress on normalization initiatives until the cases are resolved, is further demonstrated by Kawaguchi Junko in her address to the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, or *Gaikō bōei iinkai* on 19 March 2002 (154: 354).

prior to the 2006 missile and nuclear tests – resulting in another wave of risk re-calibration in their wake, as outlined in Section 4.5 ~ Section 4.12, below.

In addition, it is once again pertinent to note the continuing impact of the norm of *bilateralism* and influence from the US in the process of North Korea's framing, and the resulting re-calibrations of risk.<sup>316</sup> Indeed, following the DPRK's designation by the Whitehouse as part of an "Axis of Evil" (State of the Union address, 29 January 2002), even without quoting Bush's famous term itself, Diet speakers consistently began to refer to international issues of terrorism and the risks that they posed, framed as emanating from "countries like Iran, Iraq and North Korea."<sup>317</sup> Moreover, a tougher line in dealing with the DPRK was demanded for and accepted as a national responsibility by opposition and ruling ministers alike.<sup>318</sup> This stance and framing of North Korea was epitomized in the remarks made by then Chief Cabinet Secretary, Fukuda Yasuo, who in the newly formed International Terrorism Prevention Special Committee, resolved to "step up efforts to work more resolutely" towards dealing with the Pyongyang regime (*issō kitachōsen ni taishite tsuyoku hataraki-kake*) (29 March 2002, 154: 42).<sup>319</sup> Fukuda's statement and the risks it identified with North Korea's policy makers were then given an altogether different level of calibration

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316 In general terms, specifically in light of the militarization of the JCG noted above, this runs in general convergence with an apparent weakening of pacifist and anti-militarist norms.

317 The significant point here is that, although in fact a great deal of attention and dispute arose in the Diet with regards to President George W. Bush's designation of an Axis of Evil, particularly over concerns about the prospect of being entrapped into ill-advised wars in the Middle-East, the focus on North Korean risks was, conversely, overtly highlighted via the American president's speech, and the inclusion of them within such an axis raised few eyebrows among Tokyo's political elites – rather, it provided further support for actors seeking to recalibrate risks associated with Pyongyang.

318 Official policy revisions (prioritizing cooperation with the US) based on an increasingly overt identification of risks emanating from North Korea are also evident from the contents of the LDP's 2001 Upper House election manifesto, which directly references both missiles and suspicious ships as a justification for, "strengthening self-defence force functional capabilities in order to ensure the people's safety" (*kokumin no anzen kakuho no tame no jieitai no kinōkyōka*). It is also noteworthy that the same section contains mention of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, and warns against cyber-terrorism – all in effect being added to the framing of North Korea (Keio World Manifesto Forum, 2007b: 40-41).

319 It is also notable – in terms of a broad-reaching qualitative recalibration of risk – that it was Fukuda making these remarks, particularly given his attempt to re-engage the North into negotiations during his later short tenure as Prime Minister (see Chapter 5, Section 5.1). The committee's full title is rendered in Japanese as *kokusai terorizumu no bōshi oyobi waga kuni no kyōryoku shien katsudō nado ni kansuru tokubetsu iinkai*.

in the wake of Kim Jong-Il's admission that the DPRK had – albeit decades earlier – indeed abducted citizens from Japan.

#### ***4.4. The Pyongyang Summit: public backlash intensifies the policy community's recalibration of risk***

The first summit meeting held between then Prime Minister, Koizumi Junichirō, and North Korean leader, Kim Jong-Il, in Pyongyang on 17 September 2002 was in many ways a historic event in the two countries' contemporary international relations. In terms of how Japan's policy community was competing over the recalibration of risks as a function of the North Korea-problem's framing, it allowed Koizumi to use his political skills to leverage popular support over his dealings with Pyongyang by using a combination of the North Korean issues; that is both as a diversion from potentially damaging domestic criticism on other fronts and as a means to create and frame a highly calibrated enemy, utilized to demonstrate his *strong* leadership in opposition to it.<sup>320</sup>

Indeed, one aspect of the attempt to gain political capital from an assertive foreign-policy stance can be seen from Koizumi's declaration during the LDP election campaign of April 2001 to visit Yasukuni Shrine, which clearly indicated his intention to take an unwavering line on foreign policy issues, including those sensitive to North Korea, and maintain a strong international stance as a means by which to rally domestic support.<sup>321</sup> Furthermore, when Koizumi suffered a blow to his popularity, and required some form of diversion from domestic criticism, following his sacking of popular former Foreign Minister, Tanaka Makiko, he seized

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320 Though Koizumi's motives may have been primarily concerned with gaining personal political capital, it should nevertheless be stressed that his initial intention was, indeed, to normalize relations with North Korea – through an improved interpersonal relationship with Kim. However, due to the unforeseen admission of abductions by the North's leader, and the ensuing domestic backlash within Japan, Koizumi had to adapt his stance quickly and assume a more combative position vis-à-vis the DPRK.

321 For an overview of the issues surrounding Koizumi's visits to Yasukuni Shrine, see: "Koizumi keeps Yasukuni pledge" (*Japan Times On-line*, 16 August 2006) [accessed 6 June 2010], also Breen (2008).

upon public sensitivity to the abductions issue, and the prominence of concerns directed at the DPRK.<sup>322</sup> Therein, by making a historic visit to Pyongyang, receiving an oral apology from Kim Jong-II, and securing the return of abductees and the Pyongyang Declaration, he not only scored a major foreign policy success for Japan, but also served his own political interests, including those of attenuating risks posed to his domestic popularity. Relevantly, his particular means of doing so would, thus, not have been possible – i.e. could not have been deemed such a significant success – without the pre-existence of perceived risks which had already been recalibrated through the framing of North Korea in Japan.<sup>323</sup>

Nevertheless, it is hard to say to what extent Japan's former premier calculated the magnitude of domestic public attention that became focused on Pyongyang or the degree that related issues could act as a diversion from other personal criticisms, and it is certainly very unlikely that Koizumi had foreseen Kim's admission of the abductions, let alone the nationalist backlash that pressured him to further demonize the DPRK in Japan – at one time reportedly describing the North as an “unpardonable country” (Reuters, 2002). Following the summit, the Diet was awash with anti-North Korean sentiment and calls for a tough line against Pyongyang, which reflected a public sphere rife with outrage, anger and fear of the by then multiply recalibrated risks sourced from the DPRK.<sup>324</sup>

This political atmosphere clearly presented an unrivalled opportunity for right-wing factions of Japan's policy community to recalibrate risks against North Korea further in order to justify the toughening of Tokyo's stance within the East Asia region (most explicitly against the

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322 The damage done to Koizumi's popularity following the sacking of Tanaka is well-documented in the English language press and is combined with the perception that Japan's foreign policy and regional diplomacy had lost international credibility at the time. For a succinct summary, see Murakami (2002).

323 That is to say, Koizumi was able to convince the relevant sectors within the state, market and society of the gravity of risks emanating from Pyongyang.

324 It is also noteworthy that Kim Jong-II's status as a super-villain became crystallized following the 2002 summit and his admission of a number of the abduction cases. This was highlighted by a mass of media attention focused on the two leaders (see Section 4.8), but also by a marked increase in direct references made to the North Korean leader by name (54 times in the six months following the September 2002 summit) in the ensuing Diet sessions.



DPRK), and lay down the groundwork for the pushing through of revisions to defence related policies.<sup>325</sup> The argument for such was, essentially, that without re-militarizing, or at least *normalizing*, Japan faced an uncertain cocktail of ongoing and salient risks emanating from Pyongyang in a position of extreme vulnerability. The manifestation of this process was clearly visible within the discourse of Diet minutes from the last quarter of 2002. The central discourse of risk recalibration was, therein, quintessentially epitomized by the statement of former Minister for Defence and so-called neo-conservative *hawk*, Ishiba Shigeru, made to the Diet's Defence Committee on 29 October, 2002 (155: 8). Although Ishiba stopped short, on this occasion, of verbalizing a particular framing of leader, Kim Jong-II (i.e., only alluding to such – as the evil mastermind behind the proliferation of these risks), he identified the North as a source of multiple and salient risks in a way that set the tone from that period onwards. Therein, the DPRK was framed not only in terms of a particular threat, but as all at once representing a mixed combination of risks, which when agglomerated together formed a kind of *super-risk*.<sup>326</sup> This, it was argued by Ishiba and his allies, threatened the very foundations of Japan's peace-state status and national sovereignty. Indeed, by predicating the body of his address with the assertion that a military facedown (*gunjiteki taiji*) was continuing on the Korean peninsula, and that Japan faced the pressing problems of "abductions, spy ships, nuclear proliferation and missiles" Ishiba managed to both convey the perceived gravity and hostility of North Korea's geo-military movements, and at the same time conflate the various issues which could be mediated as a source of risk associated with

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325 For detailed discussion of who constitutes a number of the core members of a converged right-wing edge of Japan's policy community, see Samuels (2007: 158-84). Further to the actors identified by Samuels, one of Japan's most high-profile analysts of North Korean affairs noted in an interview (14 December 2010a, Appendix A) the significance of the abduction issue in galvanising coalitions of leading political figures, extremist pressure groups and civil society organizations, resulting in a force possessing sufficient agency to significantly influence policy directives and public opinion.

326 The aggregation of the North Korea problems (*Kitachōsen mondai*) can also be observed in the LDP's 2003 election manifesto (Keio World Manifesto Forum, 2007e: Statement 6, Page 38), which headlined the need to take an inclusive (*hōkatsuteki*) approach and at once announced plans to establish the Headquarters for the Abduction Issue (*Rachimondai taisaku honbu*) – therein attaching the abductions issue inextricably to other perceived sources of risk represented by North Korea, in a form that has proved crucial to the sustained negative framing of the DPRK in Japan.

the regime in Pyongyang.<sup>327</sup> This worked to portray an increasing range of highly calibrated, exponential risks expanding from the DPRK, for which Japan, it was argued, must act with speed and resolution in order to counter effectively.<sup>328</sup>

Ishiba's statement in the Diet also points to a combination of the two phenomena of domestic political competition and *beiatsu*, observed in detail in the critiques of McCormack (2007) and Wada (2009) exposed in Chapter 1, Section 1.6. There is little doubt that his calls to review Japan's defence posture and pressure the North Koreans into a more conciliatory position represent an appeal to factions of the LDP, other political actors and the public at large, who had been primed to potentially pledge their support behind resolute and assertive foreign policy figures, regardless of other matters of immediate domestic concern.<sup>329</sup> In addition, however, Ishiba's largely unchallenged referral to a strengthening of ties and military operational capabilities within the bilateral framework, confirms the continuation of *bilateralism* as an influential norm applied to and by the vast majority of Japan's political elite; though particularly many of those who sought a more militarily assertive Japan. This was expressed succinctly by his positing that,

in order to deal effectively with all kinds of problematic contingencies, the government will, in addition to building-up the Self Defense Force to a suitable level of capability, work closely within the agreed US-Japan framework so as to improve integrated operational capacity.<sup>330</sup>

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327 (Though likely unaware of the theoretical implications of his statement), in constructivist terms Ishiba thereby established the inter-subjective identities of Japan and the DPRK and, having identified a series of threats attached to North Korea, internalized them as risks posed to Japan – i.e. his statement is illustrative of the process of risk articulation identified by Luhmann (1996: 6), as observed in Chapter 2, Section 2.14, above.

328 See also Ishiba's follow-up address to the aptly named "Special Committee Concerning Provisions for Contingencies of Military Aggression" (*busō kōgeki jitai e no taisho ni kansuru tokubetsu inkai*) on 11 November of the same year in which, predicated by the listing of an elongated set of risks framed against the DPRK, he posits that, "We must maximise our power of deterrent, which amounts to our tangible defence capability, in order to preserve the country's security" (155: 6).

329 I.e., National Diet and media attention focused on foreign policy issues, particularly those relating to Pyongyang, which doubtless worked to weight North Korean issues heavily in terms of the extent of their public prioritizing vis-à-vis concerns over the domestic economy, education, and corruption scandals etc.

330 Suffice to say, regardless of whether convinced by Samuel's argument (2007) that Japan is tactically hedging

Statements from opposition parties also exhibited the impact of the Kim-Koizumi summit, and demonstrated the further shift towards a higher calibration of risk through the framing of North Korea as a source of multiple harms. Typifying the increasing tendency of non-government parties to demand a harder line vis-à-vis North Korea, during the main session of the Diet on 22 October 2002, LP representative, Fujii Hirosaki criticized Koizumi's overly conciliatory negotiating style, and the omission of content in the Pyongyang Declaration to ensure Japan's security from the various risks deemed to be posed by North Korea. He stated (155: 5) with regards to the wording of the final document that,

There is absolutely no reference to problems of grave concern relating to the peace and security of our nation and our people, to which North Korea should have been obliged to make promises for. There isn't even a single written word to confirm the existence of abductions, spy-ships, or nuclear development. What is more, there is no agreement on the cessation of missile development, testing and deployment, which already puts Japan within its target-able range.<sup>331</sup>

Further, in addition to a mood swing, representative of Fujii's statement above, caused within the political elite by revelations to come out of the Pyongyang Summit, media analyses concurrently witnessed a sea-change. This is something which, as discussed in Section 4.7, below, also resulted in the priming of state, market and societal spheres for the substantial recalibration of risk then witnessed in the aftermath of succeeding events, including the multiple missile and nuclear tests, which unfolded during 2006.

Therein, while the *Asahi Shimbun's* initial reaction to the 2002 leadership summit was positive and urged for the promotion of normalization of diplomatic ties between Tokyo and Pyongyang, it also criticized Kim Jong-Il's regime in an unprecedented fashion, and stressed

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between the US and China, partly through means of a right-wing conservative elite making use of US pressure to facilitate military expansion and or constitutional revision, or by McCormack's view (2007), which depicts Japan as a "client state" meekly submitting to US-led geo-political will, the result has been a clear upward recalibration of risk by Japan's policy makers, expressed, not least, through the transforming discourse on North Korea in Japan's Diet chambers and elite political committees.

331 For a more fervent expression of similar sentiments, see also Koike Yuriko's address to the same session for the Japan Conservative Party (155: 15).

the multiple risks that it posed to Japan's security. For instance, the editorial of 18 September (2002: 2) stated, having predicated the ensuing discussion with mention of Kim's role in the state sponsorship of terrorism, that,

Having flaunted international rules, North Korea stands accused of developing nuclear weapons. It has also tested missiles, which passed over Japan. Suspicious ships with uncertain purposes regularly appear in our waters. As the abductions problem has made clear, North Korea represents a dangerous state for the people of Japan.

In this sense, the *Asahi* both highlighted the risks framed against Pyongyang, and only condoned normalization as a possible means of ameliorating those risks.<sup>332 333</sup>

As would be expected, the *Yomiuri* took a less diplomatic line, and recalibrated the risks in a more indubitable form. The paper's 20 September 2002 editorial was entitled "The North Korean Threat" (*Kitachōsen no Kyōi*) (2002: 18), going on to assert that,

For Japan, the threat from North Korea amounts to the infiltration by spies and destructive spy activities conducted via suspicious ships, as well as the development of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and the development and deployment of missiles which provide the means to deliver them.

While the *Yomiuri's* right-of-centre stance, highlighting risks posed by the DPRK and advocating firm measures to deal with them, was not unpredictable, the level to which those risks were recalibrated, as illustrated by the terminology (*infiltration, destructive, North Korean Threat* etc.) of the above statement, is noteworthy. This is particularly so when contrasted to previous pieces carried by the paper, i.e., in terms of mediating the response to North Korea's provocations, as examined in Chapter 3, above. The full impact of the events

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332 While the *Asahi's* editorial also proposed a regionally coordinated approach, it is nevertheless noteworthy, once again, how, aside from the far left (Communist Party etc.), even Japan's so-called left-of-centre newspapers, such as the *Asahi*, promoted US-Japan *bilateralism* (though in this case also with South Korean involvement) as the cornerstone by which negotiations with the DPRK should be undertaken.

333 Indeed, the above noted sea-change in political momentum was also highlighted by the defensive posture of even the Communist Party, which in retort to allegations of close ties (to a negatively framed) DPRK, insisted that it was not in intimate association with the Kim Jong-II regime and had been a harsh critic of all of Pyongyang's provocative actions (see, Shii Kazuo, main Diet session, 155: 8).

of 2002 upon reactions from the policy community's political and media arms can also be gauged from the quantitative analysis of coverage, as explicated in Section 4.8, and expressed in Table 4.1 (Fig. 4.1(a) and Fig. 4.1(b)), below.<sup>334</sup> In this sense, a progressive process, linking back most ostensibly to the Taepodong launch of 1998, but ultimately to the 1993 Nodong test-firing, can be observed in both qualitative and quantitative terms, elucidated through analysis of reactions to the 2002 summit and the fall-out from Koizumi's political theatre, or *Koizumi-gekijō*, played-out via intersecting socio-political and media spheres in Japan – as an increasingly coherent response to North Korea.<sup>335</sup> The primary agency and key actors involved in the continuation of this process can, thereafter, be delineated in further detail through micro-analyses of the pivotal events unfolding during 2006.

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334 With regards to media sources, the most striking quantitative impact upon North Korea's framing within Japan as a result of the 2002 summit can be observed in the change of coverage levels exhibited by the, relatively (in comparison to the *Yomiuri*) moderate, *Mainichi Shimbun*. In this respect, while in qualitative terms the Mainichi continued to make reference to normalization, despite previous missile and incursion incidents, its prescribed conditions for doing so altered dramatically (e.g., see editorial, 28 September 2002: 5) – in line with its massive increase in North Korea-related issues and their associated risks (e.g., see editorial, 18 September 2002: 7) following the revelations over the abduction cases.

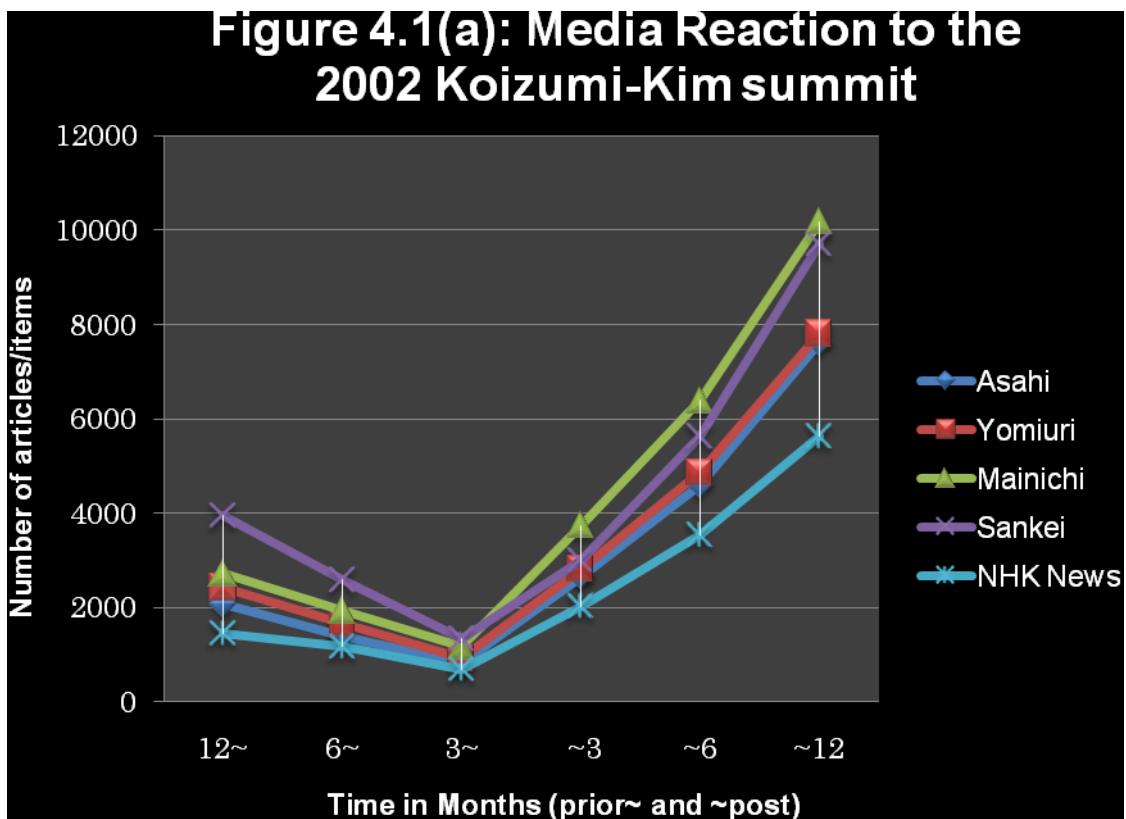
335 For a timely (coming on the day of the Koizumi-Kim summit) summary of how the political elite was perceived to have altered its approach to North Korea in the period following the missile launch, including a citation from then Defence Spokesman, Nonaka Hiromu stating that, "This is a situation which is of the gravest direct concern to Japan's security. Our North Korea policy has to be reassessed, and it is necessary for us to take a firm stand and implement harsh measures", see NHK News report, "*Shushō hōchō: kitachōsen no misairu hassha jikken to sono go no taiō*" (17 September 2002).

**Table 4.1. Impact of the 2002 Koizumi-Kim Summit in the Media and Diet**

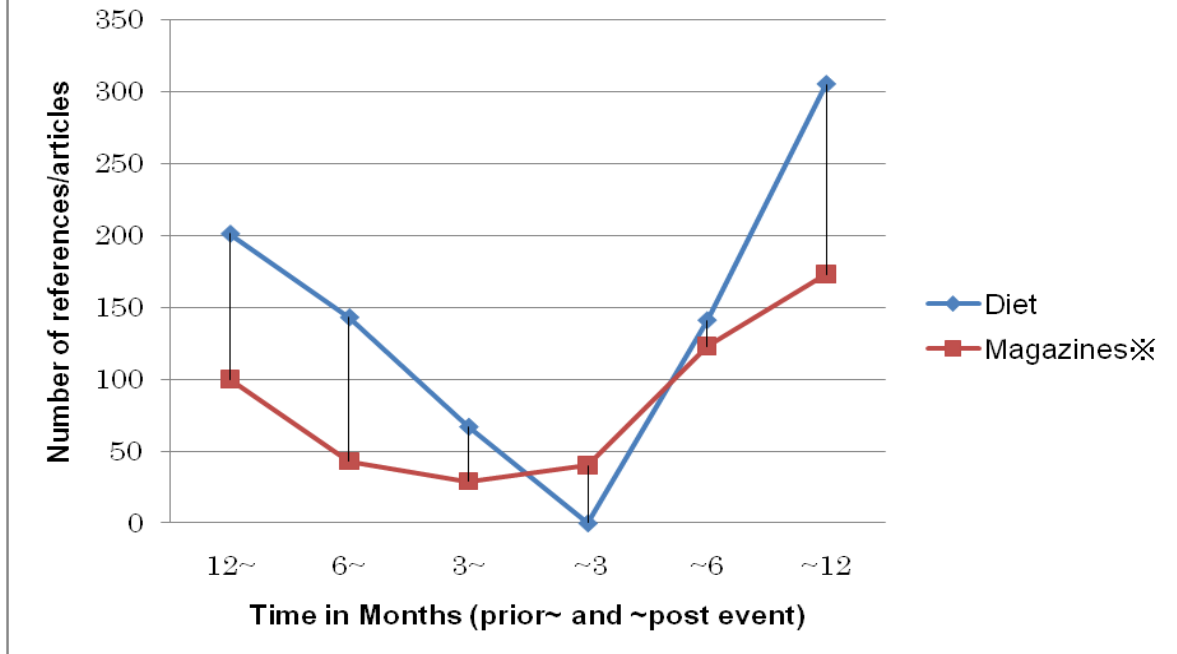
Months	Numbers of articles/items prior to			Summit Meeting ; Pyongyang Declaration , and Kim's apology over abduction cases.	Numbers of articles/items post		
	12~	6~	3~		~3	~6	~12
Asahi	2079	1399	824		2660	4604	7626
Yomiuri	2428	1661	922		2823	4861	7808
Mainichi	2716	1940	1179		3738	6383	10180
Sankei	3956	2587	1338		3003	5629	9701
NHK News	1459	1172	704		2033	3535	5626
Diet	214	142	31		102	168	354
Magazines*	62	31	15		134	176	250

**Source: author**

Numbers shown above are based on official database (NDL search engine, Asahi Database, Yomiuri Database, Nikkei Telecom 21 Database) hits for “kitachōsen.” \* Based on a selection of national magazines, primarily sourced from those listed on the Nikkei Telecom21 database.



**Figure 4.1(b): Diet and News Magazine Reaction to the 2002 Koizumi-Kim Summit**



Source: figures adapted by the author from data expressed in Table 4.1, above.

#### 4.5. The impact of multiple missile tests upon the risk recalibration process

When North Korea test fired seven ballistic missiles, including its longest-range missile, the Taepodong-2, over a two day period spanning the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> of July, 2006, risks framed against Pyongyang in Japan were, as outlined above, already highly ratcheted-up.<sup>336</sup> It is true that there had been a relative lull in the perceived risks of immediate military contingency stemming from the North in the period which followed the 2001 spy-boat sinking, but the abduction issue and suspicions over the DPRK's nuclear development program ensured that progress at the Six Party Talks was sluggish and faltering, preventing any major

<sup>336</sup> The other six tests included a combination of short and medium-range Scud-C and Nodong ballistic missiles launched from the *Kittaraeyong* test site. Although the tests of the six short-range missiles appear to have been successful, the Taepodong-2 failed less than a minute after its launch. A 4 July 2006 State Department press statement describes the launches as a “provocative act” that violated North Korea’s voluntary moratorium on flight-testing longer-range missiles, which Pyongyang had observed since September 1999. Japan responded by imposing independent, unilateral sanctions on North Korea (see Section 4.9, below).

downward recalibration of risk within Japan's policy community.<sup>337</sup> Moreover, the ensuing rise to power of Abe Shinzō, on the back of an election campaign which placed resolution of the abduction issue at its fore, meant the hawkish side of the political elite maintained its momentum of risk recalibration in a relatively consistent manner (Chanlett-Avery, 2008: 3).

In the period immediately preceding the 2006 test-firings, Japan's political elite, lead by vociferous Prime Minister, Koizumi, and Foreign Secretary, Asō primed the following mediation of reactions by Tokyo through their emphasis on the potentiality of risks contained in the possible actions being planned by Pyongyang (Son, 2010: 177).<sup>338</sup> After which, the materialization of North Korean sabre rattling in the form of technologically enhanced missiles fired eastward across the Japan Sea was all that was needed by proactive right-of-centre actors from the political elite in order to maximize the recalibration of risk, particularly in terms of identifying concrete external sources of harm and justifying military re-strengthening as a counter-measure.<sup>339</sup> The apparent possibility of an actual military contingency in combination with the emotional impact, and outrage, of citizens being snatched from their own shores left little room for a softer line on North Korea, and pushed

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337 Whether for personal political gain of the kind noted in Chapter 3, Section 3.10, above, or for the *national interest*, Koizumi returned to Pyongyang in 2004 in an attempt to press for the return of remaining abductees to Japan. However, although successful in securing a second summit with DPRK leader, Kim Jong-Il, the North apparently falsified a number of documents and death certificates relating to the cases (see Headquarters for the Abduction Issue, 2009b) which was instrumental in further perpetuating an image of unreliability and hostility in framing North Korea. Such allegations were, therein, additionally utilized by both conservative elements of the policy elite and diffused widely across the media and society in Japan.

338 As Son notes, the discourse relating to such risks was articulated by Japan's policy community by way of debate over the possibility of convening an emergency meeting of the UNSC and the consideration of pre-emptive strikes against North Korea's missile batteries within the DPRK (*Asahi Shimbun* 19 June 2006).

339 Pertinently, while much was made of the fact that North Korea had further developed its upgraded Taepodong missile, the government-sponsored research institute, Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA), while attempting to justify the further development of Japan's US-coordinated Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) system on the grounds of its ability to ameliorate pressing risks identified with Pyongyang's missiles, itself conceded that, "The primary threat posed to Japan by North Korea's missiles lies in its deployment of over 100 Nodong units. In such case as the Taepodong missile is further developed and its range extended, it is hard to consider that that in itself poses a particular menace to Japan. Although deployments of the Taepodong within North Korea place Japan inside its range, there is no change to the existing risks identifiable with such a threat." (Morimoto (ed.), 2002: 13).



the policy community as a whole towards identifying all that was associated with the DPRK as hostile and loaded with risks, framing it as an unpredictable and alien assailant.

Once again, reaction from the Diet was intense and, in terms of an immediate recalibration of risk in response to the missile tests, clear cut. On 6 July 2006, then Foreign Secretary, Asō Tarō stated that the government had raised the level of danger pertaining to information concerning North Korea (*kiken jōhō wo hikiage*), and that restraint was advised to all those planning to travel anywhere within its borders. This was combined with an announcement that the rapid implementation of strict (*kibishii*) sanctions to restrict movements and remittances to and from North Korea had been put in place, and that an Emergency Headquarters for Countermeasures (*kinkyū taisaku honbu*) was to be established to gather further information (164: 4). Indeed, the absence of almost any kind of strong opposition to the tough measures taken against North Korea is apparent across the majority of parties and speakers in the Diet. Ruling coalition partners also showed a resolute and unwavering support for the LDP's more *hawkish* factions. Kōmeitō representative, Satō Shigeki, announced to the Diet Security Committee that his party, too, had established a "North Korea Missile Problem Counter-Measures Headquarters" and that the party was "determined to take a robust approach to dealing with the problems" following the North's "outrageous actions" (*bōkyō*) against Japan and the international community's will (164: 19).

This suggests a trend of consensus, or at least convergence, among leading political figures as to the legitimacy and uniformity of recalibrating risks perceived to emanate from Pyongyang. The point is illustrated by remarks made in the International Terrorism Prevention Special Committee a month later, on 11 August 2006, by Nagashima Akihisa, representing the then leading opposition party, DPJ. Nagashima (141: 120) actually praises Asō and Abe for their swift, hard-hitting response to the North Korean threat, apparently representing a new form of Japanese diplomacy, which could be demonstrated to the world (*atarashī nihon gaikō no arikata wo sekai ni shimesu*). Moreover, Nagashima also presses

the Foreign Minister and Chief Cabinet Secretary to explain how they would deal with a contingency where it would be *necessary* to use force against North Korea, an option which they did not rule out if *unavoidable* (141: 124-6).<sup>340</sup>

The discourses of *emergency*, *counter-measure*, and *military provision* (*gunjiteki sochi*) proliferated in discussions within the Diet during the months which followed the 2006 Taepodong-2 launch, demonstrating not only how Japan's policy community had converged upon a marked recalibration of risk vis-à-vis the DPRK per se, but also how this process appeared to have been facilitated by a broad weakening of the pacifist norm. With both ruling and opposition parties discussing the possibility of military contingencies, and public anger and fear charged by the media's constant coverage of all issues connected to North Korea, it was, therefore, an unproductive climate for resistance against the adoption of a more assertive defence policy – and continued recalibration of risks.

In addition, even closer adherence to the norm of *bilateralism* was once again stated and restated as a core, and absolutely necessary, means by which Japan could ameliorate the risks posed by North Korea. Indeed, the emphasis of coalition with the US increasingly switched from a standard ally, to one which involved a tight relationship (*kinmitsu na kankei*). The risks pertaining to the DPRK were then framed as immediate and concrete, and requiring of a pro-active international response, led by Japan. This was a position particularly reiterated by spokesmen and figure heads of the then ruling LDP party, such as Asō and Abe, but was also present as a prominent idea which intersected vast swathes of the state's political elite, market and society. Indeed, the quantitative impact of the 2006 test launches, particularly in conjunction with North Korea's first nuclear test, across these spheres is also

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340 The inference here is that, although the likes of Abe and Asō are keen to articulate language in terms of constitutional legality, they seek to frame risks associated with North Korea as sufficiently grievous to allow discourse considering the necessity of constitutional reform, or extra-constitutional acts, in order to effectively counter those risks.

evinced, once again, in terms of the types and volume of media coverage, as expressed in Table 4.2 (Fig.4.2(a) and Fig.4.2(b)), below.

**Table 4.2. Impact of the 2006 Missile Test Launches in the Media and Diet**<sup>341</sup>

Months	Numbers of articles/items prior to			July 2006 Multiple Missile Launches	Numbers of articles/items post		
	12~	6~	3~		~3	~6	~12
Asahi	2338	1125	684		1118	2793	4335
Yomiuri	2501	1213	749		1271	3196	5014
Mainichi	2478	1173	700		1179	3003	4653
Sankei	3904	1948	1100		1625	3676	6193
NHK News	1917	975	588		971	2576	4266
Diet	201	143	67		17*	141	305
Magazines*	100	43	29		40	123	173

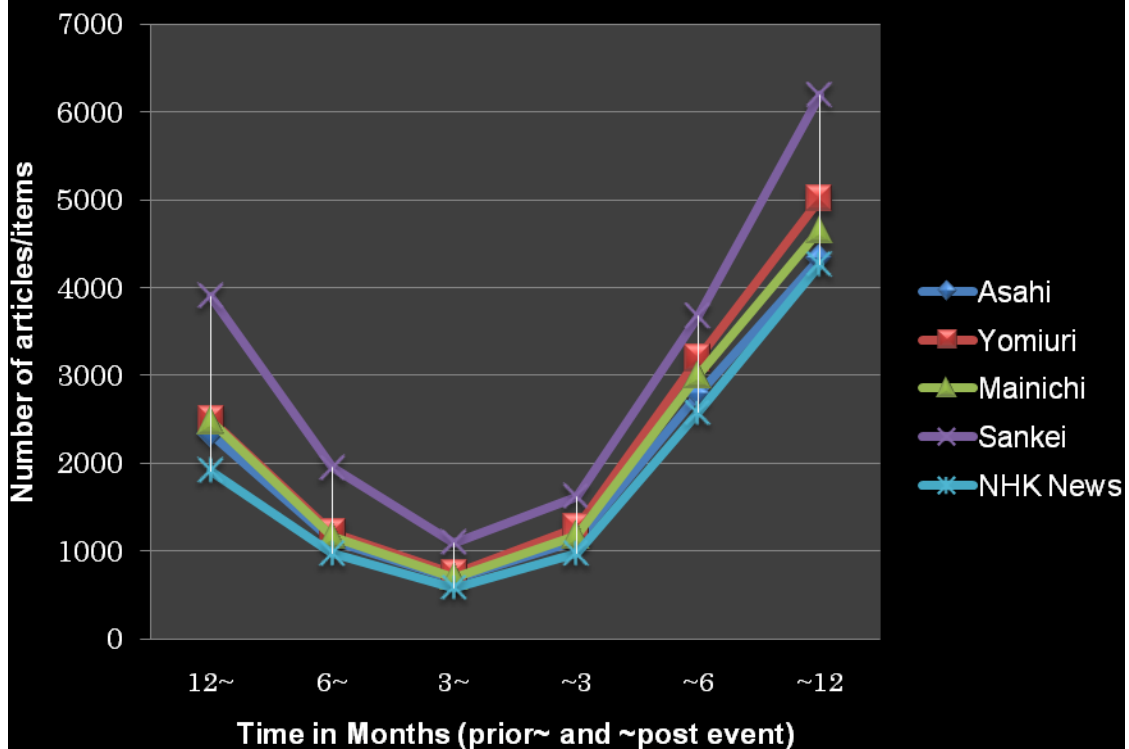
**Source: author**

Numbers shown above are based on official database (NDL search engine, Asahi Database, Yomiuri Database, Nikkei Telecom 21 Database) hits for “kitachōsen.” \*Based on a selection of national magazines, primarily sourced from those listed on the Nikkei Telecom21 database.

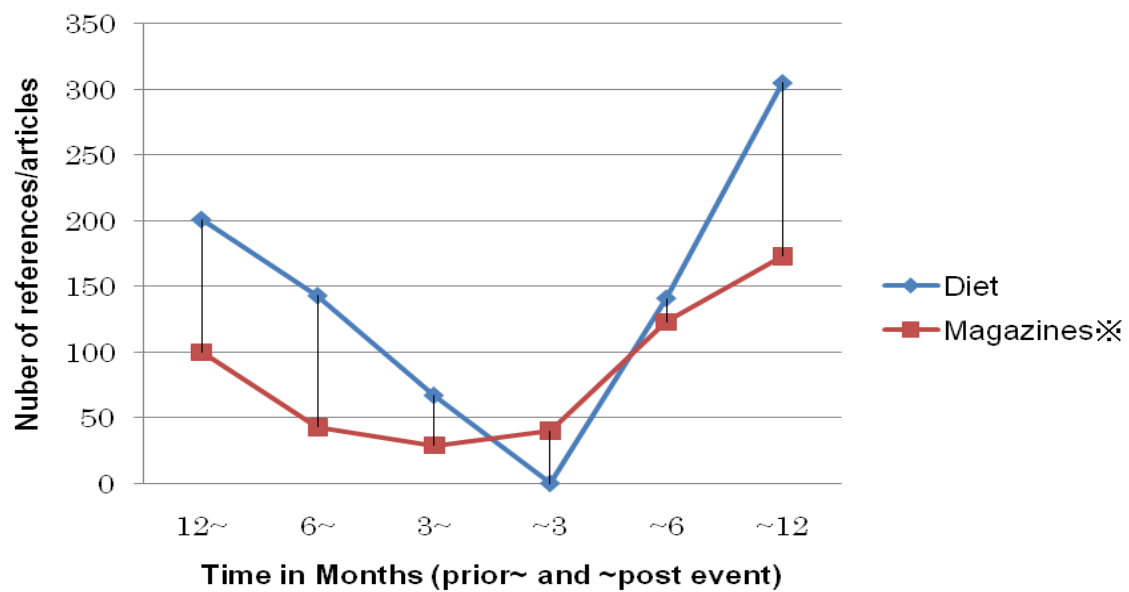
\*The apparently low figure of 17 references in the months immediately following the multiple missile launch can be attributed to the scarcity of Diet sessions during the summer period. When calculated as a percentage of the total, North Korean issues amounted to over one third of all entries between 4 July 2006 and 4 October 2006; as compared to the three months prior to the test-firings, in which equivalent discourse relating to the DPRK totalled well below 15% (17/50 -v- 67/549). This *summer holiday effect* can also be seen, therefore, to have had a spill-over impact upon the other succeeding figures.

341 As with quantitative reaction to other events, such as the Taepodong 1 missile launch and 2002 leadership summit, media and Diet coverage is only designed to offer a rough gauge, and clearly does not account for other overlapping events. This is particularly pertinent in the case of the July 2006 missile launches, because they were followed only three months later by the nuclear weapon test. An attempt is made to control for this – as expressed by Table 4.3, and explained in Section 4.8, below. Nevertheless, the clarity with which the various events related to Japan’s responses to North Korea exhibit peaks in coverage, followed by a level of attention which is higher than the previous trough, certainly supports the argument that there has been an overall incremental recalibration of risk, facilitated in terms of wave-like reactions to the DPRK’s actions and state-sponsored policies within Japan.

**Figure 4.2(a): Media Reaction to the July 2006 Missile Test Launches**



**Figure 4.2(b) Diet and News Magazine Reaction to the July 2006 Missile Test Launches**



Source: figures adapted by the author from data expressed in Table 4.2, above.

Full appraisal of the extent and significance of media reactions to the events of 2006 is covered in Section 4.7, below. Such are further analysed in terms of their interaction with the political elite before and after the additional impact of the North's first underground nuclear weapon test, executed just three months after the multiple missile launches of early July.

#### **4.6. The first nuclear test: multiplying the recalibration of risk**

The DPRK's first underground testing of a nuclear device in October of 2006, coming little more than three months after its multiple missile launch, was not exclusively used by Japan's political elite or neo-conservative factions; it provided security entrepreneurs the world over with a viable rationale with which to elevate the salience of risks framed against North Korea.<sup>342</sup> However, nowhere was this felt more intensely than in Japan. Indeed, the impact upon Japan's policy community was, cognitively speaking, analogous to a second surge of momentum within an already escalating process. As a result, the recalibration of risk in response to the DPRK's weapons programmes reached an all time high – as discussed in Section 4.8, and illustrated by Table 4.3 (Fig. 4.3(a) and Fig. 4.3(b)), below.

Reaction in the Diet chambers was vehement. The number of specific direct references made to North Korea as a whole broke the two hundred mark in the six month period following the test (see Table 4.3), and activity within security committees, particularly the International Terrorism Prevention Special Committee, proliferated accordingly.<sup>343</sup> Much of

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342 For a concise summary and representation of global reaction to the test, see Herman (2006). A wide range of comparable articles are available from news agencies across Western, Asian and other media, though the level of risk recalibration was most strongly observed in Japan's right-wing press, e.g., in particular extremity by the *Sankei Shimbun*.

343 The speed and severity of reaction and high calibration of risks was also politically materialized by the joint resolution proposed on 10 October 2006, condemning the test and demanding the North's complete abandonment of all nuclear weapons and programs, made as a twelve person signatory affiliation headed by Aisawa Ichirō (main session, 165: 0).

this focussed on counter-DPRK rhetoric, and the now apparently multiplying risks posed by a combination of nuclear, abduction, incursion and missile contingencies. The Diet's Security Committee (*anzen hoshō iinkai*) reflected the now established pattern of recalibrated risk and eagerness to implement measures against an entity conceptualized as a diplomatic and geo-military foe (the DPRK). The statement given to the committee by Defense Minister, Kyūma Fumio on 17 October 2006, provides an illustration of how discourse concerning North Korea became attached to multiple and salient risks. This is partly achieved through predicating discussion of risks posed by the DPRK with various references to other security related concerns, such as international terrorism. Kyūma cites non-state terrorist organizations, WMD, and missile proliferation, among other elements, as a set of new risks posed to the peace and security of Japan, which were, apparently, of pressing urgency in terms of a situation requiring counter-measures (rendered in Japanese as, "...*arata na kyōi ya heiwa to anzen ni eikyō wo ataeru tayō na jitai e no taiō ga... ..sashisematta kadai to natte orimasu*") (165: 8). This spiel was followed with an explication of how North Korea's activities (now widely termed as the North Korea problems, or *kitachōsen mondai*) amounted to a kind of compounded, pressing risk, which must be dealt with in all urgency.<sup>344</sup> In this way, a conflation of issues that present a range of risks became associated with the DPRK within a central strand of political discourse at the core of Japan's policy community.

Indeed, the extent to which the October 2006 nuclear test acted as a powerful force in shaping how the DPRK was framed within Japan is also further evinced in terms of its impact upon any form of coherent opposition, which might seek to take a more moderate stance vis-à-vis the risks identified with Pyongyang's regime. In essence, almost the entire policy community's reaction became one of competition over who could demonstrate the sternest position in response to risks, which had, apparently, reached a critical level.

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344 It is worth noting the term *kitachōsen mondai*, because it is symbolic of how individual problems went from isolated suspicions, termed by language such as *giwaku* or *fushin* to a combined label which framed all issues relating to the DPRK as a problem (*mondai*).

Even given a weakening in the salience of the anti-militarist norm in Japan (Hook et al., 2011), however, a strong reaction to any form of close-quartered or proximate nuclear test across the political spectrum is doubtless not unexpected. What is of interest, particularly in terms of an events-based process which has led to the recalibration of risk through the framing of North Korea, is the ability of the 2006 nuclear test to galvanise a set of risks, which could be associated (or conflated) with that of the North's perceived increasingly high-risk nuclear weapons program, within political and public spheres.<sup>345</sup> This is highlighted illustratively by way of the final form which was given to the inter-party Diet resolution adopted after the test – and its interpretation – which not only gained support from the leading opposition party (DPJ), but also secured agreement from the SDP and Japan Communist Party (JCP).

