ANTIWAR PROTEST IN POST-9.11 JAPAN,

2001-2004

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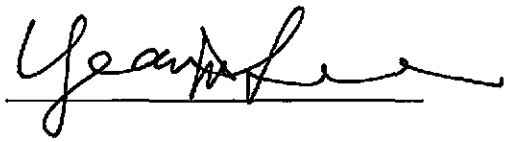

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ABSTRACT

This thesis used Asahi newspaper data for a protest event analysis of antiwar protest in post-9.11 Japan. Although the post-9.11 conflicts were wars by other countries in faraway places, the global anti-Iraq War campaign triggered substantial protest activity in Japan. By collecting protest event data from September 2001 to August 2004 using two keywords, "antiwar" and "Iraq War," the study was able to examine the broader context of protest activity and the interplay between protest issues. Post-9.11 antiwar protests in Japan were framed and mobilized through a combination of domestic and international issues. Preexisting antiwar and anti-nuclear movements influenced anti-Iraq War protest by providing frames, resources, and opportunities for mobilization. At the same time, the anti-Iraq War campaign stimulated domestic political concerns relate to Japan's participation in the Iraq War. The protesters created some new cultural forms of protest in addition to conventional forms.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 2003 the anti-Iraq War movement became a worldwide phenomenon. Between February and March 2003, there were countless demonstrations across the United States and throughout the world even in countries far away from Iraq.

In Japan, where social movements have not been very popular recently, thousands of people participated in the antiwar protests. The last time Japanese citizens advocated heavily for a global social movement was in the case of the Vietnam War. Although the number of people in Japan who gathered for the protests was much smaller than in other countries, considering the history of protest in Japan since the 1970s, it stands out as the largest showing. After the decline of the 1970s era student movements, Japanese people have expressed a kind of antipathy against political (ideological) activities. An article from *Asahi Shinbun* (a major national newspaper) points out that even though many Japanese people are against the war, they tend to hesitate to participate in real action (Asahi, 2003e). Nevertheless, something about the 2003 antiwar phenomenon made the general public come out for the protest.

In this thesis, I conduct protest event analysis to investigate the dynamics of the protest and analyze the key factors mobilizing the Japanese people to take action and participate in the antiwar protests in the post-9.11 period. Large protest events rarely happen in recent Japan because Japanese people generally seem not to openly express opinions and avoid committing to these kinds of social movements. So what made the Japan's anti-Iraq War movement that remarkable? What circumstances were different this time for Japanese society? How was the protest mobilized and diffused as part of a global movement? In order to grasp the whole picture of the movement in the post-9.11 period, I

will start from the events of September 2001 first to see the rise of the antiwar movement, then how it became a part of the global anti-Iraq War movement.

Summary of the War and the Protest Movement

The main interest of this study lies in antiwar protests against the Iraq War as a major part of 'War on Terrorism' in the post-9.11 world. After the events of September 11, 2001, the U.S.-led forces attacked Afghanistan in October, and ended up in the war in Iraq starting from March 19, 2003. Although there are some variations of the starting date depending on the media source and time difference, I refer to *Asahi* reports and set the beginning date of the Iraq War on March 19.

It is an ongoing conflict even after the "major combat operation" finished (President Bush, May 1, 2003). The Koizumi administration of Japan declared support for the bombing of Afghanistan and supported the U.S. government's decision right after the Iraq War started as well. Japan's direct involvement in the Iraq issue was the deployment of its troops for "humanitarian and reconstruction assistance" (Law No. 137, 2003)[1] between December 2003 and July 2006, and several violent attacks that targeted Japanese nationals in Iraq in relation to the deployment.

The anti-Iraq War protests in Japan started even before the war actually began. Antiwar protests in Japan began with prayers for peace following the events of September 11, 2001. Knowing that the U.S. would respond aggressively to this terrorist act, Japanese people opposed the War in Afghanistan by U.S.-led troops who are based in Japan. Citizens of Japan hoped that the Koizumi administration would not blindly follow the U.S. policy on the war in Iraq. In other words, the nature of the 'antiwar protests

against the Iraq War' in Japan is opposition to what the U.S. government is doing in Iraq and the Japanese government that is supporting it.

In addition to this double-layered structure, Japanese society had a national debate about its domestic political concerns, and they were discussed in the antiwar context of the post-9.11 period. The anti-Iraq War protests raised debate on the role of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) of Japan and conformity to the 'pacifist' Constitution, which puts severe restraints on the use of force abroad. It also relates to the Emergency Legislation on War Contingencies, which is a series of laws designed to deal with possible invasion or terrorist attacks from outside.

Such extension and overlap of issues became clearer when Japan began its direct commitment to the war by deployment of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF). Before and after the SDF dispatch, several Japanese nationals in Iraq were attacked by militant groups. The first serious violence was the killing of two Japanese diplomats in Iraq on November 29, 2003, just before the SDF dispatch. Afterwards, three parties of Japanese civilians were kidnapped by militant groups one after another in April and October 2004. The captors demanded evacuation of Japanese troops from Iraq. The series of hostage incidents[2] clearly demonstrated that even though the Japanese government insisted that the SDF were not taking part in battle but helping the Iraqi people rebuild their country, the SDF was perceived as armed forces supporting the American military after all. It raised debate on the role of the SDF in Japan and whether there was a need for revision of the Japanese Constitution.

Overall, as this brief outline suggests, in order to analyze antiwar protest in Japan, it is necessary to include protests that linked the anti-Iraq War issue to other

related issues. There are longstanding Japanese social movements whose antiwar protests have dealt with the pacifist Constitution and the collective security issues in relation to the alliance with the U.S. It is also necessary to include a variety of anniversary events that serve as occasions for large public assemblies where anti-Iraq War protests became a salient issue. At the same time, anti-Iraq War protest in Japan was also coordinated with global protest events. To understand this remarkable and complex phenomenon, sociological investigation is essential and should be considered from both the Japanese and international perspectives. Through the analysis we can show how anti-Iraq War protest in Japan was both embedded in domestic concerns and linked to international networks and activities.

The anti-Iraq War movement in Japan is of major interest to Japanese political sociology scholars, but it is rarely considered or discussed in English language literature. Most of the literature published on social movement research in Japan has been conducted by foreign scholars who speak Japanese. Few native Japanese scholars have been able to create a significant impact in English language journals and conferences (Hasegawa & Machimura, 2004). Despite the topic's increasing interest among Japanese scholars, a complete protest event analysis of the anti-Iraq War movement in Japan does not exist that is written from the perspective of a Japanese citizen. My research will be the first of its kind.

Research Questions

In this thesis, I investigate the cycle of the protest and analyze the key factors mobilizing the Japanese people to take action and participate in the antiwar protests. On

occasion, Japanese people sometimes protested in cooperation with the global antiwar movement organization, but did so sometimes to pressure the Japanese government not to commit the war as a national policy. It was a large antiwar movement but it could not stop the war itself or the deployment of the Japanese SDF. I would like to explore what was occurring within this time frame to see how the antiwar protests gained in momentum and size and how they dissipated. Thus, the purpose of this study is to describe the complete dynamics of the antiwar movement in the post-9.11 Japan by looking at the total three year span of before and after the anti-Iraq War protests.

My basic interest lies in how this large movement was composed and mobilized in the Japanese context along with the whole process of the post-9.11 world. I will examine the following research questions in order to look at the overall pattern of the movement with protest event analysis. How did the movement begin and spread over Japan? How did the movement diffuse nationally and globally? How was the anti-Iraq War protest in Japan both embedded in domestic concerns and linked to international activities? How did the level and type of protest events and participation in them change over time? How did protest tactics change and how did the new tactics relate to the cycle of the movement?

Review of Literature

The Iraq War from the International Perspective and Protests in the U.S.

In the months leading up to the war in Iraq, unprecedented global protests were organized against the planned attack (Meyer & Corrigall-Brown, 2005). Meyer and

Corrigall-Brown examined the coordination of protests and the political context, focusing on the December 2002 to March 2003 period of the movement against the impending war in Iraq as the second Gulf War in comparison to the first Gulf War. The first Gulf War in 1990 and the second Gulf War (the ongoing Iraq War since 2002) occurred in significantly different political contexts, and those differences brought out contrasts in by the reaction of the people involved in the protests.

The catalyst for the start of the second Gulf War was the terrorists' attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. U.S. President George W. Bush responded with his 'war on terrorism', and launched attacks in Afghanistan for harboring terrorists. Following the war in Afghanistan, Bush criticized the Iraq regime and its president, Saddam Hussein, "in the context of generalized concerns about nuclear proliferation, global terrorism, and international weapons-control regimes" and began a U.S. military buildup in the gulf in the fall of 2002 (Meyer & Corrigall-Brown, 2005, p. 333). The U.S. president framed it as a component of the war on terrorism but this justification was not supported by as many countries as the First Gulf War coalition. There were many notable absences on the list of coalition members of nations for the Second Gulf War, including some who were long time traditional U.S. allies. More importantly, the Second Gulf War was not supported by the United Nations.

On October 11, 2002, five months before the bombing in Iraq, overwhelming majorities of both houses of Congress in the U.S. voted to authorize President Bush to use force. The September 11 attacks created "a climate of fear in the United States and a political 'rally around the flag' effect, leading to increased support for the president"

(Meyer & Corrigall-Brown, 2005, p. 342). In this context, millions of people around the world mobilized to demonstrate, march, and rally against the Second Gulf War.

In response to the threat of war, several broad coalitions emerged to coordinate antiwar efforts in the United States and promote a global coordination of protests. Well-established peace and justice groups as well as newer groups concerned with social justice and globalization worked in unison in order to mobilize a broader range of organizations and individuals to protest the war. As a result of President Bush's sharp doctrinal shift after September 11, movement activists found support "from dissident experts in the United States, including the editorial pages of most major American newspapers" (Meyer & Corrigall-Brown, 2005, p. 335). These organizations coordinated to promote a larger global antiwar mobilization even though they had to ignore some "fundamental political differences to unite in opposition to the war" (Meyer & Corrigall-Brown, 2005, p. 338). Although coalition participation carried risks, cooperation among groups increased the visibility of the movement, and its effect was clearly beneficial for all participating groups.

Meyer and Corrigall-Brown focused on a broad coalition named "Win Without War." Their research shows "less than a third of the groups who committed to antiwar activity before the war, list the war in Iraq as a major area of concern by December 2003" (Meyer & Corrigall-Brown, 2005, p. 340). Once the bombing began in the Middle East in 2003, it became difficult to maintain the balance between antiwar propaganda and each organization's goal.

Meyer and Corrigall-Grown concluded that it is important to focus on a coalitional framework for understanding social movements and that further study of

coalition politics is necessary. There are certain tendencies in the recent antiwar coalition such as cooperation of groups beyond their differences regarding ultimate goals. Although this study focused on the internal antiwar protests in the United States, the researchers emphasize the necessity for further empirical studies of coalition politics and the role of political context in shaping social movement coalitions. Its perspective should be extended to look at the international and global cooperation of the antiwar movement in the post-9.11 period.

Antiwar Protests in Japan in 1991 and 2003

Sebastian Blanco (2005) studied the difference between the two Gulf Wars by comparing newspaper reports from the 1991 and 2003 conflicts. He reviewed newspaper articles from *Asahi Shinbun* (朝日新聞) and the *Japan Times*. *Asahi* is one of the main Japanese national newspapers and the *Japan Times* is an English language newspaper published in Japan. In order to collect the newspaper articles, he used the index for *Asahi*, which contains the heading of each article, and then copied articles from microfilm. For the *Japan Times*, he reviewed the newspaper articles directly for the relevant time period. Blanco's research found that there was a lot of international coordination of protests. He also pointed out differences between reportage in these two newspapers. The *Japan Times* reported more overseas protest events even though most of the reports overlapped with *Asahi* coverage.

Blanco's finding of international coordination for the protests is significant, though his short term focus limited his study. Since his primary research purpose was to compare the two Gulf Wars, he did not cover the long term of protest history surrounding each Gulf War. His research on the Second Gulf War only spanned from October 2002 to

April 2003. In other words, Blanco's article collection covered only events five months prior to when the war actually began and finished only a month after the beginning of the war. Therefore, he did not adequately cover the period of time when Japan fully became involved in the war because of the SDF deployment and started having serious national discussions on the issue.