Furthermore, it is expressed forthrightly by LDP spokesman, Ichikawa Ichirō, who in his statement explaining the inter-party support for and content of the resolution, made in response to the nuclear test, also used the opportunity to restate the perceived salience of other risks represented by North Korea. Therein, during the main Diet session of 11 October 2006 he asserted (165: 3) that,

North Korea has also continued to demonstrate a dishonest attitude over the problem of Japanese abduction victims. Not only has it refused to respond to our country's demands to solve the abductions problem, it forcibly went ahead with the test-launch of ballistic missiles in July, and then proceeded to announce a nuclear test. Despite a variety of measures, starting with the international community's UN statement, which sought to persuade North Korea to act with restraint, it ignored these efforts and conducted the nuclear test. There is no justifiable reason for this action, and our country utterly condemns this reckless and outrageous violation.

The consistency with which the norm of *bilateralism* is reiterated in such discussions, particularly among LDP members, is also striking. Kyūma, for instance, adhered to this rule,

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345 So much so, indeed, that it primed the socio-political environment to the point where central right-of-centre political actors felt able to articulate the previously taboo subject of debating Japan's possible nuclear armament (for discussion and critique of the resulting arguments, or *nihon kakubusōron*, see *Asahi Shimbun*, 19 January 2006: 12, for academic analysis and historical background, see Yoshida, 2008: 141-3).

positing that efforts to counter the North Korean issues must be implemented by US-led international initiatives. Indeed, it may seem obvious that Japan would look to its only official ally and security partner in times of perceived crisis, particularly given the high US troop deployment on the Korean peninsula and across the Japanese archipelago, but the extent to which Diet discourse focuses on risks posed to Japan by the DPRK as a US-Japan problem is notable in terms of the oft times lack of independence attributed to Japan's responses.<sup>346</sup> Moreover, the influence of bilateralism as a key component in Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea is noteworthy, not least because it suggests US foreign-policy interests are not only highly influential upon Japanese domestic politics, but also that, in effect, the US administration instrumentally acts as a significant element of Japan's policy community itself; i.e., leaning towards the model outlined by Gavan McCormack's client-state thesis (2007, see also Chapter 1, Section 1.6, above), particularly in the areas of national defence and security, and specifically vis-à-vis North Korea.<sup>347</sup>

#### **4.7. Recalibration of risk as a media phenomenon: the framing of North Korea**

The recalibration of risk by Japan's domestic media probably represents the most clearly definable example of North Korea's framing in terms of how it has been increasingly identified with a growing number of grievous and unquantifiable risks.<sup>348</sup> Significantly, in

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346 Representative examples of the emphasis placed upon a US-Japan joint response to North Korean issues in the Diet are provided by, amongst others, Okada Naoki (26 October 2006, 165: 78) of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee and Nagashima Akihisa (20 December 2006, 165: 166) of the International Terrorism Prevention Special Committee.

347 For a counter-argument suggesting that, in fact, Japan acts independently, and has used the security alliance, conversely, as a means by which to justify its own more assertive or controversial security measures without breaking the agreed one per cent budget cap on defence spending, see comments made by Tanaka Hitoshi on the NHK's "50 Years of the Security Treaty (*Nichibei anpo 50 nen*)" (NHK, 2010).

348 From this perspective, the recalibration was immediately highlighted when the author returned to Japan to complete the field research for this dissertation. When first visiting Japan in 1995, newspaper and TV coverage, and public sphere attention to North Korea stories was minimal – with no recollection of any in an entire six-month stay. Fifteen years later, during the early days of the research period in 2010, both



terms of the interactive relationship between the state and media which has resulted in the recalibration of risk in response to North Korea, it can be argued that, in a sense, the media plays a dominant role, in so far as they do not face the same kinds of pressures as those felt by politicians, bureaucrats and diplomats; i.e., to make balanced decisions for which they can be held responsible – particularly when adjudged to have acted outside of the national interest.<sup>349</sup> Conversely, media sources' primary pressure is that of the market, in terms of requiring stories of interest that can be sustainably sold to the mass public. In essence, when conceived of as a fourth arm of the policy community, the media itself faces the least public scrutiny and criticism (Tanaka, 2009: 218-9).<sup>350</sup> The media's resulting portrayal of North Korea in Japan, in terms of being a manufactured, or at least massaged and accentuated (i.e., sensationalized) phenomenon, demonstrates the manner in which such risks have been mediated and framed as a function of these influences in the public sphere. The thrust of this argument is captured aptly in the following passage authored by the prominent Japanese TV pundit, Itō Terii, as a rare dissenting voice to the continuation of such a media framing of North Korea. Itō critiques that,

Information about North Korea flows everyday like a flood; from escapees, from all kinds of experts and all kinds of folk. They over-size the Nodongs and Taepodongs and try to guess when they'll next be fired. It's claimed that after Iraq, North Korea will be next.

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newspaper and TV media covered some aspect of the DPRK, all with a like-minded negative framing and risk-centric content, in multiplicity every day. For instance, in a five day period of relatively little notable activity within Pyongyang, between 15-19 August, television pieces included a high-profile political affairs program highlighting the risks posed by the DPRK, news stories on the desperate and unstable state of North Korean society, as well as Pyongyang's malicious use of Twitter and collusions with Beijing, and a variety celebrity-quiz show glorifying the JCG's heroism in repelling North Korea's hostile spy-boat aggression of 2001 (in chronological order: "Hidaka Report"; TV Aichi (15 August, 2010), "Korea Report"; Tōkai TV (16 August, 2010a), "*Denomi-go no Kitachōsen*"; Mētere (17 August, 2010), "*Koreda 1, 2, 3*"; Tōkai TV (18 August, 2010b), "*Tōkai TV News*"; Tōkai TV (19 August, 2010c).

349 Of course, such an argument does not exclude the obvious influence of powerful actors from the political elite upon the media, which, as discussed by Hyung (2006: 483-508, see also Chapter 2, Section 2.10), exercise considerable agency and are themselves contingent upon large groupings of convergent market interests.

350 The remaining, conventional, three arms of the policy community, specified as the standard branches of government by Tanaka, are constituted by the legislature, executive and judiciary. For discussion of the interactive relationship between each branch in Japan, see Upham (1987).

It's time to guess when they'll attack and discuss how Japan can respond. But when you stop to think about it, exactly what are these analysts basing their analyses on? For example, baseball pundits are usually former players so they know how it feels to be out there on the field of play. Most North Korea commentators have never been to the DPRK. Can they really give an *expert* opinion without feeling the slightest sense of hypocrisy?

(2004: 3, author's italics)

Indeed, while Itō's critique may suffer from a broad generalization and lack of theoretical foundation, it is poignant in as much as it illustrates the far-reaching escalation of Japan's risk recalibration in response to North Korea. In this respect, the double events of 2006 worked to maximize the influence of the media in this sphere. Furthermore, reaction to the multiple missile and nuclear tests can be seen as illustrative of the phenomenon criticized by Itō, in terms of media-based *experts* being unable to accurately represent risks attributed to North Korea due to a lack of internal knowledge – particularly regarding competing domestic socio-political, military and economic factors within the DPRK (Lee, 2009: 100-6).<sup>351</sup>

Once again, the *Asahi Shimbun* is illuminative here in qualifying evidence which elucidates a broadened recalibration of risk. As noted in Chapter 3, Section 3.16, while the *Asahi* demonstrated far greater concern over the Taepodong launch of 1998 compared to that of its coverage assigned to the 1993 Nodong test-firing, reaction to the multiple launch of 2006 saw an extensively more concrete re-evaluation of heightened risks identified with the DPRK. Additionally, this brought the paper firmly behind support for stricter sanctioning of the Pyongyang regime – once again combining (and, arguably, conflating) multiple issues associated with risks sourced in North Korea. For example, in the editorial of 7 July 2006,

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351 Lee, who has extensive first-hand experience of the North, highlights the fact that large sections of Japan's media (and academic) analysts failed to accurately explicate the incidents of 2006 – initially predicting that missile and nuclear tests would not go ahead because they would not be sufficient to fulfil the North's supposed aim of drawing the US into bilateral negotiations, and then retrospectively identifying such as the primary motivation for the tests being carried out (2009: 101-2). Conversely, he posits that, in fact, the primary agency for both missile and nuclear tests in 2006 came from a desire by North Korea's military-aligned wing of the political elite to counter rival factions within the Pyongyang regime, specifically those seeking to switch power towards economic reformists. Hence, Japan's recalibration of risk in relation to such events can be seen as incongruent, or decoupled, in terms of the discrepancies between how North Korea's intentions are portrayed and the primary causal agents underlying Pyongyang's actions.

the position advocated was for swift, firm action by the GoJ to meet the pressing menace posed by North Korea, asserting that,

Fortunately, Japan is now chairing as the non-permanent member of the Security Council. It [Japan] is directly affected by North Korea's missiles and possession of nuclear capabilities. It would be desirable to be in a position to praise the government's stance, with it having taken rapid affirmative action on what kind of protest should be voiced by the international community. The resolution's message should be clear; missile test-firing threatens the international peace and must cease and be frozen with all urgency.

In this way, the *Asahi* had moved to a position where North Korea was not only identified with multiple and grievous risks which impacted upon Japan, but to one where the DPRK was itself portrayed in terms of an *assailant* juxtaposed with Japan – warranting tough measures to be taken against it at the international level.<sup>352</sup> The impact of the nuclear test in October of the same year served to compound the *Asahi's* repositioning and recalibration of risk in response to North Korea. Moreover, it acted as the catalyst to complete and emphasize a wholly negative framing of the DPRK, previously associated only with the more right-of-centre of Japan's mainstream media sources. In the editorial of 11 October 2006 (two days after the test), entitled "The North Korean Nuclear Test: Strong Protest against [the North's] Outrageous Aggression", the editorial writer portrayed the North as both deceitful and dangerous – and attached Pyongyang to a string of potentially salient risks.<sup>353</sup> Critically, the article stated that,

Having dabbled in state-administered crimes such as abduction, and even lending its hand to terrorism, it is a country which has come to flaunt international rules. The nuclear card has surely been played as a means to try and force its hand through the use of menace. For that reason, it has been isolated from international society and provokes the UN; threatening world peace and security. This outrageous offence cannot be allowed.

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352 The *Asahi's* editorial (also of 7 July 2006: 3), focusing on the breakdown of relations between Mindan and Chōsensōren, explained as having been exacerbated by the unruly actions of the North Korean state, clearly identified the Pyongyang regime as a negative cause of concern – particularly for Japan's North-allied half of the resident Korean community, which faces the risk of being associated with them.

353 The editorial's original Japanese title was "*Kitachōsen no kakujikken: Bōkyo ni tsuyoku kōgi suru*". An article on the front page of the 11 October 2006 edition also noted that the majority of public opinion (62%) was behind sanctions as opposed to dialogue with the DPRK, and that over half the population feel threatened by North Korea.

The *Asahi's* coverage of the events of 2006 is particularly significant here, specifically in terms of measuring how risks framed against the DPRK were recalibrated through interacting discourses in the public and political spheres, because it demonstrates a traceable trajectory of transition – whereby the *Asahi* effectively *caught-up* with more traditionally right-of-centre media sources in the wake of multiple missile and nuclear tests. Indeed, although other news media also exhibited a recalibration of risk, they can be seen to have already been in positions more predisposed to the negative framing of North Korea – and to emphasizing the incumbent risks. For instance, having pro-actively escalated already highly recalibrated risks following the 1998 Taepodong launch, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* interpreted the 2006 multiple missile test-firing in a manner that exposed how it had already primed a maximizing of potential risks which were to be identified with a negatively framed North Korea – i.e., by pre-emptively emphasizing the pre-eminent risks of a combination of missile and nuclear capabilities. This was central to the paper's voluminous discourse on North Korean risks, positing (editorial, 6 July 2006: 3) that, "If [North Korea] succeeds in developing a nuclear warhead which can be attached to the missile, of course Japan, and the entire international community, would be placed under the most grievous of threats." Therein, having already established the DPRK as a source of multi-pronged, pressing and grievous risks, prior to the October 2006 nuclear test, the *Yomiuri* could essentially do little more than reiterate its already risk-loaded stance in the wake of the test's occurrence. Indeed, although its language is, in the main, somewhat more emotive and hard-hitting than that of the *Asahi*, the two papers carried predominantly convergent editorial stances in a number of their prescriptive political commentary sections throughout the editions of early-mid October 2006.<sup>354</sup> Likewise, akin to the *Asahi's* recalibration of geo-military risks posed by North Korean weapons capabilities, the *Yomiuri* also stated that, "Japan is a country

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354 For examples, see *Asahi* editorials of 13, 16, and 20 October 2006 and *Yomiuri* editorials of 13, 18 and 20 October 2006.

exposed to North Korea's nuclear threat. As the chairing country of the UNSC, it must make every effort in order to move the Security Council towards taking unified and stiff measures" (editorial, 11 October 2006: 3), once again calling for fast and firm action by the GoJ, apparently in order to ameliorate risks posed by the DPRK.

As with Itō's scathing attack (cited above) on how North Korea is framed in the media within Japan, analysis of quality newspaper coverage, thus, provides an accessible exemplification of how predicative language, such as that referring to weapons capabilities, has been used (and, arguably, misused) by media sources in Japan to allocate legitimate (or *scientific*) value to the manner in which risks are (re)calibrated against the DPRK.

Congruently, returning to Beck's understanding of socio-politicized risks, as addressed in Chapter 1, Section 1.5, it is the ability of powerful vested interests mediated between the state, market and society, to assign scientific expertise to the calibration of risks which allows them to be packaged as such within the media, and disseminated with greater effect across political and societal spheres.

It is, therefore, necessary here to build on the observations sketched in Chapter 1, Section 1.7, Chapter 2, Section 2.10, and throughout Chapter 3, so as to more accurately analyze how media responses to North Korea have changed, particularly with respect to the impact of the multiple missile launches and nuclear test of 2006. These can be assessed through mixed-method analyses in terms of both qualitative illustrations of the types of discourse prevalent in the aftermath of these key events, and by way of quantitative estimations of the volume and weight of influence affected by mass media sources during this period, which utilize a number of indicators such as frequency and specificity of content (see Table 4.2 and Table 4.3). Moreover, in consistency with Chapter 3 and Chapter 5 (below), this can be examined within the analytical framework outlined in Chapter 2, which considers the interactional impact upon civil society and the policy community (as an integrated,

permeable unit) with regards to the process of risk recalibration – and how it is contingent upon the framing of North Korea within the media in Japan.

The content of the DPRK's framing within the media in Japan, then, primarily revolves, as stipulated above, around its stereotyping as an increasing and continuing source of salient risks, which are proliferated and realized by the omnipotent power of a hostile regime represented by the Kim legacy. As noted in Section 4.4, revelations over the abductions issue following the Koizumi-Kim leadership summit were crucial in this respect, particularly in terms of setting the parameters for mediating how risks were perceived within consequent public sphere discourse (see also Section 4.8, below). This, ultimately, led to a situation where what had once been an issue predominantly contained and dealt with internally, primarily by diplomats and government officials, became dominated by media influence and public sphere outcry – something which also worked to conflate a number of other risks attributed to Pyongyang's governing forces. By the time of the 2006 missile and nuclear tests, the resulting interactive process, intersecting the state, market and society, which had already served to substantively recalibrate those risks, had also reshaped the issues relating to the DPRK as a whole. As a result, Japan's diplomatic dealings with, and policy towards, North Korea was, in one sense, being led by the media – and further driven by a locus of opinion polls administered by various media-sources (Hirasawa, 2004: 22-4; anonymous Japanese political scientist (interview), 20 September 2011, Appendix A).<sup>355</sup>

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355 While some notable studies, such as those compiled by Krauss and Pharr (1996) and Hyung (2006: 483-508), have attempted sweeping analyses of how media in Japan shapes public opinion and policy formulation, there is a striking dearth of quantitative analyses that seek to directly identify the causal links between a cross-section of media sources with societal, other market, and political elements. This can be attributed largely to an inability to effectively compile and categorize such sources in a meaningful and coherent fashion. As such, this dissertation draws from selected qualitative examples, also provided by other studies in this area, in order to generate informed, though at times (unavoidably) generalized hypotheses (for a succinct justification of such an approach, see also Wittig, 2005: 1-5).

#### **4.8. Quantifying public sphere recalibration of risk: sustained and increased levels**

As explained in Chapter 2, Section 2.10, the examples of the *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* (newspapers') coverage have been spotlighted as a primary focus for the illustrative purposes of this dissertation, primarily because they are national, widely consumed (popular) in a multiplicity of formats (printed, visual, internet etc.), and have maintained a considerable degree of attention toward Pyongyang's activities, which may be rendered as representational of Japan's mainstream. Moreover, in terms of assessing interactive processes across different sections of Japan's policy community, both papers conduct numerically-based opinion polls, and are regularly cited as sources of information by Diet members – as well as being cited by publications which cover North Korea. These features are particularly salient in terms of quantifying risk recalibration in relation to events in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century because it means that state, media and societal aspects can be measured in comparative terms. In addition, quality newspaper coverage can be seen as, essentially, representative of a quantitative shift in media-standpoints towards a starkly negative framing of the DPRK – in the case of the above; from a left-of-centre and right-of-centre perspective respectively. Furthermore, quantitatively speaking, both were significantly affected by the events leading up to and during 2006.

Therein, these newspapers' reactions to the missile test launches show a marked and increased recalibration of risk in response to Pyongyang's actions. While the numerical increase in volume of coverage between the events of 2006 and 1998 is less extreme than that observed between the Taepodong and Nodong firings of 1998 and 1993, the discourse prevalent across the major editions evinces a clear bolstering of anti-North Korean sentiment, and widespread, though with varying degrees of implicitness, support for a tough, proactive policy response from the state.<sup>356</sup> Indeed, the validity of such an assessment, interpreting quantitative levels of media and Diet attentions as a barometer for the degree of risk

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<sup>356</sup> The number of articles in the *Asahi Shimbun* covering North Korea in the month immediately after the multiple missile launch of 2006 was 684. The equivalent *Yomiuri* statistic stands at 780.

recalibration vis-à-vis North Korea, is further supported by the results of random qualitative sampling across these sectors (see Appendix B).<sup>357</sup> Within this, the intensity of coverage centred specifically on the single event of the missile launch, but incorporating (or *conflating*) other associated risks also shows an apparent escalation of risks from the preceding decade. The extent of coverage evincing this recalibration of risk can be extrapolated via a comparison of Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2 (above) with Table 4.3 and Figure 4.3 (below).

**Table 4.3. Impact of the 2006 Underground Nuclear Test in the Media and Diet**<sup>358</sup>

Months	Numbers of articles/items prior to			October 2006 Nuclear Test	Numbers of articles/items post		
	12~	6~	3~		~3	~6	~12
Asahi	<b>Omitted due to overlap with Table 4.2 (See above).</b>				1690	2567	3887
Yomiuri					1963	2923	4573
Mainichi					1854	2733	4261
Sankei					2071	3469	5692
NHK News					1636	2658	3917
Diet					125	207	308
Magazines※					83	106	166

**Source: author**

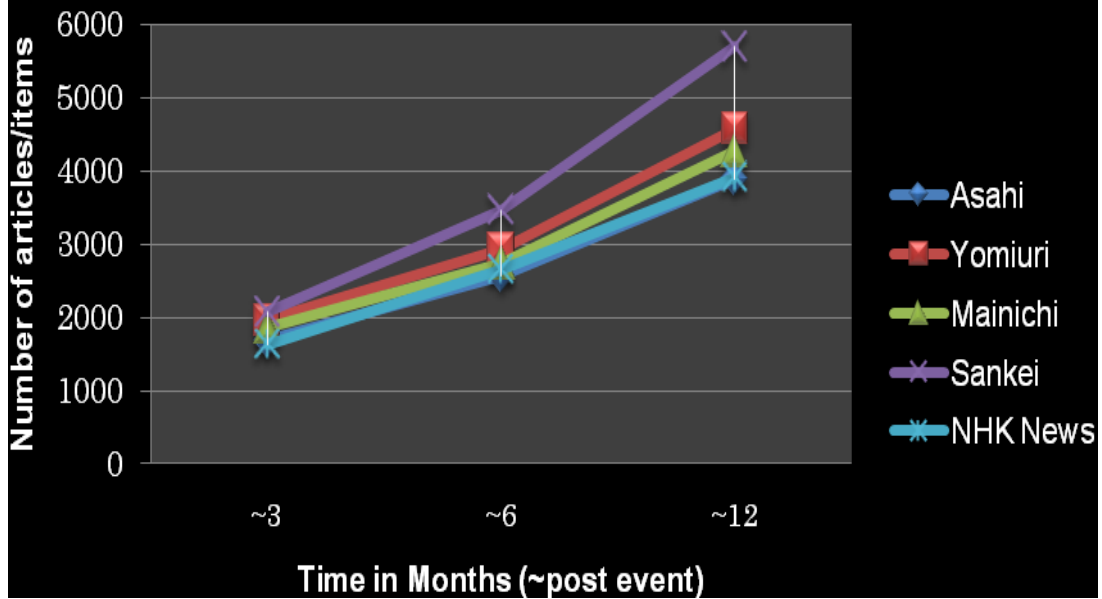
Numbers shown above are based on official database (NDL search engine, Asahi Database, Yomiuri Database, Nikkei Telecom 21 Database) hits for “kitachōsen.” ※ Based on a selection of national magazines, primarily sourced from those listed on the Nikkei Telecom21 database.

357 Random sampling has confirmed that, although there are a small minority of articles and Diet references relating to the DPRK which are of a generally neutral content, the overwhelming majority of all stories directly or implicitly frame North Korea as either the source of salient risks (pertaining to missiles, nuclear weapons, abductions etc.) or as a negatively portrayed entity juxtaposed with Japan (alluding to social inequality, poverty, human rights abuses etc). As such, any increase in quantity of coverage can effectively be seen to represent an increase of intensity with regards to the recalibration of risks sourced in the DPRK – and compound its negative framing.

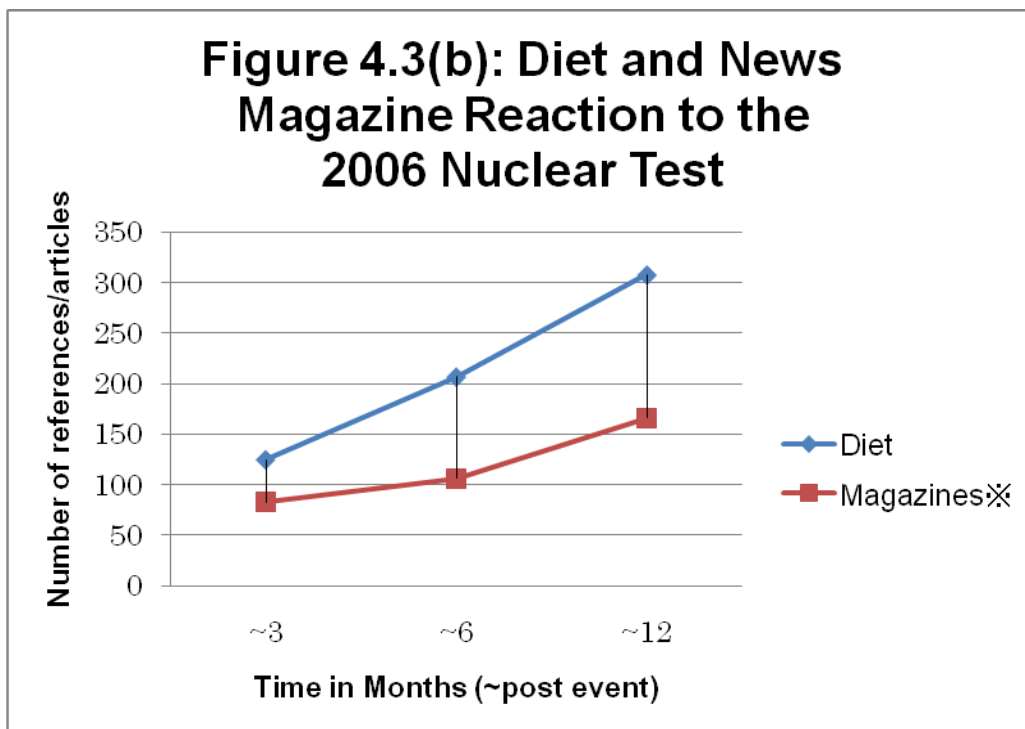
358 For further quantitative comparison and a full breakdown of form and volume of reaction to North Korea-related events in Japan up to 2011, see Chapter 5, Table(s) 5.1 – 5.3, and Figure(s) 5.1 – 5.5, Chapter 6, Figures(s) 6.1 – 6.3.



**Figure 4.3(a): Media Reaction to the 2006 Nuclear Test**



**Figure 4.3(b): Diet and News Magazine Reaction to the 2006 Nuclear Test**



Source: figures adapted by the author from data expressed in Table 4.3, above.

As noted above, the close proximity (overlap) of missile and nuclear tests in 2006 makes accurate quantitative differentiation between reactions to the two events problematic, particularly in terms of extended media and Diet chamber coverage over the longer term. However, as can be observed in Table 4.3, it is clear that the *double impact* of the events of 2006 served to push responses in the public sphere to unprecedented levels, as a reaction to the North's geo-military actions, in the months following the nuclear test.<sup>359</sup> Indeed, while the backlash to Kim Jong-Il's admission of state-orchestrated abductions in 2002 may have created the highest overall levels of media and Diet chamber coverage for North Korea-related affairs (see Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1), the extent to which risks posed by Pyongyang's regime were spotlighted after the 2006 nuclear test is significant in this respect, because it demonstrates a clear recalibration of risk in terms of how the North's weapons programmes were re-interpreted within Japan.<sup>360</sup> The expected extension of public sphere spotlighting on North Korea following the composite events of 2006 is not the only aspect of specific interest in this regard – though the degree to which it evinces a recalibration of risk is compelling. It is also, rather, more illuminating in terms of quantifying the process, that the volume of media attention assigned to North Korea in the months *preceding* the 2006 missile launch was comparable to that of the reaction *after* the 1998 Taepodong launch – itself demonstrating higher levels of preceding media and Diet attention compared with the

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359 As displayed in Section 4.4, Table 4.1, in terms of sheer volume of media and Diet reactions, the months following Koizumi's 2002 summit meeting with Kim Jong-Il demonstrate a zenith in public sphere attention to North Korean issues. In this respect, random sampling (see Appendix B) has revealed that the negative framing of North Korea had already been established across media and Diet spheres, primarily as a result of the portrayal of incursion, missile and nuclear issues, prior to 2002. Relative quantitative increases in coverage can, therefore, be utilized as an approximate barometer for the recalibration of associated risks.

360 In this sense, the September 2002 summit can be viewed as a significant stimulant in priming the North Korean frame; particularly for the broader recalibration of risk realized in relation to Pyongyang's 2006 missile and nuclear tests. In concrete, quantitative terms, Kim's admission of abductions caused a mainstream shift in media and public sphere perceptions; from a "suspicion" (*giwaku*) to an "act of war" (*sensō kōi*). As a result, despite their small number (a total of thirteen cases) and historical context (abductions committed in the 1970s and 1980s), the prevailing image of North Korea within Japan became one of a country which perpetrated acts that violated Japan's national sovereignty (Hasegawa, 2003: 44-7) – i.e. as a general source of risk; something which, as identified by multiple experts when interviewed (e.g., 1 August 2011, Appendix A; 25 July 2011, Appendix A), also resulted in the rapid loss of domestic support for the DPRK in Japan.

coverage in the period following the Nodong test launch of 1993. In essence, in addition to the qualitative data which displays shifts in the descriptive language and negative framing assigned to North Korea (see previous section and Section 4.11, below), quantitative analysis of public sphere reactions exhibits an intensification of focus upon the DPRK, which demonstrates that key events propelled North Korea's framing from their pre-event *troughs*, which were themselves, actually, already calibrated at levels comparable or in excess of previous post-event *peaks* (in terms of risk (re)calibration measured by levels in the volume of attention directed towards Pyongyang within Japan).<sup>361</sup>

Both opinion polls and literary publications further reveal the extent to which North Korea became negatively framed in the public sphere, following actions interpreted as provocations or transgressions by Pyongyang. Furthermore, the degree to which, as a result, risks associated with the DPRK were recalibrated within Japan's broader society, to the point where legal changes to Japan's security framework were publicly advocated, is evinced. Indeed, after the 1999 suspicious-ship incursion incident, a majority of 64 per cent of those polled were in favour of revising maritime security laws, which then gave authority for defence to the Maritime Safety Agency, as opposed to the proposition of it being assigned to the Maritime Self-Defence Force (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 20 July 1999).<sup>362 363</sup> The impact of the

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361 For instance, the *Asahi* covered the 1993 Nodong launch with only a handful of articles. Its North Korea coverage had rocketed to the far higher total of 367 items in the three months prior to the 1998 Taepodong launch. The total of 733 articles in the three months post-Taepodong is then, however, only marginally higher than that of the period of three months preceding the 2006 missile launch. The post-2006 missile launch total again rising dramatically. Indeed, the same phenomenon can be observed extensively across the major newspapers – ultimately evincing a process whereby risks are recalibrated upward following major incidents, but exhibit a limited *drop-off*, despite comparative lulls in the number of such high-profile events (See Chapter 3, Table 3.1 and Table 4.2 (above)).

362 Once again the loaded phrasing of questions in influencing poll results is notable here, with the inclusion of potentially emotive terms such as, “North Korea[’s] invasion of Japan’s territorial waters” and “...protection of our territorial waters” which allude to the necessity of making legal changes – prior to the question actually being asked.

363 With reference to public opinion on North Korea, the *Yomiuri* claims in discussion of the second suspicious-ship incursion incident (of 2001), that, “now special military provisions are being called for to deal with suspicious ships” (28 September 2002).

abductions issue coming to prominence, in terms of turning public opinion firmly against North Korea – and creating a negative framing – is also apparent from polls conducted during the years post-dating the 2002 Koizumi-Kim summit. The events of 2002, further, acted as a means by which to conflate a number of issues pertaining to North Korea in the public sphere. For instance, in successive questions, interviewees overwhelmingly (79 per cent) disapproved of Pyongyang's behaviour with regards to the abduction issue, while feeling very anxious (*fuan wo ōi ni kanjiru*) (73 per cent) about the North's nuclear programmes (*Asahi Shimbun*, 6 November 2002). Further, the elaboration, or direction, of questions pertaining to North Korea in the government's Cabinet Office polls is illuminating in this respect. Questions prior to the 2002 summit asked only of the extent to which interviewees were interested in the DPRK. In the polls conducted after the leaders' meeting, a range of items, including those attached to the risks posed by nuclear, missile, abduction and suspicious-boats issues were included. Respondents consistently list the abductions issue as that of most interest with regards to all concerns relating to the DPRK.<sup>364</sup> Once again, the close interaction between public opinion and news-media is made evident here from the high-percentage of participants citing newspapers (79 per cent) as their source of information on North Korean issues (Cabinet Office of Japan, 2010).<sup>365</sup>

The combined impact of military sabre-rattling and the high-profile of the abduction issue upon Japanese language publications, in terms of how North Korea, and specifically Kim Jong-Il, became framed in the public sphere can also be elucidated by way of a shift in the volume and calibration of perceived risks. In comparison to the 577 literary items listed under

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364 By 2004, in a total of 16 items offered, close to 90 per cent (83 per cent in 2002) of those polled were interested in the abduction issue – followed by nuclear (56 (49) per cent), missile (52 (43) per cent) and suspicious boats (43 (59) per cent) (Cabinet Office of Japan, December 2004 (2002)). Here too, the fact that the issues of nuclear development, suspicious-ships, missiles and abductions are listed together is, in itself, indicative of the consistency with which North Korea came to be framed as the source of a compilation of pressing risks in Japan's public and political spheres.

365 A full list of annually produced polls and poll results conducted by the Cabinet Office of Japan relating to North Korea is available for the period between from 1997 to the present (Cabinet Office of Japan, 2010).

searches for “Kim Jong-Il” in the publication years between 1991-2001, for instance, 3500 are accessible for the post-2002 years (Googlebooks, 2011).<sup>366</sup> When “abduction” is included as a search term, the equivalent search-period results in a ratio of 1 to 83, for “missiles” it stretches to 1 to 101, and for “nuclear”, 1 to 242. Further, the magnitude of the impact of both revelations regarding the abduction issue and reaction to the 2006 missile and nuclear tests is also evinced when comparing year on year statistics, with new titles on Kim jumping from less than 30 up to 2002, to over 90 for each subsequent year until 2006, after which a peak of 142 was reached in 2007, before dipping slightly prior to its re-establishment in the aftermath of further tests in 2009 (see Chapter 5).<sup>367</sup> Once again, a sustained recalibration of risk is evident, because the *drop-off* levels after recent events are consistently higher than those of preceding incidents – ultimately creating troughs which are as high as previous peaks (see also, Chapter 6, Figure 6.1). Sample qualitative analysis of the content and portrayal of Kim, not least the numerous satirical depictions of him on front covers, also clearly corroborates the quantitative increase in volume of negative framing, in terms of highlighting a demonizing of the DPRK’s leader and all that is *North Korean*.<sup>368</sup>

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366 Advanced searches are conducted in Japanese using the terms: “*rachi*”, “*misairu*” and “*kaku*” for books (*shoseki*) displaying part or all of their content. According to Amazon.co.jp, books including “Kim Jong-Il” in their title are listed as a total of 944 (post-dating 2002) and 139 (pre-dating). Using extracted terms only, the equivalent comparisons are: 9 – 39 (abduction), 37 – 575 (missile), and 60 – 813 (nuclear) (www.amazon.co.jp, 2010).

367 There is an obvious lag between the timing of an event and publications which address it – hence peaks in the North’s negative framing observable in literary publications predominantly appear in the publication year following that of the event. In this sense, the above are consistent with the overall pattern of risk recalibration evinced by the sampled media and Diet responses to the same events, which do not contain the stated anomaly of time-lag as a result of delayed release or publication and editing procedures.

368 Illustrative examples include: *Shinpan Kim Jong-Il: shitataka de kiken na jitsuzō* (Kōdansha Purasuarufa Bunko, 2002), *Fushō Miyajima: Kim Jong-Il wo nerae!* (Bungeishunjū, 2003), and *Kim Jong-Il no shōtai* (Shōgakkan Bunko, 2006). In comparison to titles which do emphasize the risks posed by Kim and his Pyongyang-based regime prior to 2002 (though notably published after the 1998 Taepodong launch), such as *Nazo no dokusaisha: Kim Jong-Il – tepodon, tero, chōhō, rachi* (Bunshun Bunko, 1999) and *Kim Jong-Il daizukan – nihon wo imada obiyakasu “muhō kokka – kitachōsen” wo tettei kaibō* (Shōgakkan, 2000), a majority of titles covering Kim (post-September 2002) in light of further weapons developments and revelations over the abductions cases visually frame the North’s leader in a negative and/or danger-laden portrayal on their covers – reinforcing the framing of his image as both representative of North Korea and a range of risks which are potentially harmful to Japan.

Nevertheless, in comparison to the overt reaction in the aftermath of the 2002 Kim-Koizumi summit, the impact of the North's nuclear test in the public sphere is less clear cut, particularly on first observation of the relevant poll data. However, it does in fact represent a significant shift, in terms of a recalibration of risk countering the salience of the previously established anti-militarist norm – particularly in regards to the “nuclear allergy” (Aldrich, 2008: 123) associated with Japan's position on the possession of nuclear weapons.<sup>369</sup> Traditionally, public, media and political opinion has been firmly against revision of Japan's anti-nuclear stance, yet in the aftermath of Pyongyang's 2006 underground test, only 34.8 per cent of those polled disagreed with having a discussion on whether or not Japan should possess nuclear weapons (*Yomiuri*, 11-12 November 2006) – an argument propagated as justified in light of the North's test by a number of senior LDP Diet members, including then Foreign Minister, Asō Tarō.<sup>370</sup> The December 2006 Cabinet Office poll further demonstrates a marked increase in concerns over nuclear (80 per cent) and missile (72 per cent) issues, while the newly included item of “illicit actions such as narcotics smuggling” (into Japan by the DPRK) supplants “suspicious-ships” in fourth place. Pertinently, however, while these poll results suggest that the risks associated with missiles and nuclear weapons were recalibrated to higher levels (in addition to the added emergence of others such as illicit smuggling), concerns over abductions and suspicious-ships did not waver significantly. This, therefore, evinces an aggregate recalibration of the combined risks perceived to emanate from Pyongyang – reinforcing its negative framing as that identified with all of the above. Furthermore, the fact that the domestic testing of a nuclear device by North Korea was able – following the series of highly-profiled preceding post-Cold War events identified as

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369 In legal terms, this is further made concrete by the GoJ's policy of the three nuclear principles; not producing, possessing or allowing the introduction (into to Japan) of nuclear weapons.

370 Public evaluation of the prospects for the Six-Party Talks being an effective mechanism by which to solve the North Korean nuclear issue also reached a low point, with 74 per cent of respondents polled being pessimistic, and only 20 per cent expectant of its success (*Yomiuri*, 11-12 November 2006) – see also Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation (2009).

provocations by Pyongyang – to trigger a pre-cursory national debate on nuclearization is a clear indication of the degree to which the DPRK’s framing, as a source of salient risks, came to facilitate shifts in the boundaries of public and political discourses within Japan.<sup>371</sup> In addition, as delineated in the section below, it serves to illustrate how such a framing and heightened recalibration of risks influenced the revision and implementation of security policies.

#### ***4.9. Policy revisions to counter North Korean missiles, nuclear weapons, incursions and abductions: uncertain targets for uncertain risks***

As referenced in Section 4.5, above, the policy community’s response to the 2006 missile test launches was both swift and far reaching. These were led by then Chief Cabinet Secretary, Abe Shinzō, who, in light of a possible North Korean missile launch, had already prepared a set of sanctions and measures to be implemented with immediate effect. However, Abe delayed announcing these measures on the same day of the firings, waiting until full confirmation of the launches had been gained on the afternoon of 5 July 2006.<sup>372</sup> In addition to the reinstating of prohibition on Japan-DPRK imports and exports, denial of access to North Korean ships entering Japan’s ports, the termination of charter flights, and refusal of re-entry for DPRK officials returning into Japan, the measures included open-ended directives which allowed for the “further tightening” of the above and “consideration of

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371 In addition to the emergence of a reinvigorated debate on Japan’s nuclearization, North Korea’s missile and nuclear tests, conducted in close proximity, sparked a wave of contested (and inconclusive) public and academic discourses over the risks and feasibility of Pyongyang attaching a nuclear war-head to a Japan-bound missile (e.g., see Matsumura and Takakusagi (eds), 2007: 271-93) – once again highlighting the importance of assigning scientific/expert interpretation to a given (security) risk (see Chapter 1, Section 1.5), in order to justify its recalibration; therein facilitating a maximising of that (re)calibration if the (unattainable) target of zero-risk cannot be achieved without taking extensive counter-measures.

372 Abe’s aggressive style (making three press conferences on the day following the launches), advocating strong action and punitive sanctions, can be seen as characteristic of his use of a negative framing of the DPRK as a tool to gain political capital – as seen most clearly in his involvement with the abductions cases. Abe became Prime Minister on 1 September 2006, just two months after the Taepodong-2 test-launch.

additional measures” (Nihon Keizai Shimbun, Inc. (ed.), 2006:132-3). Thereafter, in reaction to the North’s Nuclear test three months later, Japan led the way among regional stakeholders in calling for a UN Resolution accompanied by harsh sanctions to be imposed against the DPRK (NHK News, 12 October 2006) – ultimately leading to the adoption of a watered down version of Tokyo’s initial proposal, in the form of UN Resolution 1718.<sup>373</sup>

Japan’s policy response essentially sought, therein, to use its established unilateral sanctions framework as the basis upon which to recalibrate the risks posed by Pyongyang’s nuclear test and define the measures called for in a UN-backed resolution.<sup>374</sup> This is significant in terms of elucidating a cohesive, causal process of risk recalibration vis-à-vis the DPRK through a series of events, because the manner of the response, made harsher in 2006, had been provided with its mandate on the basis of reactive policy revisions and counter-measures taken in the wake of the first Taepodong launch in 1998 – as outlined in Chapter 3, Section 3.15, above.<sup>375</sup> Furthermore, the rapidity and specificity of sanctions imposed by Japan, particularly under the pre-Abe administration in 2006, is consistent with the hypothesis that risk was recalibrated in a highly structured form; one which appears to have been predisposed to maintaining North Korea’s negative framing within Japan.<sup>376</sup>

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373 UNSC Resolution 1718 was unanimously adopted on 14 October 2006, having removed Japan’s calls for the inclusion of strict sanctions against the movement of North Korean goods and personnel (UN Security Council, 2006a).

374 For MOFA’s official position on such, including verification that actors within the GoJ consciously envisaged Japan’s unilateral sanctions as a model precedent for UN equivalents, see related report (MOFA, 2006).

375 The extent to which risks were *successfully* recalibrated by Japan between 1998 and 2006 – particularly in terms of establishing the negative framing of North Korea – is evident from the fact that while Japan had to accept a diluted content for UN Resolution 1718 in October 2006, in August 1998 Tokyo’s efforts to persuade regional stakeholders of the risks posed by Pyongyang’s missiles resulted only in a (comparatively) legally impotent UN Press Statement – for which China stated that “under normal circumstances the issue (of a satellite launch by the DPRK) should not have been brought to the UN” (Ōe, 2007: 34).

376 The reference to a “pre-Abe”, as opposed to “Koizumi” administration is given significance here due to the fact that while Koizumi, as demonstrated in this chapter, utilized risks attached to North Korea in an attempt to demonstrate strong leadership (and, indeed, effective risk-management), Abe can be seen to have managed the events of 2006 in order to directly recalibrate North Korean risks and the justifiable policy measures taken to tackle them – something which was maintained after his election as the leader of the LDP and Prime Minister.



Indeed, the specifics, in terms of concrete policy measures directed at Pyongyang, of such a recalibration, can be clearly observed in relation to each of the events discussed in the chapters above, ultimately traced back to the 1993 Nodong test firing. Both the joint statement of April 1996 and the new defence guidelines released in September of 1997, for instance, express the requirement of Japan (and, indeed, the US) to take measures to counter risks resulting from North Korean actions.<sup>377</sup> These risks were then crystallized, and the counter-measures extended and implemented, through the justification of a response to the perceived increase in risk-level made apparent by the 1998 Taepodong launch. Thereafter, risks were subsequently spread and recalibrated further, manifest in additional legal revisions made in the wake of the 1999 and 2001 incursions. The media attention given to the abduction cases, particularly following Koizumi's 2002 visit to Pyongyang, then provided additional weight to forces which framed North Korea as a source of salient and uncertain risks, influencing the decision in December 2003 to introduce a full-scale BMD programme and the enactment of additional laws, such as the Citizens Defence Law, or *Kokumin hogo hō* (Nihon Keizai Shimbun, Inc. (ed.), 2006:150), as well as priming the political environment to facilitate harsher and more wide-reaching policy directives and sanctions following the events of 2006. Within this, while evidence of an additional recalibration of risk in terms of further counter-measures in the wake of events unfolding throughout 2009-2010 is far from absent – as discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.12 – 2006 appears to exhibit an acme in terms of establishing a norm of negative framing imposed upon North Korea, particularly by way of political and media saturation of DPRK related issues within Japan, discussed in Section 4.8, and Chapter 5, Section 5.6, which has empowered those within the policy community who seek to impose harsh directives against

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<sup>377</sup> Once again the power of *bilateralism* with regards to Japan's North Korea policies is evinced by the content of the guidelines. Moreover, they represent a clear indication of how risks posed by the DPRK (though combined with those emanating from China) were recalibrated in order to justify the restructuring of Japan's security policies – in close cooperation with the US. Indeed, at this stage more liberal media sources such as the *Asahi* were predominantly more concerned with risks of entrapment into US-led wars than those associated with actions orchestrated from Pyongyang (United States Information Agency, 1997).

North Korea.<sup>378</sup> Therein, the “super-sizing” (Hughes, 2009a) of North Korean risks which allow a variety of security (and other) policy directives to be justified may have reached a zenith. Nevertheless, as will be discussed in the following chapter, the high calibration of risk assigned to North Korean issues in response to the missile and nuclear events of 2006 has resulted in a situation whereby even when media, civil societal and the political elite’s attention exhibits a degree of *fatigue* towards Pyongyang’s provocations, there is little indication that policy directives taken against the North will, in the short term at least, be softened.<sup>379</sup>

In fact, however, while the measures imposed at both national and UN levels against North Korea in reaction to the events occurring during the second half of 2006 can be seen to represent an extensive, concrete, manifestation of risk recalibration – in terms of the level which risks were evaluated up to – in one sense they can be interpreted as merely the intensification of policy directives already set in motion by the NDPO of 2005. Indeed, in terms of practical measures targeting Pyongyang, the NDPO of 2005 is highly significant in this respect, because for the first time it directly identified North Korea as source of potentially expanding risks, and alluded to the increasing range of risks identified with the DPRK;<sup>380</sup> in effect framing North Korea as a sufficiently dangerous entity to warrant the

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378 It could be argued that, in fact, the peak in terms of perceived levels of risk framed against the DPRK actually falls somewhere during 2007, on account of the *lag* between when events such as the missile and nuclear tests of 2006 occurred, and when their resulting impact was fully mediated between the state, market and society (e.g., see also discussion of Japanese language publications, Section 4.8, above).

379 That is to say, there is essentially a lag-time between the implementation of policies (sanctions etc.) made against the DPRK due to a high calibration of risks perceived to be posed by Pyongyang (such as those of nuclear weapons and ballistic missile magnified during 2006), and the juncture when the political climate becomes sufficiently altered to allow those policies to be revised, following a downward recalibration of risk. Further, as discussed in Section 4.4, and Section 4.12 (below), this phenomenon has been intensified by the inability of political actors to overcome the abductions issue – which acts as a preventative factor in effectively engaging with other issues associated with risks identified with North Korea.

380 Potential contingencies which were identified as requiring counter-provisions included; “Ballistic Missile Attacks, Response to Guerrillas and Special Operations Forces Attack, Response to the Invasion of Japan’s Offshore Islands”, and “Violation of Japan’s Airspace and the Intrusion of Armed Special-Purpose Ships and Other Similar Vessels” – once again highlighting the significance of the events (particularly those of missile

maintenance of Cold War levels of defence spending, and the adaptation and diversification of Japan's security forces (Umeda, 2007: 86-7).<sup>381</sup> In this sense, the 2006 missile launches and nuclear test served primarily to confirm the North's framing as a potentially aggressive and risk-laden entity, and reconfirm the necessity of revisionary security policies – outlined (and thereby *primed*) in the preceding year's NDPO.

Therein, as hypothesized in the Introduction, Section 0.1, the revisionary policy shifts observed over the course of events, stemming back to the 1993 Nodong launch, have been made possible through interactive processes mediated among the state, market (particularly in terms of its influence upon the media, see Section 4.7) and society. What is more, this was propagated and sustained in the first instance by the cooperative activities of a *coalition* of prominent right-of-centre politicians (figure-headed from 2006 by Abe), right-wing activists, such as the leaders of the *Sukūkai* (NARKN), and the families and supporters of the abductees (*Kazokukai* etc.), who both affected and benefited from a tailwind of media attention given to the abductions issue in order to revise and implement a range of policy measures and legal reforms directed at the negatively framed entity of Pyongyang.<sup>382</sup> In addition, the norm of bilateralism and the gravity of *beiat-su* has been a further propagating factor in the process of risk recalibration. In 2006 this was manifest both in terms of Japan's right-of-centre political elite, led by Abe, seeking to cooperate more closely with the US in order to increase the impact of measures taken against Pyongyang (Nihon Keizai Shimbun,

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(1998) and incursions (1999, and 2001)) discussed above in affecting policy provisions vis-à-vis North Korea (MOD, 2008).

381 Umeda posits that, in this respect, risks attributed to North Korea were in effect recalibrated to replace those previously identified with the former-USSR (see Nakamura, 1985: 56-73), in order to justify the maintenance of Japan's defence forces – and ultimately to facilitate the continued expansion of their activities overseas.

382 The idea of a coalition of distinct actors which have seized upon the abductions issue for a variety of ideological interests, resulting in the politicization of all issues attached to the DPRK and subsequent recalibration of risks, was also posited by one of Japan's leading North Korea analysts when interviewed (14 December 2010a, Appendix A). Key to this process has been the ability of nationalist and anti-North Korean politicians, such as former NARKN leader, Satō Katsumi (originally a member of the JCP), to use the humanitarian issue of abductees to prevent more moderate or progressive voices gaining salience in mainstream dialogue concerning policies directed at the DPRK.

Inc. (ed.), 2006:132) and in the US's *fanning of the flames* concerning the negative framing of the DPRK in Japan; used as a means by which to encourage cooperation from Tokyo over American troop realignment in Japan, and investment in US technology and joint development for BMD systems (Yoshida, 2008: 142). The framing of North Korea as such has, then, been used in multiple contexts as a politico-ideological *stimulant* to generate a higher calibration of risks associated with a generalized negative image of all actions associated with and perpetrated by the DPRK – effectively morphing such a framing into a phenomenon, equitable to a norm (*anti-North Korea-ism*), which is able to proliferate effectively at the level of national policy generation, particularly in tandem with the norm of *bilateralism*, and in spite of the now declining salience of anti-militarism.

#### ***4.10. Tightening remittances and recalibrating energy security: the market's weak response***

As discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.9, the control of remittances to North Korea has been increasingly tightened and the amount of funds allowed to flow into the North steadily reduced. Despite the absence of official political relations between Tokyo and Pyongyang, and the already comparatively low level of economic exchange between Japan and the DPRK, the risks of supplying the North Korean “money pipeline” continued to be recalibrated within Japan. The most striking evidence of this movement is not only the increasing and tangible level of legally binding financial restrictions mediated by the state via economic institutions such as banks, but also the publicly visible content of such measures, evincing a wider impact upon societal perceptions of such risks. A striking example of this is the requirement for those seeking to remit transfers, of above the stipulated limit of funds from Japan to the DPRK, being required to openly declare to the given financial institution (bank)

that the transaction is not destined for North Korea or any direct or indirect purpose connected to the DPRK or its activities.<sup>383</sup>

Further to the tightening of restrictions upon financial beneficiaries to North Korea, Japan has seen a notable increase in measures designed to contain terrorism; not least those which are specifically identified as being sourced from the DPRK. This recalibration of risks includes civil energy security, and is mediated by the state through directives laid down to companies operating and supplying, amongst other energy sources, nuclear power. For example, it is now mandatory for all those of non-Japanese citizenship to carry their passport with them when entering on-site nuclear facilities.<sup>384</sup> In addition, according to the manager of one regional electricity supplier, North Korean terrorists have been identified in recent years as representing a specific risk to nuclear security, because of Pyongyang's threatening statements made towards the ROK. Concretely, this refers to the North's open hostility expressed with regard to South Korea's initiatives to increase their percentage of domestic nuclear energy supply through the construction of a number of new nuclear plants. The same manager stated (21 July 2010, Appendix A) that, "of course we cannot discuss what security measures have been put in place, because they are strictly confidential, but I can tell you that the government has instructed us to implement a number of cautionary counter-terror and security strategies to deal with those risks." While energy companies themselves are not permitted to hold weapons for the purposes of defending plants from potential assailants, armed police surround nuclear facilities and the JSDF are on standby for any counter-terror information, which could lead to an immediate dispatch to a given plant. These

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383 This is conducted in the form of a sheet of instructions (available in English and Japanese) stating that the person remitting should complete sections of the remittance form to indicate that funds are "None related to North Korea" or can be abbreviated to "NNK" (see Appendix C, Bank of Tokyo Mitsubishi remittance form, "Cross-Border Remittance and Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Act of Japan").

384 Commercial (business) and educational visitors wishing to view the interior sections of nuclear facilities must also gain invitation from the presiding company. As a leading official from one nuclear plant noted in an interview (10 August 2010, Appendix A) "it is very unlikely that a North Korean passport holder would be invited!"

measures form part of a five-point counter-risk strategy which, albeit indirectly, identifies North Korea as the source of “potential” and “political” risks.<sup>385</sup>

However, while the above measures clearly highlight how risks which the state has recalibrated are mediated by its military arms through market actors and organizations, the extent to which such counter-risk directives are not arbitrary, but, conversely, constructed by the state, precisely in order to demonstrate risk recalibration within market and public spheres, is also worthy of attention. Indeed, as observed above, while nuclear plants in Japan have a variety of ostensible external checks and overtly apparent security features, there is a sense in which these appear to have been deployed in order to provide a visual demonstration that security risks exist and are being countered, rather than as logistical provisions implemented to supply a practical means by which to prevent a realistic (high-risk) contingency.<sup>386</sup> For example, although prior submission of passport details, to be checked on arrival, is a prerequisite for foreign visitors wishing to observe the equipment and design of nuclear reactor cores, passport numbers (at least in the case observed) may be checked by anyone, from low-ranking, inexperienced workers to the tea-maker!<sup>387</sup> Furthermore, while security is immediately apparent around the exterior of plants, the sole measure observable within some facilities amounts to a lone police car, made visible from all viewing decks,

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385 The five-point plan is completed by “investment, social and regulation” risks. It is noteworthy, therein, that the same company, and comparable others, operate a transparency policy which explains the measures taken to counter these risks, but are highly secretive with regard to security risks, such as those posed by North Korea – thus, effectively, calibrating them at higher level. Moreover, while the DPRK is framed as posing potential nuclear risks due to its weapons tests (e.g., those conducted in 2006 and 2009), North Korea is omitted from domestic charts which display international nuclear comparisons on the grounds that it has not been *officially* (e.g., by the UN or other international organizations and governments etc.) recognized as a civil nuclear power – despite Pyongyang’s stated objectives of energy provision.

386 External security provisions include barbed wire exterior fences, external surveillance cameras, two layers of ID security (one for office staff, prior to second level entry into on-site facilities such as the nuclear reactors themselves), internal vehicle check, patrolling police, private security guards, airport-style body scans and x-rays, air-lock access doors, prohibition of photos, and passport checks for visitors.

387 Prior to being escorted through two levels of staff security phases (without any checks being carried out on ourselves), passport numbers were briefly checked against a clip-board list held and carried out by a member of staff whose other visible duties amounted to serving tea and greeting guests.

patrolling the interior access roads. Many sections have no internal surveillance cameras installed to check or monitor staff activities, even inside the reactor apparatus. Not only do internal security provisions appear minimal, the facilities can be visited by numerous student and business parties – which are given direct access to observe nuclear facilities and machinery in detail, and question on-site staff freely.<sup>388 389</sup>

Facilities generally have a family-friendly feel once inside, and there is little sign of concern regarding external or national security risks related to the protection of nuclear secrets or energy holdings from potential overseas assailants. Corroboratively, when questioning staff about the risks of an attack from North Korea, reaction was generally that of surprise and bewilderment – and universal rejection of the idea that it would be possible, let alone probable.<sup>390</sup> All those asked about security risks were confident that the plant was entirely “risk free” with regards to being attacked or infiltrated (visit, 20 August 2010). Proof that the state is strategically manipulating pivotal areas of infrastructure in order to recalibrate risks within society is clearly difficult to prove. However, the above example illustrates the observation that the calibration of risks by the state in relation to nuclear and energy facilities, specifically in terms of protecting them from an external threat such as the DPRK, appears disproportionate to those calibrated by independent experts, energy company staff and other members and related stake-holders within the market and civil society.

It is also significant, as discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.11, that the possibility of potential economic exchange and financial investment which could be gained as the result of normalization of diplomatic relations between Tokyo and Pyongyang remained insufficient to

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388 According to management staff, some key sections of the central core and reactor facilities do have somewhat tighter security measures applied to them.

389 Despite a verbal ban on photography within the second phase of security, there is no restriction on note-taking or sketching within any of the plant’s facilities. No checks on paper-based materials were carried out.

390 It was asserted that the three metre thick reinforced concrete walls of the reactor could easily withstand any missile or aircraft impact – i.e., resulting from a North Korean attack.

counter the tide of risk recalibration against North Korea within Japan – up to and beyond 2006. Given the fact that *Keidanren* and other powerful market actors were influential in driving the initial normalization process during the early 1990s (interview, 26 October 2010, Appendix A),<sup>391</sup> this further suggests that market influences (particularly vis-à-vis the state) were comparatively weak when measured against those of leading political actors in this sphere. This is particularly notable in terms of their inability to improve or counter an escalation of North Korea's negative framing, which undoubtedly damaged the potential for Japan's enterprises to enter into untapped markets within the DPRK and expand existing trade links with Pyongyang (Yoshida, 2008:252-4).<sup>392</sup>

The influence of prevailing norms, particularly *bilateralism*, should also not be forgotten when assessing both the calibration of market-related risks posed by North Korea and the counter-measures taken to ameliorate them.<sup>393</sup> Indeed, Japan was willing to support US-led statements as early as 2003, which specifically identified North Korea's production and distribution of fake US dollars, and other various illicit activities as a major source of risk – particularly in terms of their use in the production of WMD. Fraudulent US currency issues were evidently perceived as low-priority risks to Japan, though calibration of such as a high-risk were left unchallenged in Tokyo's official press releases – not least in order to (i.e., in

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391 The interviewee referenced did, however, also predict the gradual expansion of market influence upon North Korea policy in Japan, particularly as Tokyo's economic interactions with its East Asian neighbours become increasingly decoupled from those of the political sphere. The ultimate waning of the abduction issue (as public sphere interest decreases over time and political shifts reduce its potency within the policy community) as a potent force strangulating progress at the Six Party Talks, and other initiatives made towards bilateral relations, is, he argued, also likely to act as an expedient to this process.

392 In addition to noting the minimal levels of trade between Japan and the DPRK, Yoshida highlights the economic inefficacy of sanctions, or "*kōka no nai nihon no keizai seisai*" (2008: 252) imposed by Japan following the missile and nuclear tests of 2006. Indeed, his documentation of such reveals that not only did the sanctions have a negligible effect on Pyongyang's position, due to the North's comparative market reliance upon China and South Korea as trade partners, but that in fact they served, primarily, to nullify the ability of Japan's import enterprises to access North Korean goods. In an interview (1 August 2011, Appendix A) one leading Japanese political scientist noted that while policy makers are aware of this inefficacy it is politically untenable (due to the North's public framing in Japan) to show weakness towards the DPRK by removing imposed sanctions.

393 There is oft times an unclear distinction between *bilateralism* and *beitsu* – for arguments emphasising the former, see Michishita (2009, 2010) and Tanaka (2009), for positions contesting the latter, see McCormack (2007), Hirama and Sugita (2003).



return for) maintain the abduction issue as an item to be tabled at interstate-level negotiations with the DPRK, including the Six Party Talks. The motivation for such, however, was further seen to lie in positive appraisal of government-led diplomacy vis-à-vis the DPRK, if it could be achieved, not only from Washington, but also within media and public-sphere circles in Japan (Harada, 2008: 152-61).<sup>394</sup> These forms of media and societal agency in foreign policy directives, and the extensive influence of the US, again evinces the powerful impact of cross-interaction between distinct sections of Japan's policy community, concerning how risks emanating from North Korea were recalibrated – and demonstrates how that process is embedded within a context of prevailing norms.

#### ***4.11. Internalization of recalibrated risks: intensifying the framing of North Korean elements within Japanese society***

As highlighted in Chapter 3, Section 3.8, Japan's escalating recalibration of risk attributed to actions, and the potentiality of actions, perpetrated by North Korea was in one respect manifest in a hardening of state and public sphere attitudes towards resident Koreans and their organizations, such as *Chōsensōren*, which became negatively identified as being integrally allied to and supportive of the administration in Pyongyang. This phenomenon was intensified rapidly in the wake of the events which occurred throughout 2006. Most ostensibly, as with the case of remittances discussed above, the financial capabilities of *Chōsensōren* were targeted as a means by which to reduce the perceived latent risks posed by the DPRK which existed within channels inside Japan.<sup>395</sup> Therein, amongst other measures following

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394 Harada also points to the powerful vested interests of central US-based actors involved in emphasising the risks posed by North Korea's illicit financial activities, and advocating economic sanctions, at this time. These included assistant to the US Under Secretary of State, and former hedge fund manager, David Asher, who, Harada posits, in addition to numerous other high-ranking US government officials, moved back and forth from private and public sectors within the American elite, seeking to persuade Japan to publicize risks which might potentially hinder his individual career, and the US' broader-based business objectives.

395 The targeting of *Chōsensōren* by Japan's state-administered authorities in the wake of the North's 2006

the multiple test missile launch of July 2006, Japan's Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication ordered all regional and national offices of *Chōsensōren* to clarify and prove that they had complied with a high-court ruling which effectively removed the automatic status of their 243 affiliated facilities as being eligible for tax exemptions – demanding that the organization clear a number stringent checks; a move which clearly appeared designed to constrain the interpreted risks of *Chōsensōren* possessing the ability to function freely as an economic arm, or supporter, of the DPRK (NHK News, 6 July 2006).<sup>396</sup> Further measures, such as the raiding of *Chōsensōren* offices and affiliated facilities in November of 2006, were also taken by Japan's state authorities – based on legal grounds which maximized the flexible interpretation of a series of laws relating to finance, labour and trade used to target North Korean elements.<sup>397</sup> As the deputy head of the Resident Koreans History Research Centre (*zainichichōsenjin rekishi kenkyūjo*) stressed in an interview (8 February 2011, Appendix A), pertinently, the powerful links and cross-interaction between the state and media were also made clear at this time in the form of a full cordon of media representatives and press photographers who were moved into position prior to the raids. According to the above source, the police were then mobilized in huge numbers in order to maximize the framing of *Chōsensōren* as a high-risk (to Japan) organization – and moreover reinforce the image that it amounted to an arm of Kim Jong-Il's North Korea.<sup>398 399</sup>

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tests is emblematic of a process of re-framing the DPRK, which, as one former MOFA official noted in an interview (20 December 2010, Appendix A) has seen the association's status slip, from that of a de-facto North Korean embassy within Japan, into a minor representative body analogized with a terrorist organization.

396 It is of interest here that domestic judicial proceedings were, in effect, used to enforce state-level sanctions against North Korea – which were then publicized in Japan's Media. Once again this demonstrates the interactive mediation of risks between state, market and societal spheres pertaining to the DPRK within Japan, and how public sphere discourses expressed the process by which such interactions reinforced the framing of North Korea; i.e., as that identified with a negative entity. For an excellent discussion of the role of the judiciary in enforcing state governance, see David Harvey (2005: 64-86).

397 These include legal actions and prosecutions taken against *violations* by family members carrying medicine to the DPRK (*ringeru yakujihō ihan*), tax irregularities (*zeirishihō ihan*), and employment terms (*rōdōsha hakenhō ihan*).

398 The above source noted that not only were hundreds of police not necessary, finally no charges were

The persecution of children of Korean residents – and those attending Korean schools – also intensified in the wake of the missile and nuclear tests of 2006 (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 22 November 2006: 35), highlighting the process by which all aspects associated with North Korea, including children (who had no connection to nuclear or missile programmes), came to be framed as in some way bearing risks posed to Japan.<sup>400</sup> In terms of how risks were recalibrated on the basis of such a framing this is, indeed, a pertinent example; not least because it reaffirms how, as Hook and Takeda (2007: 93-123) posit, the risk to state security and, moreover, protection of the state's identity, becomes prioritized over that of the citizens' interests, rights and well-being (i.e., including Korean residents persecuted within Japan), who are expected to exercise self-responsibility (*jikosekinin*) in avoiding risks which may be brought to bear against them as the result of the state, or an external state's, actions. Ironically, from shortly after the beginning of the repatriation movement, this fundamental *raison d'état* actually contributed towards the subsidizing of the Pyongyang regime, by way of North Korean residents in Japan who were left no option other than to pay extortionate sums of money – in cash as money carriers, or *hakobiya*, to the DPRK's state authorities – in order to visit friends and relatives who had returned to the North but were unable to return to Japan (Han, 2002: 220-3); due in no small part to the lack of formal state-level relations between Tokyo and Pyongyang.<sup>401</sup> Indeed, an accentuation of the phenomenon of such

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pressed against the research centre – ultimately, he posited, demonstrating the state's agenda of framing all and any elements and parties connected or associated with the DPRK in Japan.

399 The same source was at great pains to highlight the huge difference between the DPRK and *Chōsensōren* – arguing that not only were the organizational structures of both totally de-coupled, but also that they were no longer financially inter-reliant in the vast majority of their operations, and, furthermore, that the number of staff at *Chōsensōren* who were legally North Korean citizens was negligible at most.

400 According to the *Yomiuri's* report, on the day after the missile tests (6 July 2006), there were 13 malicious phone calls, including a threat to kill five high-school students, within one week. A similar escalation of threats followed the nuclear test. The vast majority of such threats seem to have been made by extremist right-wing groups and do not represent the broader base of Japan's populous or policy community. However, they nevertheless expose how such actors were able to exploit an increasingly negative image of the DPRK – and the risks that could be attributed to it – in order to publicize their own political agendas.

401 It should also be noted that during the 1970s and 1980s Kim Il-Sung's government was particularly keen to avoid those who had repatriated to the DPRK returning to Japan with stories of abject poverty in North Korea. According to Han, *visiting fees* for their families (for a *controlled* two week stay in the North) were

state-centric risk shifting certainly appears prevalent with regards to reaction towards North Korea's missile test-firings and nuclear test of 2006; whereby schools, local organizations, individual families and, ultimately, individual students were expected to play the leading role in taking steps to avoid facing *unnecessary* risks posed to themselves by right-wing organizations and actors in Japan, while government initiatives were targeted primarily at expanding provisions designed to protect state security from the apparently increased risk of the DPRK's missiles striking Japan (e.g., see, *Asahi Shimbun*, 6 July 2006: 15).

#### **4.12. Conclusion: a quantified recalibration of qualitative risk**

This chapter has, then, clearly identified a quantifiable recalibration of risk mediated between Japan's political and public spheres through the framing of North Korea. Moreover, this process, having been orchestrated around a series of events, traced in the first instance back to the 1993 Nodong missile test-launch addressed in Chapter 3, Section 3.7, can be seen to have been instrumentally affected by the *double impact* of further missile and nuclear tests during 2006. In addition, the emergence of the abductions issues as a central element in national political discourses emanating from Tokyo has worked as a stimulant which galvanized a combination of other perceived risks, in terms of associating a stigmatization of all that is identified with North Korea against potential harms posed to Japan. As one leading analyst noted in an interview (14 December 2010a, Appendix A), "Japan's relationship to North Korea has been taken hostage by the hostage issue."<sup>402</sup> Indeed, in light of the considerable interactive influences observed between the political elite

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in excess of ¥10,000,000 per group (2002: 223) – amounting to a significant source of state income.

402 Although the terminology itself (*nicchō kankei ga rachi mondai ni rachi sarete iru*) has become something of a media catch-phrase, the above source noted that it had resulted in what he described as a "spiral of silence", or *chinmoku no rasen*, because anyone making too much noise over the recalibration of risks by Japan was likely to find themselves less fully employed by mainstream media sources, particularly following the events of 2002 – in the wake of Koizumi's return from Pyongyang. As a result, Japan's relations with its cross-sea neighbour were largely left to fester in the public sphere.

and mass media, the *mediarization* of North Korean risks in Japan, can be seen to have had a significant impact in terms of shaping the policy community's tangible response to the risks. As a result, the abductions issue has been officially included as a further justification for the imposition of multiple sanctions in the wake of the events of 2006; imposed without clear distinctions as to which measures are assigned to a given issue for what specific purpose – including which risks they are expected to ameliorate.<sup>403</sup> The example of the impact of the 2006 missile and nuclear tests, in combination with the entangled abductions issue, demonstratively illustrates, then, how the socio-political agency of recalibrated risks, and the momentum they generate, is able to act in deviating policy and diplomacy away from what might be considered its *logical* course; i.e., in the case of Japan's dealings with the DPRK, the gradual removal of unilateral sanctions and the promotion of diplomatic normalization, in order to secure resolution of the abductions issue and the two-stage abandonment of North Korean nuclear programs (Okonogi (ed.), 2006: 9).<sup>404</sup> This has effectively meant that initiatives to promote any rapprochement between Tokyo and Pyongyang are both criticized domestically for being conciliatory towards a wrong-doing adversary (North Korea) and face the further practical hurdle of having no means by which to offer a softening of punitive measures without resolution (on Japan's terms) of the abductions cases.<sup>405</sup>

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403 Following the events of 2006, Japan both proposed and supported UN-led sanctions against the DPRK, and imposed its own set of unilateral measures against Pyongyang. The abduction issue was raised in relation to both, and although not specified in UN Resolution 1718, Japan's representative to the UNSC officially stated that Pyongyang's administration was "a regime known for reckless irresponsible behaviour", implicitly referring to the abductions issue – and, once again, emphasising an indefinite set of risks framed against the DPRK (UN Security Council, 2006b).

404 Two-stage abandonment of the North's nuclear programs amounts in this sense to "re-freezing" (*sai-tōketsu*) and "complete abandonment" (*kanzen hōki*), as opposed to the "prior-abandonment" (*senkō hōki*) or complete verifiable irreversible dismantlement (CVID) proposed by the George W. Bush administration.

405 The full realization of this process during the last decade is discussed further in Chapter 5, but can be contrasted with Funabashi's prescription for what Japan and other parties *should* have done after the 2002 leadership summit. He asserted that, "For the time-being there will doubtless be numerous aggravating issues, such as the incidents of Japanese abductions and spy-boat incursions, but the defining factor will likely be the establishment of a multilevel framework to tackle North Korea by surrounding it; within which Japan-US-ROK cooperation is sustained, and Japan, the US and China, as well as Northern and

In addition, the limited involvement of other powerful market actors and their general cooperation with the state – predicated by commercial interests’ lessened motivation in the wake of the North’s economic collapse – has worked to facilitate a process intersecting the state, market and society which has aggrandized the recalibration of risk in response to North Korea. This process, which instrumentalizes risk at the state level in Japan, has also been consistent by way of adhering to the prevailing norm of *bilateralism*, in terms of predominantly maintaining close alignment with the US – or at least being significantly affected by its pressures (*beiatsu*) and Washington’s directives vis-à-vis Pyongyang. Furthermore, although the salience of anti-militarism as an active norm in Japan’s state-level policy may have receded in response to the recalibrated risks framed against North Korea, the framing of the DPRK has, conversely (and counter-intuitively), in one sense also allowed utilization of the anti-militarist norm in terms of a juxtaposition of identity, which portrays Japan as being justified in taking *defensive* geo-strategic measures (e.g., via re-evaluation of the anti-nuclear (weapons) principles in the wake of the North’s 2006 missile and nuclear tests) in order to secure itself against the uncertain risks posed by an external aggressor.<sup>406</sup> Therein, the process of risk recalibration, can be seen to have manifest itself in Japan’s reinterpretation of such norms and of its military affairs, by way of “attempts to throw-off its anti-militarist shackles” (Chun, 2009: 207-8), observable through a range of legal and geo-military revisions made against a heightened perception of North Korean security risks attributed to the events of 2006. Moreover, these have also been perceived as being posed within an increasingly uncertain geo-political environment in the East Asia region. Thereafter, the broader implications of the recalibration of risks framed against Pyongyang, in terms of the developing trajectory of Japan’s state-level identity, prevailing norms, and resulting

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Southern halves of the peninsula work together, in addition to Russia. As part of such, Japan must reconcile over its history with the DPRK” (2002: 188).

406 I.e., Japan has conflated an *anti-militarist* normative stance with that of *anti-North Korean* sentiment to frame the DPRK’s military provocations as posing a risk to the maintenance of Japan’s anti-militarist (non-offensive, or *peace-loving*) identity.

security policies, is examined further in the following chapter – and is evaluated in light of data analyses covering a series of additional key contemporary events up to 2011.<sup>407</sup>

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407 One leading analyst suggested in an interview (14 December 2010b, Appendix A) that the influence of extremist and right-of-centre political actors upon this process can, ultimately, be reduced to an understanding of the portrayal of Japan's identity; as one which remains weak – so much so that it can be threatened by *puny* North Korea – and requires strengthening in order restore itself to its true international standing (For a historical comparison, see also Benedict, 1946: 20-42). The recalibration of risk can be seen, then, as an on-going socio-political tool in such an endeavour.

## Chapter 5. Reinforced framing of North Korea: the impact of additional events upon Japan's recalibration of risk

*"We must maintain consistent policies without responding to the country's hard-line stance with conciliatory policies"*

Endō Tetsuya

(On "how Japan should deal with North Korea", 29 March 2011)<sup>408</sup>

*"The media and papers are always trying to sensationalize everything to do with North Korea in Japan, but ordinary people in society don't think anything about it"*<sup>409</sup>

Nuclear specialist at a leading Japanese power company

(20 August 2010)

### 5.1. *More missile and nuclear tests: the further recalibration of risks*

As discussed in the previous chapter, in the aftermath of the 2006 missile and nuclear tests, the perceived risks associated with North Korea – galvanized within Japan's political elite

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408 Endō (2011) made the above statement for AJISS Commentary. The short (less than ten full paragraphs) piece reads as highly representative of how Tokyo has reinforced its framing of North Korea as an external assailant representing a range of highly-calibrated, on-going, risks posed to Japan. The prescription of bilateral and tri-lateral (with the ROK) strengthening and a hard-line stance from Tokyo can also be seen as representative of the process observed throughout Chapter 3 ~ Chapter 5 – in terms of adhering to prevailing norms in this sphere.

409 The above quote is relevant in as much as it represents a kind of *double-doubt* phenomenon within Japan's public sphere recalibration of risk. Therein, the majority of non-specialist (in relation to DPRK affairs) interviewees and discussants participating in or influencing this dissertation – including workers at a nuclear plant equipped with anti-terror measures to counter a North Korean attack (see Chapter 4, Section 4.10) – identified Japan's responses to North Korea as inflamed by the media and political leaders. Yet, opinion poll results suggest that the DPRK nevertheless remains framed as the source of salient risks by the greater part of Japan's populous. It is also evident from such, that a majority of respondents use mass media formats as their primary source of information (see Section 5.7, below).



and mediated to the wider society (primarily through the mass media) – were enough to maintain Pyongyang’s negative framing in the immediate months and years that followed. The phenomenon of a conspicuous emphasis upon the recalibration of risks framed against the DPRK was also sustained through the lack of a satisfactory resolution to the abduction issue and continued speculation over the specifics of the nuclear programs in the Northern half of the peninsula. This chapter elucidates how, in the wake of further missile and nuclear tests during 2009, the process of risk-recalibration in response to North Korea largely maintained its momentum up to the aftermath of those events. Ultimately, however, the empirical evidence analysed here, particularly with reference to Pyongyang’s further provocations in 2010, also points to the emergence of a phenomenon of *saturation* across political, media and societal spheres. This is witnessed in terms of the reaction from each of these sectors in response to the *kitachōsen mondai* in Japan – and appears to have manifest itself in the establishment of a new equilibrium with regards to how North Korea is now framed, and how risks associated with the DPRK are calibrated – discussed fully in Section 5.6 and Section 5.12, below. Furthermore, the sections below reveal how this has, to a certain extent, countered the continuing upward trend of risk-recalibration and resulting counter-measures and policies, made primarily against North Korea on the basis of ameliorating those risks. Once again, a complex interactive process, involving key political, market, and societal actors is evinced – and the salience of predominant norms, particularly the powerful influence of *bilateralism*, is demonstrated.

As a precursor to this process, the rise to power of Fukuda Yasuo as Prime Minister, following the resignation of the more *hawkish* Abe Shinzō in September of 2007, offered a potential, albeit brief, opportunity for a re-evaluation of Japan’s North Korea policies – and potentially a less extreme calibration of pertaining risks (Pempel, 2010: 18).<sup>410</sup> Nonetheless,

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410 Abe came to power largely on the basis of his tough line against North Korea and promises to find a resolution to the abduction issue which would see abductees returned to Japanese soil. Indeed, Abe continued to use a hard-line on North Korean issues to gain political clout and leverage throughout, and up

momentum created primarily by the combination of the 2006 nuclear test and the nationwide fervour whipped up over the abduction issue, not least by Abe and his *rightist* allies and co-operators, as exposed in Chapter 4, Section 4.9, ensured that there was little, if any, down-sizing of the risks associated with North Korea within Japan's policy community in the period preceding April of 2009. During the interim, Fukuda had already resigned, and the premiership was once again taken by a right-of-centre politician looking to leverage domestic support through an assertive stance toward foreign-policy issues, and a tough line against Pyongyang. Indeed, incoming Prime Minister, Asō Tarō, had already been outspoken on North Korean affairs during his tenure as Foreign Minister and wasted no time in attempting to shift the political spotlight onto a focus on responses towards DPRK activities – foremostly as a means by which to distract attention away from pressing domestic troubles which saw the premier's popularity plummet rapidly after selection as party leader. Pyongyang's multiple missile launches and second nuclear test during the spring and summer of 2009 facilitated Asō's and others' aims in this regard, and represented another key phase in the process of Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea.<sup>411</sup> As with the previous phases, examined in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, the policy community's role – in terms of interactive constitutive elements and actors intersecting the state, market, and society – was pivotal in maintaining and reinforcing the by then well-established framing of the DPRK.

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to the conclusion of, his reign in 2007, e.g., see AFPBB News (2007).

411 Asō's public support sunk to a record low of 13 per cent in the second half of February 2009, recovering gradually during the period preceding and following the April test launches. For discussion, see 47 News (2009). Notably, however, the LDP-led coalition's attempts to utilize risks supposedly posed by North Korea's weapons as a means to distract attention from domestic unpopularity was, ultimately, unsuccessful (in terms of election failure). Not least, this can be seen as due to the opposition demanding an equally, or even firmer, hard-line against Pyongyang, which nullified the Asō Cabinet's emphasis (see Section 5.2.i, below). Once again, this can be seen as representative of the political contestation over North Korea policies, stimulated by market-driven media interests and civil society pressure groups, which resulted in few dissenting voices to counter the continuation of recalibrating risks in response to North Korean actions across these sectors. This was particularly visible in the wake of the 2009 nuclear and missile tests (see Section 5.5 and Section 5.12, below, for further discussion).

## **5.2. April 2009 missile launch: reaffirmation and convergence of recalibrated risks**

### *5.2.i. Diet reaction to the 2009 missile test*

The initial report provided by Foreign Minister Nakasone Hirofumi as a statement to the Diet's Security Committee following the DPRK's 5 April launch, made on 9 April, 2009 (171: 4) is symbolic of the formulation, as outlined in the preceding section, in which risks are recalibrated within Japan's political elite. Concurrently, North Korea was identified and reaffirmed as the source of grave, multiple and unquantifiable risks (i.e., those internalized from nuclear and missile threats, or *kaku ya misairu no kyōi*), and was referenced within a predication of reiterating the salience of the norm of *bilateralism*. Therein, the taking of actions symbiotically with the US, or looking to follow their lead, i.e., with the US expected to front North Korea initiatives (*america wo hajime to suru*) taken by the powerful states of the international community, was advocated. In addition, not only were a multiplicity of geo-military risks identified by Nakasone, the abductions issue – despite having little apparent, immediate, connection to the missile launch of the time – was once again raised in the same statement; thus demonstrating the continued influence of the unresolved abduction cases upon how risks sourced from Pyongyang are framed, in totality, within Japan.

In concurrence, during the main session (*honkaigi*) two days earlier, on 7 April, 2009 (171: 25) leading opposition spokesman for the DPJ, Ōhata Akihiro, made a remarkably comparable statement, requesting an equivalent stance and follow-up action from the ruling LDP administration. Ōhata also fused nuclear, missile and abduction issues in his response to North Korea's multiple launches, and highlighted the incumbent risks – illuminating how a converged inter-party process of *risk conflation* occurred within the policy community in Tokyo in order to frame the DPRK as an *aggressor* (*vis-à-vis* Japan as a *victim*) and justify the recalibration of risks pertaining to it.<sup>412</sup> Indeed, prior to an unrelated, though overtly

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412 In this sense, the governing LDP administration faced fierce criticisms from opposition parties on almost all other issues, including on economic, domestic and foreign-policy initiatives within the same statement

scathing, policy criticism of then Prime Minister, Asō, for his inability to provide practical ideas – as opposed only to a cash injection – as a counter-measure to address the pressing financial crisis (the primary reason for Ōhata’s statement), he then asserted that he would make independent reference to North Korea. Therein, conversely, and in general concurrence with the LDP (and particularly Asō) administration’s existing policy initiatives, he stated that,

With the United Nations playing the central role, North Korea’s provocative challenging of the international community must be stopped, the abduction issues resolved as urgently as possible, and the complete abandonment of nuclear programs and removal of missile threats realized. I strongly urge the government to take resolute measures and employ a strong line of negotiations to this end.

The above is a striking statement in the story of the framing of North Korea in Japan and how risks have been recalibrated against the DPRK, because it is representative of how amid a melee of attacks from all sides against almost all quarters of government policies, Pyongyang’s risks are given special treatment – with evidence of broad intra-party convergence being observed.<sup>413</sup> That is to say, a general exception to immediate inter-party opposition became politically acceptable when discussing the external risks perceived to emanate from North Korea. Within this central discourse, as also expressed by Figure 5.1, below, a majority of intra and inter-party factions converge in terms their identification with a single identity, which is represented by the conception of defending Japan from increasing risks – and the framing of the DPRK as the source of such risks. Furthermore, most evidently in responses to the 2009 tests, such was widely evaluated as requiring a level of

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made by Ōhata. However, in terms of how it calibrated risks emanating from North Korea, the ruling party was only encouraged to raise alert levels – without major criticism being levied at central policy directives implemented to target Pyongyang.

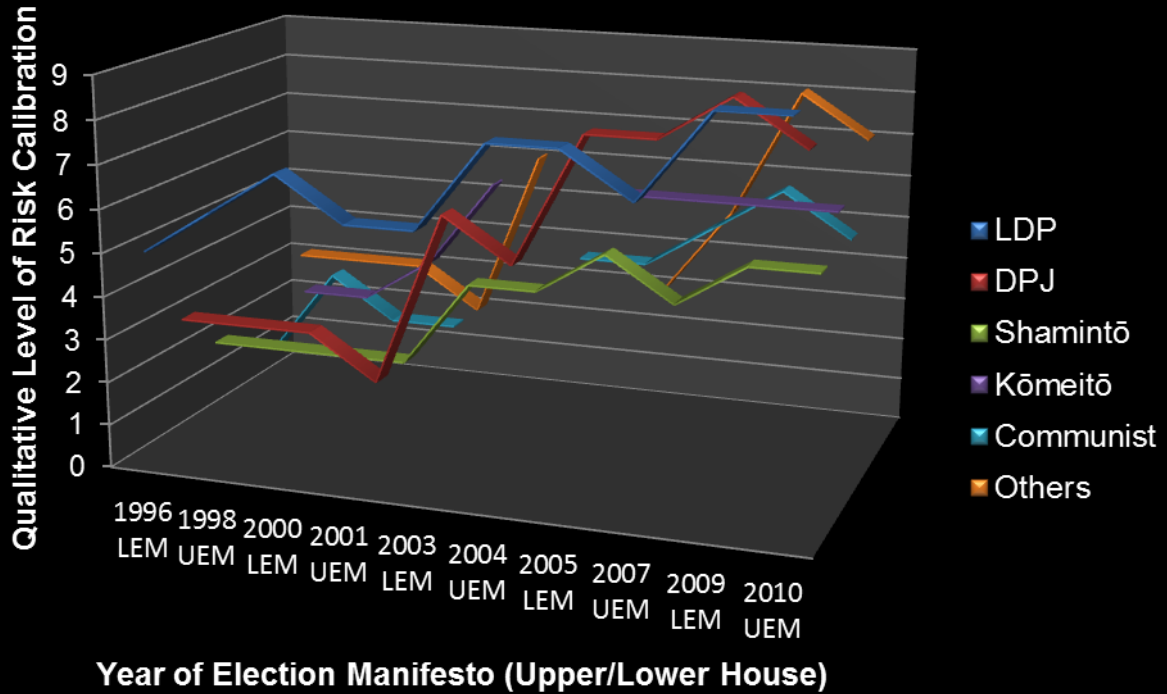
413 See also the statement made during the *honkaigi* of 8 April, 2009 (171: 11) by Hirayama Kōji, who again questioned what the government planned to do to protect Japan in a state of crisis, following the “heinous aggression, which threatens the peace and stability of the international community” carried-out by the DPRK. It is also noteworthy that Hirayama and other opposing speakers claim to be representing four leading opposition parties, including that abbreviated to Japan Party (*nippon-tō*), and allocate this as the final frame, as if to stress the emphasis on Japan -v- North Korea.

calibration sufficient to compete over the toughness of measures required to alleviate those risks above and beyond other domestic political struggles – i.e., as opposed to political competition over what form of overall policy approach should be adopted vis-à-vis North Korea.<sup>414</sup> As such, what could be termed the *reaffirmation of risk recalibration* in response to the DPRK is observable. This effectively amounts to a continuation of the process, initially identified in Chapter 4, Section 4.5 and Section 4.6, following the North’s missile and nuclear tests of 2006, whereby a standardized (cross-party) position which almost uniformly frames Pyongyang’s regime as the cause of a range of multiple and salient risks posed to Japan is assumed – and political contestation is largely limited only to competition within the parameters of such a framing.

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414 As previously noted among Japan’s leading parties, the Japan Communist Party has historically called for a more restrained stance towards North Korea. However, both the JCP and more moderate Social Democratic Party (SDP), or *shamintō*, show a considerable degree of risk recalibration in-sink with rival parties (see Figure 5.1). Further, as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.4, it is also pertinent that leftist elements of Japan’s policy community have been weakened considerably in terms of media sources and their role within civil society, despite the continued publication of the JCP’s *Shimbun Akahata* (<http://www.jcp.or.jp/akahata/>). The loss of left-of-centre political power has also been noted by a number of scholars and analysts as an important factor in facilitating right-of-centre political competition over the recalibration of risks pertaining to the DPRK – and the resulting hard-line policies; e.g., as posited by multiple experts in interviews (12, 13 April, 3 June, 25 July, 2011, Appendix A).

**Figure 5.1. Severity of policies and references directed at North Korea by Japan's major political parties**



**Source: author**

Adapted from data accessed via the Keio World Manifesto Forum (2007) and political party homepages (post-2007 manifestos). Coded qualitative levels of risk calibration are evaluated based on content translated and summarized from the original documents (see Table, Appendix D).