Social Movement Research in Japan with Event History Analysis

Protest event analysis is a general term for newspaper-based analysis of protest events, while event history analysis is a specific group of statistical methods for examining such data. Watanabe and Yamamoto (2001a) examined the method and problems with event history analysis using empirical research on social movements in Miyagi prefecture, Japan. They chose quantitative event analysis to study political opportunity structure. They examined the potential problems of event history analysis centering around the data source, collecting and forming data sets, and coding.

Regarding the issue of the data source, they comparatively tested the nature of event data in three major national newspapers: *Asahi*, *Mainichi*, and *Yomiuri*. The result shows that the *Asahi* was the most appropriate information source, in terms of the accuracy, sampling bias, and coverage of event reportage. They used newspaper articles from the *Asahi* Miyagi prefecture edition pages, a regional edition of the national newspaper specifically designed to provide better reporting of local events. In order to know the actual conditions of Japanese social movements, it is significant to look not only at national events but also grass-roots or regional events. Also, they expanded the research into a comparative scope by using other regional editions of the *Asahi*.

Watanabe and Yamamoto used microfilms to find relevant articles. By focusing on the regional edition pages, they reduced the time and work cost. In order to keep a balance in sampling, they reviewed all articles during the period specified in their research frame. Coding framework is crucial for social movement research in Japan. The codes they used are the following.

(1) Basic data (the date of article, the data of the event, the place of the event, the area of the issue relates)

(2) Characteristics of the event (target, number of participants, intervals)

(3) Action (number of actions, types of action, number of signatures in the case of a signature-collecting campaign; the amount of money in the case of a fund-raising campaign)

(4) Issue (issue types and issue campaign types)

(5) Participants (existence of expert, main characteristics)

(6) Organizations (number, degree of participation, type, existence of local branch, scale, sphere of activity, name of organization, number of affiliated organization)

(7) Data (referer, coder, checker)

Since the nature of Japanese protests may be different from those in Western countries, researchers may need some additional coding patterns to research Japanese activities. It is important to develop clear coding rules in advance based upon theories and hypotheses. Nevertheless, it is possible to find more variables or codes needed at the analytical stage due to an insufficient understanding of the theory or hypothesis. Therefore, coding rules have to be flexible, so that they can be adjusted as the work proceeds.

In conclusion, Watanabe and Yamamoto call for more social movement research using event history analysis. It is becoming popular to analyze protest events and social movements using newspapers as an information sources, and this is considered the most effective means by which to grasp the macro dynamics of a social movement. However in Japan, there is limited research using this model. The researchers did clarify the validity of the *Asahi* as a data source, which is very significant. Nevertheless, their research was limited since they focused on the social movements in a very small part of the region for a very short term. They have not yet published the formal event history analysis of their data.

My Own Preliminary Research

I began this project with some preliminary research in a social movements seminar in Fall 2005. The research was on the same movement against the Iraq War but it was limited in scope and done only with *Asahi Shinbun* newspaper articles about antiwar protests. I started by referring to Sebastian Blanco's thesis (2005), which was written to compare the two Gulf wars and was able to use his collection of articles (see *Antiwar Protests in Japan in 1991 and 2003* above). I extended the observation period of my research to cover later issues within the Japanese antiwar movement. This study is more meaningful when including the period when Japan was actually became involved in the war by sending its SDF forces into the field. The period of my research interest was from September 12, 2002 to March 20, 2004. September 2002 marked six months before the war started, and the one-year anniversary of the 9.11 attacks, while March 2004 was the one-year anniversary of the war on Iraq.

This preliminary research ended in March 2004, the one-year anniversary since the Second Gulf War started. Even though it still had some limitations, I found significant aspects of the antiwar movement in Japan. First, there existed the international coordination; some larger protests were coordinated in Tokyo through the coalition of the international antiwar protest events, and those events occurred at the same time as in many other countries. Second, I found that a leading organization network, called "World Peace Now, Japan[3]," led many of the big protest events in Tokyo. It was a large network of various organizations that cooperated to help mobilize a large number of people. Third, in addition to daily news reports, the Internet played an important role in mobilizing the general public. This diffusion of information was essential because individuals could gain information by themselves and not through a particular organization. Finally, there existed a certain level of tactical development during the movement. The protesters used various tactics and created new ones to mobilize more people.

The present study builds on this earlier research with a longer time frame and more complex and systematic data collection, and therefore is able to support more extensive data analysis.

Theoretical Framework

Social Movement Theories

A "social movement" is a collective or joint action; it has change-oriented goals, some degree of organization, and some degree of temporal continuity; and includes some extra-institutional collective action or at least a mixture of extra-institutional (protesting in the streets) and institutional (political lobbying) activity (McAdam & Snow, 1997, p.

xviii). In this study, I will refer to the theory of protest cycle and tactical changes, as well as three basic theories of social movements: political opportunities, resource mobilization, and framing.

Political opportunity structure can be tested as a part of an event history analysis of protest events; the development of this model depends on newspaper event data (Eisinger, 1973; Jenkins & Perrow, 1997; Tarrow, 1989; McAdam D. , 1982). Political opportunity theory is a classical model of social movements and the systematic analysis of its political context. It focuses on changes in the political environment the movement confronted rather than the internal characteristics of movement organization. Recently, the political context has been considered important for the mobilization as well as the impact of different types of new social movements. In an event history analysis that deals with a protest as 'event' and quantitatively measures it, political opportunity structure is an external variable that explains the dynamics of a movement.

The political opportunity structure is the primary causal mechanism of movement emergence (Watanabe & Yamamoto, 2001b). It will be examined in the anti-Iraq War movement research since the protest events were in response to the U.S. and Japanese government's policy making. Also, subculture of opposition is formed in political subcultures. Such political a subcultures are a part of a political process that generates mechanisms in collective action by developing material, communicative, and organizational resources (Pfaff & Yang, 2001).

In addition, resource mobilization theory is also a macro level mode of analysis that can be tested in protest event analysis event history analyais. Some aspects of resource mobilization have been investigated using newspaper data (Jenkins & Perrow,

1997; Jenkins & Eckhert, 1986). This theory focuses on organizations, so its analysis relates to the organizational structure and outcomes in a protest cycle. Both formal and informal organizations mobilize people and engage in collective action, and the meso-level groups, organizations, and informal networks are also found in mobilizing structure (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996).

Social movements are not self-contained and narrowly united actors, but rather are a collection of the resources for support by individual or organizational constituents (McCarthy & Zald, 1977 [1987]; Meyer & Whittier, 1994). The focus is on how these people mobilize through a network between organizations to build an even larger network. People are mobilized through preexisting networks or groups that they belong to. Evidence of resource mobilization can be found within the organizational structure of a protest cycle in the relation between shifts of the leading organizations and the variety of participants; they are an important variable in a protest event and event history analysis. Moreover, the ideas, tactics, style, participants, and organizations influence each other reciprocally through the interaction of the resources.

On the other hand, framing process is a social psychological approach and a qualitative process theory focusing on movement actors' personal and collective identities (Hunt, Benford, & Snow, 1994; Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1997). Framing theory has focused on the construction of meanings through which movement participants identify and interpret the structure of issues and the rationality of their actions (Hunt, Benford, & Snow, 1994; McAdam D. , 1982; McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996; Snow & Benford, 1992). Even in a big social movement like the anti-Iraq War,

each organization in the movement has its own frame and tries to motivate people within it.

Normally it is difficult to examine what social movement scholars call framing with newspaper data, because the articles do not have a lot of detail about this kind of information such as participant's identities or motivation. However, in consideration of the nature of the Iraq War for Japan, I suggest that there was a readily available perspective within the Japanese antiwar movement, and it is observable in newspaper reports. That perspective provided a sort of frame in the mobilization process of the antiwar protests relating the anti-Iraq War and the other domestic issues. The linkage or conjunction of the boundaries of issues is defined as frame alignment. In this case of the preexisting Japanese peace movement, my data can illuminate frame extensions among the various concept of framing processes.

In relation to protest cycles, Snow and Benford (1992) applied the concept of collective action frames to social movement organizations and actors at the level of the cycle of protest. They used the name "master frames" for what perform as a larger scale of movement frame. Certainly, in the peace movement, an innovative master frame may stimulate a dramatic upswing with the emergence of a protest cycle.

Protest Cycle and Tactical Change

The way protest cycles are studied is primarily with event data from newspaper sources (Koopmans, 1997; Tarrow, 1989). Tarrow (1989; 1997) articulated the concept of systemic cycles of protest and its relation to tactical change based on the event data of the social movement in Italy in 1960s. A protest cycle is the idea of a curve that shows social movement dynamics over time; in other words, tracking changes as the number of protest

events increases, reaches the peak, and then declines. The cycle of protest consists of interrelated processes with political opportunity as an external variable and the relationship between organizations inside of the movement (Yamamoto & Nishikido, 2004).

Although protest waves or cycles do not always follow the same pattern, there are five elements of cyclicity that affect them. These features include heightened conflict, broad sector and geographic extension, social movement organizations, the creation of new "master frames" of meaning, and the invention of new forms of collective action (Tarrow, 1997).

First, protest cycles are characterized by heightened conflict at the 'moments of madness' at the peak and once the cycle passes that moment, the movement declines. The dynamics at the 'moments of madness' creates the consequence of the movement, so it is the most influential in its impact on the society.

Secondly, Tarrow (1997) points to geographic and sector diffusion and expanding repertories of contention, which are closely related. The rise of the movement promotes changes and innovations in tactics and repertoire; new weapons of social protest are fashioned during the protest cycle, e.g., barricades, factory occupations, sit-down strikes, and the direct actions. Such "new forms of collective action develop within the experimental context of cycles of protest" (Tarrow, 1997, p. 330). The wide use of repertoire helps the diffusion beyond sectors and geographic distances, as the movement gains more participants and supporters. However, after these 'moments of madness,' the repertoires of contention become stable and collective actions decrease.

Thirdly, at the high point of a protest wave, both the previous tradition of organization and the new forms of organization construct their strategies and outcomes. In the case of anti-Iraq War movement, certain groups of organizations took the main role of mobilization for protests. A major reason for the acceleration in the appearance of protest cycles is the invention of these organized actors with their stake in contentious collective action (Tarrow, 1997). Here, the resource mobilization theory, which is an organization-centered theory, also matters. This will be discussed further in the next subsection.

Finally, "protest cycles characteristically produce new or transformed symbols, frames of meaning and ideologies that justify and dignify collective action and around which a following can be mobilized" (Tarrow, 1997, p. 330). In the antiwar movement, many organizations cooperated in order to mobilize more people and make the movement bigger; and to do so, they expanded their basic frames of activity for involvement into the antiwar movement (Meyer & Corrigall-Brown, 2005). During the process of decline, individuals and groups focused on fundamental differences of interest and left the movement coalition. Snow and Benford (1992) proposed that the failure of mass mobilization may be accounted for in part by the lack of a resonant master frame.

Although framing analysis is difficult to see in event analysis involving newspapers, some new cultural constructs as a source of symbols will be observed in the protest cycle of the movement. In a study of an antiwar protest campaign as a social movement, it is necessary to look at its cultural aspects to complement the central element of the political process model.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY: PROTEST EVENT ANALYSIS

Event Analysis of Collective Action

Protest event analysis is basically a quantitative approach towards social movement activities such as public meetings, demonstrations, and strikes. "Event analysis allows diverse forms of collective action to be measured and compared because observations are collected in commensurate dimensions" (Olzak, 1989, p. 120). In particular, protest event analysis is useful for "analyzing cycles or waves of protest" (Olzak, 1989, p. 136). Protest event analysis of social movements allows empirical investigation of the beginning and ending of a movement and any changes in the forms of collective action.