UEM = Upper House Election Manifesto, LEM = Lower House Election Manifesto

*5.2.ii. Media reaction to the April 2009 missile test*

Following the events of 2006 – having gradually been affected by an accumulative process relating to a number of key post-Cold War events – it was noted in Chapter 4, Section 4.7, that, in congruence with the majority of Diet speakers, leading (print) news media in Japan also exhibited a high-degree of convergence in terms of how risks emanating from North Korea were recalibrated. This phenomenon was particularly pertinent to the *Asahi Shimbun*,

as representative of an extensive mainstream shift in how DPRK-related issues were framed. Likewise, the *Asahi's* reaction to the missile test of April 2009 suggests the continuation of such a process – exhibiting extensive comparability (and compatibility) with traditionally more uncompromising right-of-centre media sources, including its leading competitors, such as the *Yomiuri Shimbun*. Therein, while the *Asahi* has consistently advocated the use of a diplomatic strategy with which to engage Pyongyang's regime and reduce the risks attributed to it, the reaction and rhetoric used to predicate discussion of such initiatives bore a remarkable degree of open hostility and emotive language assigned to North Korea in the wake of its April 2009 test launch.<sup>415</sup> The editorial of 6 April 2009, for instance, stated that,

...this launch is absolutely unacceptable. One feels intense anger at such an outrageous provocation which runs counter to calls by Japan and the international community to exercise self-restraint.

The article went on to concretely recalibrate associated risks – which were extended to the North's role in the global increase of security risks, and, once again, further conflated with the abductions issue. In a section entitled “Escalating Dangers of the World” (*kasoku suru sekai no kiken*) the same piece, having highlighted the fact that Japan's geographical position places it within range of North Korea's targeted missiles, asserted that,

Nuclear and missile technology and materials whirl around the world. North Korea is at the very forefront of this reality. This grave situation has to be brought to a permanent end forthwith (editorial, 6 April 2009: 3).

In this sense, close comparisons can be drawn to the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, which portrayed a congruous framing of the North and maintained its focus on the already high calibration of risk attached to the DPRK in its reaction to the missile launch. The *Yomiuri Shimbun's* 6 April

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415 In this respect, as observable from the articles covered below, the *Asahi* did maintain a tangible degree of policy differentiation from the *Yomiuri* – in terms of the extent to which it was willing to promote a proactive diplomatic approach – but provided strikingly similar coverage of the April 2009 missile launch, both in terms of its criticisms of Pyongyang and the extent to which it emphasised a multiplicity of risks posed to Japan; attached to a combination of, oft-times conflated, North Korean issues.

2009 editorial labelled the North Korean “ballistic missile” launch, as a “reckless and dangerous provocation which damages peace and stability, and heightens tensions across the international community.”<sup>416</sup> The recalibration of risks attributed to North Korea in Japan’s leading newspapers can, then, be seen to have reached a point after the events of April 2009 where, although a degree of differentiation between policy prescriptions still existed, the harsh criticism and negative framing of the DPRK, and its cross-association with a range of risks, was largely consistent.<sup>417</sup>

### **5.3. May 2009 nuclear test: reaffirmation and extension of recalibrated risks**

#### *5.3.i. Diet reaction to the May 2009 nuclear test*

Reaction from Diet members to the North’s nuclear test of 25 May, 2009 was not dissimilar to that observed after the April test launch of the same year, in terms of how both governing and opposition political parties were eager to stress a firm-line against Pyongyang, and how the high calibration of risk framed against North Korea was a prominent feature of the central political discourse as a whole. Government spokesman, Itō Shintarō (171: 7), for instance launched a scathing verbal assault against the DPRK’s actions, stating that,

The latest nuclear test conducted by North Korea, when considered in combination with the North’s increasing ability to deploy ballistic missiles as a means of delivering weapons of mass destruction, is a grave threat to our nation’s safety. The test starkly impinges upon the peace and security of East Asia and the international community, and as such is totally unacceptable. In response to North Korea, we fiercely object to their actions and sternly condemn the test.

Akin to previous remarks scrutinized above, the LDP administration speakers went on to add missile and abduction issues to the risks they identified with North Korea in the same

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416 The two papers’ supportive stance of UN-led, internationally coordinated, efforts to increase economic sanctions against the DPRK was also largely equivalent (e.g., see *Yomiuri*, editorial, 11 April 2009: 3).

417 Indeed, it is noteworthy that the *Yomiuri* editorial quoted above actually had no mention of the abductions issue, something which was placed firmly within the discussion of North Korean-based risks in the *Asahi* editorial of the same date.



statements. Therein, rather than isolating specific risks born by the nuclear test, it was used as a means by which to refocus attention on a broad range of risks – apparently amounting to pressing concerns for Japan posed by the regime in Pyongyang.

In opposition, DPJ statements were again represented by criticisms of the government's apparent inability to deal effectively with actual contingencies presented by the range of risks framed as emanating from the external North Korean threats – i.e., as opposed to an attack on the policies implemented to deal with those risks per se. For instance, in both the Foreign Affairs Defence Committee (*gaikō bōei iinkai*) of 26 May and the main session of 27 May, Kazama Naoki (171: 18, 171: 9), speaking on behalf of the DPJ-led shadow-coalition, raises the issues of an ineffective national defence structure – juxtaposed against the pressing and unacceptable risks posed by a nuclear-armed DPRK. In this way, the opposition's focus was not placed on a fundamental criticism of government policies to deal with Pyongyang's provocations, nor did it question the extent to which risks attributed to North Korea's actions actually represented a feasible or probable contingency for Japan. Rather, having accepted, and indeed having contributed to, the GoJ's recalibration of risks and negative framing of the DPRK, leading rival politicians and parties primarily contested only the logistical means by which those risks could be pro-actively ameliorated – competing predominantly in order to demonstrate the strength of their stance vis-à-vis the North.<sup>418</sup>

### *5.3.ii. Media reaction to the May 2009 nuclear test*

Examination of news-media sources' reactions to North Korea's second nuclear test also

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<sup>418</sup>As noted in Chapter 1, Section 1.1, an important element of this framing of North Korea's nuclear-based risks by Japan's policy makers can be seen in its justifying of taking measures which are ultimately concerned with risks posed by a more assertive, nuclear armed China. Moreover, as stated by Samuels (2007: 171) the DPRK's provocative behaviour and weak international position facilitates such a framing. Therefore, as seen in the ultimately conciliatory response to China's recent maritime incursions off the Pinnacle Islands, fear of antagonizing China can also be seen as a significant element in maintaining a high calibration of risks framed against Pyongyang.

evinces the further progression of a process, intersecting core media, societal (see also Section 5.7) and political elements of Japan's policy community, which suggests an increasing convergence upon the recalibration of risks perceived to be posed by the DPRK, and reaffirmation of Pyongyang's negative framing in Japan. Moreover, additional evidence that a conflation of risks has occurred is also present in the data pertaining to the 2009 nuclear test. The *Asahi Shimbun*, for instance, in its concluding paragraph of the 26 May 2009 editorial, states that, "[Japan] is in a situation where it has to take in to account that North Korea's nuclear tests and the abductions issue represent a serious threat."<sup>419</sup> Furthermore, the piece is predicated with a sentence which asserts that, "It is a dire situation for the World's security and most obviously for the security of Japan" (26 May 2009: 3). The conflating, or at least lack of disentanglement, of the abductions issue with that of the nuclear test, which was evaluated by the *Asahi* as posing risks recalibrated to the levels of national and global security, is of considerable significance here because it elucidates the extent to which the abduction issue became attached to a broader framing of North Korea – i.e., as that which is associated with multiple and increasingly salient risks.<sup>420</sup>

In addition, the *Asahi Shimbun's Tensei Jingo* column reaffirmed the recalibration of risk established in the aftermath of 2006 – further emphasized in April of 2009 – in combination with a derogatory framing (labelling) of Pyongyang. Furthermore, the paper actually recalibrated further; suggesting that North Korea's emergence as a new nuclear-armed state, might, "ultimately, lead to the obliteration of humankind" (West Division, 28 May 2009: 10). Moreover, while the *Asahi* continued to stress the use of non-violent means and avoidance

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419 The issue of missile testing was also introduced in association with the nuclear test earlier in the article.

420 While the *Asahi's* position on the promotion of diplomatic efforts vis-à-vis North Korea remained essentially unchanged, as did its emphasis on US-led (supporting the norm of *bilateralism*) and regional initiatives, it is noteworthy that military action against the DPRK was only ruled-out on the grounds that it was logistically unrealistic – as opposed to political, socio-economic or ethical grounds for avoiding confrontation. In this sense, particularly in light of the paper's repeated labelling of Pyongyang's regime as "dangerous" (*kiken*), "unlawful" (*muhō*) and "reckless" (*mubō*), and its assertion that nuclear tests represented, "not only a threat to security, but to the future of mankind" (26 May 2009: 3), the recalibration of risk is clearly realized through intensification of the North's negative framing.

of escalating a potential regional arms race, there was a sense in which its increased condemnation of the North, and stressing of various associated risks, diluted such a message. Indeed, the *Asahi's* tangible recalibration of risks (i.e., to the level of ultimate Armageddon) attributed to the DPRK was equal to, and at times even in excess of, that presented by rival print-media sources associated with more rightist stances – as were elements of the *Asahi's* prescriptions for punitive sanctions.

The *Yomiuri Shimbun*, for instance, while in concurrence with the *Asahi* on advocating the imposition of increased and more extensive sanctions against North Korea, and the need for US-led, UN and regional cooperation efforts, was, in one sense, less sensational in terms of its appraisal of the potential risks posed by Pyongyang. For example, the *Yomiuri's* 27 May 2009 editorial made no mention of the risk of “annihilation of mankind” alerted to by the *Asahi*, and employed little emotive language with which to describe the North’s actions; merely stating concisely that, “Japan is the one directly at risk from North Korea’s nuclear and missile threats” (27 May 2009: 3).<sup>421</sup> In this sense, while the *Yomiuri* may have, ultimately, advocated a more extensive range of policy revisions in response to North Korea than the *Asahi* – particularly with regards to Japan’s re-militarization – comparative examination of the rhetoric employed by the two papers’ editorial boards suggests a broad convergence, most notably in terms of the *Asahi* having presided over an extensive recalibration of risks emanating from the DPRK, which brought their positions closer to that of traditionally right-of-centre news sources. This was also present in the compounded framing – as a multiple source of conflated risks – of North Korea as such a high-risk entity, which is once again reaffirmed from a broad cross-section of media-standpoints taken after the 2009 nuclear test.<sup>422</sup>

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421 Once again, the conflation of multiple issues (nuclear, missile) was, therein, also apparent.

422 For concise comment, communicating broader societal and political reactions to the test in Japan, see news report of 25 May (NHK News, 2009).

#### **5.4. July 2009 missile launches: reaffirming and converging of the recalibrated risks**

##### *5.4.i. Diet reaction to the July 2009 missile tests*

In comparison to the magnitude of reaction, from both government and opposition parties, over the DPRK's April 2009 missile launch, and particularly its May 2009 nuclear test, Diet members were relatively limited in their response to the multiple test launch of July 2009.<sup>423</sup> Indeed, the lack of such a high-volume of response may be suggestive of a saturation-point for North Korean issues within Japan's political elite. Nevertheless, the GoJ maintained its prevailing trajectory of risk recalibration, realized not least in the form of justifying the unprecedented dispatch of PAC-3 anti-ballistic missile interceptor batteries – initially deployed after the April launch in seven facilities across Japan – put into effect by raising the official level of alert to “high” at the time of the July launches. In a by then well-established pattern, the ruling LDP-led administration subsequently outlined the increased risks posed by the DPRK's on-going *provocations*, and introduced further plans to take practical counter-measures, in the form of legislation, as discussed in Section 5.10, below. This recalibration of risks was also mediated through a reaffirmation of the North's negative framing in public spheres. Therein, this interactive process can be observed in the 9 July 2009 session of the Special Committee for Cooperative Activities Supporting the National Interest and the Prevention of International Terrorism and Counter-Measures against Piracy (*kaizoku kōi e no taisho oyobi kokusai terorizumu oyobi wagaknuni no kyōryoku shien katsudō nado ni kansuru tokubetsu iinkai*) immediately following the 4 July 2009 missile tests. Chief Cabinet Secretary, Kawamura Takeo, stated (171: 1) that,

When one considers that North Korea is strengthening its missile capabilities, which can become the means by which to carry weapons of mass-destruction – given its carrying-

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423 The comparatively small number of statements addressing the missile tests in the Diet does, however, have to be considered with reference to the Diet's summer recess and the on-going election campaign, both of which no doubt had a considerable impact upon topical and on-going debates across all chambers and committees (see Section 5.6, below, for quantitative analysis of Diet reactions).

out of the nuclear test – it represents a threat to the peace and security of the international community. That threat is especially conspicuous for our nation, as we are placed in close proximity.

The above statement was used as justification for introducing a legislative bill to further curtail funds – which might be used for such weapons programmes – being transferred via North Korean vessels.<sup>424</sup> Once again, there was no fundamental questioning of the fact that the DPRK's nuclear and missile developments posed a salient and pressing risk to Japan, which, therefore, facilitated a maximized recalibration of risk in relation to them.

In addition, coming at a time of intense domestic political competition, immediately prior to an election, the July test-firings also presented an opportunity to utilize the framing of North Korea and highly calibrated risks associated with it as tools by which to seek a competitive edge – in line with the arguments posited by Wada (see Chapter 1, Section 1.6). Indeed, actors within the GoJ attempted to make use of the perceived imminence of risks posed by North Korea to avoid then prime minister, Asō, being subjected to a vote of no-confidence – arguing that more pressing matters (i.e., the risks posed by the DPRK's missile threat) should be prioritized by the opposition. For instance, during the main session of 14 July 2009, the LDP's Tanigawa Shūzen (171: 2), demanded that the DPJ justify its priorities, and support the national cause, which he suggested was at risk from Pyongyang's actions if coordinated government attention could not be unimpeded in its focus upon them. In so doing, Tanigawa, accusingly asked,

Are you going to overlook North Korea's behaviour of continued violations, beginning with abductions from our shores, and the missile launches and nuclear test? The role of the state is to protect its citizens' lives and property, and maintain its security. It would be equal to a dereliction of the state's duties and dignity not to take all measures necessary to counter the greatest threat to our country, which is North Korea.

As discussed below, discourse emphasizing multiple risks identified with North Korea in

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424 The bill was ultimately challenged and prevented from passing – as a political manoeuvre designed to further damage the LDP – only to be effectively readopted by the incoming DPJ after its election victory (see also Section 5.10).

reaction to the July 2009 missile tests – as represented by Tanigawa’s statement above – was also further mediated in a general convergence between Diet and media-sources.

#### *5.4.ii. Media reaction to the July 2009 missile tests*

As consistently observed in the analyses thus far, media reaction in Japan to North Korea’s multiple missile launches of July 2009 displayed a considerable degree of alignment, and cross-interaction with that of Diet members. Therein, the already highly recalibrated risks associated with Pyongyang’s provocative actions were once again both restated and primed for a possible further recalibration of risk. In addition to the predictable reassertion of the DPRK’s framing as a reckless (*rogue*) state which flaunts legitimate international rules, the perception of the risks pertaining to Pyongyang were subtly revised upwardly by using, not least, forms of *passive* or indirect persuasion (see also Chapter 2, Section 2.10), which assumed a position that included Japan as a potential target for the North’s missiles. With such a standpoint taken as a given, the constitutive risks of North Korea’s further development of missile programmes were then non-problematically evinced. For instance, the *Asahi Shimbun* (6 July 2009: 4) carried an article, entitled “North Korean missiles: Increased precision – suggestions of ‘demonstrating performance’”, which alluded to such risks by stating that,

Exactly three years ago [in 2006], before dawn on 5 July, North Korea also launched seven missiles, including Nodongs, Scuds and a long-range ballistic Taepodong. However, compared to that time their launching technology appears to have improved.

Therefore, if the assumption that Japan was, ultimately, a potential or probable target for North Korea’s missiles went unchallenged, any improvement to the DPRK’s weapons programmes, particularly when conflated with other nuclear, terror, financial and abductions issues, acted as a cue for the extended recalibration of existing risks framed against Pyongyang’s regime.

Once again, the *Yomiuri Shimbun* offered a comparable analysis to that of the *Asahi*, calling for the further imposition of sanctions as a means to curtail the North's financial capacity, in light of the potential risk of funds finding their way into the continued development of an enhanced missile capability. However, forthwith, following the July 2009 test launches, the *Yomiuri* returned, in its extended commentary, to use of the kinds of predicative language used to frame North Korea's actions that was present in the editorials of the *Asahi* immediately after the May 2009 nuclear test; describing the launches as, "provocative behaviour which, having ignored the warnings of the international community, threatens the peace and security of East Asia, and cannot be countenanced" (editorial, 5 July 2009: 3). In this sense, while the extent of emotive or sensational language exhibited an unequal distribution across Japan's two leading quality newspapers in response to the unfolding events of 2009, their continued recalibration of risk and an unrelenting reinforcement of North Korea's negative frame – in convergence with the political elite – are clearly evident.

##### ***5.5. Changes in the policy community and the effects of administrative changeover: limited impact upon the DPRK's framing in Japan***

Until the recent advent of a DPJ-led coalition in 2010, and certainly until the electoral reforms of the mid 1990s, post-War state-level power in Japan was widely seen as being contained within an *iron triangle* which encompassed the LDP, government bureaucracy and associated big-business (Johnson, 1982).<sup>425</sup> While it is, as yet, unclear to what extent the full-scale change of administration will impact upon the constitutive elements of Japan's policy community, what seems beyond doubt is that they have already been transformed

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425 It should be noted that while the restructuring of Japan's ministries, including MITI, which was key to Johnson's thesis, may have altered their degree of influence, it has also affected their outlook and priorities rationale, particularly from internal to external factors (Mochizuki, 2007: 5). Not least, this is so in terms of where the source of risks is to be located and identified – i.e., more predominantly with North Korea.

from the rigid structure of Johnson's "plan-rational system" to something far more embroiled in the issue networks of media and civil society (Campbell et al., 1989). It has also been observed that despite this apparent departure from the so-called *iron triangle model*, prime ministerial power, particularly following reforms implemented under Koizumi Junichirō, has been increased and the PM's relationship with the public sphere is now of crucial importance (Steel and Kabashima, 2010: 86-104).

Prior to this process of alterations to the policy community, the traditionally powerful role of the bureaucracy was both structural and legal, and was essentially premised upon the fact that the LDP held almost total and permanent governance and looked after the businesses that funded it and the civil servants that organized its administration. Moreover, this stemmed back to the days of the post-War occupation when the US authorities were keen to limit the impact of contested political forces within civil society and the established parties, but eager to keep bureaucracy on-side, because the bureaucrats were needed in order to perform a range of logistical, organizational and administrative operations in the aftermath of defeat in World War II (Stockwin, 2008: 137-41). However, after a partially interrupted continuation of the status quo in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, the advent of the Koizumi administration offered a window of opportunity for Japan's political apparatus to be restructured. Much of it duly was, played out through what was termed the *Koizumi gekijō*, or Koizumi theatre, which dominated the public sphere – and was in no small part reliant upon the framing of North Korea for its foreign policy directives – as outlined in Chapter 4, Section 4.1 and Section 4.4.

Large sections of restructuring which altered the policy community in Japan involved beefing-up effective prime ministerial power and shaking-up ministry and bureaucratic organization. Perhaps most crucially, this took the form of increased executive authority for the prime minister's office, or *kantei*, and a reduced role for the previously dominant influence of the bureaucratic Cabinet Legislation Bureau (CLB, or *naikaku hōsei kyoku*)



(Samuels, 2007:74-5).<sup>426</sup> Koizumi and his LDP successors (Abe, Fukuda, Asō) also presided over the restructuring of ministries, which reshaped parts of the policy community unevenly. Indeed, in the field of foreign affairs and policy, this was framed in terms of adapting to globalization and, moreover, to the risks which it presented to Japan – including those posed by identified state-sponsors of terrorism, such as North Korea.<sup>427</sup> As an ultimate result, not only was successive legislation passed to reform Japan Self Defense Force (JSDF) roles, but the Japan Defense Agency (JDA) was itself upgraded to the status of ministry in January 2007, on the grounds that it needed strengthening in order to meet global security threats, which pose a risk to Japan and the stability of East Asia as a whole.<sup>428</sup> Therein, the process leading to the justification for such a stance can be seen to have initially begun with the recalibration of risks following the Nodong and Taepodong launches of the 1990s, and sustained by Pyongyang’s subsequent *provocations* – particularly the nuclear tests and missile launches of 2006 and 2009.

Indeed, prominent on the list of global risks identified by the newly shaped policy community was North Korea. This was an already conveniently established area of perceived risk. As Fujiwara succinctly acknowledges with regard to how the DPRK’s adventurism impacted upon Japan’s policy making elites of the 1990s, for instance, “For the policy makers in Tokyo, the prominent geopolitical risk was North Korea” (2006: 55). As discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.10 (see also Chapter 1, Section 1.6 and Chapter 4, Section 4.4), the power of the media and public opinion was paramount in priming the normative parameters within which risk could be recalibrated by the executive arm of the

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426 As Samuels discusses, this is significant not only because it represents a reshaping of a core part of Japan’s political elite apparatus, but also because the CLB has consistently been inextricably linked to key market agents in terms of a so-called *revolving door* between senior bureaucracy and large public and private corporations.

427 For discussion of Japan’s policy revisions under Koizumi as a response to challenges posed by globalization, see Hook and Hasegawa (2006: 1-13), Fujiwara (2006: 55-68).

428 The background to the JDA’s upgrading, including the influence of US policy elites in persuading a recalibration of risk framed against North Korea, and its impact upon Japan’s defence apparatus as a whole, is discussed by Oros and Tatsumi (2007).

state. Hence, Koizumi's ascension to power effectively allowed a charismatic government figure-head to interact directly with civil society, largely cutting out bureaucratic and non-media market elements of the policy community. This facilitated the delineation of parameters within which risks perceived to emanate from the DPRK would be framed, and set forth how responses would be justified and implemented through policy reforms rationalized in relation to them. Such reforms were, therein, made against a background of risks perceived to come from the threat of incursions and abductions, but ultimately justifiable by the realization of risks posed by the missile threat established after the 1998 launch – and most pro-actively mediated through the public-sphere following the nuclear test and missile test-firings of 2009.

Amid this, the extent to which the mass media and public opinion essentially acted as powerful elements of Japan's policy community in their own right is highlighted by the manner in which, from the time of high-profile coverage of North Korean spy-boat incursions and abduction incidents in the early part of the new millennium, "...no Japanese politician or official would have dared to be seen as soft on North Korea" (Leheny, 2006: 167).<sup>429</sup> The point here is that, regardless of whether primarily orchestrated top-down by prime ministerial leadership or neo-conservative consensus/convergence, or as part of a bottom-up movement, once the DPRK became identified as a powerful source of risks mediated within the public sphere, the recalibration of those risks was adopted by large sections of the market-based media, and society, which in turn held interactive influence over the policy community as a whole. This was so regardless of whether its policy making arm was led by the LDP – or is led by DPJ politicians. Put simply, Japan has a public electorate which, largely through media influence, as highlighted in Section 5.7, below, are seen increasingly

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429 Leheny points to a specific recalibration of risk, observable across dialogue intersecting Japan's state, market and society in response to North Korea. Not least, as he notes, this was by way of the adaptation of terms, from *fushinsen* to *kōsakusen* ("suspicious boat" to "operations boat" or "spy boat") concerning successive North Korean incursions into waters inside Japan's EEZ. Ultimately, this redefinition of terms is a function of the recalibration of risk – which can facilitate, or ease, the passing of emergency laws (2006: 157-64).

to accept the recalibration or risk vis-à-vis North Korea.<sup>430</sup>

These elements combine with a loose affiliation of political actors from the leading parties, bureaucracy and big business, who are also influenced by a broad range of extending issue networks. Such are given a voice through the public sphere, and play a part in the policy community, which is, therefore, devoid of the kind of clear boundaries demarcating state from society that would be expected in rigid iron-triangle power elites. Within this process, then, responses to the 1993 and 1998 missile launches – as discussed in Chapter 3 – and the subsequent test-firings in 2006 and 2009, have been identified as pivotal events. Not least, this is because they were central to setting in motion and maintaining, and demarcating the parameters for, so much of the political and public discourses which express how the DPRK has come to be framed up to the present.

In addition, it should be noted that the concept of reform, not just of defence posture but as a societal whole, has been a sustained theme of post-Cold War politics in Japan (Kawabata, 2006: 66-92). As a result of such reform, particularly that led by Koizumi, the central organs of the established policy community became truncated, and responsibility and authority increasingly shifted from public to private sectors moving into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Although not an obvious direct influence upon perceptions of North Korea, or the recalibration of risks associated with it per se, the majority of neo-liberal reforms have been supported by conservative consensuses within the LDP and powerful business-related organizations and committees, such as the Advisory Council for the Promotion of

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430 It should, however, be restated here that mainstream media in Japan is highly embedded within the political landscape – and as such cannot be conceptualized as a disentangled actor, entirely separate from the state. For instance, individual journalists work closely with individual bureaucrats and politicians, in order to provide *acceptable* stories and coverage in return for a consistent supply of information. This resulted in a considerable shift in the specific staff (journalists) being assigned to government-related stories following the advent of the DPJ administration, but only limited change (by way of greater access to a larger number of journalists) to the system of media-based information dissemination itself.

Administrative Reform (*Gyōkakushin*).<sup>431</sup> These forces are, likewise, broadly supported by US commercial and strategic interests, and form part of a discourse which includes the re-evaluation and operationalization of security regimes. The recalibration of risk in response to North Korea can, in this sense, be seen partially as a function of neo-liberal/neo-conservative convergence within Japan's policy community, which seeks to use the framing of North Korea both as a justification for the development of increased military power projection and as the basis by which to govern a range of internal security risks.<sup>432</sup>

Clearly, the advent of an, at least complicity, new political administration, in the form of the DPJ-led coalition, offers both to restructure the policy community further and to open opportunities to run a political trajectory that counters that of established US/neo-conservative, LDP and public corporation interests, and the post-Cold War structures which they evolved from.<sup>433</sup> However, the large number of former LDP members in key positions within the DPJ, in combination with financial and intra-coalition political constraints, and the continued potency of *beiat-su* over pivotal geopolitical issues, invites doubts about the ability of the present administration to effectively reinvent the existing policy community at state-level.<sup>434</sup> Moreover, due to continued sabre-rattling from Pyongyang, prolonging now already recalibrated appraisals of the risks posed by North Korea within the public sphere, any imminent top-down attempts to recalibrate those risks to a lower level may be perceived as a

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431 The *Gyōkakushin* was first promoted under Prime Minister Hashimoto Ryūtarō after it took over an advisory and functional role for reform measures introduced during the administration of Nakasone Yasuhiro within the framework provided by the Second Provisional Administrative Reform Commission or *Rinchō* (Kawabata, 2006:70).

432 As discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.11, the North Korean community provides a domestic microcosm, or risk-target, which can be primed and utilized for such an endeavour.

433 Discourse pointing to the intended realization of such policy restructuring can be seen most prominently in the now well-cited DPJ pre-2009 general election manifesto, which included directives of embracing an East Asian Community and pursuing a more equal role within the US-Japan alliance.

434 Former Prime Minister, Hatoyama Yukio, as well as former Party Chairman, Ozawa Ichirō, and former Foreign Minister, Okada Katsuya, in addition to a number of other well-known political figures within the ruling coalition, were all formerly influential members of the LDP.

weakening of Japan's position.<sup>435</sup> These structural factors may, conversely, offer more opportunities to maintain the ratcheted-up calibration of risks framed against the DPRK, as explored in Section 5.12, below, and remain a potential means by which to garner support within civil society and re-stabilize the foundations of the policy community as it stands.<sup>436</sup>

Nevertheless, the initial DPJ-led administration leader, Hatoyama Yukio's forceful statements regarding a more equal US-Japan alliance, and his aspirations to develop regional foreign-policy on the basis of constructing an East Asia community (*ajia kyōdōtai no kōchiku*) did offer to challenge a number of the structural features sustaining Japan's negative framing of North Korea and contingent recalibration of associated risks.<sup>437</sup> If Hatoyama's term as prime minister had lasted longer, this might have had a lasting impact upon the salience of *bilateralism* as a major source of agency driving such a process of risk recalibration. However, with Hatoyama's early departure, and PM Kan Naoto and new FM Maehara Seiji (succeeded by PM Noda Yoshihiko, and FMs Matsumoto Takeaki and Genba Kōichirō) announcing their intentions to rebuild a close relationship with the US, such an

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435 Revelations during 2009-10 included confirmation that Kim Jong-Il personally ordered the abduction of Japanese citizens from Japan, North Korea's suspected torpedo sinking of the South Korean, Cheonan, naval vessel, and the shelling of Yeonpyeong Island (see Section 5.12, below).

436 Certainly, the DPJ's upper house election manifesto (2007f: 27) maintained it would sustain policies (including sanctions) implemented against the DPRK by the LDP government on account of Japan being the country "most at risk from North Korea's nuclear and missile capabilities" and cited the abduction issue as a foreign policy priority – in general accord with LDP rhetoric. For full comparison of the two parties' manifestos, see Keio World Manifesto Forum (2007f, 2007g).

437 Indeed, while Hatoyama's lower house election manifesto (Democratic Party of Japan, 2009: 48-9) maintains references to the risks posed by North Korean missile and nuclear programmes, the section relating to the DPRK has been reduced in size from that included in the 2007 manifesto and emphasises the need for international cooperation (listing the ROK and Russia, in addition to the US, as key actors in such a process) in order to tackle the North Korea problems. The passage on the DPRK is limited to seven lines sandwiched between sections on strengthening East Asian diplomatic relations and the creation of world peace. The LDP's 2009 manifesto, contrastingly, places its section on North Korea – highlighting the need for strengthened measures to deal with diversified and uncertain crisis situations – between sections on the strengthening of security measures and Japan's contribution towards the War on Terror (Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, 2009).

effect appears to have been largely eliminated.<sup>438</sup>

Furthermore, in addition to the large disparity between the dispositions of individual politicians, such as Kan and Hatoyama (or Okada, Maehara, Matsumoto and Genba), as noted in an interview (9 May 2011a, Appendix A) by one leading expert on Japan's domestic politics, the DPJ coalition government as a whole contains wide inconsistencies in terms of the political standpoints of various ministries and broader areas of policy creation. Amid this, therefore, it is possible, particularly given the influences of public-sphere scrutiny and US opposition to a softening of stance vis-à-vis North Korea, for the foreign-policy and security arms of government to maintain a hawkish stance, including the high calibration of risks framed against the DPRK, even while other domestically oriented sectors and groups of policy makers pursue a more liberal approach.<sup>439</sup>

Whether, then, the above mentioned increase of public sphere participation in the state-level policy community, combined with greater prime ministerial power and the restructuring of ministerial and other governmental organs, actually represents a comprehensive departure from the old structures of business, bureaucracy and power-politicians is still debatable.<sup>440</sup> However, what can be asserted is that a combination of the collapse of viable

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438 The bureaucratic arms of Japan's policy community themselves also appear largely to support such a view, particularly in terms of North Korea policy. For instance, the MOD's NIDS East Asian Review does contain a section on the "Impact of Change of Government" (2010: 246-53), but only makes reference to North Korea in terms of its continued presence within the new 2010 National Defense Program Guidelines, and asserts that, "Japan's choices for partners in dealing with problems that could lead to armed conflict are strictly limited, and Japan may need to rely on deterrence in the context of the Japan-US alliance" (NIDS, 2010: 253). This once again reaffirms the strength of *bilateralism* as a dominant norm and evinces the limited impact of administration change upon the calibration of external security risks, including those framed against the DPRK.

439 The above source (Appendix A) also posited that this has led to a kind of *cost analysis*, within which more leftist sections of the DPJ coalition probably adjudge that greater impact can be made by pouring efforts into domestic issues, as opposed to the relatively immovable area of foreign policy – particularly in relation to a now ostensibly negatively framed North Korea.

440 It should also be noted that many civil society groups are highly opposed to what is seen as a neo-conservative agenda designed to use risks perceived to emanate from North Korea as means to enact constitutional reform and normalization of Japan's military (Oda, 2006: 391-2, Takashima, 2006: 233-8). The prominence of such resistance to a broad perception of North Korea as a high-risk entity in

opposition parties (following electoral reform in the mid 1990s) which had opposed Japan's geo-political *normalization* (Kohno, 2007: 39-40), reassertion of the norm of *bilateralism* under the Bush-Koizumi and Obama-Kan/Noda administrations, and the extended proliferation of media as a means by which civil society can influence discourse on topics such as North Korea, has resulted in a broader and more permeable basis to Japan's policy community.<sup>441</sup> In spite of this, for the foreseeable future – as outlined in Section 5.12, below – the prime effect appears to be a maintenance of its perceived levels of risk, in line with those recalibrated in relation to the highlighted events of missile and nuclear tests occurring throughout 2009.<sup>442</sup>

### **5.6. Quantifiable recalibration of risk: flattening-out of Diet and media reactions**

As outlined in Chapter 2, Section 2.4, in order to give substantive empirical support to the range of qualitative observations made with regards to Japan's recalibration of risk through the framing of North Korea, an attempt needs to be made at each key juncture to quantify such a process. This is particularly so in terms of how specifically central elements of the state and society, such as leading politicians and media, have converged and interacted to influence both how the DPRK has been framed and how risks identified with that framing are recalibrated. Although crude in its construction, the model (Figure 5.2) below, based on discourse from discursive sources, continues, as with previous events, covered in Chapter 3

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the public sphere in many ways serves, however, conversely, to expose the limited influence of civil society in this area of policy formation, and its minimal impact upon the policy community therein.

441 In an interview (25 July 2011, Appendix A), one JCP representative suggested that the destruction of leftist political forces and the creation of a comparably right-of-centre two-party political system amounted to the realization of such forces deliberately creating a "farce of democracy."

442 Kohno's discussion of the domestic politics of Japan's international relations, while pointing to a shift from a relatively fixed political structure and international posture during the Cold War towards a broader base of political participation, is also indicative of the fact, conversely, that there is widespread convergence across the greater part of Japan's policy community with regards to how risks are framed against North Korea

and Chapter 4, to provide an illustration of how this may be achieved in relation to the missile and nuclear tests of 2009 (see also Table 5.1).

**Table 5.1. Impact of the 2009 Missile Launches and Nuclear Test in the Media and Diet**<sup>443</sup>

Months	Numbers of articles/items (prior to event)			April 2009 Missile Test Launch	Numbers of articles/items (post event)			
	12~	6~	3~		(~25 May)	~3 (~4 July)	~6	~12
Asahi	1931	974	561		492	1036	1850	2734
Yomiuri	2455	1235	704		568	1184	2140	3091
Mainichi	2234	1065	607		550	1167	2035	2873
Sankei	3488	1691	959		740	1562	2723	4262
NHK News	1804	900	561		430	952	1411	1917
Diet	181	114	66		58	108	126	251
Magazine ※	85	42	11		16	37	58	111

**Source: author**

Figures shown above are based on official database (NDL search engine, Asahi Database, Yomiuri Database, Nikkei Telecom 21 Database) hits for “kitachōsen.” ※Based on a selection of national news magazines, primarily sourced from those listed on the Nikkei Telecom21 database.

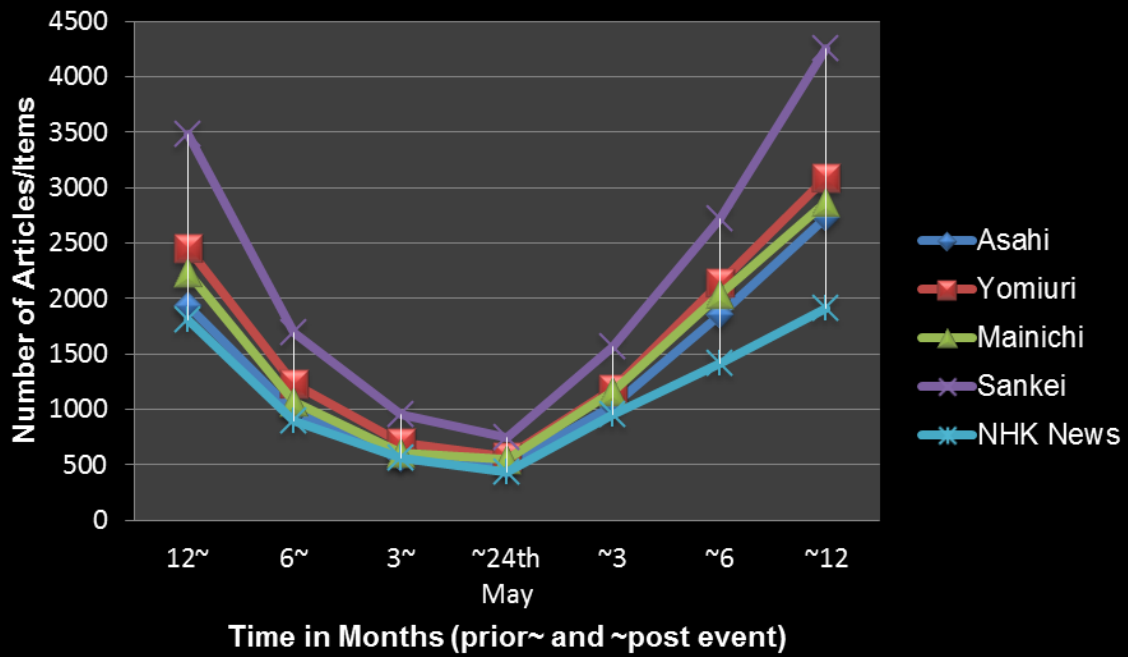
\*The “summer holiday effect” (see Chapter 4, Table 4.1) can be seen again in the above results, in terms of a reduction in the volume of Diet reaction to the July 2009 missile launches, therefore having a spill-over impact upon the final figure.<sup>444</sup>

443 Even more than was the case for the July 2006 missile launches, effective quantitative analysis, in terms of the volume of media and Diet reaction is problematic to measure, due to the overlap of closely following events (i.e., May 2009 nuclear test, July 2009 missile launches). The table for 2009 has, therefore, been modified in an attempt to more meaningfully gauge reaction to each event. Nevertheless, the overall impact of the combination of events – in comparison to pre-event (pre-April 2009 levels of risk calibration) levels – can be estimated and compared approximately with previous events (i.e., those covered above, between 1993 and 2006, see tables in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, and Chapter 6, Figure 6.3, for an extended comparison).

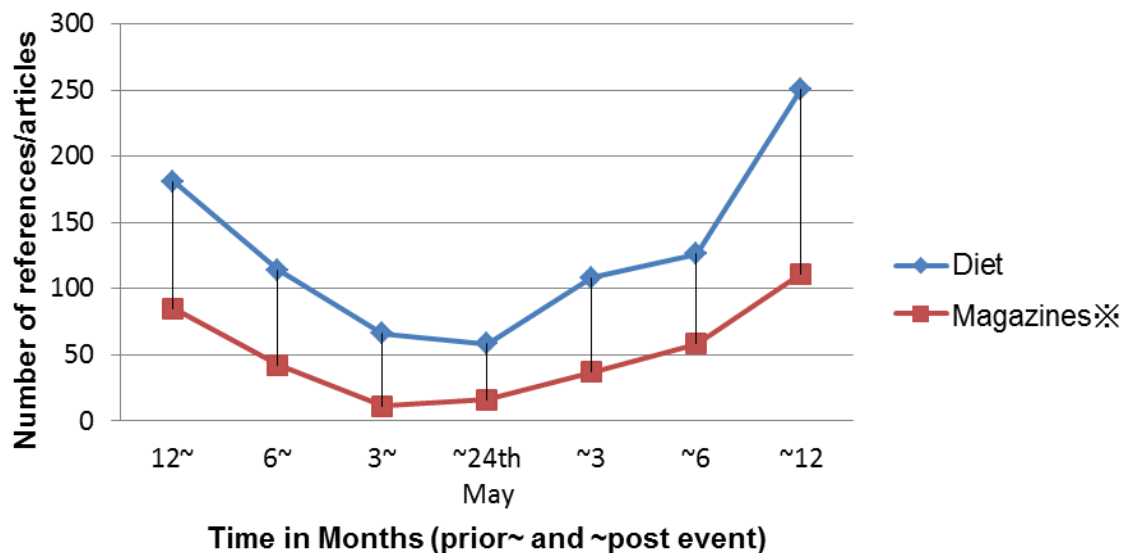
444 The final figures for all columns have also been affected by further recent events, particularly the Cheonan sinking in March 2010. For a specific, short-term quantitative estimation of reaction to that event and others, see Section 5.12, Table 5.2, below.



**Figure 5.2 (a). Media Reaction to the 2009 Missile and Nuclear Tests**



**Figure 5.2(b). Diet and News Magazine Reaction to the 2009 Missile and Nuclear Tests**



Source: figures adapted by the author from data expressed in Table 5.1, above.

In quantitative terms, the multiple events of 2009, once again, clearly suggest a recalibration of risks when comparing levels of coverage prior to and after each incidence.<sup>445</sup> Moreover, when this is taken in tandem with the intensification of practical policy measures directed at Pyongyang, discussed in Section 5.10, below, a further definitive shift, in terms of recalibrating risks which are framed against North Korea, does appear present. However, it must be noted that the actual levels of Diet and media coverage (as a measure of volume) for the so called *kitachōsen mondai* had, in fact, decreased by 2009, despite the three prominent events of that year – most pertinently in comparison to quantities of items and articles identified with reaction to the comparable events of 2006 – as ascertained in Chapter 4, Table 4.2 and Chapter 6, Figure 6.1. In this respect, Figure 5.5, below, further supports the qualitative evidence discussed in this chapter, in terms of evincing an interactive and largely convergent framing of North Korean actions by leading Diet and media actors, intersecting multiple issues, during this period. Furthermore, it also supports the argument that quantitative levels of public and political sphere attention – which can be seen as central to Japan’s framing of North Korea – have indeed receded in the period post-dating 2006.

Therein, while the missile and nuclear tests of 2009 clearly acted as the trigger to maintain a wave like pattern of risk recalibration in response to the DPRK’s perceived provocations, the pertaining peaks and troughs were no longer able to supersede those of previous events, as observed, in one sense, up to 2006 (see also Chapter 6, Figure 6.2).<sup>446</sup> Furthermore, as expressed by Table 5.2, below, attention to the abductions issue receded during the same

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445 As outlined above (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3), while media, literary and Diet coverage of a given subject topic in itself, obviously, does not equate to an accurate measure of risk calibration, the overwhelming mass of coverage on North Korea frames Pyongyang’s actions as bearing multiple and salient risks – as discussed in the qualitative analyses above – which, therefore, justifies utilizing fluctuating volumes of coverage in order to estimate a perception of how risks are being (re)calibrated vis-à-vis the DPRK.

446 I.e., in terms of the extended quantities of coverage for North Korean affairs stemming from each of the events examined above – spanning between the conclusion of the Cold War (essentially starting from the 1993 Nodong test-launch) up to the public-political sphere fall-out from the nuclear test of October 2006.

period, which, given its stimulating effect upon all issues associated with North Korea in Japan, can also be seen to have resulted in an inability to further recalibrate such risks within the public sphere, even after additional missile and nuclear tests in 2009.<sup>447</sup> In this sense, a process of media and political saturation with regards to the DPRK would appear to have resulted in a flattening-out of risk recalibration – which is evinced here from the available data that expresses a quantitative analysis of public sphere coverage.

Nevertheless, Diet, media and news-magazine sources alone do not necessarily represent a comprehensive barometer by which to measure the calibration of such risks.<sup>448</sup> Indeed, signs that a further definitive recalibration of risks vis-à-vis North Korea at the state level did take place in response to the events of 2009 are supported to a degree, not only by the introduction of further counter-measures administered by the policy makers, as covered Section 5.10, below, but also, though less definitively, by data from public opinion polls and other non-state actors, as discussed below.