Protest event analysis focuses on each activity, which is called a protest event, recorded in written materials such as newspapers and official documents. A database of event is constructed through coding of various information about an event; date, location, tactics, social status of the actors, and so on. Throughout the process of coding, part of qualitative information will be converted to a quantitative dataset (Tarrow, 1989; Kriesi, Koopmans, Duyvendak, & Giugni, 1997; Nomiya & Nishikido, 2000; Watanabe & Yamamoto, 2001a). In the dataset, each protest event is considered as a single unit, and multiple kinds of actions are possible at one protest event; the variety of events and formation will be explored in my research.

The purpose of the protest event analysis for this research is to measure a curve the protest events draw; examine whether these is a change or sudden shift at particular points, and to examine predictive variables that may have an effect on the shape of curve or shift. In the protest event analysis on social movement research, for example, political

opportunity matters since a political event usually affects not only one event but many events later on. Event analysis aims to comprehend various characteristics of social movements. For instance, event analysis may allow us to examine the level of mobilization from the increase and decrease of the number of event. Also, it could describe characteristics of the protest events from the mode of formation. If the researcher has collected the event data within a certain period of time (year or month), it allows them to grasp the dynamics of the movement by time series. Similarly, it allows spatial comparisons with data of multiple regions.

Constructing Protest Event Database

Newspaper as Event Data Source

In this research, I use *Asahi Shinbun* articles about antiwar protests in Japan. *Asahi Shinbun* is one of the five major national newspapers in Japan (*Asahi*, *Yomiuri*, *Mainichi*, *Nikkei*, and *Sankei*). In this section, I examine the methodological problems of newspapers as a data source, the appropriateness of using *Asahi*, and previous and new data collection for my research.

Newspaper-based event data provides the most complete account of events for the widest sample of geographical or temporal units and allows researchers to examine various kinds of collective action and protests. Thus, studying collective action with newspaper accounts of protest events has become commonplace (Koopmans, 1997; McAdam D. , 1983; Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004). Newspapers are usually the only available data source for many historical and comparative research designs on protest events (Tarrow, 1996). Certainly, development of the political process model

depended heavily on newspaper event data (Jenkins & Perrow, 1997; McAdam D. , 1982). Until now, "newspaper data have been used to study more spontaneous forms of collective behavior" (Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004, p. 66), and it is likely to continue to be used in such a manner.

There exist two sets of criticisms on newspaper event data: selection bias and description bias (McCarthy, McPhail, & Smith, 1996; McCarthy, McPhail, Smith, & Crishock, 1999). However, before examining these biases, data collection schemes should be considered. Early newspaper research relied on indexes produced by the publisher, which is problematic in inclusiveness, thoroughness, and consistency (Jenkins & Eckhert, 1986; McAdam D. , 1982; Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004). "Researchers therefore argue that indexing does not generate either the total population of protest events reported in newspapers or a representative sample" (Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004, p. 68). Alternatively, we can choose purposive sampling schemes (e.g., only pick articles from every Monday), but we should be aware of possible biases that may creep into any sort of sampling strategy. Therefore, it is better to gather the entire population of events of the period reported in a newspaper.

Selection bias occurs due to the fact that news agencies do not always report all events that actually occur and only choose 'newsworthy' events in their reportage (Barranco & Wisler, 1999; Hocke, 1999; McCarthy, McPhail, & Smith, 1996; Oliver & Myers, 1999). Olzak notes "social scientists commonly study only the places that have collective events in studies that try to learn the causes of events ... Any attempt to infer causal relationships will be crippled by sample selection bias" (Olzak, 1989, p. 121). We should be careful about "how much event analysis and newspaper data represent relative

improvements over prior research strategies" (Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004, p. 69). These concerns have been suggested by many scholars; Molotch and Lester (1974) first raised general concerns about using newspaper data, and these concerns were later applied to social movement and collective action data (Danzer, 1975; Snyder & Kelly, 1977).

Regarding the validity and/or reliability of newspaper protest event data, recent researchers have focused on three sets of characteristics in predicting selection biases: (a) event characteristics, (b) news agency characteristics, and (c) issue characteristics (Franzosi, 1987; Huxtable & Pevehouse, 1996; McCarthy, McPhail, & Smith, 1996; McCarthy, McPhail, Smith, & Crishock, 1999; Hug & Wisler, 1998; Koopmans, 1999; Rucht & Neidhardt, 1999) (Oliver & Maney, 2000; Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004). The press tends to choose events to report based upon the size of the event (Barranco & Wisler, 1999; Hug & Wisler, 1998; McCarthy, McPhail, & Smith, 1996; McCarthy, McPhail, Smith, & Crishock, 1999; Oliver & Myers, 1999; Oliver & Maney, 2000), the intensity of an event (Mueller, 1997), violence used at the event (Barranco & Wisler, 1999), the presence of obstructers or police, sponsorship by social movement organizations, or the use of sound equipment (Oliver & Maney, 2000).

There are also some key points to evaluate the impact of selection bias. First, if research focuses on locations or time periods in which protests are more institutionalized, events are less newsworthy. There were several research projects that examined the relation between the press reportage and protest events (McCarthy, McPhail, & Smith, 1996; McCarthy & McPhail, 1998). Oliver and Maney (2000) claimed "when and where protest is less institutionalized, protest will be more newsworthy, will likely garner more

coverage, and may be less susceptible to selection bias" (Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004, p. 71).

Second, researchers should consider the validity of generalizations from one type of news source to another (Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004). Each newspaper has its own particular bias, but the tendency of this kind of bias differs depending on the types of social movements. Bias is stronger in local and regional newspapers than national newspapers in terms of movement-specific reporting biases. On the other hand, local papers have smaller biases than national papers toward large and violent demonstrations (McCarthy, McPhail, & Smith, 1996; Barranco & Wisler, 1999).

Third, coding criteria and procedures may cause selection bias (Jackman & Boyd, 1979). To minimize the impact of any remaining selection bias on the estimates produced in their analysis, researchers have to control for coding differences between data sources.

The final key point to consider is, even though the substantive effect of selection bias on estimated regression coefficients remains in question, selection bias might reduce rather than increase the effect in certain cases (Hug & Wisler, 1998). "In a model of the degree of violence at a protest with protest size and the city in which the protest occurred used as independent variables, the uncorrected coefficient was actually more conservative" (Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004, p. 72).