### ***5.7. Public opinion of North Korea: recent trends of recalibrated risk***

It is difficult to evaluate definitively the precise degree to which risk has been recalibrated within Japan's civil society in response to North Korea. Not least, this is due to an inability to compare data like for like over time – such as throughout the post-Cold War era. However, as highlighted by Figure 5.3, below, a variety of opinion polls and data sources do evince clearly that levels of attention and risk perception assigned to the North have been

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447 Though more complex, in terms of a number of issues being attached to a single event, levels of media-based reaction to North Korea can actually be seen to have peaked, in terms of pure volume, during the twelve months following the 2002 Kim-Koizumi leadership summit at which revelations (Kim's admission of North Korean state agents abducting Japanese citizens) over the abduction issue first came to light (see Chapter 4, Section 4.4, Table 4.1).

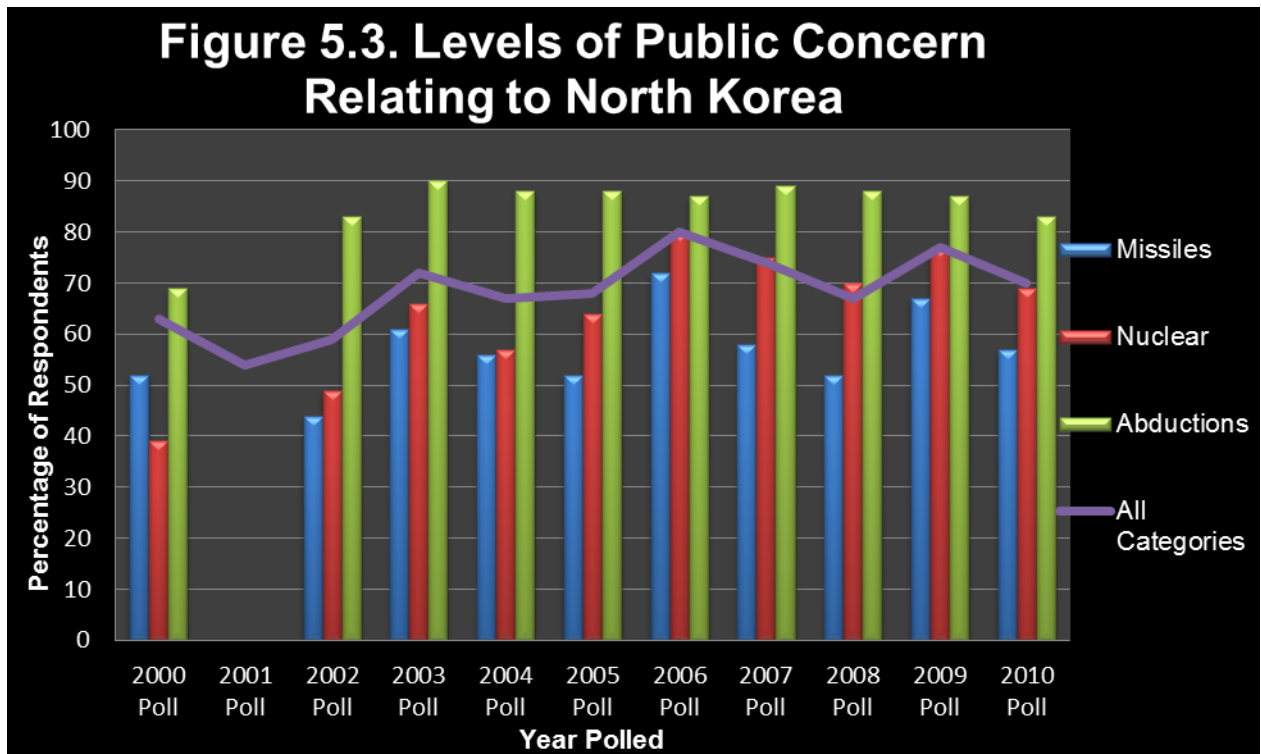
448 A further quantitative measure of both North Korea's framing, and the perception of attributed risks, is, in one respect, accessible through the observation of literature published on the DPRK in Japanese – most specifically that which covers Kim Jong-Il portrayed in a repetitiously villainous form (see Chapter 4, Section 4.8). In this sense too, a flattening-out process is apparent, with similar numbers of titles for 2009 and 2010 (141 and 136, respectively) as those listed for 2006 and 2007 (Amazon.co.jp, 2010) – following comparable incidents relating to North Korea.

heightened increasingly through this period. This can again be analysed via the events-based framework. For instance, the Cabinet Office of Japan's opinion polls, regarding issues relating to North Korea, exhibit a series of rises in public concern from the end of the Cold War up to the present.<sup>449</sup> Further, predominant public concerns over Japan's state security have shifted from issues such as instability in the Middle East and major West–v–East confrontation, to the Korean peninsula (Shinoda, 2006: 156-7). This movement towards a societal recalibration of risk pertaining to North Korea can, therein, be plotted against the same series of key events as those dealt with specifically in this dissertation, which correlate in particular to Diet and media reaction to missile and nuclear tests – and continue to exhibit high calibrations of risk since the events of 2009. Indeed, the public-political framing of North Korea has resulted in a recalibration of risks across the broader society in Japan which has been maintained up to the present, as further evinced by the *Asahi Shimbun/Dong-A Ilbo* Joint Public Opinion Poll, conducted in June of 2010, which, for instance, reported that 90 per cent of Japanese civilians felt some degree of uneasiness (54 per cent were “very uneasy”) about the DPRK's nuclear programmes.<sup>450</sup>

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449 While concerns over the abductions issue remain of greatest concern (83 per cent), they quantitatively peaked in 2003 (90 per cent). Those pertaining to missile and nuclear issues rose consistently up to 2006 (72 and 80 per cent), after which there has been a limited reduction and levelling-off to 57 and 68 per cent (2010), respectively, following a second peak in 2009 (67 and 77 per cent) (Cabinet Office of Japan, 2010).

450 Strikingly, as many as 21 per cent of South Koreans stated that they did not feel at all uneasy, as opposed to Japanese respondents, who all expressed some degree of uneasiness (Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation, 2010a) – once again highlighting the country-specific pattern of Japan's recalibration of risks framed against the DPRK.



**Source: author**

Adapted from data accessed via the Cabinet Office of Japan Opinion Polls

(<http://www8.cao.go.jp/survey/index-gai.html>).

Moreover, public opinion within civil society appears broadly to reflect that of the more centralized core of the policy community, in terms of taking a firm stance against North Korea and framing it as an aggressor – though the extremity of such a position is less uniform than that observed within the political elite, as explicated in Chapter 3. For instance, the *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, May 2010 Telephone Opinion Poll reported that almost three times as many Japanese (42 per cent) felt that Japan should take a strong stance and increase sanctions against the DPRK, following the Cheonan incident than those (16 per cent) who stated that the emphasis should be on dialogue with the North.<sup>451</sup> The *Asahi*

451 For further discussion of the Cheonan sinking and other key events which occurred after 2009, see Section 5.12 (5.12.ii), below.

*Shimbun* Poll of June 2010 also suggested that on average 82 per cent of Japan's populous believed it was better not to establish diplomatic relations with Pyongyang – once again reaffirming its hostile status within public framings in Japan (Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation, 2010a, 2010b). In addition, the importance of mediation via news sources to civil society cannot be underestimated here, as according to surveys conducted by the Cabinet Office of Japan, 94% of those polled cite mainstream news media as their primary source of information on international affairs (Cabinet Office of Japan, 2006).

Ultimately, therein, in congruence with the predominant findings of this dissertation, opinion poll data and other related sources suggest that public opinion has undergone a recalibration of risk framed against the DPRK in consistency with those of media and political spheres. Within this, however, it is problematic to convincingly determine the interactive causality of such a process – in terms of which actors are leading or being led. Rather, cross-reference of Figure 5.3, for example, with the figures expressing data pertaining to each of the case studies discussed above, evinces a largely symbiotic response to North Korea's actions (see also Chapter 6, Figure 6.3), intersecting the state, market and society. As discussed further in Section 5.12, below, and in the Conclusion, this process can be seen to have created a substantial recalibration of risk, observed as a function of Pyongyang's negative framing, which has now become normatively entrenched. This appears to have standardized the parameters for calibrating risk levels pertaining to the DPRK, which are being sustained – though without extensive additional recalibration – in the form of relative equilibrium in response to the North's actions moving into the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

## **5.8. Misinformation and political performances in the continuation of risk**

### ***(re)calibration: Japan's security norms and the framing of North Korea***

In the year following the 2009 missile and nuclear tests it seemed that the recalibration of risks stemming from the framing of Pyongyang might be forced into a period of temporary down-sizing – as the result of a dearth in incidents warranting major security concerns. However, suspicions were raised that the DPRK had been involved in the sinking of the South Korean naval vessel, Cheonan, in March of 2010 at a cost of forty-six lives. For Japan's political elite, media, and civil society, this served to reinstate North Korean issues as a prominent feature of public-political sphere discourses and maintain their high-risk framing.<sup>452</sup> Then Prime Minister, Hatoyama Yukio and foreign minister Okada Katsuya were outspoken in their criticism of the North and the need to take urgent and resolute action against Pyongyang (Itō, 2010). Nevertheless, as examined in Section 5.12.ii, below, while theirs and other leading political figures' strong reactions to the incident fuelled the continuation and revitalization of discussions over North Korean risks among mass-media sources and central political actors in Japan, the Cheonan's sinking essentially only reaffirmed existing security norms concerning the DPRK. As such, it failed to trigger an extensively novel recalibration of risk (as highlighted by the lack of additional counter-measures, see Section 5.10), the like of which was observed following the nuclear and missile tests of 2006 and 2009.<sup>453</sup> Indeed, it was also not as easily linked to Japan's security concerns as missiles or nuclear weapons tests.

In addition, however, as the media framing of North Korea and Pyongyang's actions (by

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452 It is noteworthy that despite serious doubts regarding the North's involvement in this incident, including their unwavering denial of any wrongdoing, the event temporarily placed related issues back at the forefront of media coverage, and served to maintain North Korea's framing as a suspicious high-risk entity which possesses the potential for unleashing uncertain, incalculable, harms towards Japan. For succinct evaluation of the doubtful nature of the DPRK's involvement, see Demick and Gilonna (2010).

453 As noted in the chapter above, the political elite's assertions that there was scientific grounding to the identification of the DPRK, as a source of tangible security risks, spilled-over into discourses in the public sphere, reinforcing the prevalence of norms associated with the framing of North Korea as such – and in turn feeding into how such information is absorbed and diffused across civil society.

then established as a kind of pseudo-norm) began to reach an apparent saturation-point, or at least media consumers appeared to be building up a metaphorical tolerance toward DPRK-sourced risks, formerly convicted political terrorist, Kim Yon-Hi, paid a high profile visit to Japan, on the premise that she had *new* information regarding suspected abduction victims.<sup>454</sup> This event briefly restored the abduction issue to national prominence, but the limited scope and length of reactions within Japan also highlighted its waning influence as a stimulant driving the process of risk recalibration vis-à-vis North Korea.<sup>455</sup> Little new information of any significance was forthcoming, and although North Korea was once again back in Japan's media spotlight, and the abduction issue was freshly reignited, the lasting impact appears to have been minimal.<sup>456</sup> Nevertheless, these events once again fed back into the spheres of civil society and the perpetuating agenda of a contested (not least over strength of stance vis-à-vis the DPRK) policy community; in this sense demonstrating how the discourse of risks pertaining to North Korea has in fact been maintained since the events

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454 Tolerance in this context refers to a gradual lack of effective stimulation created by media stories covering North Korean risks – in this sense comparable to the tolerance developed by an alcoholic to alcohol, whereby greater and greater quantities are required to provide effective satisfaction.

455 One former ambassador and MOFA negotiator for North Korean affairs posited in an interview (9 May 2011c, Appendix A) that, while the reduction in media attention and the change of administration may have subduing effects upon North Korea's framing within Japan, until the "three hurdles" of abductions, nuclear and missile development, and demands for Japan's financial compensation for colonial wrong-doings can be overcome, risk-levels are unlikely to be other than maintained at a high calibration. The interviewee, himself largely an advocate of a hard-line stance vis-à-vis North Korea, asserted that only the rise to power of a charismatic leader (in the ilk of Koizumi), who is willing to take more assertive political risks, is likely to facilitate a central shift on any of the above fronts. Further, he suggested that the abductions issue remains a potential time-bomb, should further new evidence be unearthed – arguing that, the high-profiling of abductions cases in the early 2000s, more than 20 years after they took place, illustrates how time does little to eliminate their potential impact. He also contended that the DPRK's combination of WMD abilities in combination with an uncertain and opaque regime represents an on-going source of salient risks.

456 In this regard, one leading commentator suggested when interviewed (8 April 2011, Appendix A) that while missile and nuclear issues may continue to be utilized politically to maintain a high calibration of risks pertaining to the DPRK, the abduction issue is effectively redundant in this regard. Indeed, counter to the evidence regarding public interest noted above (see also Section 5.7), they argued that commercial television stations are no longer willing to promote the abduction issue, because of its perception as *old news*. As such, it was contended, abductee cases will likely become an increasingly irrelevant factor in Japan's framing of North Korea – and any further recalibration of risks.



of 2009 – even when concentrated attention may have been diluted by other issues.<sup>457</sup>

Indeed, in order to understand how such a process is perpetuated, it is again worth considering here what has been termed the “propaganda passive” (Glen, 1991) – in terms of highlighting the role that an established discourse plays in sustaining the framing of Pyongyang.<sup>458</sup> As noted above (see also Figure 5.2(a)), there is no dearth of direct media stories framing North Korea as a source of gravitas risks to Japan, in terms of those which link the DPRK to international terrorism, WMD and illegal and harmful activities which potentially threaten national security. However, across online, television, and (particularly) print media sources there is also the prevalent existence of stories which link Pyongyang to such elements indirectly – which simultaneously work to persistently keep North Korea’s ideationally negative framing within the inter-subjective perceptions of a risk-centric populous and polity. For example, this is epitomized by the *Yomiuri Shimbun*’s almost relentless publishing of stories which in some way maintain such an image of the North in Japan. Therein, in addition to printing at least one story of some description on North Korea somewhere within the pages of almost every daily edition, there is the common inclusion of indirect stories which reference Pyongyang in such a way as to reinforce its framing. For instance, illustrative articles range from semi-direct pieces such as those covering the DPRK’s “unnecessary use” of firearms drills in the seas adjacent to the ROK (e.g., during

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457 I.e., while the focus of security risks has been shifted somewhat in 2011 towards prioritizing maritime defences in the East China Sea (MOD, 2011: 5), the consistent framing of North Korea as a source of threats bearing potential risks to Japan has left a legacy which maintains considerable momentum; without the *need* for further additional emphasis of such to convince political, civil society and market actors.

458 This phrase was conceptualized by linguist and political commentator, Silvio Glen in his public postulations regarding how British authorities recalibrated risks emanating from Iraq prior to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Gulf Wars. Glen’s notion is that while obvious propaganda will meet some conscious resistance from public and academic spheres, a continuation of indirect, background information which reinforces the negative framing of an external foe will gradually encroach upon the centre-ground opinion, and thus influence foreign policy norms and agenda setting in a given area. This is oft-times achieved through the passive tense, such as “it has been confirmed by experts that..”, “analysts have stated that..”, “concerns are growing that..” (Glen, 1991) etc.

early August of 2010),<sup>459</sup> to the publishing of a small article on the Hong Kong financial regulator's investigation of North Korea's international investment company (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 7 August 2010: 7). These standardize the framing of North Korea, which serves to highlight compounded risks (economic, military etc.) borne by the DPRK. However, the *passive* effects of articles criticizing various elements of the North Korean state are also supplemented with those, exemplified by an article on South Korea's political restructuring and cabinet reshuffle, which only become apparent to the process of Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea when considering the lengthy and conclusive mention of the DPRK, and, in the example at hand, the ROK's decision to demonstrate a continuing hard-line against the North (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 10 August 2010: 7). In the case above, this was apparently demonstrated through maintenance of security and reunification positions designed as measures to reinforce such a stance – which makes a degree of assumption regarding how Japan should also interpret the potentialities of such risks.

In the above regard, it is also important to emphasise the use of predicated language, as explained in Chapter 2, Section 2.13, in the framing of North Korea as highlighted by the pervasive and widespread usage of the propaganda passive. This is realized in tangible linguistic terms by phrases such as, “it has been made clear that” (*akiraka ni natta*), “it can be seen as” or “it is thought that” (*to mirareru*, *to minasarete iru*) and “according to experts” (*senmonka ni yoru to*). These terms are used to mediate risks to the broader society without necessarily specifying the basis of source details or the volume of information which evince underlying facts. Articles in Japan relating to North Korea are oft-times loaded with such structures.<sup>460</sup> The predicative use of the propaganda passive within mass-media sources is by no means the only means by which the DPRK is framed in Japan's public sphere, but

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459 A similar range of articles making both passive and active references to North Korea (perpetuating its framing as that bearing a range of highly calibrated risks) can be observed consistently in adjacent time periods (e.g., see *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 29-30 September 2010).

460 For a broad range of illustrative examples, see *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 24 November 2010: 2, 21 December 2010: 1; *Asahi Shimbun*, 13 April 2010: 1, 13 May 2010: 9.

represents an important illustration of how a stereotype, of the kind conceptualized by American journalist, Walter Lippmann, is being reinforced, which facilitates the mediation of Japan's recalibration of risks identified with Pyongyang (Shigemura, 2009: 24-8).<sup>461</sup>

Amid this process, the sinking of the South Korean naval vessel, the Cheonan in March of 2010, under suspicion that it had been undertaken by the DPRK's security forces, brought wide-spread outrage and criticisms aimed against Pyongyang from the global community's leaders. Not least, following an initial investigation which pointed firmly towards the North's involvement, Japan's political leadership, as noted above, were quick to express the urgent need to take unified and resolute action in response to what were already recalibrated risks being posed from the DPRK. As discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.5, Ulrich Beck (as well as many of his critics and supporters) has identified the prevalent use of scientific justifications in the process of politicizing and reacting to external risks such as these. This was starkly apparent in former Prime Minister, Hatoyama's statement that investigations and reports conducted by the ROK relating to how North Korea had supposedly sunk the Cheonan were "objective and scientific" (Itō, 2010). This *scientific* information provided the basis for Japan's policy community to formulate their responses to the incident, and how related risks should be calibrated.<sup>462</sup> Moreover, the incident affirms the process observed in Chapter 2, Section 2.14, expressed in constructivist terms, whereby risks associated with a particular phenomenon or target develop to form the basis of norms which dictate how to counter or

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461 In fact, Shigemura uses the example of Lippmann's stereotypes to reject theories that highlight Japan's "North Korea-bashing." His argument posits that once a counter-stereotype such as North Korea-bashing has been created it threatens to obfuscate or discourage accurate information (particularly if it is of a negative kind) being articulated concerning a given source, such as that originating in the DPRK, as much or more as the original negative stereotype (Shigemura, 2009: 29-32).

462 It should be noted that, as with the arguments presented in Chapter 1, Section 1.6, particularly those derived from Wada Haruki's (2003) analysis of domestic political motivations for foreign-policy agendas in Japan, the DPJ coalition administration and former Prime Minister, Hatoyama, in particular were in need of a means to distract negative domestic attention concerning a variety of social and political ills. This was undoubtedly, therefore, as in the case of Koizumi's dealings with the DPRK, a powerful contributing factor in motivating a re-ignition of Japan's strong negative framing of North Korea and the perception of new risks which could be pinned on the Pyongyang regime; creating at once distraction and a means to demonstrate affirmative and effective political action – free from the shackles of domestic competition.

ameliorate them.<sup>463</sup>

### **5.9. Academic analysis: intellectual support for the recalibration of risk**

Although not an immediately novel phenomenon, the academic and intellectual arms of the policy community in Japan have oft-times also worked, both directly and indirectly, to reinforce the recalibration of risks identified with North Korea by policy makers and societal actors. This is realized by providing a theoretical or logistical framework with which to argue political standpoints and perceptions. Moreover, academia, rather than existing as an independent entity, is clearly constitutive of a causal actor which overlaps and interacts with the state and civil society – and indeed the market.<sup>464</sup> This is of specific interest when taken in terms of the context and remit of this dissertation, because it highlights a further interactional aspect, intersecting the state, market and society which influences the processes of risk recalibration in relation to responses made against a negatively framed North Korea.

The theoretical basis for such arguments predominantly stems from the evaluation that Japan is at risk of facing the fallout from the DPRK's continued cybernetic tactics (Michishita, 2009: 110-7, see also Chapter 1, Section 1.2), which contain a high-level of planning and strategy in order to lure, primarily the US, into direct negotiations towards a full and internationally recognized peace treaty.<sup>465</sup> For instance, in the aftermath of provocative actions, namely missile and nuclear tests, conducted during 2009 by Pyongyang,

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463 As discussed further in Section 5.12.ii, however, the Cheonan incident ultimately appears only to have been sufficient to maintain the levels of risk-calibration established following the events of 2009 – as opposed to an additional recalibration which, for example, could have resulted in the extensive introduction of further sanctions or other concrete counter-measures (see also Section 5.10).

464 If one considers the market interests of scholars, universities and students alone, not to mention their connections to actors within the policy community, the commercial aspects have to be of relevance.

465 The original, and still in operation, Korean War Armistice Agreement was signed mutually, individually and collectively by representatives of the United Nations Command, the Supreme Commander of the Korean People's Army and the Commander of the Chinese People's Volunteers in 1953, but was intended from the outset to be a temporary agreement, until a full peace treaty could be negotiated.

comparisons were drawn by scholars to the way in which the North Korean regime secured the “agreed framework” and Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization (KEDO) energy assistance from the US following the nuclear crisis of the 1990s; i.e., by employing similar brinkmanship tactics, implemented through a variety of provocations and aggressions. Once again, this also allowed scholars to bundle together a range of risks (nuclear, missile, fraud, kidnappings, etc.) into the same frame, and justify recalibrating them, on the grounds that they were by-products which may form part of North Korea’s (*worryingly*) successful on-going military campaigns (Abe, 2009: 79).<sup>466</sup> As noted in review of the dynamic struck by policy makers between risk and uncertainty, explored in the work of O’Malley (2004), and discussed in Chapter 1, Section 1.5, the uncertainty surrounding North Korea’s capabilities and intentions facilitates how the DPRK can be, and is, framed within Japan. This is particularly evident with regards to how nuclear-related risks are perceived within core sections of the academic community, in light of their cataclysmic potential (Takubo, 2010: 157-61). In essence, it is argued that North Korea is being allowed to super-size its own potential for exercising harms associated with the risks that project over Japan through its ever increasing use of and reliance upon “brinkmanship diplomacy”, or *setogiwa gaikō* tactics. These are portrayed as being employed as a strategy to maintain attention directed towards the North and lure external actors into direct negotiations (Ōe, 2007: 31-3), but at the same time highlight the tangible potential of the risks themselves.

Amid this, it is also striking that qualitative research data collected from leading *independent* think-tanks and affiliated experts for this dissertation suggests that a large body of specialists on Japan’s North Korea relations display a consistently and concertedly neo-

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466 Abe also heightened the sense of risks pervading from North Korea by noting that because no full peace treaty was ever reached at the conclusion of the Korean War, the DPRK is for its own part still in a state of war. As such, he claims, it is only logical to assume that it will try anything to scupper its enemies – including Japan. Furthermore, Abe evinces the theory that, ultimately, a nuclear-armed Tokyo might be the only means by which to fully ameliorate the risk of North Korea enacting a military aggression across the Sea of Japan (2009: 81).

realist approach to risks sourced in the DPRK.<sup>467 468 469</sup> Therein, risks identified with Pyongyang are not interpreted or expressed, in the above sense, as political tools used by the North to garner attention and political capital, but are, rather, repeatedly and unwaveringly stated as tangible and pressing – and requiring of geopolitically-based policy provisions to be made by Japan. Moreover, academic scholars from each of the institutions researched protested the Japanese people’s inertia towards military normalization and a lack of right-of-centre consensus as obstacles to the *necessary* provisions being made; also uniformly dismissing the idea that Japan was buckling under *beiatsu* that demanded a more normalized and active role in the East Asia security environment (Hirama and Sugita, 2003; McCormack, 2007). The core issues of missiles, nuclear armament, abductions and incursions were repeatedly posited as the key source of potential harms to Japan, presenting a range of on-going risks which require amelioration. In addition, the North Korean community in Japan was further identified as a source of socio-economic risks, purportedly working in association with the regime in Pyongyang to adversely impact upon Japan. Yet, at the same time, China was consistently identified as the ultimate source of longer-term risks, and framed as being of foremost *real* concern.

In addition, however, it has also been noted by a number of prominent critical scholars within Japan’s academic field that pre-university education has increasingly become significant in terms of recalibrating risks framed against the DPRK. Concretely, as stated in an interview (8 April 2011, Appendix A) by one leading author on the abductions issue (and former high school teacher), junior and senior high-school education represents a significant

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467 The term “independent” is italicized here to highlight the dubious nature of the term when used to describe organizations, particularly in terms of think-tanks, which gain funding from governmental or other politico-market-interested sources.

468 Neo-realist in the sense not only of being hard-nosed and aggressive in assertions and attitudes, but actually in terms of theoretical position, as outlined in Chapter 1, Section 1.2; referring specifically to frameworks involving Japan’s balancing and bandwagoning within the East Asia Region.

469 Accessed organizations include The National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS (representative)), Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS) and the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA).

element in priming the acceptance of a high calibration of risks pertaining to North Korea.<sup>470</sup> Indeed, as further noted by another former high school teacher and professor of education in a separate interview (12 April 2011, Appendix A), the pervasive influence of a combination of right-wing figures and groups upon the interpretation of North Korean issues in upper level educational text books is remarkable. The same source posited that such a coalition has included prominent politicians (including former PMs, Abe Shinzō and Koizumi Junichirō), Ministry of Education bureaucrats and popular authors. Most strikingly, such have succeeded in producing officially recognized modern history textbooks, which include those co-authored by leading right-wing cartoonist and activist, Kobayashi Yoshinori.<sup>471</sup>

This kind of intellectually converging position, taken from a sector which stretches from high-schools to high-profile academic figures and leading think-tanks, is significant because it suggests that powerful elements of the academic community in Japan are influential in the recalibration of risks vis-à-vis North Korea, and the dissemination of information relating to them which is mediated to the broader society. Furthermore, while it would be overstretching the interpretation of data to posit that government dictates what scholars write, it suggests that risks perceived to emanate from North Korea, given that most such academic institutions receive official government funding, are indeed being maximized in collusion with policy makers to justify military strengthening and the normalization of Japan's geo-political (international) position. Ultimately, such a school posits that this is to be facilitated through revision of the constitution – and will facilitate more extensive measures designed to counter a rising China. Indeed, in this respect, a representative of the Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS) stated (28 September 2010, Appendix A) that,

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470 It was posited that education is critical in priming adults' conceptions of such risks, because it is they who go on to be representative citizens. The interviewee, an Emeritus Professor of Education and former high-school teacher, fought a legal battle against the GoJ to teach a curriculum which included elements of history from a North Korean perspective (as opposed solely to being taught from the Japanese side).

471 Kobayashi co-authored the high school history text book series beginning with *atarashii rekishi kyōkasho* (Nishioka Kanji, 2001). Later editions include coverage of the abduction issue and spy-boat incursions, which uniformly frame the DPRK as culpable of crimes which violate sovereignty (*shuken ga shingai sareru*) (Fujioka, 2005: 143).

North Korea is Japan's number one enemy. Japan-DPRK relations are unlikely to normalize any time soon, at least not unless US-North Korea relations are normalized or the regime in Pyongyang collapses.

And, went on to assert that,

Even if the risks are somewhat played-up by the media, they are real. Sure, North Korea is not actually capable of attacking Japan's territorial domain, but they might launch a missile.

Yet, the same spokesperson also conceded that,

Actually we have to feel grateful towards North Korea, because they have provided us with a justification to develop sophisticated military hardware and BMD systems, which can also be adapted for use against a rising China.

The complicit admission that a high-calibration of risks posed by North Korea can be utilized to make counter-measures directed at an increasingly threatening China has to be considered as evidence that a deliberate recalibration or risk has taken place within a converging area of the policy community involving powerful political and academic actors. Such measures are, therein, consistently justified through reference to a series of provocative actions undertaken by the DPRK, which can be identified with a number of specific key events.<sup>472</sup>

In fact, however, many leading scholars have actually demonstrated a strikingly measured and tactically aware understanding of the so-called North Korea problems, as posited in Chapter 1, Section 1.3 ~ Section 1.7, before and after the incidents of 2009, and have warned against overstating threat perceptions of the DPRK and the risks posed to Japan by the regime in Pyongyang (Ogawa and Sakamoto, 2007; Matsumura and Takakusagi (eds), 2007; Yoshida, 2008). The dangers of over-exaggerating the abduction issue, or conflating it with other perceived sources of threat and the associated risks (nuclear, missile etc.) are also a recurrent theme, as is the obvious politically (as opposed to practically) tactical use of

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472 As one political scientist posited in an interview (13 April 2011, Appendix A), in this respect, although it is very unlikely that North Korea would use any form of military attack (i.e., including a missile launch), Pyongyang's *stupidity*, in terms of repeated provocative actions, has given credibility to those seeking to emphasise risks posed by North Korea in Japan.



missile and nuclear tests by the DPRK.<sup>473</sup> The dominant schools of this discourse tend to emphasise that the greatest risk to Japan's security is, in fact, an overzealous reaction to North Korea, which exacerbates the facilitation of its rapid implosion, and results in turmoil on the Korean peninsula (Ogawa and Sakamoto, 2007: 39-41). However, due to the substantial inclusion of military-based information contained within such texts, which outline the tangible potential for actual harms to be exercised against Japan as a result of Pyongyang deploying and delivering WMD (in addition to employing a variety of other illegal and illegitimate (fraud, abduction etc) means), they leave themselves open to reinterpretation and manipulation – including by policy makers out of context. As observed above, this has been seized upon by political and market actors who stand to gain from the recalibration of such risks, and the mediation of them throughout civil society.<sup>474</sup>

It is also noteworthy, in terms of the intellectual arm (and, indeed, political and media coverage) of Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea that Japan's domestic political issues are often times cited as a major factor in individual or administration-based reactions to the DPRK, but the equivalent is rarely considered as a key element in Pyongyang's actions.<sup>475</sup> Indeed, this shows the weight of momentum built up by political and media actors who seek to perpetuate North Korea's fixed framing – as a belligerent, totalitarian state guided by one family's (Kim Il-Sung, Jong-Il, Jong-Un) quest for regime survival (to be obtained by gaining direct negotiations with the US) – regardless of the actual domestic circumstances which may direct primary agency over politically loaded decisions. This includes actions such as those of the missile and nuclear tests in 2009 (Lee, 2009: 103-

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473 It is also worth noting here the evolving, alternative, discourses of human security, such as that taken up by Okonogi and Isozaki (2009). See also Close up Gendai (2010), and Yamanaka (2011).

474 Academic schools and theoretical strands are notoriously problematic to categorize, and it is not the claim of this dissertation that absolute predominance of any one particular theory associated with analyses of North Korea is present in Japan, merely that certain common tendencies of academic discourse allow, even if not intentionally, the manipulated facilitation of risk recalibration by political forces, framed against the DPRK.

475 Aside from the recent historical examples of Koizumi and Abe, already discussed above, the case of Asō's extreme reaction and dispatch of PAC-3s in 2009 was also widely evaluated as an attempt to bolster his dwindling domestic support. For discussion, see Kim J. (2009).

6).<sup>476</sup> In essence, since the dominant discourse in Japan regarding motives for North Korea's actions has been established through a process of mediation (e.g., via media and academic sources) between the state, market and wider society, there has been little attempt or desire to re-assess specific causal changes on the North Korean side.

### **5.10. Further policy revisions to counter the risks of more missiles and nuclear tests**

Japan's recalibration of risk vis-à-vis North Korea as a reaction to the events of 2009 was primarily realized, in terms of concrete policy measures, in the areas of military equipment and deployment, and the tightening of supplementary economic sanctions and human security measures.<sup>477</sup> Furthermore, the conception and implementation of such policies was undertaken, in each case, within a framework and discourse which strongly reinforced the norm of *bilateralism*, and can be seen to have further weakened the norm of anti-militarism.

In April of 2009 the GoJ took the unprecedented step of dispatching PAC-3 units to seven locations throughout the archipelago with the stipulated purpose of intercepting North Korean missiles, and publicized the dispatch via mainstream media sources. In effect, this raised threat levels within Japan and created the widespread perception that the risk of a

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476 Lee suggests that both the 2006 launch and tests, and the events of 2009 were likely primarily motivated by those within the upper echelons of the North Korean political elite who prioritize military strengthening over economic reform. The suggestion is that even the reasons for the particular number and type of missile tests was greatly influenced by domestic politics. Lee argues that the military leaders are under increasing pressure to reform, and stood to lose out as the result of restructuring, so attempted to hide the struggling Taepodong flagship project amongst a barrage of Nodong launches and a nuclear test, in order to bolster Pyongyang's military prowess and deny economic reformists negotiating capital in an internal struggle which threatened to leave the army in an increasingly weakened position.

477 While strengthening of the JCG has, as observed in Chapter 4, Section 4.3, been a noteworthy feature in the realization of Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea, the degree to which the events of 2009 can be attributed to such is debatable – pointing rather to a shift in focus for external framing and, ultimately, a reduction in the degree of novel risk recalibration attributed to the North's actions – as discussed below.

missile fired from the DPRK would strike Japan.<sup>478</sup> Such perceptions were exacerbated by the MOD's official account of events, which contended the need for the PAC-3 dispatch on the grounds that it had been carried out to counter falling missiles (*rakka ni taisuru sonae wo okonatta*) – thereby conflating the slim possibility of parts of missiles flying over Japan landing on one of the Japanese islands – with that of a missile strike against Tokyo by Pyongyang (MOD, 2010c). Moreover, the North's test-firings were used by the MOD as a justification for the further development of BMD systems with the US and closer operational integration with Washington.<sup>479</sup>

In addition, as noted in Chapter 4, Section 4.9, one of the most defining benchmarks by which the recalibration of risks (specifically risks perceived to be posed to national security) in Japan can be ascertained is the once-five-yearly publication of the National Defense Program Guidelines (NDPG), previously made explicit through release of the 2005 National Defense Program Outline (NDPO), or *bōeitaikō*. This is particularly so in terms of how the political and bureaucratic arms of the policy community will, in effect, set-out a normative rationale for the coming years through which the risks perceived to be most pressing will be dealt with. Therein, while more public sphere scrutiny may have been assigned to the 2005 NDPO in this sphere, on account of it directly referring to North Korea as a tangible threat for the first time, in fact even greater provisions were made to issues concerning risks posed by the DPRK in the NDPG of 2010 (for fiscal year 2011).<sup>480</sup> Indeed, with regard to “unclear and

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478 In addition to the dispatch of truck-loaded units in Akita, Iwate and the metropolitan area, SM-3 interceptor missiles were loaded on to Aegis vessels, strategically positioned in the Japan Sea (MOD, 2010c).

479 See MOD (2011) presentation for full details of the official perception of ballistic missile issues – in terms of Japan's joint cooperation with the US and the specific identification of the DPRK as a source of multiple, salient and increasingly pressing risks.

480 In one sense, a distraction from how North Korean risks had been increasingly recalibrated was also created prior to the release of the 2010 NDPO, due to Japan's emphasis on the defence of the East China Sea, particularly following the collision of a Chinese fishing boat with a JCG patrol boat off-shore of the Pinnacle Islands in 2010. Further, the 2010 NDPO identifies the fact that “Military modernization by China and its insufficient transparency are of concern for the regional and global community” (MOD, 2010a: 2), by way of its leading directives for areas surrounding Japan.

uncertain elements in the region” the delayed 2010 edition (2010: 3-4) states with concern to the risks posed by the DPRK that,

North Korea is continuing its development, deployment and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles, and maintains a large-scale special operations force. It has also repeatedly conducted provocative military actions on the Korean Peninsula. North Korea’s military activities constitute an immediate and grave destabilizing factor to regional security. They also pose a serious challenge to international non-proliferation efforts (English edition).<sup>481</sup>

The passage above, therefore, both maintains the mandate for implementing further practical policy measures vis-à-vis North Korea, and stresses the uncertainty and broad-ranging nature of risks posed by Pyongyang.<sup>482</sup> In this way, the norm of *bilateralism* is once again reaffirmed and adhered to, in concurrence with the general thrust of the 2010 NDPG.<sup>483</sup> Further, it is realized by way of advocating a coordinated approach to deal with such security risks. The recalibration of those risks is, therein, justified through the necessity of ameliorating risks posed by threats which are uncertain in terms of timing and scale, but definite in terms of perceived salience.<sup>484</sup>

In addition, following the North’s missile and nuclear tests of 2009, Japan once again led

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481 See full text for surrounding context (MOD, 2010a).

482 Nevertheless, while the 2010 NDPO in one sense appears to represent a facilitation of risk recalibration in response to the North’s missile and nuclear tests of 2009, it is less concrete in terms of identifying risks associated with events such as the sinking of the Cheonan naval vessel and shelling of Yeongpyeong Island which occurred shortly prior to its release. For further discussion of the decreasing momentum of additional risk recalibration in relation to these events, see Section 5.12, below.

483 With regards to Japan’s bilateral coordination with “its ally”, the official FY 2011 NDPG Summary simply states (MOD, 2010d: 4) that, “The Japan-U.S. Alliance is indispensable in ensuring for Japan’s peace and security”, going on to outline Japan’s intention to deepen cooperation with the US in countering risks stemming from new and uncertain threats – alluding to those posed by China and North Korea.

484 Here too, then, as outlined in Chapter 1, Section 1.5, and Chapter 2, Section 2.7.i, the prominent role of uncertainty in facilitating political decisions over the governance of risks, discussed by, amongst others, Beck et al. (1992), Simon and Baker (2002) and O’Malley (2004), and the applicability of a resulting recalibration of such risks, despite a lack of statistical verification or historical precedents, as exposed by Gardner (2008) and Taleb (2007), is evinced as an important element in North Korea’s framing by Japan’s political and bureaucratic policy makers – and the continued imposition of subsequent national security directives.

the way within the regional and international community in pressing the UN to impose the strongest possible resolution and accompanying sanctions against Pyongyang. Ultimately, Japan's efforts to emphasise the risks posed by North Korea contributed to the adoption of UNSC Resolution 1874 on 12 June 2009.<sup>485</sup> In addition to extending the measures imposed by Resolution 1718 in 2006, Resolution 1874 specified the further tightening of sanctions and provided a legal mandate for member states to impose an embargo against "additional goods, persons and entities" entering and leaving the DPRK – as well as being encouraged to inspect and seize cargo on the high-seas if suspected of containing banned substances or goods for import and export to North Korea.<sup>486</sup> The significance of Japan's role in framing the DPRK as a high-risk entity within this context, then, is evinced by the manner in which Tokyo, despite intensified domestic competition and distraction concerning all issues over a general election (see Section 5.5), maintained a consistent course of risk recalibration to impose its own unilateral sanctions and, moreover, use such as a basis by which to push for stronger measures to be implemented by the UN.<sup>487</sup>

In consistency with the above, the JCG also continued to push for upgrades to its equipment and emphasized the requirement of sophisticated military apparatus to effectively counter on-going risks presented by suspicious ships and spy boats (JCG, 2010).<sup>488</sup> However, it is noteworthy here that in comparison to the JCG's 2007 Annual Report – which responded to North Korea's actions during 2006, no obvious new policy directives or direct references to the DPRK were made in the 2010 version. Furthermore, the section on

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485 For full content of Resolution 1874, see UNSC (2009a).

486 For details on Japan's statements (Paragraph 13) to the UNSC regarding Resolution 1874, and an outline of the extensions to be made to Resolution 1718, see UNSC (2009b).

487 Pertinently, the *success* of Japan's representatives to the UN amid this process is demonstrated by the inclusion, and unanimous acceptance, of the "additional goods, persons and entities" within Resolution 1874, something which had been unsuccessfully sought by Tokyo in the imposition of Resolution 1718 following the tests of 2006 (see, Chapter 4, Section 4.9).

488 It should be remembered that the JCG's Annual Reports cover the events and topics of the previous year (i.e., Annual Report 2010 pertains to events occurring in 2009).

suspicious ships was minimized in terms of length and position.<sup>489</sup> In contrast, the 2007 report not only highlighted the acquisition of four new high-speed patrol boats specifically for the purpose of countering suspicious ships, but also contained an entire section dedicated to an account of JCG staff inspecting the North Korean vessel (JCG, 2007), *Man Gyong-Bong*, which also made reference to the abductions issue and contained both subjective negative referrals to North Korean staff and photographs of a recovered “spy boat” (*kōsakusen*).<sup>490</sup> As discussed further in Section 5.12, and extrapolated in Chapter 6, this appears to represent a shift from the additional recalibration of risks framed against Pyongyang in response to given events (such as those in 2006), towards only the maintenance of those levels of risk calibration – once established by Japan’s policy community (particularly the executive arm of the state) in response to North Korea’s on-going *provocations*.

As such, the additional measures taken and implemented as a function of recalibrated risks by Japan’s policy community in 2009 can, when cross-analysed with reaction to succeeding events unfolding throughout 2009 and 2010 – namely further missile tests, the suspected sinking of the ROK’s Cheonan naval vessel, and North Korea’s shelling of Yeonpyeong Island – be seen as having represented a maximising of policy directives which used the framing of North Korea to justify the imposition of increasingly severe counter measures and the propagation of hard-line rhetoric within Japan. Therein, as expressed in Chapter 6, Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2, while the acme of media and Diet reactions to North Korea’s military-based actions only extended as far as the Nuclear test of 2006, the momentum, created by the successive interactive process of recalibrated risks identified with Pyongyang, appears to have resulted in a political climate whereby even the non-extension of further policy directives towards the DPRK only began to be realized during 2010-11 – in terms of responses to those later events (see also Section 5.12, below).

Therefore, the process explicated above further highlights the significance of risk

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489 Relocated within the report from the fourth (2007) to the seventh (2010) of seven sections.

490 For full text, see *Chian no kakuho*, Chapter 7 (JCG, 2010) and *Chian no kakuho, Koramu 7* (JCG, 2007).

recalibration as a phenomenon, regulated by prevailing norms, which both sets the parameters of policy imposition and to a large extent dictates the time period within which a given political (or politico-military) trajectory can be maintained. While it is problematic to attempt sweeping conclusions, particularly without comparison of future nuclear and missile tests which may be conducted by the DPRK, the existing evidence from contemporary events, such as those covered in Section 5.12, below, suggests that the *time-lag* (political momentum) between risk recalibration and the extent of resulting policy revisions, in this case, reached a ceiling in 2009 – made tangible in the form of domestic legal revisions and the passing of UNSC Resolution 1874.

#### **5.11. The market's reaction: shifts in the prioritizing of domestic economic risks**

As discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.10, the lack of economic potential for investment and business development (and the incumbent risks of such endeavours) in North Korea appear to have prevented powerful market actors in Japan, such as *Nippon Keidanren*, from seeking to de-construct the DPRK's negative framing in order to undertake more active initiatives towards engaging Pyongyang. Furthermore, *Keidanren*, and other related organizations in Japan, have openly stated their vested interests in terms of securing greater productivity and flexibility for the domestic defence industry.<sup>491</sup> Within this, the high-calibration of risks perceived to be posed by North Korea is a crucial factor in justifying the need to procure and equip JSDF forces with state-of-the-art equipment and weaponry – to be manufactured in Japan. Indeed, in its proposal of 14 July 2009, *Keidanren* specifically identified the North's multiple missile launches and nuclear test of the same year as the primary cause of security

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491 This is a point further concurred by other experts, who in interviews (12 and 13 April 2011, Appendix A) – as illustrated by the case of US military bases in Okinawa – respectively emphasized the overwhelming influence of the interests of politicians, bureaucrats and business people on both US and Japanese sides to maintain a high calibration of risks framed against the DPRK; in order to assure military budgets and justify US marine presence (despite the Marine Corps' lack of practical application in such case that an attack was to be launched against Pyongyang) in (Okinawa) Japan.

risks posed to Tokyo, and as the central justification for bolstering investment in the defence industry (*Nippon Keidanren*, 2009: 1).

As such, the risk of economic ruin within the domestic defence industry and its affiliated subsidiaries has been considered more salient than that manifest in the possible loss of business caused by the continued negative framing of the DPRK across political and public spheres within Japan. In combination with the media's largely market-driven motivations to propagate North Korea stories – as posited in Chapter 2, Section 2.10 and Chapter 4, Section 4.7 – large scale commercial interests continued to play an important role in prioritizing the amelioration of risks posed by Pyongyang's actions (nuclear and missile tests) up to 2009. In the above sense, these risks were calibrated more highly than those of potential lost revenue, which could not be gained due to the inability to invest in the DPRK as a result of Japan's sustained negative framing of North Korea – and contingent inability to engage further with the North for the promotion of diplomatic normalization and increased economic exchange.

### ***5.12. Reaction to recent events: a new equilibrium?***

As with previous events identified with Japan's framing of North Korea and the successive recalibration of risks, the extent, level and trajectory of such (re)calibrations can, to a certain extent, be quantified through comparisons of the volume of coverage – particularly in the Diet and across media sources – assigned to each incidence. Table 5.2, below, highlights the impact of three further examples that would, in light of the case-studies observed above (pertaining to events occurring between 1993 and 2009), be expected to accentuate the established process of risk recalibration within Japan in response to North Korea – and further compound its negative framing.<sup>492</sup> However, in fact, while their impact does little to

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492 Due to the close proximity of the events covered in this period, and the null-hypothesis that, in fact, there has been a discernible shift towards a state of relative equilibrium (as opposed to further recalibration) –



evince a significant reduction in the calibration of risks attached to the DPRK, taken as a combined effect, it is also problematic to make an empirically convincing case for these events having been utilized to further recalibrate risks to a significantly higher level. As such, what can be seen is the tentative emergence of a *new equilibrium*, in terms of the process of risk recalibration framed against North Korea having come to fruition – and having become established as a kind of proxy-norm within political, market and societal spheres in Japan.<sup>493</sup> The absence, therein, of an additional major recalibration of risk vis-à-vis the DPRK is, as explicated below, corroborated by qualitative and quantitative data relating to key events occurring after those of the missile and nuclear tests conducted in April, May and July 2009.

#### *5.12.i. Minimal reaction to North Korea's October 2009 multiple missile test-launch*

Pyongyang's resumption of multiple missile test launches in to the Sea of Japan on 12 October 2009, coming only three months after its July test-firings, might well have been expected to trigger a more raucous reaction from Japan's policy community. This is particularly so given that it was interpreted, in one sense, by the GoJ as part of North Korea's programme to refine its ballistic missile capabilities (Kitazawa, 13 November 2009, Diet Security Committee, 173: 7).<sup>494</sup> However, the incident's almost total omission from direct

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involving such elements as media and political saturation of North Korean affairs, administration change, and the maximizing of related issues as a tool to justify policy innovations – the periods prior to and after each event have been condensed to a one month time-span. This is designed, primarily, to target an assessment of the immediate impact of each incidence.

493 One leading Western author on Japanese affairs suggested in an interview (8 February 2011, Appendix A) that this process is likely the result of leading stake-holder actors having effectively utilized the North Korea problems to the extent which they have achieved their policy agendas – e.g., such as military strengthening and further logistical cooperation with the US – and, hence, no-longer require a further recalibration of North Korea-assigned risks.

494 While Defence Minister, Kitazawa Toshimi's, statement to the Security Committee referred to the intensification of problems relating to North Korean missile capabilities (*Kitachōsen no misairu mondai no shinkokka*) as part of his drive to justify investing in improvements to Japan's BMD systems, he actually only alluded to the significance of the 12 October test, given the timing of his address. Both his statement and those of other leading politicians for the incoming DPJ administration were, however, consistent in their lack of radical departure from the outgoing LDP's North Korea policies in this sphere, and of their advocating of

reference in the Diet sessions which followed, and extremely limited coverage in the mainstream press, highlights the apparent lack (without clear evidence of such a new capability) of motivation on the part of actors concerned to further recalibrate risks – which had already been extremely emphasized in the wake of missile and nuclear tests conducted earlier in the same year. The lack of public-political sphere interest in this incident is, indeed, also evinced by the short length of articles covering the event and the dearth of emotive language – previously employed for emphasis and persuasive effects when describing the North's actions. This was epitomized by the *Asahi Shimbun's* only national piece dedicated solely to covering North Korea's five-missile test launch of October 12.<sup>495</sup> The article, which is less than ten lines long, stated merely that,

North Korea already launched three KNO2 missiles towards Japan on 6 July. Due to it using solid fuel, the time required before launching was reduced, and the targeting capabilities are improved. However, in light of its short-range, no direct threat is posed to Japan. This launch can probably be seen as part of periodical military exercises or as a test used to ascertain its weapons capabilities.

(evening edition, 13 October 2009: 11)

Such a detached, non-confrontational style, which played down the risks posed to Japan, indeed, comes in stark contrast to the comprehensive criticisms and high-level of risk recalibration assigned to the North's actions by the *Asahi* following the missile and nuclear tests of 2006, and, moreover, even to its and others' reactions observed in response to the

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a comprehensive (*hōkatsuteki*) strategy for dealing with the multiple North Korea problems (abduction, nuclear and missile). For related statements made by then Foreign Minister, Okada and Prime Minister, Hatoyama, see Security Committee (Okada, 13 November 2009, 173: 9), main session (Hatoyama, 29 October 2009, 173: 7).

<sup>495</sup> The *Yomiuri*, while placing the story of the DPRK missile test in more prominent positions (earlier pages) than the *Asahi* within the editions which carried it, published only two articles dedicated specifically to the launches. Further, in general convergence with the *Asahi*, despite slightly longer articles and more references to the possibilities of attaching nuclear armaments to the missiles, the *Yomiuri* used detached descriptive language, made no attempt to stress associated potential risks to Japan – referring rather to concerns raised by the US over the possibility of such technology being adapted for longer-range missiles – and only raised the issue of a UN resolution violation by way of reference to the ROK's objection to the launches (see *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 14 October 2009: 7; evening edition, 13 October 2009: 1).

comparable events relating to North Korean missile and nuclear tests earlier in 2009, as outlined in Chapter 4, Section 4.7, and Section 5.3 and Section 5.4, above.<sup>496</sup>

The lack of impact made by the multiple launch upon risk calibration in Japan is also suggested from the quantitative evidence expressed in Table 5.2 (Figure 5.4), below, which shows a marked lack of reaction in comparison to the that made towards the missile firings of July 2009 (see Table 5.1 (Fig. 5.2(a) and Fig. 5.2(b), above). As noted, the obvious difference in range (i.e., the previous missiles flying over Japan) has an important role to play in terms of the volume of reaction witnessed from sources in Tokyo. However, given that neither test was carried out with the expressed aim of targeting Japan, and both violated the UN-imposed moratorium on the DPRK's missile tests, it is striking that, when measured in quantifiable terms, as expressed by Table 5.1 (above) and Table 5.2 (below), Japan's level of coverage in the three months post-dating the October tests was statistically equivalent to only one month's intensified coverage following the July launches. Therein, though it is not possible to draw comprehensive conclusions based on a single limited incident, a continuation of comparatively limited reactions to Pyongyang's successive provocations (including missile launches previously seen as the trigger for recalibrating risks) during the latter months of 2009 and throughout 2010 – as analysed in Section 5.12.ii and Section 5.12.iii, below – does suggest that Japan's recalibrated risks framed against the DPRK, while not substantially reduced in terms of sustaining calibration at existing levels, have moved towards some form of equilibrium. Within this process, the series of upward waves of recalibration discussed in the chapters above, and illustrated in Figure 5.5, and Chapter 6, Figure(s) 6.1-6.3, have witnessed a *levelling-off* (or lack of sustained socio-political

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496 While only so much can be interpreted from the muted reaction of the *Asahi* and other leading news sources to North Korea's October 12 missile test – particularly given that the missiles were indeed short-range and not capable in themselves of directly striking targets within Japan – it infers that there is both a huge range of possible media response to the DPRK's provocations and that mainstream media-sources in Japan have, as outlined by Hyung (2006: 483-508, see also Chapter 2, Section 2.10), a tendency to reach broad consensus on given issues. Indeed, it is noteworthy that the launches were in clear breach of the UN moratorium on the North's missile test; for which Japan was a strong advocate.

market-driven momentum). This offers an explanation for why events such as the North's October 2009 missile test-firing are perceived as being comparatively insignificant and were insufficient to spark an additional recalibration of risks. They have also, therefore, had little impact in terms of further extending the public sphere framing of risks vis-à-vis the DPRK.

*5.12.ii. Consistent levels of risk-calibration in reaction to North Korea's suspected sinking of the Cheonan naval vessel*

Due to the initial (and continuing) uncertainty surrounding the circumstances regarding the sinking of the ROK's Cheonan naval vessel on 26 March 2010 – despite suspicions of North Korean involvement being present from an early stage – reaction from Japan's policy community and broader public sphere was understandably cautious and limited in scope and volume (e.g., *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 27 March 2010: 2; *Asahi Shimbun*, 27 March 2010: 1 (evening editions)).<sup>497</sup>

Nevertheless, given that 46 crew members died in the incident, there was little if any serious provocation evident from the ROK or elsewhere, and that Pyongyang's military were suspected from the time of the event, it is notable that even once the DPRK had been officially identified by the international investigation team as culpable for having sunk the Cheonan, Japan's reaction was relatively limited in scale and veracity. However, having established that Pyongyang was indeed responsible, the by then familiar discourse – as discussed in Chapter 4 – of contestation over willingness by leading political actors to recalibrate risks identified with such an incidence to a sufficient level, and adapt policies accordingly, was visible in the Diet. This was highlighted by the, then new-opposition, LDP's

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497 North Korea has consistently denied any involvement in the sinking and has repeatedly stated that any sanctions imposed as the result of an investigation carried out by an international body of *independent* experts, which found that it had indeed sunk the vessel with a torpedo, would be considered as acts of war. For discussion, see BBC News (2010b).

pressing of Defence Minister, Kitazawa (DPJ) to increase JSDF troop levels, justified partly as a response to risks posed by North Korea; apparently then made evident by its sinking of the Cheonan. To this effect, during a session of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, shortly after the release of the investigation's report, on 27 May 2010, Yamamoto Ichita (174: 5) urged that,

The recent incidence of North Korea having attacked and sunk a South Korean naval vessel has occurred and... ..China's navy is at present demonstrating a great deal of boisterous activity. Furthermore, Japan must play an active role in internationally coordinated activities. Amid this, once again with regards to the fixed quantities of JSDF troops and officers and their actual members, I am inclined to believe that we must make demands for a major increase in numbers.<sup>498</sup>

Yamamoto's above statement to the Diet committee, then, suggests a continuation of the consistent pattern of qualitative risk calibration expressed by Tokyo's political elite; which emerged vis-à-vis the DPRK in the periods after the test launches and nuclear device detonations of 2006-2009. However, there is little ostensible evidence of a further recalibration of risk – in terms of identifying a novel threat – manifest in the Cheonan sinking. In general, the emphasis of reaction to the incident remained only upon increasing military strengthening, maintained as a focus of central discourse relating to Pyongyang's actions, and continued to frame North Korea as the source of salient risks. Such risks were, therein, once again utilized to justify *out-bidding* rival political parties and actors in order to take a consistently tough-line of policies, which could be revised as required to ameliorate them.

In quantitative terms, the Impact of the Cheonan's sinking – given the incidence's lack of clarity as a single isolated event – likewise demonstrates a consistent pattern. This resulted

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498 Once again the presence of a broad convergence between ruling and leading opposition parties over how to deal with security risks (Yamamoto notes his general agreement (*kihontekini sansei*) with provisions for the upcoming NDPG), such as those posed by North Korea, is striking in its juxtaposition with competition over how best to demonstrate strength in applying measures to do so. China's recalibration as the ultimate source of even greater risks beyond that of the DPRK is also, once again, made visible.

in the extensive, but not unprecedented, increase of coverage of North Korean affairs in the months that followed across Japan's public sphere and an extension of the DPRK's negative framing attached to a range of risks identified with Pyongyang's *provocations*.<sup>499</sup> It is noteworthy, however, that statistically the phenomenon of a receding pattern of waves (i.e., a new equilibrium), as opposed to the model exhibiting a rising series of peaks observed up to 2006, has been realized – as observed in Figure 5.4(a) and Figure 5.4(b), below. Indeed, as discussed further below (see also Chapter 6, Figure 6.1), the pattern of a new equilibrium also appears to be emerging in terms of the quantifiable reactions to additional high-profile events such as the Yeonpyeong shelling. Therein, peaks of coverage have returned to pre-2006 levels.

*5.12.iii. Maintenance of the recalibrated risks: the Yeongpyeong shelling and the framing of North Korea as the killer of civilians*

North Korea's shelling of ROK-administered Yeonpyeong island on 23 November 2010, killing four South Koreans (two civilians) and injuring 19 others, resulted in a far more extensive reaction from within Japan compared to that witnessed in response to the October 2009 missile launch or the sinking of the Cheonan naval vessel in the spring of 2010.<sup>500</sup> Indeed, in one sense, Japan's policy community was quick to reinforce its demonized

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499 As noted above, it is problematic to compare the impact of the Cheonan sinking to that of events such as missile launches and nuclear test-firings, in terms of how risks are then recalibrated vis-à-vis North Korea. Not least, this is because of the lack of clarity over the North's involvement and the spread of dates between the sinking (26 March 2010) and the release of the official report implicating Pyongyang (20 May 2010).

500 Though it might seem anomalous, given the number killed, that responses to the Yeongpyeong incident were more fervent than those expressed towards the Cheonan naval vessel's sinking, three obvious factors can be attributed to Japan's comparatively strong reaction to the Yeonpyeong shelling. Firstly, the fact that civilian casualties were taken, secondly, that the North shelled targets on land (i.e., as opposed to maritime skirmishes) inside ROK territory, and finally, that the incident was calibrated as particularly significant by the international community, including Japan's sole official ally, the US. For examples of international news coverage, see BBC News (2010c) and Eagle World News (2010).

framing of the DPRK – not least as an aberrant aggressor willing to unapologetically kill civilians in neighbouring states. However, the associated risks expressed in central political and public sphere discourses bore more evidence of a maintenance of interpreted risk-levels (i.e., with that already established in response to North Korea’s provocations between 2006-09, examined above), in terms of how they were calibrated, rather than a full-scale recalibration of risks propelled to an unprecedentedly higher peak.

Moreover, reaction from within the Diet to the Yeonpyeong incident was comparatively limited in terms of scope, volume and intensity. Nevertheless, it should be re-emphasised here that the process of risk-recalibration outlined in the chapters above, resulting in debates between Japan’s political elite focussed primarily on contestation over the ability to respond with speed and exhibit strength in the face of an entity framed broadly as a belligerent aggressor (the DPRK), remained inherent to the manifestation of Diet discourse after the Yeonpyeong shelling. Within this, opposition parties were quick to criticise the ruling DPJ administration’s lack of response rapidity and apparent under-calibration of incumbent risks potentially posed to Japan by the North’s “outrageous violation” or *bōkyō*. This was exemplified by *Kōmeitō* representative, Yamamoto Kanae’s address to the Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defense, 25 November 2010 (176: 67), in which she demanded a sharper reaction from the government and higher calibration of risks attributed to North Korea’s actions. Having predicated her statement with by then familiar rhetoric referring to the illegality of Pyongyang’s actions, Yamamoto pressed that,

Although the immediate victim of North Korea’s shelling was this time South Korea, there is no doubt that it represents a grave situation, which has the potential to have a serious impact upon our country’s security. As such, I would like to appeal to the government to be conscious of their position as the presiding body directly affected by such actions, and to internalize such an awareness so as to take all necessary measures to ensure citizens’ safety.

Yamamoto also went on to criticise the DPJ-led government for its initial assessment that

there was no immediate, direct risk posed to Japan's citizens by the North's shelling.<sup>501</sup> The DPJ's response to Yamamoto's contentions, led by Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary, Fukuyama Tetsurō (176: 68), was swift and robust towards the Yeonpyeong shelling, citing the cabinet's close coordination with the MOD, and rapid establishment of a headquarters to deal with the incident (*hōgeki jiken taisaku honbu*). In this manner, while the established pattern of competition over demonstrating an overtly strong response to North Korean actions, including the provision of counter-measures to counter the attributed risks, was evident, there was little qualitative evidence from Japan's Diet chambers to show that the Yeonpyeong shelling was an event sufficient to sustain a more generic upward momentum of recalibrated risks – rather, serving only to maintain the existing levels of previously recalibrated risks and the perpetuation of North Korea's negative framing within the political elite.

#### *5.12.iv. Media reaction to North Korea's continuation of provocations*

The above events, occurring between October 2009 and November 2010, demonstrated a comparatively greater impact in terms of the projection of North Korean risks within Japan's leading media sources. This was particularly true in terms of a reaction to the Yeonpyeong shelling – as expressed by Table 5.2, below. However, here too, there is some evidence, both qualitative and quantitative, to suggest that no more than a maintenance of established risk calibration was affected – i.e., the predominant discourses within the media did not perceive sufficient cause to further recalibrate risks framed against the DPRK.<sup>502</sup>

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501 Yamamoto, thereby, specifically targeted Chief Cabinet Secretary, Sengoku Yoshito's initial claim regarding the incident, i.e., that "...it is not a situation which immediately effects the lives of our citizens" (*kokumin seikatsu ni tadachi ni eikyō wo oyobosu jitai de wa nai*) as a point of overly low-calibration for potential risks posed to Japan.

502 Notably, in contrast to the previous findings of this dissertation, there appears, therein, to have been only limited convergence between political and media spheres in relation to the Yeonpyeong shelling; i.e., interactions (e.g., in terms of the exchange of information) remained present, but a broader range of opinions and resulting calibrations of risk were manifest in disparate reactions across media and political



Notably, indeed, the *Asahi Shimbun*, despite affording high-levels of coverage to North Korean affairs immediately after the Yeonpyeong shelling, which were comparable to those following the April 2009 missile launches and May 2009 nuclear test, was qualitatively less *hawkish* in its stance towards Pyongyang in comparison to reactions against those events. Indeed, editorials actually exhibited clear signs of a return to lower levels of risk calibration vis-à-vis North Korea, and the reinstating of its, previously prominent, progressive position. Further, the tension between maintaining the level of risk calibration established in relation to the framing of the DPRK (via the interactive processes discussed above) during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, and, in one sense, attempting to counter calls for swift punitive measures made by the most right-of-centre media sources, is apparent. For instance, the *Asahi's* first editorial post-dating the shelling (24 November 2010: 3) was still predicated using language, by then, adopted consistently within the paper's framing of North Korean actions; i.e., as illegal, unpardonable, and worthy of being labelled as an outrageous violation of international laws (*bōkyō*). In addition, the same editorial emphasized the risks posed by a potentially isolated new leader, in the form of Kim Jong-Il's third son and successor, Kim Jong-Un, who might need to demonstrate the strength of his leadership through external aggressions, as well as referring at once to the Cheonan sinking and continuing uncertainties over the North's nuclear programmes.<sup>503</sup> At the same time, however, calls were made from the outset by the *Asahi* to focus on a coordinated international response – led by the US – which did not escalate tensions further.<sup>504</sup>

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spheres. This is also evinced in terms of the volume of coverage following the shelling (see Figure 5.2(a) and Figure 5.2(b)).

503 In this sense, once again, the framing of North Korea as the source of multiple risks – which do not necessarily require clear explanation of causal links in order to justify recalibration as a single set of issues – is highlighted.

504 Once again, the salience of *bilateralism* is evinced here as a dominant norm within Japan's responses to, and framing of, the DPRK. Indeed, not only the *Asahi*, but all major newspapers advocated a strengthening of Japan-US initiatives in dealing with risks posed by North Korea's provocations.

Yet, by the time the following week's editorial had been published the emphasis had been further reshaped. Within this, North Korea's violation and continued instability was identified as "continuing to present the single biggest problem for security in East Asia"(28 November 2010: 3), but calls were made for a calm response (*reisei na unyō to taiō ga motomerareru*) by all parties; claiming that the US and China had the biggest roles to play in engaging the DPRK in order to avoid further military escalation.

While right-of-centre broadsheets, such as the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, were, as expected, more fervent than the *Asahi* in their responses to the Yeonpyeong shelling, a clear lack of the incident's use to further recalibrate risks beyond their already established (heightened) levels can once again be exposed through content analysis of editorials published in the days that followed. This is also evinced by the comparatively subdued levels of coverage assigned to the event, as observed in Table 5.2.<sup>505</sup> Furthermore, as noted in the two newspapers' responses to related events occurring throughout 2009, a striking degree of alignment was present between the *Asahi* and the *Yomiuri*, in terms of prescriptive measures advocated vis-à-vis North Korea. For example, reaction in the *Yomiuri's* initial editorial after the shelling also included an emphasis on extended *bilateralism*, international cooperation, and the importance of China engaging the DPRK in order to ameliorate risks identified with its actions (27 November 2010: 3).<sup>506</sup> In this sense, while media coverage exhibited a quantitatively greater reaction towards the Cheonan sinking and, even more so, the Yeonpyeong shelling than that observed within the Diet, both media and government arms of Japan's policy community stopped short of significantly further advancing the process of risk recalibration manifest in their framing of North Korea.

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505 I.e., the level of coverage on North Korean issues carried by the *Yomiuri* immediately post-dating the Yeonpyeong shelling completes a series of declining levels of reaction to the DPRK's perceived provocations from 2006-10 (see Chapter 6, Figure 6.3(a)).

506 Within these prescriptions, both papers also emphasized *trilateralism*; in the sense of Japan, South Korea and the US working in unison to counter a variety of risks emanating from the North's weapons programmes, military provocations, and nuclear development.

Nevertheless, a number of key elements constitutive of such a process, intersecting media and Diet actors, such as competition over advocating a hard-line against Pyongyang's regime, and wariness over underestimating the risks posed by North Korea's actions (and that of appearing conciliatory towards the DPRK's rulers), remained distinctive features of reactions made to these events. This suggests that the re(calibration) of risk mediated by the policy community in the aftermath of the North's nuclear and missile tests conducted in the period between 2006 and 2009 was, in effect, maintained (but not additionally recalibrated) following the events occurring in the period that followed. Furthermore, this levelling-off of the risk recalibration process vis-à-vis North Korea was also evinced by the bureaucracy's policy responses to the events witnessed after October 2009.<sup>507</sup>

#### *5.12.v. Policy responses to North Korea's continuation of provocations*

As observed in *Keidanren's* policy prescriptions, outlined in Section 5.11, following the North's missile and nuclear tests, risks attached to the negative framing of North Korea post-dating the events of October 2009 ~ November 2010 can certainly be seen to have maintained momentum for those with an agenda of revising Japan's security policy to allow for greater military strengthening. However, in totality, the legislature and bureaucracy's creation and implementation of new policy directives and policies, made in direct response to incidents such as the Cheonan sinking and Yeonpyeong shelling, was minimal.<sup>508</sup> This is in

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507 Notably, a maintenance of highly calibrated risk levels can also be observed in market-based influences.

For instance, *Keidanren* made direct reference to the Cheonan sinking in its 20 July 2010 policy statement, as representative of the salience of geo-military risks posed by North Korea. Indeed, the organization heavily emphasised the need to revise restrictions upon Japan's ability to import and export weapon parts in order to revitalize Japan's ailing defence industry (using leading European defence industries as a model), which it argued is necessary in order to ameliorate such risks and, pertinently, to sustain a network of inter-dependent employers within the industry. For details, see *Keidanren* (2010).

508 The MOD's "Defense of Japan 2010 (Annual White Paper)" (2010e: 47) lists the dispatch of four MSDF officers as observers to the US and ROK's joint naval military exercises during July 2010 and Japan's support for the G8 Muskoka Summit declaration and UN Presidential Statement, both of which criticized the Cheonan sinking, as the sole measures taken in relation to the incident. Nevertheless, the paper also maintains a high calibration of risks associated with Pyongyang's ruling elite, and their use of WMD and

stark contrast to the range of measures implemented following missile and nuclear tests in 2006, as explicated in Chapter 4, Section 4.9, and 2009, covered in Section 5.10, above.

Once again, however, there is further evidence to suggest that the relatively hard-line policy directives, taken by Japan against Pyongyang on the justification of ameliorating potential risks perceived to be posed by the DPRK, have been sustained since 2009.<sup>509</sup> Therein, Japan's framing of North Korea as the continued source of geo-military (missile, nuclear etc.) threats is a crucial part of maintaining the high-calibration of risks attached to all Pyongyang-related issues, and facilitating the continuation of associated policies designed to counter them. This is highlighted by Tokyo's assessment of the DPRK's future oriented intentions and strategy – as that which is likely to be imbued with risks influencing the security of Japan. For instance, the MOD-affiliated, National Institute of Defense Studies (NIDS), claims in its “East Asian Strategic Review 2010” publication that,

As stated above, there has been a softening in North Korea's stance, but this is likely to be only temporary... Meanwhile, North Korea has so far continued its hard-line rhetoric against Japan without specifically naming the new administration. ...it is likely to carry out more missile launches and nuclear tests going forward (NIDS, 2010: 81-3).<sup>510</sup>

It is also noteworthy that, as highlighted by the Strategic Review and Defense of Japan papers quoted in this section, Japan's bureaucracy, along with Diet speakers and media-

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nuclear armaments. For full text, see MOD (2010e).

509 Indeed, as one Japanese professor of International Relations concisely remarked when interviewed (9 May 2010b, Appendix A), the incoming DPJ administration has probably had little incentive to greatly alter existing policy directives in this field. Such a statement is certainly congruous with the arguments dealt with above (see Section 5.5), in terms of the prevalence of non-uniform approaches to policy spheres within the DPJ-led coalition – therein aligning North Korea policies with those of the bureaucracy, public-opinion, and market-related interests, as applicable.

510 Intriguingly, the NIDS continues to make such assertions alluding to risks posed to Japan, despite its in-depth analysis of North Korea's strategically based tactics; as those designed to draw the US into direct negotiations and secure economic assistance from China and others – therein having conducted missile and nuclear tests in 2009 in order to influence the incoming Obama administration, rather than in order to threaten Tokyo (NIDS, 2010: 72).

sources, showed little desire to recycle the abductions issue as a stimulant to further recalibrate risks following the North's provocations of 2010.<sup>511</sup> Indeed, as Figure 5.5, below, suggests, this is consistent with the dramatically reduced coverage of abductions since 2005. Congruently, this evinces the hypothesis that a reduction in the conflation of geo-military risks with those of the ideationally highly-charged subject of abductions is indicative of a new equilibrium which has emerged. Therein, the framing of the DPRK has been sufficiently maximised to the point where no additional recalibration of risk is deemed necessary by those seeking to advance such an agenda. As such, risks associated with North Korea's nuclear and missile programmes remain sufficient to maintain existing policy directives in this field.

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511 As discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.4, the phenomenon of abductions acted as a key stimulant in the process by which North Korea came to be framed in Japan as the source of multiple, salient and uncertain risks, and can be seen to have had a major impact on the (re)calibration of risks pertaining to other sections – such as those of military, cyber and economic actions, and nuclear activities – as observed in the correlation between issues shown in Figure 5.5, below.

**Table 5.2. Impact of North Korea-related Events in the Media and Diet**

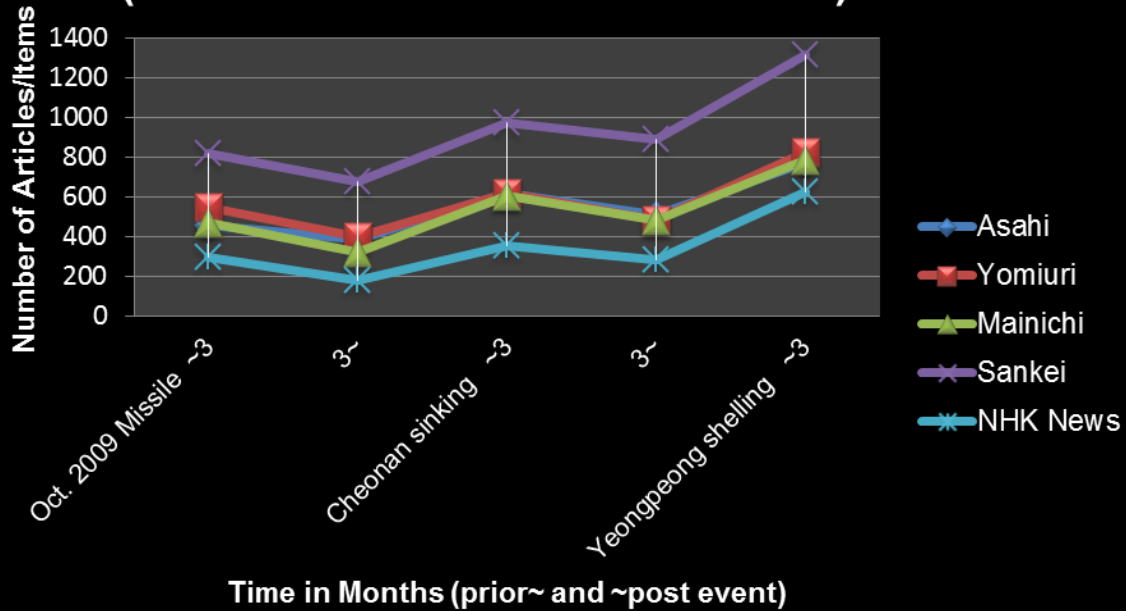
**(October 2009 – November 2010)**

Months	Numbers of articles/items prior to and post							
	2009 October missile test launch	~3	3~	2010 Cheonan sinking	~3	3~	2010 Yeon pyeong shelling	~3
Asahi		455	388		620	508		777
Yomiuri		549	402		618	485		825
Mainichi		468	320		605	482		790
Sankei		818	675		972	892		1318
NHK News		295	178		357	281		626
Diet		44	75		58	60		28
Magazine ※		44	35		18	38		64

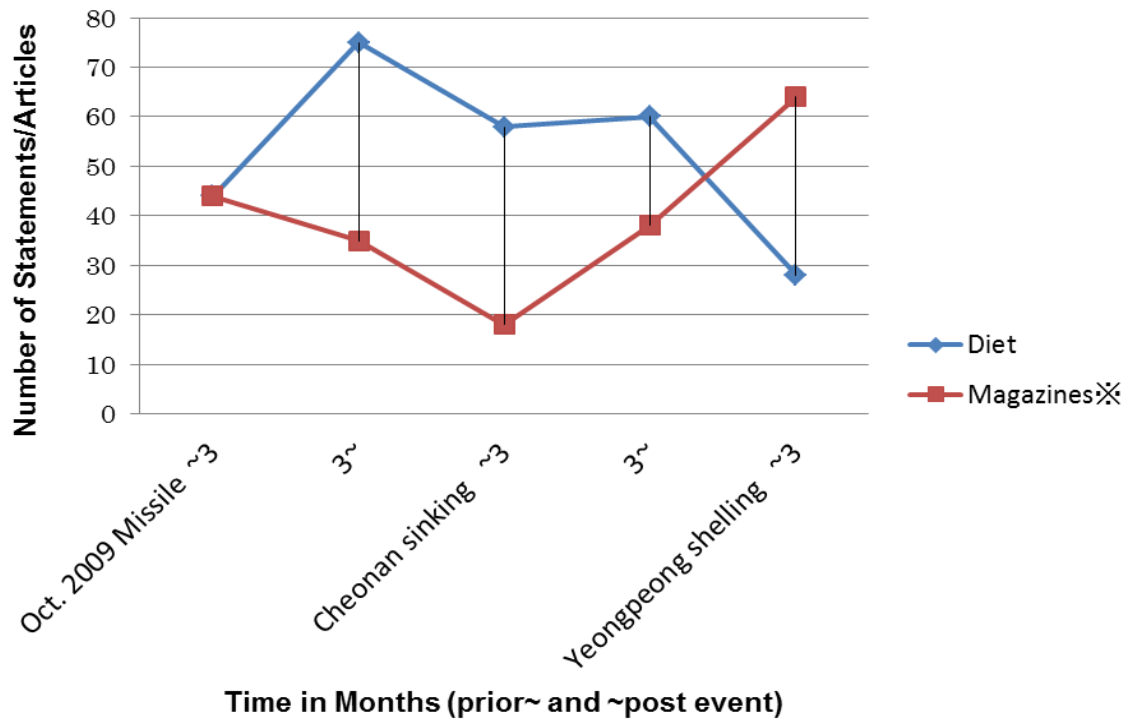
**Source: Author**

Figures shown above are based on official database (NDL search engine, Asahi Database, Yomiuri Database, Nikkei Telecom 21 Database) hits for “kitachōsen.” ※Based on a selection of national news magazines, primarily sourced from those listed on the Nikkei Telecom21 database.

**Figure 5.4(a). Media Reaction to DPRK-related Events (October 2009 - November 2010)**



**Figure 5.4(b). Diet and News Magazine Reaction to DPRK-related Events (October 2009 - November 2010)**



Source: figures adapted by the author from data expressed in Table 5.2, above.

### **5.13. Conclusion: from recalibration towards equilibrium**

In essence, then, the data analysed in this chapter have elucidated a sustained interactive process of risk recalibration mediated between the state, market and society as a response to North Korea's nuclear and missile tests of 2009. This resulted in the compounding of the DPRK's ideologically based negative framing in Japan and has maintained the existing momentum of policy provisions (sustained even after the change of the ruling administration) made to counter risks perceived to be posed by the actions of Pyongyang's ruling regime and security forces. Indeed, the sustenance of this process is further evinced by prominent intersecting discourses in the public sphere. These features are particularly evident in terms of a collusive mass-media stance, which continues to negatively frame North Korea, and discourses within the Diet that predominantly remain a function of competition over the ability to demonstrate a firm-line towards the DPRK – largely revolving around contestation over the means for Japan to counter risks posed by Pyongyang through *stick-based* rather than *carrot-based* approaches.<sup>512</sup>

However, waning media interest in the abductions issue, and a lack of major political or market-based motivation to recalibrate risks further beyond current levels, has meant that only a maintenance of risk calibration (as opposed to a full-scale recalibration) vis-à-vis North Korea has been observed in response to further military sabre-rattling witnessed in the second half of 2009 and throughout 2010. As such, the process of Japan's recalibration of risk as a function of the framing of North Korea appears to have reached a zenith –

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512 In this sense, the continued prioritization of punitive measures and a hard-line (*stick-based* approach) against the DPRK can be seen as representative of dominant realist tendencies within Japan's contemporary regional international relations. However, the recent prominence of an overtly realist-based foreign policy trajectory is, as exposed by the discussion above, actually produced through a complex interactive process, which requires an understanding of how actors adhering to norms connected to the framing of national and external identities galvanize responses to the DPRK. In this regard, as posited in Chapter 2, Section 2.14, and explored further in Chapter 4, Section 4.1, a constructivist conception of how actors respond to a set of risks framed against a specific external target has to be employed in order to provide meaningful analysis of realist tendencies – i.e., beyond the peripheral observation of state-level policies and actions.



excluding the emergence of a far greater source of potentially novel risks stemming from Pyongyang.<sup>513</sup> The potentialities for how risks relating to the DPRK in Japan are likely to be calibrated in the contemporary domestic and regional environment going forward are discussed further in the following chapter – based on conclusions provided by the event-based analysis of the processes observed thus far.

In this sense, without further long-range missile or nuclear tests being conducted by the North, it is problematic to draw absolute conclusions about the level of framing and risks attributed to the DPRK by Japan in the interim. What can be stated from the evidence examined in this chapter, however, is that reactions to the events of 2009 represented an unprecedented level of countermeasures employed by Japan against North Korea. Therein, while Japan's framing of the DPRK was created through a complex interactive process – intersecting the state, market and society – which became particularly intensified after the events of 1998, 2002 and 2006, as discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 (see also Table 5.3 and Figure 5.5, below), the resulting policy directives reached fruition following the cumulative mediation of those risks perceived to be manifest in the missile and nuclear tests of 2009.<sup>514</sup> Moving into the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, these have now become well established – cross-converging with a broad continuation of North Korea's existing framing within the public sphere – in the form of an equilibrium of risk calibration which is maintained (without further extensive recalibration) in response to the DPRK. The implications of such a conclusion, based on comparative analyses drawn from the findings of this dissertation, and an exploration of the potential for further extensions to the above research, form the basis of the following chapter.

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513 Plausible sources of a further recalibration of risk vis-à-vis the DPRK include regime collapse or changes to a more overtly aggressive posture towards Tokyo – e.g., under policies restructured following the succession of Kim Jong-Un. Based on the evidence analysed above, focusing on the incidents of 2009, the highly unlikely event of a missile part striking Japan – regardless of whether or not casualties were taken – would also be sufficient to initiate a further recalibration of risk.

514 As noted above, Japan's intensification of risk recalibration can be seen in one sense to have peaked as early as 2002 in terms of quantitative public and political sphere perceptions (see Chapter 3, Table 3.1).

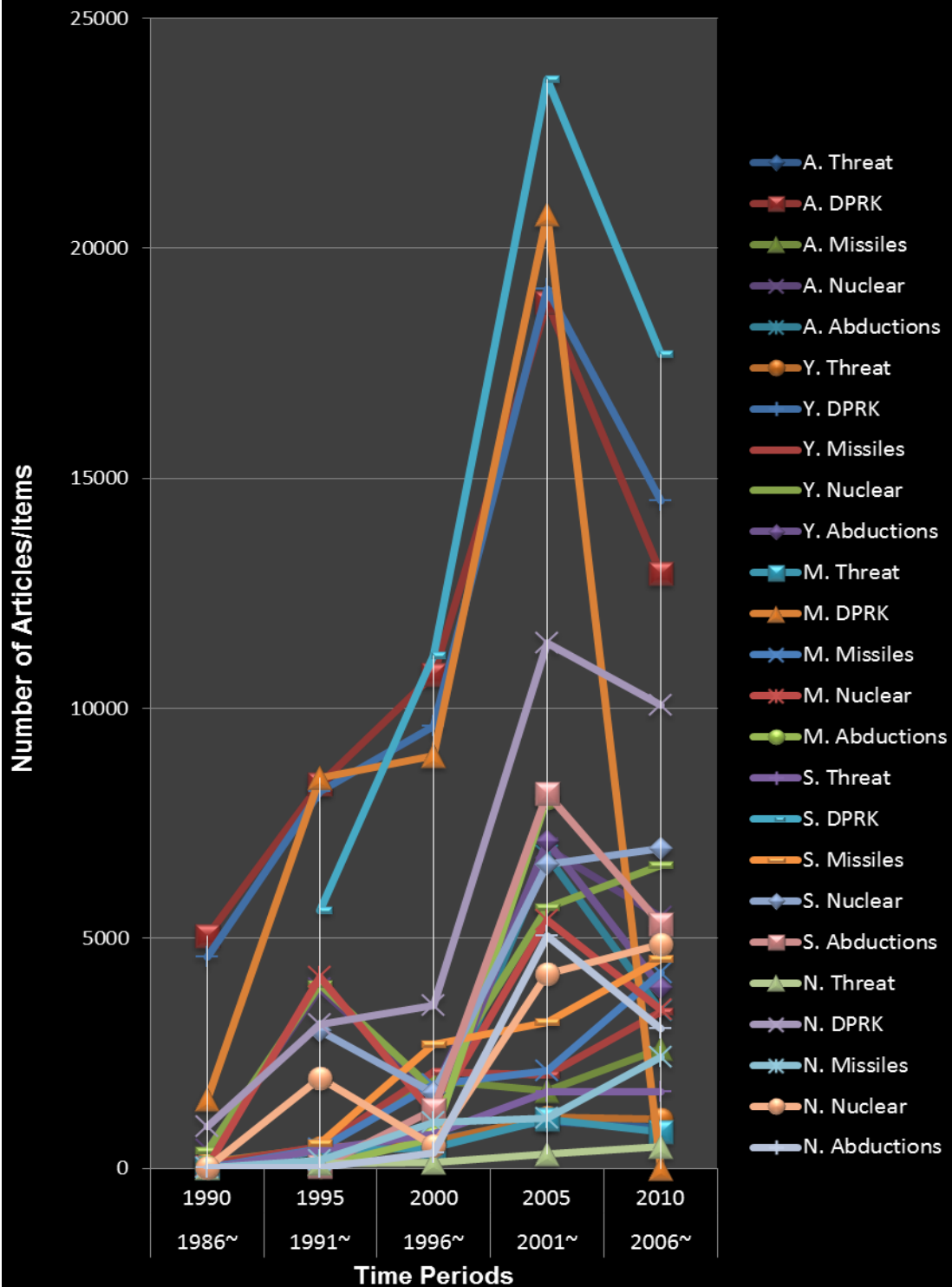
**Table 5.3. Quantity of Coverage on North Korea in the Diet and Mass Media**

	1981~ 1985	1986~ 1990	1991~ 1995	1996~ 2000	2001~ 2005	2006~ 2010
<b>Diet</b>	44 (255)	21 (195)	101 (416)	144 (609)	269 (969)	264 (914)
<i>Missiles</i>	13	10	95	241	342	432
<i>Nuclear</i>	45	41	270	292	413	521
<i>Abductions</i>	3	11	3	175	536	558
<b>Asahi</b>	N/A	155 (5,058)	399 (8,343)	641 (10,723)	1015 (18,815)	874 (12,933)
<i>Missiles</i>		78	426	1909	1690	2597
<i>Nuclear</i>		414	3913	1659	6950	5459
<i>Abductions</i>		14	37	865	6803	3428
<b>Yomiuri</b>	N/A	141 (4606)	461 (8202)	595 (9616)	1104 (19,115)	1080 (14,510)
<i>Missiles</i>		84	465	2097	2020	3407
<i>Nuclear</i>		389	4010	1707	5671	6580
<i>Abductions</i>		17	34	939	7118	3929
<b>Mainichi</b>	N/A	23 (1503)	376 (8494)	450 (8975)	1061 (20,746)	789 (12,262)
<i>Missiles</i>		23	423	1817	2127	2781
<i>Nuclear</i>		39	4158	1194	5406	4261
<i>Abductions</i>		32	27	646	8048	3440
<b>Sankei</b>	N/A	N/A	404 (5601)	755 (11,149)	1675 (23,663)	1656 (17,703)
<i>Missiles</i>			549	2688	3177	4545
<i>Nuclear</i>			2991	1641	6618	6943
<i>Abductions</i>			31	1278	8138	5300
<b>NHK News</b>	N/A	13 (918)	105 (3120)	130 (3545)	310 (11,429)	468 (10,077)
<i>Missiles</i>		9	186	1008	1096	2424
<i>Nuclear</i>		4	1962	493	4233	4874
<i>Abductions</i>		16	9	326	5056	3030
<b>Academic Titles (Jp.)</b>	0 (5)	0 (1)	0 (12)	0 (11)	0 (22)	1 (72)
<i>Missiles</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Nuclear</i>	0	0	0	0	2	13
<i>Abductions</i>	0	0	0	0	3	9

**Source: Author**

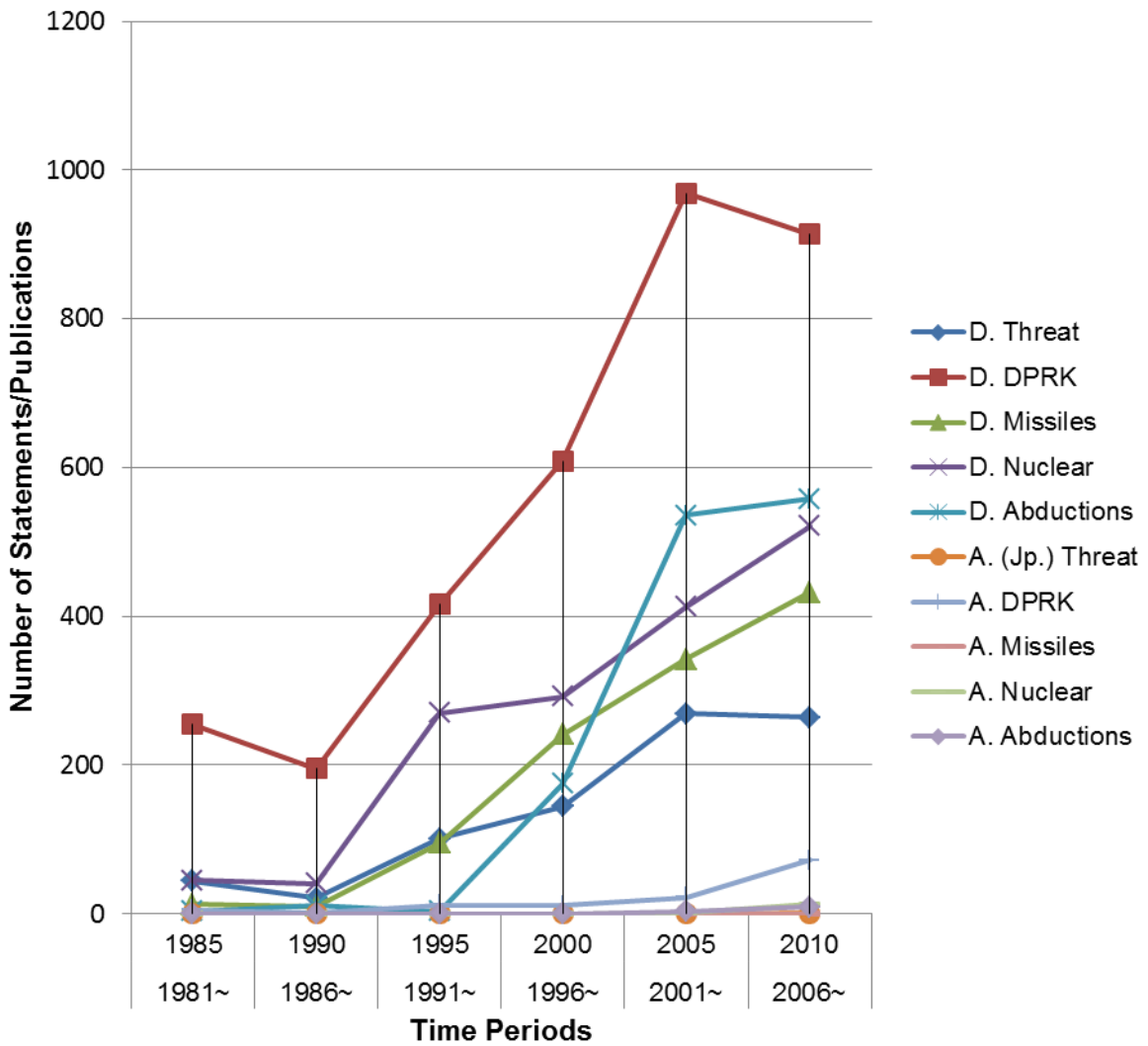
Figures shown above are for the number of articles/items, based on official database (NDL search engine, Asahi Database, Yomiuri Database, Nikkei Telecom 21 Database) hits for “kitachōsen kyōi” (“kitachōsen”), Missiles = “kitachōsen misairu”, Nuclear = “kitachōsen kaku”, Abductions = “Kitachōsen Rachi”

**Figure 5.5(a). Quantity of Coverage on North Korea in the Mass Media (1990-2010)**



- ◆ A = Asahi Shimbun, Y = Yomiuri Shimbun, M = Mainichi Shimbun, S = Sankei Shimbun, N= NHK News
- ◆ “Threat, DPRK, Missiles, Nuclear, Abductions” refer to subject areas.