Description bias pertains to the veracity with which selected events are reported in newspapers and there are "three dimensions of description bias: (a) omission of information, (b) misrepresentation of information, and (c) framing of the event by the media" (Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004, p. 72). McCarthy et al. (1998) found that newspapers tend to provide reasonably accurate coverage of events in contrast to

electronic sources, especially in terms of hard news on protest. Smith et al. (2001) followed-up research on these events and pointed out that the controversial characteristics of events (e.g., arrests, violence) gains more attention than the protest issues, to the extent that it reduces the utility of newspaper data when we study protest claims. Description bias is not fully understood compared to selection bias despite recent efforts of systematic study on the topic. Researchers have to be aware of this problem, especially as they explore the 'soft' characteristics of events (Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004).

In terms of selection bias, the newsworthy characteristics of protest events for media are: notorious, unusual, large, violent, dramatic, and/or rare. "Although most research on newspaper event coverage has explored how specific characteristics of events affect the likelihood of newspaper coverage, some research suggests that cultural factors are also important in explaining variations in newspaper coverage" (Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004, p. 74).

In addition, researchers have begun to use multiple sources in their research, including "the triangulation of media sources, the use of electronic archives, and the incorporation of methods employed in survey research to address nonrandom response rates" (Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004, p. 75). Recently, electronic archives are gaining popularity as sources of data on protest events (McCarthy, Martin, McPhail, & Cress, 2002; Soule, 1997; Oliver & Myers, 1999; Richards & McCarthy, 2003). Although these databases allow the researcher to search multiple sources using a keyword search tool, researchers must keep in mind that electronic searches may also miss events that are framed in unusual ways (Maney & Oliver, 2001). On the other hand, hard copy searches may skip events embedded late in the story as well as risk error in the coding process.

Therefore, using both types of search strategies can aid researchers in covering a fuller range of events.

The use of newspaper data in protest event analysis helps answer many social movement questions. Certainly, event data allows for the examination of multiple types of collective action, facilitates longitudinal research, and makes quantitative research on social movements more viable. Newspaper data is not a perfect data source, but researchers who use it carefully with a "humble understanding," should avoid misuse and condemnations (Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004, p. 77).

Asahi as a Data Source

It is appropriate to use only one newspaper for a research as long as the newspaper is "the national newspaper of record" (Myers & Caniglia, 2004). Myers and Caniglia (2004) defined the *New York Times* as the national newspaper of record in the United States, in which events reported are considered important news.

In Japan, we can deal with *Asahi* as the national newspaper of record. Among five national newspapers, *Nikkei* and *Sankei* specialize in economic issues so they are excluded from the choice as general news source. *Asahi* is generally known for its neutral stance and takes as its charge reporting all the news that is important. Watanabe and Yamamoto (2001a) studied the nature of articles as a source of information for three national newspapers in Japan. As a result, they show that *Asahi* has the least sampling bias and is the most suitable out of three for event analysis in terms of both the accuracy and coverage of information and the balance of article structure. Therefore, it is appropriate to use this newspaper as a source of research.

Data Collection

Asahi article records are available in several forms: *shukusatsuban* (reduced-size edition), microfilms, CD-ROMs, and *Kikuzo* (online article search and database). I had the opportunity to access *Kikuzo*, the online article search tool of *Asahi*, which is only accessible from computers in academic institutions located in Japan.

This online search tool has several advantages over other materials. By this means I can cover articles not only from *Asahi* newspaper, but also from weekly magazines that *Asahi* publishes. While *shukusatsuban* and microfilm articles only cover *Asahi Shinbun* Tokyo edition, I had the ability to cover all editions from every region in Japan. In order to investigate the actual conditions of social movements in Japan, it is necessary to cover not only national events or mass collective actions in large cities, but also small local grass-roots events. The regional editions of *Asahi* are specifically designed to provide better reporting of local events. This allows me to have excellent national coverage as well as addressing some of the concerns in the literature on the use of newspaper data for protest event analysis.

The advantages of my data collection are very clear in comparison to Blanco's (2005) article collection. He used microfilm index by hand to search the articles reporting events. I compare the number of events both of us covered in March 2003, when the most events were reported.

Table 2.1 Comparison of Data Coverage

	Blanco's collection	My collection
Tool to collect the article	Microfilm Indexes	Online Database Search
Regional Coverage	Tokyo edition	All regional editions
Covered Event in March 2003	116	686

Since his and my criteria of a 'protest event' and coding scheme are slightly different, I have possibly excluded an event which he counted as a protest event, and vice versa. However, in terms of the coverage, my collection of articles has a distinct advantage.

I collected articles from September 2001 to the end of August 2004. As a whole, there were some specific issues and key events in Japanese antiwar movement. Although the day the war started (March 19, 2003) was the biggest event, Japanese people also had domestic issues such as *Yuji Hosei* (the Emergency Legislation on War Contingencies) and deployment of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) to Iraq. These issues and Iraq War are in the same track of a whole process of the post-9.11 period protest. Therefore, it is appropriate to start the investigation from September 2001. In accordance with the key dates and historical events during this period (see Table B.1), the protesters' issues were shifting during the period, but all issues are connected to antiwar protest.

An online search tool is helpful reducing the time and cost for data collection. It can go through whole article sentences for keywords and pick more articles than using indexes of microfilms. Then, choosing search words is essential for effective usage of an automatic search tool (Earl, Martin, McCathy, & Soule, 2004; Watanabe & Yamamoto, 2001a). In order to include as many event reports as possible, I used two keywords to search the articles: イラク戦争 *Iraku senso* (Iraq War) and 反戦 *Hansen* (antiwar). The search goes through whole sentences, not only the headlines of article; it enables me to cover as many events as possible. The initial search collected articles containing either of the two terms. Since these keywords are very broad, I could get protest event data for related issues in order to estimate what other issues were connected to the main ones.

There may well have been articles concerning protests without those keywords which were missed the search tool, this would be a limitation of my research method. Nevertheless, such an oversight is systematic and consistent rather than searching microfilms with my hands and eyes, and so, I could build a less-biased event database. This initial search produced more than 10,000 articles, including irrelevant articles that just were picked by the word. This initial pool was then checked by hand to identify relevant protest events.

Logistics and Method of Coding

Qualitative Content Analysis for Event History Analysis

In this research, I deal with a database of newspaper articles for systematic content analysis. This method uses the principles of quantitative sociology, but actually allows the researcher to utilize both qualitative and quantitative perspectives. The researcher constructs a quantitative dataset from qualitative content with the interpretation of the quantitative dataset having the potential to be both qualitative and quantitative in nature.

The following process needs to be implemented before inputting data into the computer database:

(1) Organize the newspaper data (by category of material)

(2) Define the range (the time period to covered) and outer limits of the material

(3) Determine the units (usually, an event)

(4) Develop a system of sampling

The purpose of this process is to capture the actual variety of the content and to define what to code –the parameters of the material.

Subsequently, I start inputting the data into the computer programs and dealing with it. There are three relevant kinds of computer programs: statistical analysis programs such as SPSS, spreadsheet programs such as Excel, and relational database programs such as Access. A database program let us put qualitative data into the computer in an efficient and systematic way. There is an available Access database designed by Dr. Patricia G. Steinhoff that was based on Tarrow's work (1989) and structured for event history research in Japan. I copied this database and customized it in order to fit my project. It is designed to code *Asahi Shinbun* bilingually, and has basic codes for event types and tactics. Since this database was originally for social movement research on 1960s Japan, I needed to adjust and add some codes; nevertheless, I still could copy the basic database structure. Adjusting and adding the codes, rules of coding, and each operational decisions of coding are discussed in Appendix A with list of codes.

Collect and Organize the Newspaper Data

The newspaper articles for this project were not sampled but taken from the whole period of time, including both morning and evening editions. Information on newspapers is organized by articles. Some articles may be about several events; on the other hand, one event may be reported in several articles. All data must be reorganized by events through this process. Since the unit of analysis will be an event, the process of coding is to reorganize the event data as a unit of events from unit of articles.

A newspaper has various pages other than those of news reports. I tried to pick as many protest events as possible, so I included commentaries, editorials, culture column,

and announcement pages for local events in the regional pages. As long as those are written by a reporter on the *Asahi*, I considered the information is reliable. On the other hand, I excluded the information from readers' columns.

I included not only the articles reporting events, but also the ones of announcement or about the future event so that I can cover more events. If an event had both announcement and the report, it was coded based on the reporting article. If an event was reported in both national and regional edition, it was coded based on the national edition article since the fact that a local event was nationally reported is important. If there was the same report in both evening and the next day's morning edition, the morning edition was coded as the main article. Since the morning edition has more readers while the evening edition complements the news of the day, important news is usually repeated in the next day's morning edition. Although data on an event is composed of information from all articles that mention the event, the article data such as date, page number, and edition, is recorded based on the main article. In addition, the number of stories that mention an event is also coded.

First of all, I need to set the starting and the ending point of the investigation that cover the proper time range to describe the whole cycle of the movement. The starting point will be the date which article collection starts; a protest of this type could not have occurred before this date. Although this research originally intended to focus on the anti-Iraq War movement, I have collected newspaper articles from 9.11 since the anti-Iraq War movement is a part of the whole political process of the post-9.11 period. For this project, I set the term from September 1, 2001 to August 31, 2004. It is exactly three years having the outbreak of the Iraq war right in the middle. In Japan, discussions

on 'peace' started appearing with the events of '9.11' in 2001 and the bombing of Afghanistan by the U.S. the following October.

Process and the Results of Coding

As for the coding process, the first –and perhaps the most important—definition is of 'protest event.' Tarrow defines protest as "disruptive collective action aimed at institutions, elites, authorities, or other groups on behalf of the collective goals of actors or of those they claim to represent" (1989, p. 14). It is necessary to clarify my general criteria of protest events for this study of 'antiwar movements in the post-9.11 Japan.'

Because of the two broad keywords –Iraq War OR antiwar, I covered many protests that were organized not only for opposition to Iraq War but also other related domestic issues. I included as many events as possible as long as they were acted and reported in Japan's antiwar context. These inclusive criteria allowed me to deal with a various issues related to antiwar protests. The concept of protest event required some operational decisions for inclusion and exclusion. These details are reported in Appendix A.

As a result of the keyword search, I obtained more than 10,000 articles in total in this range from September 1, 2001 to August 31, 2004. From my reading of the articles, 2,051 articles out of 10,000 are actually reporting events. I found 3,001 stories in 2,051 articles concerning 2,638 events. Therefore, one article reported on average 1.29 events. Nevertheless, there are many overlaps such that multiple articles are reporting about the same event. I recoded an article code only for the main article per event, thus 1,853 articles were coded as the main article. Although I coded 2,638 events in total, some

events were excluded later because of fragmentary coding; as a result, 2,598 events will be subject to analysis.

In terms of spatial range, I included reports about protest events in foreign countries, which allowed me to see how often *Asahi* reported the oversea events and whether they have any relation to the domestic mobilization in Japan. Also, some antiwar actions by Japanese citizens took place overseas.

Statistical Measures for Analysis

First, I made a crosstab query in Access to get a chronological view of the protest cycle. The number of events was counted by month; hereafter, I conducted various crosstabs by each issue, location, event type and type of formations. These crosstabs were exported to Excel to get a chart for the table.

Subsequently, the data was transported to the SPSS for statistical analysis. The unit of data is an event; therefore, the number of actual events is 2,598. All the multi-response categorical data such as issue, location, formation, and social actors were collapsed and re-coded as dichotomous. Meanwhile, the event dates will be occasionally be divided into two groups before and after the day the Iraq War actually started. I set the date as a key time point because the post-9.11 antiwar protests were formed along with the Iraq disarmament crisis and the subsequent invasion.