**Figure 5.5(b). Quantity of Coverage on North Korea in the Diet and Academic Publications (1981-2010)**



◆ D = Diet Records, A = (Japanese Language (Jp.)) Academic Titles

◆ “Threat, DPRK, Missiles, Nuclear, Abductions” refer to subject areas

Source: figures adapted by the author from data expressed in Table 5.3, above.

## Chapter 6. Conclusion: mediating and maintaining the recalibration of risk

*“There’s a shadow on the faces, of the men who send the guns, to the wars that are fought in places, where their business interest runs”*

(Jackson Brown, “Lives in the Balance”, 1986)<sup>515</sup>

### 6.1. Explanation of interactive processes: revisiting constructivism and risk

In conclusion, this chapter attempts to provide a concise comparative analysis of the case studies discussed, in order to delineate a compact tangible understanding of how risks have been recalibrated during the period covered. In addition, the primacy and relative influence of the key actors involved is highlighted. This is achieved firstly by a re-examination of the theoretical framework adopted – with regards to its significance to the empirical findings exposed. Uncovered comparisons of the qualitative data accessed above are then conducted, and are supplemented with a correlating exposition of the quantitative data. This is expressed in the form of composite models constructed from the data-sources assimilated in relation to each of the case studies examined in the dissertation. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the possibilities for greater employment of approaches based upon risk-recalibration across relevant disciplines – and addresses the specific prospects for North Korea’s continued framing in Japan. This includes proposals for further comprehensive

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515 The prominence of market interests in domestic and international politics has been posited by as diverse a set of thinkers as Adam Smith (1723-90), Milton Friedman (1912-2006), David Harvey (1935~), Naomi Klein (1970~), and Peter Joseph (1974~). Akin to any other highly politicized sphere, this creates a pre-disposition to minimize associated risks (Beck, 1992). At one level, then, this is oft-times translatable indirectly to the risk of a reduction in revenues benefiting specific actors, such as that gained from military spending and industry – as captured by Brown’s lyrics, quoted above. As such, in conclusion, this dissertation, while focussing primarily on the identifiable delineation of political elite and media aspects affecting Japan’s recalibration of risks in response to North Korea, facilitates a reaffirmation of how those spheres have, indeed, been highly contingent upon the underlying agency of market-based factors and actors.

analysis. Finally, potential areas for future research – in terms of both theoretical development and empirical extension – are outlined.

As hypothesized in the Introduction, Section 0.1, the empirical evidence examined from the series of events covered in the three case study chapters above points clearly to an interactive process which cannot be fully explained through traditional political science theories. As such, the adoption of a theoretical framework which is ontologically founded on constructivist conceptions of actors and agency, and the analytical centralization of risk, as the primary tool by which to address how prevailing norms and ideas are operationalized, has been key to meaningful analyses in this dissertation. Specifically, the reliance upon a combination of constructivism and risk has facilitated a discussion which has elucidated how multiple actors, intersecting the state, market and society, have mediated risks perceived to emanate from North Korea. This has taken place through a complex process of socio-economic interaction and political contestation which operates within the context of inter-subjective identities, as posited in Chapter 1, Section 1.4 and Section 1.6, and Chapter 2, Section 2.6, based on a number prevailing norms. The analyses in preceding chapters have, therefore, elucidated how Japan's recalibration of risks perceived to be posed by the DPRK has been realized through its framing of North Korea – as a negatively portrayed external entity, ideationally juxtaposed with Japan.<sup>516</sup> A series of temporal shifts within that process have, therein, been observed in relation to the case study events examined above.

As such, as highlighted in Chapter 1, Section 1.2 and Section 1.3, (neo)realist-based and (neo)liberal institutionalist-based theoretical models have been found wanting – in terms of

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516 There are a number of excellent concise works that trace how Japan framed North Korea as an increasingly salient threat during the post-Cold War period – and identify the core actors and interests therein (e.g., T.J. Pempel, 2010; Son, 2010; Hughes, 2009a). However, while supplying highly informative sources of data and information, and also providing productive aids to policy, these, and other related works, have a tendency to ascribe agency to isolated factors, specific policy implementations, and a limited range of key actors. In this sense, the dissertation above has sought to adopt a further level of analysis, which elucidates how the (re)calibration of risk is a central element to all of the above and, moreover, how it is manifest in a socially constructed process which intersects interactions between each of the above spheres.

shortcomings in their explanatory capacity for analyses in this area. This is so not only in terms of an inability to convincingly explain Japan's actions in the post-Cold War regional environment (Grimes, 2003: 355) and a tendency to underestimate the influence of complex internal domestic processes, but also by way of their predominant absence of a satisfactory explanation for how the (re)calibration of risks has played a central role in Japan's foreign policy-making – particularly in relation to bilateral relations with North Korea. Indeed, these lacunae in the theoretical basis identified in realist and other established schools of International Relations are highly significant regardless of the eventual policy outcomes witnessed. Furthermore, however, it is particularly pertinent to note the ultimate inapplicability of theories which deny the evident relevance and explanatory power of risk as a theoretical concept in its own right. Not least, this has been made apparent by the above analysis of such processes; i.e., as those underpinning Tokyo's framing of the DPRK.

Congruently, within the process of Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea's actions, for instance, it is notable that realist-based theories would, on the surface, initially appear to have been applicable in terms of providing a rationale for Tokyo's framing of the North as a means to justify greater military strengthening and regional independence – i.e., vis-à-vis total geo-strategic reliance upon the US. However, this does little to explain the extended pattern of risk recalibration which, following a series of vigorous fluctuations (resulting in intensifying peaks), can now be seen to have receded in intensity – as expressed by Figure 6.3, below.<sup>517</sup> Moreover, realist-based, grand-national theories cannot effectively explain the individual agency and interactions of specific groups of actors – such as those intersecting the state, market and society, analysed above. In this respect, the epistemological reliance upon constructivism outlined in Chapter 2, Section 2.6, has played an important role by way of providing a plausible explanation for how given actors have

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517 (Neo)-liberal theories have been even less effective in explaining Japan's responses to North Korea – i.e., such schools would likely have predicted a rapid progression of normalization between Tokyo and Pyongyang, and their integration into a wider sphere of East Asian regional, economic, cooperation.

created a variety of specific interests contingent upon their own identities, and those perceived to be attributed to external entities such as North Korea. In addition, the combination of a constructivist-based conceptualization of structure and agency, and that of risk, has offered a coherent explanatory framework with which to address the apparently salient influence of prevailing norms. Most pertinently this has facilitated explication of Japan's consistent adherence to *bilateralism* (supplemented by US-Japan-ROK *trilateralism*), which, though not entirely unwavering, has been observable throughout the process of Tokyo's post-Cold War recalibration of risk in response to North Korea up to the present.<sup>518</sup>

## **6.2. Comparison of qualitative results: maturation of risk recalibration**

### *6.2.i. Political reaction and recalibration of risk: the finished framing of North Korea*

In order to accurately delineate the process constitutive of a qualitative recalibration of risk in response to North Korea, it is first necessary to return discussion to the specific events and time-periods where that process was identified as having been initiated. In this regard, concerning the North's initial missile test-firings of the 1990s, it was noted that political reaction was particularly limited in response to the May 1993 Nodong launch. Indeed, Diet members who used the launch to emphasize risks posed by Pyongyang were not only comparatively few in number (see also Section 6.2, below), but also had to rely primarily on military technicalities and general statements regarding the North's hostile intent in order to frame the DPRK as a source of such risks, as posited in Chapter 3, Section 3.7; i.e., without

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518 At state level, the prioritizing of bilateral (with the US) integration and cooperation, in combination with a sustenance of extant levels of risk calibration, can be seen in the GoJ's responses to North Korea's actions, such as those observed in reaction to the events centring on the Yeongpyeong shelling of November 2010. Therein, while additional sanctions and counter-measures are largely absent, discourse emphasising the continued uncertainties of potentially salient risks pertaining to the DPRK is sustained, and the emphasis on US-Japan cooperation as the most effective means by which to counter such is re-asserted. For full details, and official North Korea policy directives on associated issues, see MOFA (2010, 2011; *Seifu intānetto terebi*, 2010).



the ability to mobilize and conflate risks associated with abduction and incursion issues, which were later to be recalibrated as a function of public sphere mediation, detailed in Section 6.1.ii, below. Strikingly, however, it is significant that the geopolitical risks identified with North Korea within Japan's political elite at this time were, even when isolated from other areas of concern, able to gain sufficient prominence to enact an extensive recalibration of risk following the Taepodong test-launch of 1998.<sup>519</sup> Indeed, this was so even without the later tail-wind provided by abductions and incursions incidents – and despite a strong (though albeit weakening) cohort of continued voices calling for progress to be made on bilateral diplomatic normalization efforts.<sup>520</sup> Further, in terms of concrete policies resulting from the increased negative framing of the Pyongyang regime, and the recalibration of a range of associated risks, the influence of *bilateralism* as a prominent norm – as discussed above – appears to have held considerable primacy.<sup>521</sup> This was evident in terms of priming the political landscape through the introduction of the coordinated US-Japan New Guidelines in 1997 and the introduction of a debate on missile defence systems in the previous year (Nihon Keizai Shimbun Inc., 2006: 150).

These initiatives, then, can be seen to have laid the foundations for a more extensive political reaction to the missile test-launch of August 1998; itself acting as a catalyst to frame North Korea more concretely as the source of multiple risks. The risk-endowed elements of

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519 It should be remembered here that the abduction issue was repeatedly raised by the Japanese side during the normalization talks of the 1990s (*Nihon Keizai Shimbun Inc.* (ed.), 2006: 197-8), but held substantively less weight prior to the Kim-Koizumi summit of 2002 – i.e., before it had become a popular topic intersecting the media and polity. Indeed, this reflects the significance of how issues are framed and calibrated in terms of the impact they can have upon the process of recalibrating associated risks. Put simply, once leading media actors and policy makers had combined to frame North Korea as the source of salient and uncertain risks – identified through its admission of state-led abductions – other (conflated) risks could be rapidly recalibrated through a similar process.

520 The influence of North Korea's suspected nuclear proliferation, particularly in the wake of the 1993-4 nuclear crisis – and its potential to be combined with missile technologies – was, however, utilized as a central means by which to recalibrate associated risks. Indeed, though not to the extent of suspected abductions by Pyongyang, this was also an issue which gained a degree of momentum within the public-political sphere (see Chapter 3, Section 3.7).

521 Once again, this can be seen in contrast to the declining influence of anti-militarism, as noted in the military-based policy initiatives introduced in 1996-7.

the DPRK were also slowly moving towards a conflation of multiple issues which served to accelerate the process of recalibration within Japan's parliament and bureaucracy. Specifically, the incursion incidents of 1999 and 2001 were supplemented by earlier indications that the North was being economical with the truth in regards to suspected abductions cases – as highlighted in Chapter 3, Section 3.9. As a result, Japan's central political discourse moved with media and public opinion, as outlined in Section 6.1.ii, below, towards a framing of North Korea which portrayed it as the source of a multiplicity of potentially deadly risks. Within this process, as explained in Chapter 4, Section 4.4, although media and public opinion can in one sense be seen to have taken the lead in directing such discourse, particularly in relation to the abductions issue, the resulting recalibration of risks pertaining to all elements of North Korea largely took place in tandem, led by prominent political figures, but including actors which intersect the state, market and society. Indeed, such a conclusion is also evinced by the quantitative shift in reactions, as expressed in Section 6.3, below.

As highlighted by Black (2006) and Leheny (2006), reviewed in Chapter 1, the recalibration of risk was also clearly materialized between the incursion events of 1999 and 2001 in terms of a sea-change in political discourses and the employment of practical counter-measures. Thereby, in a similar dynamic to the recalibration of risk manifest in reactions to the missile tests of 1993 and 1998, the former incident acted to prime reactions to the latter. Indeed, vociferous Diet reaction from a cross-party section of influential politicians, including both foreign minister Kōmura Masahiko and then opposition leader, Kan Naoto, to the Taepodong 1 test firing can, in precedence, be seen as a key turning point in redirecting the trajectory of discourse pertaining to risks framed against the DPRK. As noted in Chapter 3, Section 3.3, this came in stark contrast to the positions of preceding political leaders, such as Takeshita Noboru and Kaifu Toshiki, who had taken a comparatively apologetic (*dovish*) stance towards North Korea, and strongly advocated increased bilateral dialogue with Pyongyang. Therein, as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.2, leading

politicians also began to raise the issue of risks posed to Japan by incursions – and attached it to the frame of North Korea. This produced a climate whereby the political tide was pre-disposed to taking a hard-line against Pyongyang following the 2001 maritime encounter – which in turn further compounded the framing of North Korea as posing a set of salient risks.

From that time, the impact of the Koizumi administration also has to be considered as highly significant in terms of facilitating actions based on the qualitative recalibration of risks perceived to be posed by Pyongyang. Thereby, like his successor, Abe Shinzō, Koizumi sought to demonstrate his (and Japan's) capacity to adopt an assertive regional and foreign policy stance by taking tough measures against the incursion of 2001, on the one hand, but at the same time also attempted to portray himself as a skilful diplomat through his resumption of the Tokyo-Pyongyang normalization process.<sup>522</sup> Moreover, Koizumi was eager to inflate foreign policy issues, particularly North Korea-related problems, as a means to distract public attention from his domestic failures. In the same sense, due to the former prime minister's apparent tendency to act primarily out of individual political interest, his reaction to Kim Jong-Il's admission over the abductions cases had to be swift and in keeping with the public and media storm being created in the wake of Kim's surprise admission. In effect, this interaction between the ruling administration, and public and media spheres, as expressed in Section 6.2.ii, below, resulted in a convergence of market, political and societal interests which at once served to frame the DPRK as not only laden with potential geo-military risks, but as dishonest and overtly hostile – hence triggering an additional recalibration of associated risks.<sup>523</sup>

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522 In this sense, Koizumi's actions can be seen as somewhat erratic in terms of how the LDP leader and his administration calibrated risks posed by the DPRK. Indeed, while ultimately creating a recalibration of risk in response to North Korea, Koizumi's moves to meet with Kim Jong-Il were initially seen as a maverick step taken, even counter to the norm of *bilateralism*, in order to secure normalization of relations with the North (Yoshida, 2008: 233).

523 Political interests were driven not only by Koizumi, but, particularly in the wake of the admission, by those such as then Chief Cabinet Secretary, Abe Shinzō, and his allies, who ultimately sought to utilize the risks presented by the Pyongyang regime as a justification for a tougher line against North Korea and, in

The process of risk recalibration as a function of the North's negative framing was then given further political momentum as the result of Abe Shinzō's rise to power and ascension to prime minister – premised on his prioritizing of the abductions issue and need for a credible and clearly identifiable enemy state, in order to obtain his goals of restructuring Japan's offensive operational capabilities (Umeda, 2007: 172-3). As a function of this, Abe's focus on abductions also perpetuated the element of politically based conflation at state-level, whereby, for instance, reactions to the nuclear and missile tests of 2006 were framed within the context of North Korea as a rogue state which posed multiple risks to Japan.<sup>524</sup> Indeed, the combined effect of these factors upon the highest level of political actors was such that even following the advent of a less hawkish prime minister, in the form of Fukuda Yasuo, risk could not readily be recalibrated to a lower level – however unlikely might actually have been a North Korean missile strike or other military contingencies posed to Japan.<sup>525</sup>

Strikingly, during this period, the fruition of a process of almost uniform inter-party shift – from debates over how best to engage North Korea and move towards normalization to a discourse competing over the demonstration of a firm-line taken against an external foe – took hold. Sustained in the wake of further missile and nuclear tests in the summer of 2009, as discussed in Chapter 5, this created such political momentum that even a full-scale change of administration later in the same year did little to facilitate progress on North Korean issues or initiate a re-framing of the DPRK as a whole.<sup>526</sup> As such, while the DPJ-led

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conflation with missile and nuclear issues, as the catalyst for reforming Japan's defence posture and operations capabilities. In this instance, market interests rested fore-mostly with the media's desire to sell the story of North Korea as the *bad-guy* – which required a high calibration of pertaining risks. Societal interest rested on indignation at the North's *wrong-doing*, and fear of the unknown risks it posed.

524 I.e., as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.6, this involved Diet members and defence spokespeople competing to stress the necessity to *deal* with a range of risks (including nuclear, missile, abduction, terror and cyber-threats), which were bundled together within the frame of "North Korea problems".

525 For a logical discussion of the unlikelihood of a North Korean missile strike against Japan, based on the argument that the DPRK violated its self-imposed missile moratorium of 2002, see Yoshida (2008, 168-9).

526 The qualitative cross-party re-framing of North Korean issues, and the resulting recalibration of risks pertaining to Pyongyang's potential actions – most starkly in the period between the missile launches of

government appears to have settled for maintaining an approximate calibration of such risks reached by the outgoing LDP administration – as opposed to recalibrating risks further – there is little to suggest a major softening of stance, or downward recalibration of risks, towards Pyongyang from within Japan. However, this may in itself represent a significant phase in the recalibration of risks framed against North Korea, not least because it points to a plateauing-out effect within Japan’s political elite, which has limited the scope for further concrete moves by policy makers to implement additional measures targeting North Korean elements within Japan and the DPRK’s rulers in Pyongyang. As discussed below (see also Chapter 5, Section 5.12), this movement towards an equilibrium of risk recalibration in response to North Korea has additionally been contributed to by the waning influences and interest of public and media sphere actors.<sup>527</sup>

#### *6.2.ii. Media reaction and recalibration of risk: the finished framing of North Korea*

As observed in terms of reactions and responses enacted by Japan’s political elite, media sources also demonstrate a qualitative recalibration of risk in response to North Korea – which can be delineated with reference to a series of pivotal events. As discussed throughout Chapters 3–5, the magnitude of interaction, in terms of discourse, between state and media, is identifiable through the two-way referencing and similarities of response to specific incidents.<sup>528</sup> Moreover, the relative loss of interest in North Korean affairs, and the lack of a further recalibration of risks within the media sphere appears, approximately, to

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1993 and 1998 up to the upper-house election campaigns of 2007 – can also be observed in the respective party manifestos of that period (see also Chapter 4, Section 4.2 and Chapter 5, Section 5.5).

527 And, as argued by one prominent political analyst and former *Asahi Shimbun* columnist in an interview (1 August 2011, Appendix A), and other commentators, has also been affected by a gradual weakening of the far right – as previously represented by the likes of Abe Shinzō and his political allies.

528 Analyses across the case studies addressed showed that politicians widely cite and use leading newspapers as a primary source of information. Conversely, it was also noted that the *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*, for instance, both regularly quote government sources as a means to construct and disseminate information – not least in relation to the risks posed by North Korea.

mirror that of Diet speakers and other policy makers – limiting the former in terms of its ability to garner public support for additional policy measures, even in the wake of further provocations emanating from Pyongyang, as noted in Chapter 5, Section 5.12.v. However, reaction from these two sectors to the DPRK’s post-Cold War actions has by no means been identical (e.g., see also quantitative reaction, Section 6.2, Figure 6.1, below), and the mass-media’s responses to the events covered above show a number of distinctive features in comparison to those observed within the Diet and bureaucracy.

As observed in Chapter 3, Section 3.4, following the end of the Cold War, prominent media sources initially framed the DPRK (albeit with reservations) as a source of potential diplomatic progress within a dynamic regional environment. Indeed, despite criticisms in the right-of-centre press over the conciliatory nature of Japan’s position in negotiations for diplomatic normalization, led by Kanemaru Shin, from 1990, it was not until the emergence of the first nuclear crisis in 1993-4 that media sources began to make broader reference to the potential risks posed by Pyongyang’s regime.<sup>529</sup> However, even during this time, media coverage was limited, and, as identified in Chapter 3, Section 3.7, reaction to the North’s 1993 Nodong test-launch minimal. Akin to reactions from the Diet, the 1998 Taepodong test-firing produced a far more vociferous response from media sources. Thereby, the qualitative recalibration of risks framed against North Korea within the media from this time – at least up to the missile and nuclear tests of 2009 – appears to have been led extensively by the combination of domestic political interests and external (primarily US) pressure, as highlighted in the preceding section.<sup>530</sup>

However, an interactive (two-way) process, mediated between the state and media is also

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529 It is important, also, to note the clear disparity between media sources at this time. Specifically, the *Asahi* in particular was initially very much supportive of diplomatic efforts to normalize relations with the DPRK – holding less reservations from the outset than its right-of-centre competitors.

530 Though limited in number, a qualitative shift in the North’s mainstream framing within the media following the 1993 Nodong launch – based on government perceptions – is further evinced from NHK news reports of the time (see Chapter 3, Section 3.7).

visible, once again, particularly in terms of reactions to the Kim-Koizumi summit of 2002.<sup>531</sup>

This is in general contrast to media responses to the 1998 Taepodong launch and the maritime incursions of 1999 and 2001, which approximately followed those of statements made by leading party figures in the Diet, and essentially, as exposed in Chapter 3, Section 3.9 and Section 3.13, served to justify the revised US-Japan security guidelines and other sanctions and measures implemented by the state as counter-measures designed to ameliorate risks posed by the DPRK.<sup>532</sup> The *reverse* effect can be seen to have taken place in the aftermath of the 2002 leadership summit – in terms of then PM, Koizumi having to rapidly re-evaluate his stance on North Korea-targeted policies due to the media outcry created in response to Kim’s admission of the DPRK’s abduction of Japanese citizens. Therein, Kim’s admission was key in terms of mediating North Korea’s demonization in the public-sphere, which effectively placed media and state actors in convergence with regards to their framing of the DPRK and the associated recalibration of risks. This interactive process was then given added momentum by the highly-profiled events of missile launches and nuclear tests in 2006 and 2009. Amid this, the combined market interests of media sources requiring stories to sell, as documented in Chapter 4, Section 4.7, Japan’s military industries and self-defence forces requirement of a potential enemy (Umeda, 2007), and those of the US, combining commercial interests and those of Washington’s regional foreign policy (McCormack, 2002), have to be taken in to consideration as major contributing factors. In addition, the public’s ideational requirement of a negatively framed reference point (*bad guy*), against which to self-orientate and juxtapose Japan’s identity, clearly added to the elements that drove the media towards a pervasive process of risk recalibration (Hyung,

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531 In one sense, the process of risk recalibration, as a whole, can actually be seen as a three or four-way process in terms of additional societal and other market spheres (see Section 6.1.iii), but observation of the interaction between state and media is significant here in as much as it serves to identify the primacy of a number of leading actors within such a process.

532 Specifically, these include influential figures such as former Prime Minister, Abe Shinzō, who, with a number of supporting actors in government was active in propagating the potentiality of increasing risks identified with North Korea prior to the Taepodong launch of 1998 (e.g., see Chapter 3, Section 3.10). This, thus, aided the facilitation and justification of a broader-based recalibration of risk following the launch.

2006), which intersected the state, market and society.

In this sense, leading actors from each of the above sectors can be seen to have largely achieved their goals in this sphere, manifest, most recently, in the extensive media and Diet reactions to the key events of April~July 2009. However, since then there has been little to motivate a further qualitative recalibration of risk in response to the DPRK – something made evident by reactions to succeeding events, later in 2009 and 2010. Moreover, with respect to the first of the factors identified above, it appears Japan's public has tired of North Korea stories, and political and market actors have little need to further recalibrate risks which are already sufficiently calibrated to facilitate the majority of their policy objectives and commercial interests. Indeed, such an assessment is supported by analyses of data addressing market and societal actors covered in Section 6.4, below, and the results of supplementary quantitative data, explicated further in the following sections.

### ***6.3. Comparison of quantitative results: decreasing momentum in the recalibration of risk across a convergent policy community***

The discussion above has, then, outlined how the interactive influences of state, market, media and societal actors have created a qualitative process of risk recalibration in response to North Korea's actions throughout the post-Cold War period – identifiable in general convergence up to 2007, and to varying degrees across each sector up to 2009.<sup>533</sup> This section demonstrates how that recalibration can also be traced in quantitative terms by cross-examining the patterns of response to each of the major case studies dealt with in the preceding chapters. As confirmed by the random sampling (e.g., see Appendix C) and

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533 This dissertation has illuminated the extent to which media and political elite framing of the North has primarily expanded rapidly from the time of the Taepodong 1 test-firing in 1998 – having been primed by political actors in response to the Nodong launch of 1993. However, it should be noted that for certain societal sectors – including Korean residents in Japan – the precursors to the broader-based framing of North Korea and the recalibration of associated risks was seen to be present prior to the conclusion of the Cold War (Han, 2002: 221).



qualitative examples examined throughout, coverage in both the Diet and mass media relating to North Korea has been overwhelmingly negative. Therefore, while the qualitative analysis above is necessary in order to discern the specific form – particularly in terms of public-political sphere discourse – of Japan’s framing of the DPRK, the extended fluctuating quantity of coverage relating to North Korea is also highly illuminating. This is particularly so in terms of delineating the impact of specific events upon these core areas of the policy community’s recalibration of risk.<sup>534</sup>

In this sense, comparison of Figure 6.1(a) and Figure 6.1(b), below, reveal a remarkable proportional similarity in terms of reactions to North Korea-related events in the period examined.<sup>535</sup> This not only supports the qualitative evidence exposed above, suggestive of a close interaction and convergence of media and Diet spheres, but also reaffirms their significance in terms of being constitutive elements of a tangibly identifiable policy community which directs responses towards North Korea within Japan. Furthermore, while there is a significant difference in the volume of coverage assigned to each event (particularly the abduction revelations of 2002) across media sources, the indisputable conformity in the correlation between specific time periods and peaks of coverage observable in Figure 6.1 demonstrates the pertinence of addressing the media as a unitary actor in itself – i.e. as a predominantly convergent influence upon and amid the policy

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534 Indeed, as noted in Section 6.1.ii, market elements are highly entangled with political and other societal, as well as media spheres, allowing the assumption that quantitative data relating to media and, to a degree, Diet reactions to Pyongyang’s actions reflects powerful elements (interests) of the market.

535 This proportional similarity is especially convincing as a means by which to support the hypothesis adapted from Hyung (2006), which assumes a high degree of convergence between state and media (and intra-media) sources, not least because of the huge disparity in actual quantities of data relating to each. Therein, peaks and troughs mirror one another closely across each sphere despite the fact that media coverage is measured in units of thousands, as opposed to Diet and magazine coverage, which is measured in units of hundreds. In this respect, the slight disparity in terms of a relatively small quantity of magazine articles covering the 1998 Taepodong launch is the lone exception to an otherwise uniformly consistent inter-correlation.

community.<sup>536</sup>

Media and Diet reaction to the 2002 leadership summit has been included in Figure 6.1 on the grounds that, as posited in Chapter 4, Section 4.4, it is representative of the dramatic influence of the abductions issue upon Japan's framing of North Korea and the related process of risk recalibration which it has facilitated. However, as observable in Figure 6.2, below, removal of data from this event illuminates how quantities of coverage relating to the DPRK's weapons tests (particularly missile test-firings) exhibit a clear pattern of waves which supports the hypothesis of a recalibration of risks as a process affected – in interaction with other elements – which can be measured against a series of comparable events (missile launches and nuclear tests) taking place between 1993 and 2009.<sup>537</sup>

In addition, data pertaining to the contemporary events covered in Chapter 5, Section 5.12, can also be added to expose the pattern of a decreasing (maintained) recalibration of risks in the post-2007 period (see Figure 6.3). Indeed, as discussed above, this tendency towards a new equilibrium of risk calibrations pertaining to Pyongyang's potential actions was also evinced by the qualitatively restrained reaction across all spheres with regards to these incidents. However, due to the lack of subsequent missile and nuclear tests of a comparable calibre to those witnessed between 1993 and 2009, conclusions drawn on the basis of the quantitative evidence expressed by Figure 6.3, while suggestive of a movement towards the equilibrium of risk calibration posited in Chapter 5, Section 5.13, remain tentative until further data can be assimilated. This is particularly so in terms of how these and other events will be

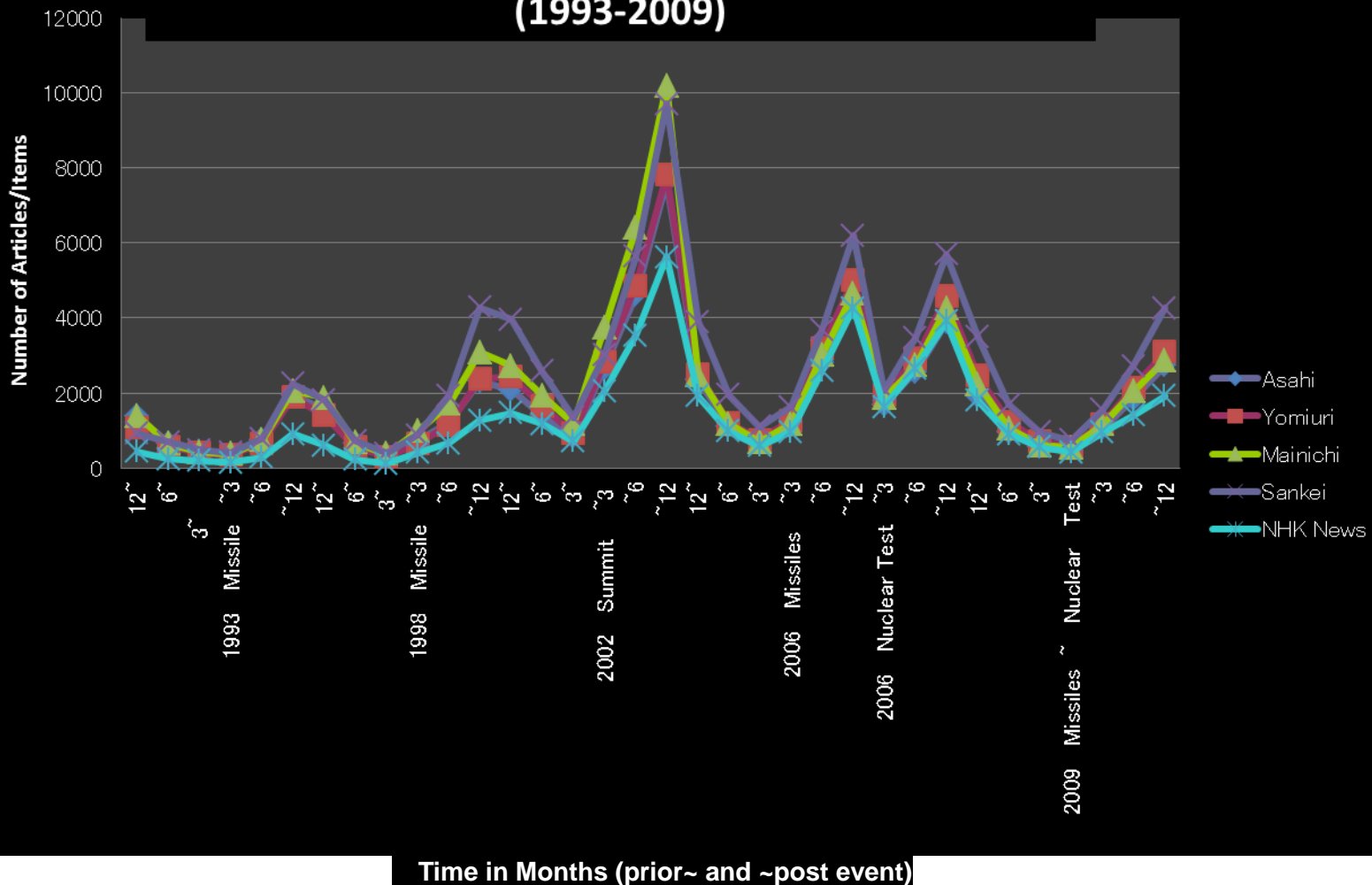
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536 In quantitative terms, this is particularly notable with regards to the *Asahi Shimbun*, which shows a striking parallel with other leading newspapers. Specifically, this is so in response to the series of missile and nuclear tests, identified in Chapter 3~Chapter 5, as key events in affecting a qualitative repositioning of the paper's stance – more in line with traditionally conservative newspapers. As such, a full archival comparison pre-dating the conclusion of the Cold War would be beneficial to furthering quantitative analysis in this area. In addition, as noted in Chapter 5, Section 5.5, media actors have to be considered as politically highly embedded in terms of their close relationships to the bureaucracy and specific Diet members.

537 In terms of quantitative evidence which evinces the recalibration of risks, it is particularly pertinent here to note the height of troughs as well as peaks in Figure 6.2. Therein, not only is the reaction to successive events greater, the *base level* for coverage on North Korea has already been heightened prior to each incident up to those covered in 2006.

interpreted going forward. Therein, further cross-sectional analyses of the interactive state, market and societal sectors which constitute Japan's policy community will be required.<sup>538</sup>

**Figure 6.1(a). Media Reaction to DPRK-related Events (1993-2009)**

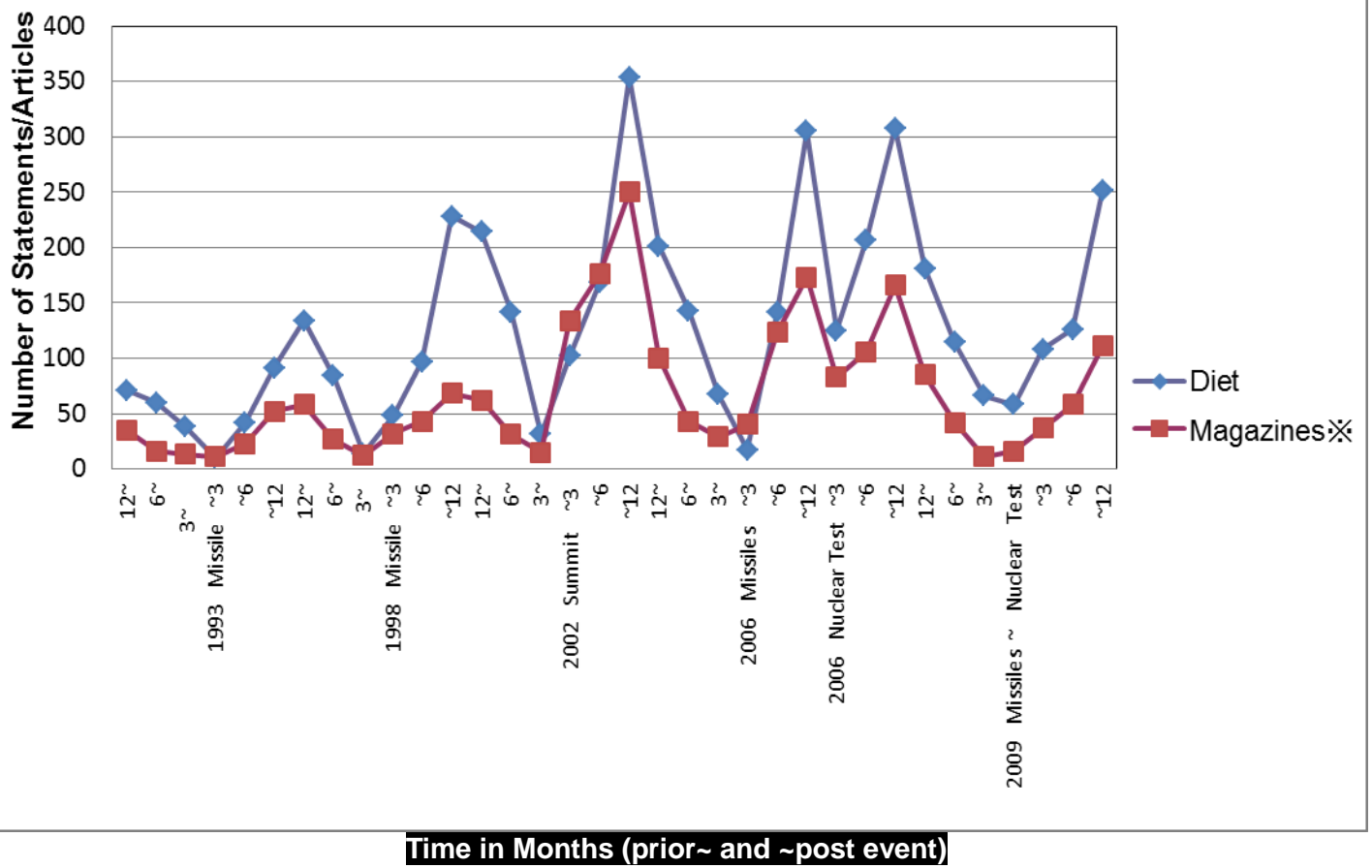


**Source: author**

Figure adapted from data expressed in Table 3.1 – Table 5.1 (Chapter 3 – Chapter 5)

538 As noted in Chapter 5, Section 5.12.i, the test-firing of missiles in October of 2009 cannot be fully included in this regard, on account of the range of the missiles being substantially shorter (and hence not logistically capable of targeting Japan) than those of Nodong and Taepondong specifications.

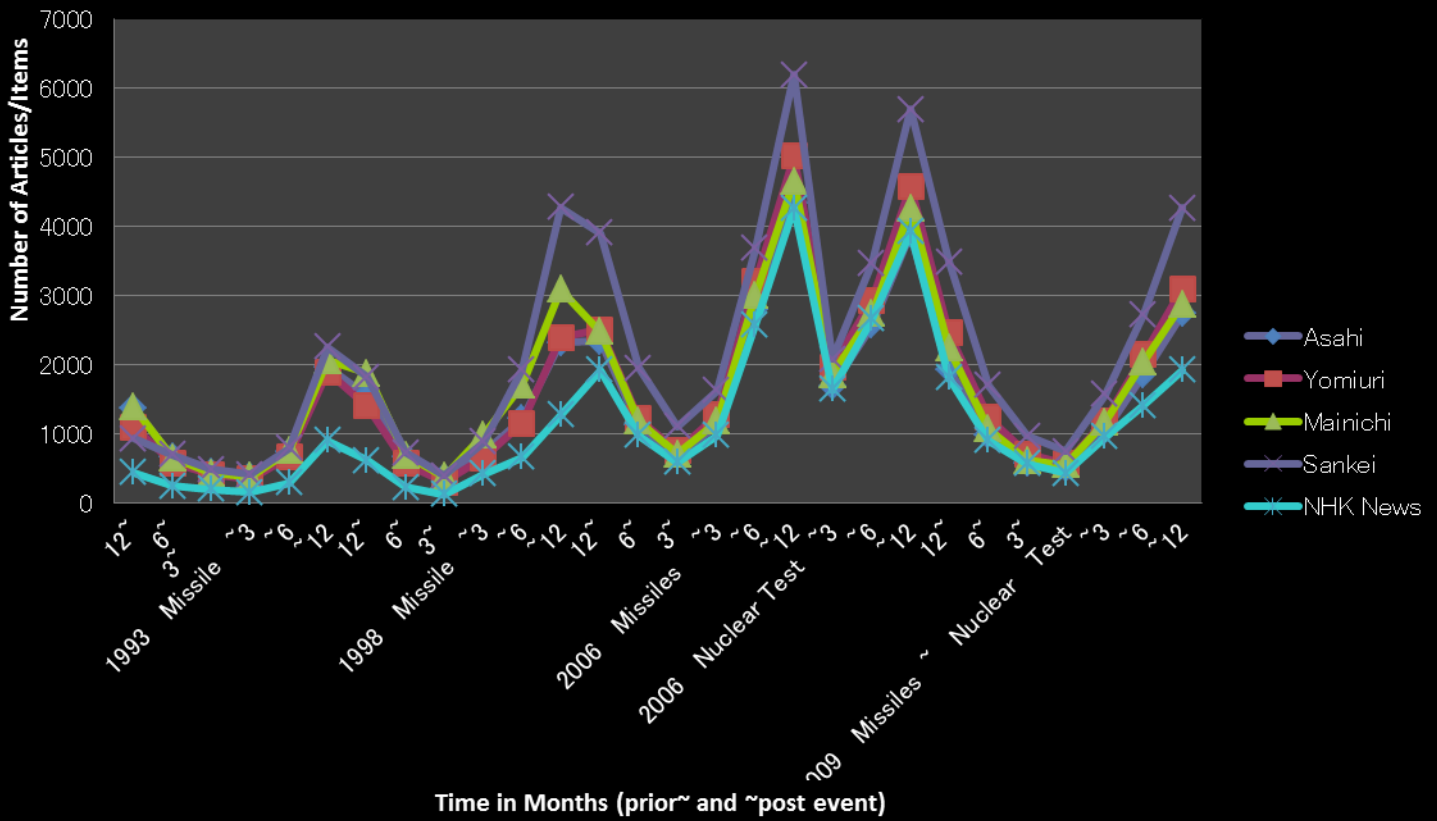
**Figure 6.1(b). Diet and News Magazine Reaction to DPRK-related Events (1993-2009)**



**Source: author**

Figure adapted from data expressed in Table 3.1 – Table 5.1 (Chapter 3 – Chapter 5).

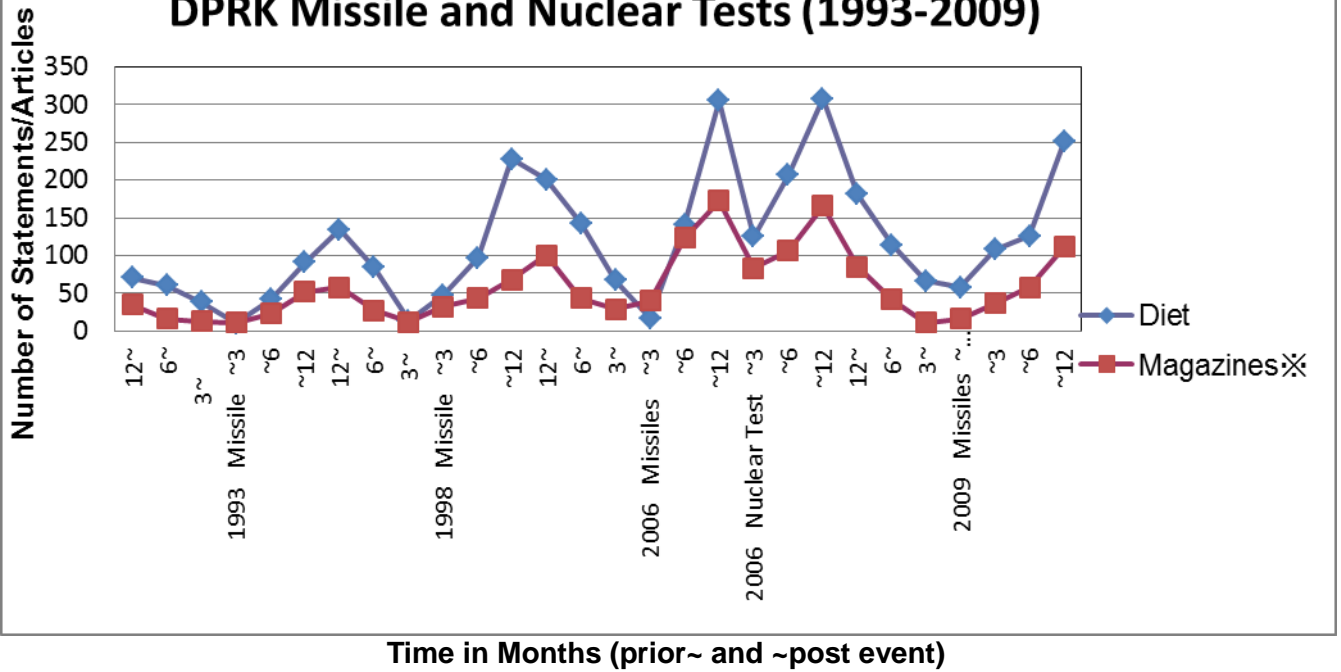
**Figure 6.2(a). Media Reaction to DPRK Missile and Nuclear Tests (1993-2009)**



**Source: author**

Figure adapted from data expressed in Table 3.1 – Table 5.1 (Chapter 3 – Chapter 5), excluding Table 4.1 (Chapter 4).

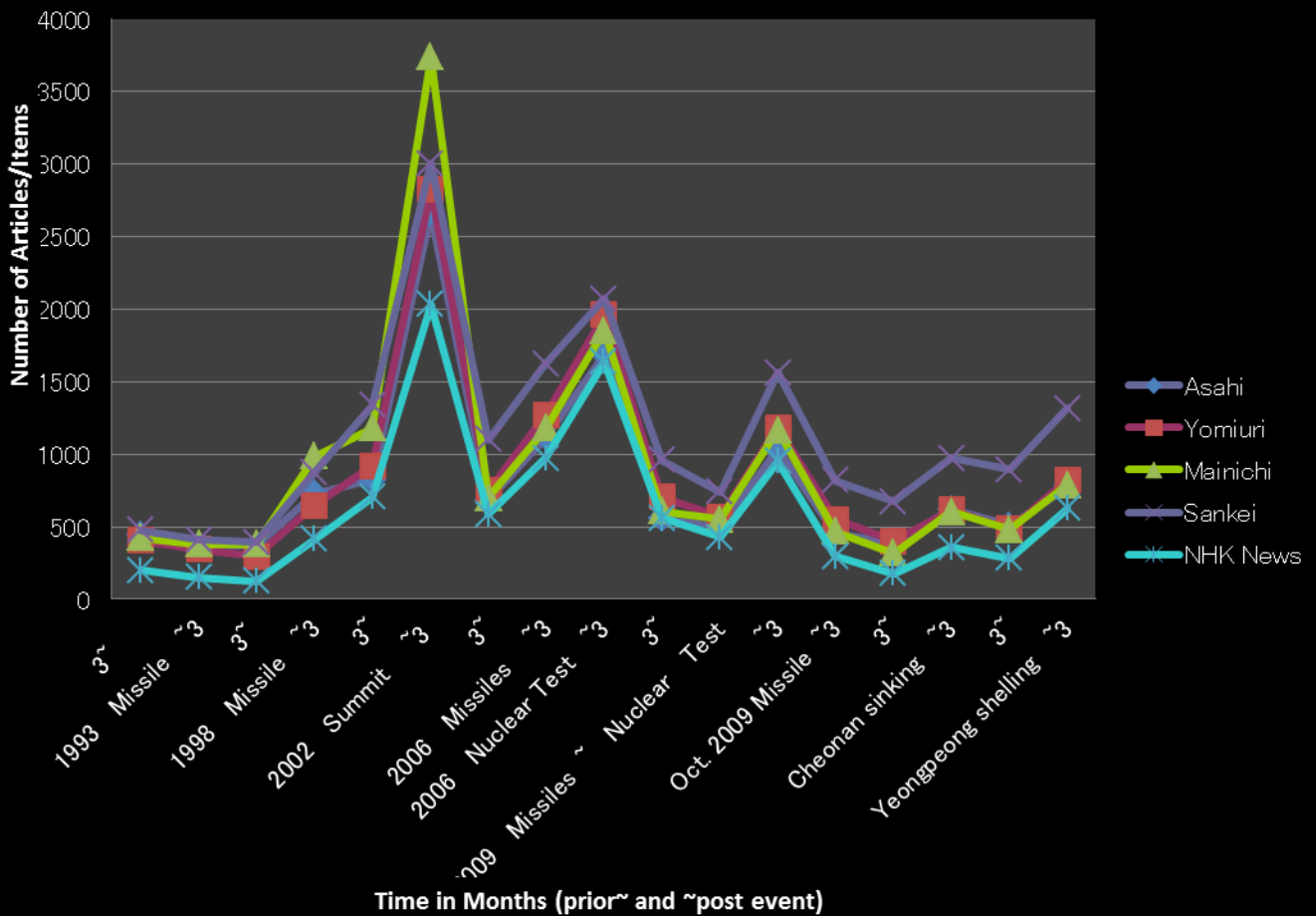
**Figure 6.2(b). Diet and New Magazine Reaction to DPRK Missile and Nuclear Tests (1993-2009)**



**Source: author**

Figure adapted from data expressed in Table 3.1 – Table 5.1 (Chapter 3 – Chapter 5), excluding Table 4.1 (Chapter 4).

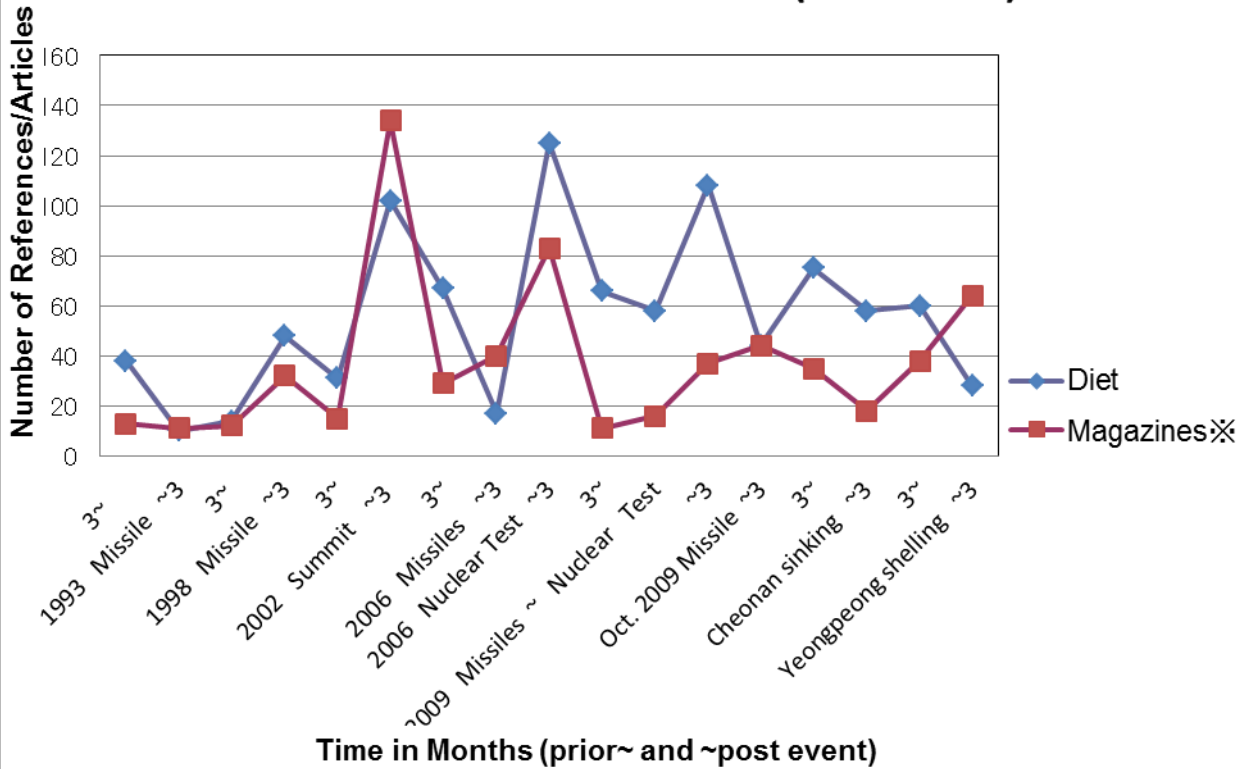
**Figure 6.3(a). Short-term Media Reaction to DPRK-related Events (1993-2010)**



**Source: author**

Figure adapted from selected data expressed in Table 3.1 – Table 5.2 (Chapter 3 – Chapter 5).

**Figure 6.3(b). Short-term Diet and News Magazine Reaction to DPRK-related Events (1993-2010)**



**Source: author**

Figure adapted from selected data expressed in Table 3.1 – Table 5.2 (Chapter 3 – Chapter 5).



#### **6.4. Market and societal factors: influences upon the framing of North Korea**

As discussed in Section 6.1, ideational and normative aspects, such as the juxtaposition of national identity (Japan -v- DPRK) and adherence to the norm of *bilateralism*, have clearly been leading influences in the process of Japan's recalibration of risk in response to North Korea. As such, primary attention has been assigned to media and political spheres which express the concrete outcomes of such conceptions.<sup>539</sup> However, in addition, while societal influences upon this process can be seen in many ways – through their interactions – to reflect these spheres, major market influences, other than those contained within the media, contain elements which require a greater degree of analytical disentanglement.

As noted in Chapter 3, Section 3.11, succeeding the key events (specifically missile launches) of 1993 and 1998, central market actors such as *Nippon Keidanren* maintained their opposition to confrontational measures (sanctions etc.) taken by the state in response to the North's actions. However, in line with the three core factors posited in Chapter 3; namely: logistical difficulties regarding investment in commercial projects within the DPRK, political and media interests being served by the vilification of North Korea, and US and domestic military (market and political) actors requiring a recalibration of risks pertaining to Pyongyang in order to justify budgets and increased investment, those opposing a hard-line against North Korea on market-based grounds were effectively out-weighted by those whose interests were better served by its realization. Within this, the introduction of intensified restrictions on remittances to North Korea, and the counter-terror directives laid down to commercial enterprises, observed in Chapter 4, Section 4.10, in the wake of missile and nuclear tests conducted by North Korea during 2006, can be seen as representative of how the state dictated to the domestic market how risks posed by Pyongyang were to be (re)calibrated. Indeed, *Keidanren's* response to the North's further *provocations* in 2009 – highlighting the risks posed by Pyongyang and support for Japan's defence industry, as

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<sup>539</sup> For instance, public opinion can be seen largely to have followed media and political discourse relating to North Korea in this sphere – i.e., mediating the calibration of risks (see Chapter 5, Section 5.7).

elucidated in Chapter 5, Section 5.11 – can be seen to have reflected how leading market actors within Japan shifted their stance in line with the observed recalibration of risk witnessed across state and societal sectors.<sup>540</sup> This can also be attributed, at least partially, to the continued need of both domestic and US military actors – and their associates within the policy making sphere – to maintain a high calibration of risks framed against North Korea in order to secure investment in hardware and the continued deployment of personnel within Japan and the East Asia region.<sup>541</sup>

Furthermore, however, as observed across political elite, societal and media spheres, there appears to have been a relatively muted response from other powerful market actors in reaction to North Korea's actions which involved events in the latter part of 2009, and most ostensibly those of 2010. Therein, despite readily identifiable events, such as the Cheonan sinking and Yeonpyeong Island shelling, presenting sufficient means to maintain the high-calibration of risks now established in relation to North Korea (within Japan's framing of the DPRK), there has been little obvious movement among leading market and societal actors to recalibrate risks beyond the levels of calibration current at that time.<sup>542</sup>

Nevertheless, in totality, the data sets accessed in this dissertation have been only partially sufficient in terms of being able to definitively draw conclusions to the specific primacy of all the key individual actors across each of the interacting sectors. However, it has provided ample data to establish the validity of the core hypothesis, as stated in the Introduction, by way of demonstrating the presence of a complex interactive process, intersecting the state, market and society which has resulted in the recalibration of risks identified with North Korea as a function of Japan's framing of that country. Within this,

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540 North Korea's continued economic stagnation can also be considered as a contributing factor against potential market-drives towards improved relations with Pyongyang.

541 In this sense, *bilateralism* can be seen as not only a political and ideological norm, but one which is highly embedded in market-based interests and as such led also by market actors (and their cross-interaction with policy makers).

542 For instance, no mention of either incident was made within *Keidanren's* subsequent major policy documents relating to international affairs (*Keidanren*, 2011).

moreover, while market influences would appear to have been key to their motivations, policy makers and societal actors (primarily leading politicians and media actors) have largely, as the result of overlapping areas of interest, converged to give considerable momentum to such a process. Those interests have, therein, included commercially and politically based aspects which were sufficiently compatible to out-weigh counter forces which might have mediated risks potentially posed by Pyongyang's regime in a less magnified form.<sup>543</sup> In addition, the further convergence of US political and market-based interests, and their influence upon the above in this area, provided an overwhelmingly powerful combination of actors intersecting the state, market and society which served to drive the process of risk recalibration – observed in response to a series of identifiable events pertaining to North Korea's actions. In light of these findings, the following section draws a number of conclusions, based on the analyses contained in the chapters above, as to why this process appears to have entered a new equilibrium since 2009.<sup>544</sup> Additionally, areas where extension to this research could provide further empirical evidence to support the observation of a more stable pattern of risk calibration in response to the DPRK are proposed in relation to each to the sectors discussed above.

### **6.5. Future research goals: tracking the risk-(re)calibration trajectory**

Put simply, the decrease in additional recalibrations of risks identified with North Korea since the summer of 2009, as posited in Chapter 5, Section 5.12, can probably be attributed

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543 Indeed, these elements of Japan's policy community, while diverse in terms of intersecting the state, market and society, have in some ways been so closely aligned that they have been comparable to a relatively condensed iron triangle in their own right – established between leading politicians, business leaders and media actors.

544 As noted in the analyses of Figure 6.1, Figure 6.2 and Figure 6.3, above (see also Chapter 5, Section 5.13), while the missile and nuclear tests of 2009 can be seen as the most recent events which acted as a catalyst for the continued recalibration of risks framed against the DPRK – i.e., in terms of a return to high levels of Diet and media coverage coupled with extensive policy provisions – their inability to surpass reactions to the comparable events of 2006 in one sense highlights the pre-existence of a saturation-point with regards to the framing of North Korea and the extent its provocations could facilitate an on-going recalibration of risks.

broadly to many of the various key actors having achieved their policy goals – and maximized the market potential – contained in such a process as a function of Japan’s framing of North Korea.<sup>545</sup> This includes Japan’s convergent right-of-centre policy community, which facilitated the process of risk recalibration in order to justify increased or sustained levels of military expenditure and investment, and the use of North Korea’s framing as a negative reference point from which to promote a positive image and national identity of Japan.<sup>546</sup> Media actors also converged towards such a position, and have been able to utilize risks associated with the DPRK to create a popular discourse which could be sold to the public. In addition, US foreign policy and business interests have also been satisfied by the current levels of risk calibration assigned to Pyongyang’s actions – in terms of providing support for a rationale which allows continued levels of US troop deployment and highly profitable BMD technology transfer to Japan.

Nevertheless, further research will be required in order to fully explain the on-going trajectory of risk (re)calibration in relation to North Korea’s actions going forward. In this respect, the complex cross-section of data assimilated and analysed in this dissertation has presented findings which can potentially be employed for use in a broad range of future research projects in this field. Not least, the focus on risk – and its explication as being inextricably reliant upon inter-subjective understandings of national identity and foreign policy creation – has offered a theoretical and empirical framework from which to re-evaluate North Korea-related problems addressed from Japan.<sup>547</sup> Specifically, these include the

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545 It can also be posited that an additional recalibration of risk in response to North Korea would be problematic – even if desired – to disseminate across state and societal spheres. The DPRK remains a weak and potentially self-destructive state which, despite repeated sabre-rattling, provides little tangible evidence that could be seized upon to convincingly affect a (re)calibration of risks beyond their already heightened levels in Japan.

546 This can be seen also as closely linked to the re-emergence of exclusionary nationalism in Japan, and is an additional area of investigation requiring further research – particularly in terms of the process by which specific risks, i.e., those posed to national identity are calibrated based on external framings. For excellent existing studies on Japan’s contemporary nationalism, see Morris-Suzuki (2010), Shimazu (2006), Anno (2000).

547 Many of the core theoretical and empirical elements of such are also explored by Shahar Hameiri and

capacity to extend grass-roots understandings of how state, market and societal sectors interact to produce specific calibrations of risks which profoundly affect bilateral relations and foreign policy.<sup>548</sup> As such, among other potential normative aims, a more comprehensive understanding at the individual actor level is urgently required in order to fulfil the widely sought goal of greater cooperative unity, or *kyōdōtai*, across the East Asia region (Yoshida, 2008: 257; Nishimura and Okonogi, 2010: 231-2, 257).

Indeed, in this respect, the theoretical reliance upon a combination of constructivism and risk also provides a potential means by which to shift the focus of analysis and policy formation, particularly in terms of which areas of risk are prioritized and how they are calibrated. This offers an opening, for example, to increase the emphasis on human security aspects (Okonogi and Isozaki, 2010), and a conceptual tool that supersedes the dichotomy of state (or international) relations and domestic politics.<sup>549</sup> Within this process, the shift in perceptions and conceptions of risk might allow a change of framing for the DPRK – in terms of how it is characterised by Tokyo. In this respect, one possibility would be for Japan to re-frame its own identity – not as a switch to victim from aggressor (Tanaka, 2009: 217) manifest via the framing of North Korea and a recalibration of risks identified with Pyongyang (observed above), but, rather, from victim to saviour.<sup>550</sup> Therein, if national financial pressures (budget deficits etc.) influencing US and SDF military deployment capacity, and

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Florian P. Kühn et al. (2011) in the special edition of *International Relations on "Risk, Risk Management and International Relations."*

548 Greater understanding and further research in this area is also, evidently, something which is of potentially enormous beneficial value to the analysis of specific case-studies and international relations theory across the region – and, indeed, on a global scale.

549 The need for greater emphasis on human security and internationalism (as opposed to nationalism), in terms of a prevailing ideology, has also been stressed by commentators such as Yamanaka. During a high profile presentation (2011) she asserted that this should be incorporated as part of the process by which Japan “consolidated identities in the post-Cold War era” - specifically in relation to North Korea.

550 Essentially, the current maintenance of a high-calibration of risks pertaining to North Korea based on the risk of military action – sustained on the grounds of uncertainties regarding the constitution of Pyongyang’s internal political and military operations (particularly following the transition to a relatively inexperienced leadership) – could be replaced by a focus on opportunities which require the taking of risks in order to rescue an embattled populous and demonstrate strong regional leadership.

other structural elements of the regional security environment, permit Japan to take a less combative approach to risks posed by Pyongyang in the coming decades, the risks posed to human security might be recalibrated to allow Japan to frame itself (vis-à-vis the North) as a powerful and philanthropic saviour of a helpless and needy – if troublesome – regional state.<sup>551</sup>

In the case at hand, therefore, future research into the formation of norms and identity – and their relation to risk (re)calibration – in this sphere may also be able to better explain the apparently symbiotic nature of state, societal and market actors which have broadly moved in convergence, as observed in Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.3, facilitating the recalibration of risks framed against North Korea in Japan. Moreover, an extension of in-depth analysis – working within this framework – into contemporary events related to the above, can aspire to elucidate further how this process now appears to be reaching a new equilibrium. Therein, the findings of this dissertation present a case-study which seeks to facilitate conceptually innovative literature relevant to understanding Japan's regional and global international relations, and the domestic processes which are central to them. In addition, it also provides the rudiments of a theoretical and empirical tool that can hopefully be employed in the more extensive utilization of risk as a key concept within the fields of Political Science and IR, and applied directly to the creation and formation of policy. If this is realized, the day may come when risk is understood to shape the future of all.

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551 If the salience of the abductions issue continues to lose socio-political influence, the opportunities for such a shift would appear greater still. In essence, Tokyo could be framed by a combination of policy makers and media sources within Japan as the *paternalistic* benefactor of a, metaphorically framed, *problem-child* (North Korea).

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A

#### Interview dates and interviewee titles

Date and Location of Interview	Full Title/Position
21 <sup>st</sup> July 2010 (10:00), Chubu Electric Power Company Head Quarters, Nagoya	Nuclear Plant Manager, Chubu Electric Power Company
20 <sup>th</sup> August 2010 (14:00), Chubu Electric Power Company Hamaoka Power Plant, Shizuoka	Nuclear Engineer, Chubu Electric Power Company
22 <sup>nd</sup> September 2010 (12:30), ISS, University of Tokyo, Tokyo	Director of Security and International Studies Program, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS)
28 <sup>th</sup> September 2010, RIPS (14:00), Tokyo	Director of Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS)
19 <sup>th</sup> October 2010 (13:30), Tohoku University, Sendai	Professor of Political Science, Tohoku University
26 <sup>th</sup> October 2010 (13:30), Tohoku University, Sendai	Journalist, Post-graduate Scholar of International Politics, Tohoku University
14 <sup>th</sup> December 2010a, Keio University (11:00), Tokyo	Professor of Political Science, Keio University
14 <sup>th</sup> December 2010b (14:00), Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo	Professor of Political Science, Princeton University; Visiting Scholar, Institute of Social Science (ISS), University of Tokyo
20 <sup>th</sup> December 2010 (11:30), Tohoku University, Sendai	Emeritus Professor of Politics, Tohoku University
8 <sup>th</sup> February 2011a (11:00), <i>Zainichi Chōsenjin Rekishi Kenkyū-jo</i> , Tokyo	Deputy Director, <i>Zainichi Chōsenjin Rekishi Kenkyū-jo</i> (Historical Research Centre for Resident Koreans in Japan (author's translation – no official English title))
8 <sup>th</sup> February 2011b (15:00), Ebisu, Tokyo	Emeritus Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan; Visiting Scholar, Institute of Gerontology, University of Tokyo
23 <sup>rd</sup> February 2011, Tohoku University (11:00), Sendai	Assistant Professor of International Politics, Chae-ju University
8 <sup>th</sup> March 2011 (14:30), Tohoku University, Sendai	Emeritus Professor of Politics, Tohoku University
8 <sup>th</sup> April 2011 (18:30), Naha Airport, Okinawa	Emeritus Professor of Education, University of the Ryukyus
12 <sup>th</sup> April 2011, Ryukyu University (11:00), Okinawa	Professor of Geography, University of the Ryukyus
13 <sup>th</sup> April 2011 (16:00), Itoman City, Okinawa	Professor of International Politics, Okinawa International University
9 <sup>th</sup> May 2011a (11:00), Sophia University, Tokyo	Professor of Politics, Sophia University, Tokyo
9 <sup>th</sup> May 2011b (16:30), Sophia University, Tokyo	Professor of International Relations, Sophia University, Tokyo

9 <sup>th</sup> May 2011c (13:00), Shimbashi, Tokyo	Senior Adjunct Fellow, Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA)
3 <sup>rd</sup> June 2011a (13:00), Waseda University, Tokyo	Director of Waseda University Japan-Korea Global Research Centre, Waseda University
3 <sup>rd</sup> June 2011b (15:00), Asahi Shimbun Headquarters, Tokyo	Director of <i>Asahi Shimbun</i> Asia Network (AAN), <i>Asahi Shimbun</i>
25 <sup>th</sup> July 2011a (14:00), Japan Communist Party Headquarters, Tokyo	Executive Committee Member Head of Office International Commission, Japan Communist Party (JCP)
25 <sup>th</sup> July 2011b (17:00), GRIPS, Tokyo	Director of Security and International Studies Program, Graduate Research Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS)
1 <sup>st</sup> August 2011 (14:00), Ark Hills Club, Roppongi, Tokyo	Political Scientist (Ph.D), Author (former <i>Asahi Shimbun</i> columnist)
23 <sup>rd</sup> August 2011 (12:30), Kasumigaseki, Tokyo	Director, Non-proliferation, Science and Nuclear Energy Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA)
25 <sup>th</sup> August 2011 (by letter and e-mail)	Emeritus Professor of Politics, Institute of Social Science (ISS), University of Tokyo. Author
27 <sup>th</sup> August 2011 (17:30), <i>Asahi Shimbun</i> Headquarters, Tokyo	Staff Writer, Foreign News department, Korean Peninsula Specialist, <i>Asahi Shimbun</i>
29 <sup>th</sup> August 2011 (15:00) IIPS, Toranomon, Tokyo	Senior Research Fellow Research Counsellor, Institute for International Policy Studies (IIPS)
14 <sup>th</sup> September 2011 (14:30), Keio University (by telephone)	Hitachi Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, Keio University
20 <sup>th</sup> September 2011 (16:00), Kobe University, Kobe	Professor of Political Science, Kobe University
22 <sup>nd</sup> September 2011 (14:00), JRI (by telephone)	Chairman, Japan Research Institute (JRI)
27 <sup>th</sup> September 2011 (16:00), Kanda University of International Studies (by telephone)	Doctor of Political Science, Kanda University of International Studies
20 October 2011 (11:00), RUSI, London	Visiting Fellow, Royal United Services Institute (RUSI); Senior Fellow, National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Ministry of Defense (MOD)

## Appendix B

### Random samples of media and Diet coverage of the DPRK

The samples below were used to verify the qualitative content of quantitative data relating to fluctuating levels of coverage of North Korea-related issues in the Media and Diet. Specifically, this pertains to the validation of using such (in terms of consistent negative framing) as a means by which to measure Japan's post-Cold War recalibration of risk in response to the DPRK (selected at random from between 1 January 2002 – 1 January 2011).

<i>Speaker/News Source</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Page Number/Reference/ Item Word Count</i>
Asahi Shimbun	31/12/10	Page 4
Mainichi Shimbun	20/12/10	Page 8
Yomiuri Shimbun	17/12/10	Page 31
Sankei Shimbun	10/12/10	Page 8
NHK News	02/12/10	504 Words
National Diet	26/11/10	176: 18 (Main Session)
Asahi Shimbun	08/08/09	Page 33
Mainichi Shimbun	07/08/09	Page 8
Yomiuri Shimbun	31/07/09	Page 2
Sankei Shimbun	27/07/09	Page 7
NHK News	23/07/09	514 Words
National Diet	07/07/09	171: 9 (Foreign Affairs and Security Committee)
Asahi Shimbun	07/09/08	Page 4
Mainichi Shimbun	05/09/08	Page 12
Yomiuri Shimbun	29/08/08	Page 7
Sankei Shimbun	28/08/08	Page 3
NHK News	27/08/08	523 Words
National Diet	20/06/08	169: 2 (Special Committee for Abductions by North Korea)
Asahi Shimbun	06/06/07	Page 35
Mainichi Shimbun	29/05/07	Page 7
Yomiuri Shimbun	19/05/07	Page 2

Sankei Shimbun	11/05/07	Page 12
NHK News	07/05/07	478
National Diet	26/04/07	166: (Committee for Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries)
Asahi Shimbun	07/07/06	Page 17 (evening edition)
Mainichi Shimbun	05/07/06	Page 1 (evening edition)
Yomiuri Shimbun	30/06/06	Page 4
Sankei Shimbun	23/06/06	Page 7
NHK News	16/06/06	266 Words
National Diet	16/06/06	164: 2 (Main Session)
Asahi Shimbun	03/03/05	Page 7
Mainichi Shimbun	28/02/05	Page 2
Yomiuri Shimbun	26/02/05	Page 4
Sankei Shimbun	19/02/05	Page 2
NHK News	15/02/05	530 Words
National Diet	02/02/05	162: 221 (Budget Committee)
Asahi Shimbun	04/05/04	Page 5
Mainichi Shimbun	03/05/04	Page 5
Yomiuri Shimbun	27/04/04	Page 1 (evening edition)
Sankei Shimbun	20/04/04	Page 2
NHK News	13/04/04	579 Words
National Diet	27/04/04	159: 72 (Foreign Affairs and Security Committee)
Asahi Shimbun	04/04/03	Page 4
Mainichi Shimbun	03/04/03	Page 5
Yomiuri Shimbun	02/04/03	Page 7
Sankei Shimbun	31/03/03	Page 4
NHK News	28/03/03	446 Words
National Diet	25/04/03	157: 78 (Cabinet Committee)
Asahi Shimbun	28/02/02	Page 2 (evening edition)
Mainichi Shimbun	22/02/02	Page 24

Yomiuri Shimbun	20/02//02	Page 1 (evening edition)
Sankei Shimbun	19/02/02	Page 5
NHK News	04/02/02	490 Words
National Diet	18/04/02	156:131 (Security Committee)



## Appendix C

### Japanese materials relating to North Korea (documents, financial restrictions, official pamphlets etc.)

**NB: The small number of items included is due to the majority of materials being available on line. These are referenced in-text throughout and listed fully in the Bibliography.**

#### Item I. Pamphlet distributed at international conferences (e.g., G8 Deauville Summit) by MOFA

The abduction of Japanese citizens by North Korea is a matter of grave concern that affects the national sovereignty of Japan and the lives and safety of the Japanese people. As a matter of national responsibility, the Government of Japan will work to bring about a resolution of the abduction issue, devoting all its energies to bringing all the abductees home as soon as possible. We will prioritize the following areas.

- Measures to bring about the prompt return of all survivors.
- Efforts to ascertain the true facts regarding abductees whose safety is unknown.

In line with this approach, the whole government will work together to tackle the eight points below in particular.

- Respond attentively to the families of abductees.
- Consider further measures and uphold strict law enforcement under the current legal system, taking into account North Korea's response.
- Continue to demand concrete actions from North Korea, including implementation of the Japan-North Korea Agreement of August 2008.
- Strengthen efforts to gather, analyze, and manage information on abductees and on current conditions in North Korea.
- Conduct thorough investigations and inquiries with respect to cases in which abduction cannot be ruled out, and continue carrying out investigations and other measures, including international investigations of suspected abductors.
- Carry out full and effective publicity in Japan and overseas to contribute to resolution of the abduction issue.
- Strengthen international cooperation with related countries and multilateral frameworks, especially with the United States, the Republic of Korea, and the United Nations.
- Consider all other possible measures capable of contributing to resolution of the abduction issue.

For further information on abductions of Japanese citizens, please refer to our website:

<http://www.rachi.go.jp/en/index.html>

In order to resolve the abduction issue, your cooperation is crucial.  
If you have any information concerning abductions, please contact the Secretariat of the Headquarters for the Abduction Issue by email or fax.

**Email address : [info@rachi.go.jp](mailto:info@rachi.go.jp)**

**FAX : 03-3592-2300**

Blue represents the color of the Sea of Japan, which lies between the abductees' homeland of Japan and North Korea. It also represents the color of the sky, which is the only physical link between the abductees and their families.

For further information please contact:

**Secretariat of the Headquarters for the Abduction Issue**  
1-6-1 Nagata-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, Japan 100-8968  
Phone: 03-5253-2111 Fax: 03-3581-6011

March 2011  
Photo credit: National Association for the Rescue of Japanese Kidnapped by North Korea

## Abductions of Japanese Citizens by North Korea

Headquarters for the Abduction Issue,  
Government of Japan

**Cross-Border Remittance and Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Act of Japan**

Bank of Tokyo/Mitsubishi UFJ (BTMU) as a Japanese Financial Institution is required to undertake confirmation duties under Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Act of Japan (JFEA) when BTMU accept cross-border remittance or other financial service transactions. This includes confirming of customer identity and transaction legality as well as reviewing of transaction details. As well, if necessary, financial institutions are required to conduct a hearing of purpose and/or investigate the original source of the applicable transactions.

To fulfill our identification and other obligations under JFEA, BTMU will ask you to declare that transactions are applicable to JFEA and current measures based on JFEA such as "Measures to prevent transfer of assets that can contribute to North Korea's nuclear-, ballistic missile development- or other WMD-related programs or activities".

◀When you are filling in the application for cross-boarder remittance▶

- For Cross-border remittance, please declare that the remittance does not correspond to North Korean measures mentioned in next page by filling PURPOSE OF REMITTANCE with "**None related to North Korea**" or "**NNK**" on the *APPLICATION FOR REMITTANCE WITH DECLARATION*. If the remittance is related to trade related purpose (direct trade or intermediary trades) please fill-in the names of the products as well.

If the Beneficiary's Bank is in Iran, please declare that the remittance does not correspond to measures mentioned in the next page by filling PURPOSE OF REMITTANCE with "**None related to Iran measures**" or "**NI**" on the *APPLICATION FOR REMITTANCE WITH DECLARATION*.



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**[Related Measures and Acts]**

◆February 16, 2007  
Measures based on the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Act to Prevent the Transfer of Financial Resources and to prohibit the Import of Items related to Iran's Proliferation Sensitive Nuclear Activities and Development of Nuclear Weapon Delivery Systems

◆June 18, 2009  
Ban on exports to **North Korea** pursuant to the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Acts

◆July 7, 2009  
Measures to prevent transfer of assets that can contribute to **North Korea's** nuclear-, ballistic missile development- or other WMD-related programs or activities

**[Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Act of Japan Article 17]**

The Banks, etc. shall not commit exchange transactions pertaining to payment with a customer unless they confirm that the customer's payment, etc. does not fall under any of the payment, etc. listed in the following items or that the customer's payment meets requirements prescribed respectively in the following items where it is found to fall under payment, etc. listed in those items.

- (i)Payment, etc. for which the obligation to obtain permission is imposed pursuant to the provisions of paragraphs 1 to 3 inclusive of Article 16: Obtainment of the permission.
- (ii)Payment, etc. pertaining to capital transactions prescribed in Article 20, for which the obligation to obtain permission is imposed pursuant to the provision of paragraph 1 or 2 of Article 21: Obtainment of the permission.
- (iii)Other payment, etc. pertaining to transactions or acts for which the obligation to obtain permission or approval or to give notification is imposed pursuant to the provisions of this Act or orders based on this Act, which is stipulated by Cabinet Order: Obtainment of the Permission or approval, or completion of necessary procedures after the notification.



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Item III. Advertisement in local city news magazine (*kōhō*) for North Korea Human Rights Violations Awareness Week event

**北朝鮮人権侵害問題啓発週間**

12月10日～16日は「北朝鮮人権侵害問題啓発週間」です。この機会に、国民的な課題となっている拉致問題をはじめ北朝鮮当局による人権侵害問題に対する理解を深めましょう。

■県国際経済・交流課  
☎022(211)2972  
<http://www.pref.miyagi.jp/kokusai/>

## Appendix D

### Political party manifesto data for DPRK-related policies and references

Party						
Year	LDP	DPJ	Shamintō	Kōmeitō	Communist	Others
1996 LEM	Work to resolve DPRK nuclear problem	No direct references to DPRK	Speedy realization of normalization and promotion of Six Party Talks	N/A	DPRK is no threat to Japan. Receives aid and totally incapable of war	(Shinshin) No direct references to DPRK
1998 UEM	No direct ref., but need for new guidelines for unstable Korea	No direct references to DPRK	Speedy realization of normalization and unification	No direct references to DPRK	No direct references to DPRK	(Shinsakigake) No direct references to DPRK
2000 LEM	DPRK missiles and incursions tackled as crisis/emergency	No direct references to DPRK	Speedy realization of normalization and unification	No direct references to DPRK	No direct ref, but against law changes to allow Korea operations	(Jiyū) No direct references to DPRK
2001 UEM	Comprehensive approach with US/ROK for DPRK problems	Actively promote normalization process and multi-party talks	Speedy realization of normalization and unification	Work towards resolving all DPRK problems - normalization	Prioritization of normalization via dialogue. Danger of no relations	(Hoshu) Actively support Korean unification efforts
2003 LEM	Greater efforts to resolve the abductions issue. Focus on bilateralism for security	Comprehensive tackling of all DPRK problems (abductions, incursions, WMD, nuclear). Prioritization of UN initiatives to deal with DPRK	Efforts to resolve abduction issue as part of normalization process. Create non-nuclear region and promote 6 Party Talks	Prioritize Six Party Talks. Take firm unwavering line on abduction and nuclear issues. Apply joint pressure with US and ROK	N/A	(Hoshushin) No normalization until abductions problem resolved . Demand end to nuclear and missile programs via Six Party Talks.
2004 UEM	Demand swift resolution to abductions and nuclear progs. Stresses DPRK incursions and crises of terror	No direct ref., but enhancement of capability to deal with new threats (missiles, terror, incursions, spies etc.)	Seek swift resolution of the abduction issue. Engage in normalization talks and resolve post-War issues	N/A (combined with LDP)	Importance of Six Party Talks to provide a means to resolve DPRK problems	N/A
2005 LEM	Greater efforts to resolve the abductions issue. Improve ability to deal with new threats and crises	Measures to deal actively with grave abduction, missile and nuclear issues. And for narcotics , incursions and other DPRK problems and violations	Strongly demand DPRK to act honestly in order to resolve the abduction issue. Prioritize 6 Party Talks for regional stability. Work towards normalization	Six party talks to push abduction issue – which is highest priority, and apply pressure to force total nuclear abandonment. Sanctions to be applied if needed	Prioritization of Six Party Talks to resolve DPRK problems. Agree with DPRK to make mutual efforts to resolve abduction issue. Adhere to Pyongyang Dec.	(Kokuminshin) No direct references to DPRK
2007 UEM	Commit utterly to bringing home all abduction	Raise in international awareness of	Strongly demand DPRK to act honestly in order	No direct ref., but firm support sophisticated	Prioritization of Six Party Talks to resolve DPRK	(Kokuminshin) Increase pressure and

2007 UEM (Continued from above)	victims . Tackle nuclear and missile problems with international pressure and sanctions	abductions. Continue sanctions to counter threat which is greatest to Japan	to resolve the abduction issue. Prioritize 6 Party Talks for regional stability. Work towards normalization	BMD system	problems – nuclear, abduction, past. Efforts to make peaceful, diplomatic solution	dialogue to resolve abduction issue. Seek to return all victims to Japan quickly
2009 LEM	DPRK actions a clear threat to Japanese people . Abductions are state-terror. BMD protection with bilateralism key. Tough measures and no aid as is	Stop DPRK's missile/nuclear development (a clear threat) with tough measures. Commit to resolution of abduction issue . Multilateralism	Determination in resolution of the abductions issue via negotiations. Seek security agreements via Six Party Talks. Multilateralism	Need to impose sanctions to resolve missile, nuclear and abductions problems in one – and move process towards normalization	DPRK nuclear test outrageous violation. Six Party Talks need to be restored. Multilateralism	(Kokuminshin) DPRK military build up a threat. Invest in military industry to build up deterrent for missiles. Prioritize abduction issue
2010 UEM	DPRK actions a grave threat to Japan's security. Abductions are grave state crime .Increase sanctions and withhold aid as is	Stop DPRK missile/nuclear programs. Commit fully to resolving abduction issue as a violation of sovereignty	Stop nuclear development via tough negotiation . Restart talks for normalization. Seek to resolve abduction and history issues	Missile and nuclear progs a major problem for Japan's security. Comprehensive approach aiming for normalization	Restart Six Party Talks. Abduction, missile/ nuclear issues tackled in comprehensive approach.	(minna no) DPRK missile, nuclear and abduction issues a grave problem. Multilateral approach required

Source: Keio World Manifesto Forum (<http://www.mag.keio.ac.jp/manifesto/archive.html> ) and party homepages (post 2007 manifestos). Content translated/summarized from original documents.

Key to Abbreviations: UEM = Upper House Election Manifesto  
LEM = Lower House Election Manifesto

### Coded values as an expression of concerns relating to North Korea

Year	Party					
	LDP	DPJ	Shamintō	Kōmeitō	Communist	Others
1996 LEM	5	3	2		1	3
1998 UEM	6	3	2	3	3	3
2000 LEM	7	3	2	3	2	3
2001 UEM	6	2	2	4	2	2
2003 LEM	6	6	4	6	N/A	6
2004 UEM	8	5	4		4	N/A
2005 LEM	8	8	5	6	4	3
2007 UEM	7	8	4	6	5	5
2009 LEM	9	9	5	6	6	8
2010 UEM	9	8	5	6	5	7

Coded values are based on qualitative discourse analysis pertaining to the full content of the relevant sections (covering North Korea-directed references and policies) of each manifesto listed above.