CHAPTER 3: DESCRIPTIVE MEASURES OF ANTIWAR PROTEST

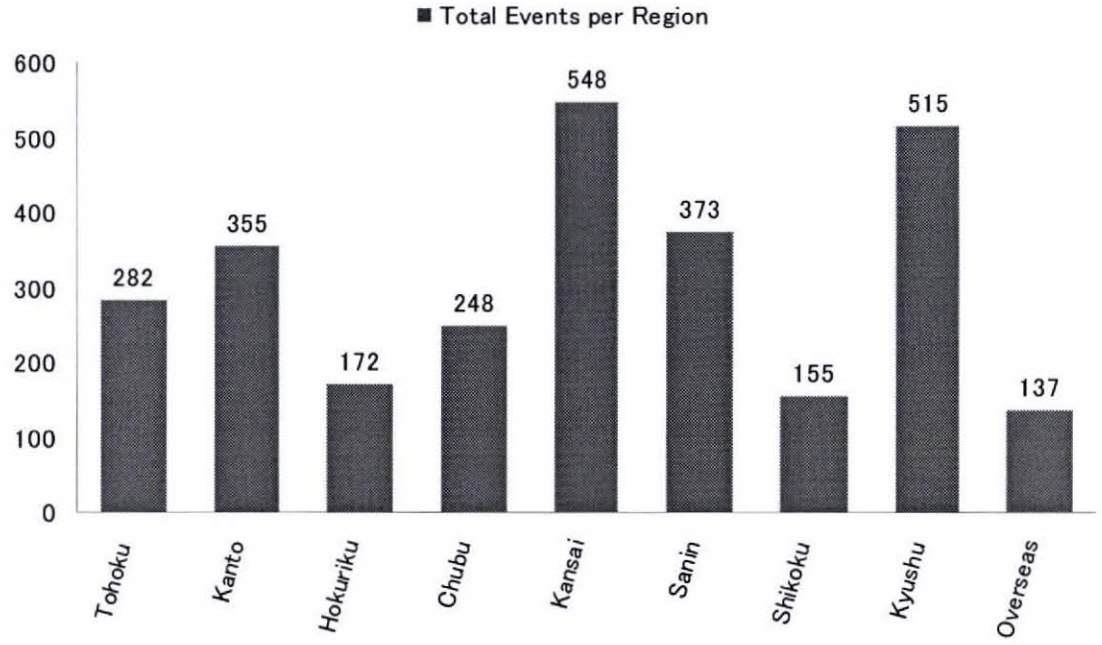
Overview of the Spatial Distribution

The purpose of this chapter is to draw a brief picture of the post-9.11 antiwar protest as an introduction, exploring various descriptive statistics. The excellent national coverage of my article collection enables me to test the national development of the protests as well as the global coordination. *Asahi* articles are reporting not only domestic protests, but also protest events outside of Japan. The location of an event is coded as prefecture code with city or town name. The list of prefecture and the regional category is explained in Table A.5 in Appendix A.

Summary of Event Data by Prefecture

First, Figure 3.1 shows the total number of events in each region during the term.

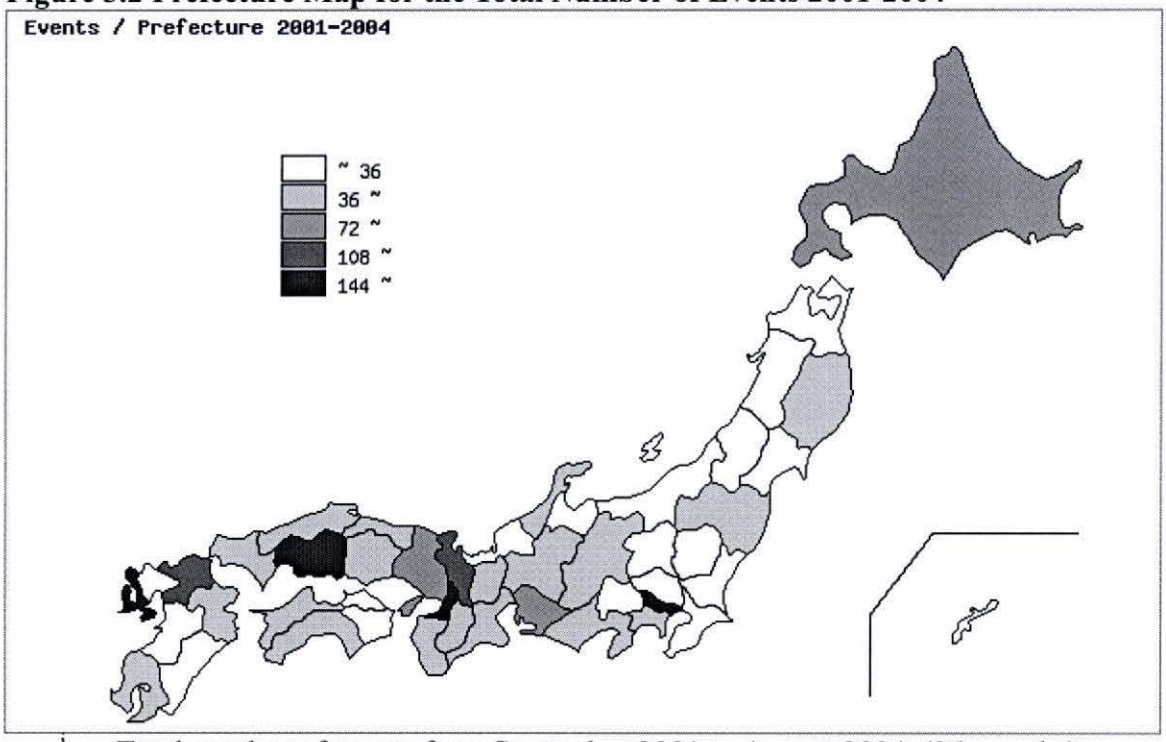
Figure 3.1 Total Number of Events per Region



Hokkaido	Tokyo	Ishikawa	Aichi	Osaka	Hiroshima	Kochi	Nagasaki	USA
105	167	68	102	161	181	51	155	57

The total number of locations does not match the event count because some events were not reported with location while others may have multiple locations for the sequences in one event. The box under the chart shows the prefecture that had most events in each region and the number of events there. This chart shows that the Kanto area, the political capital of Japan, was not the center of antiwar movement but the protest was diffused relatively all over Japan, especially in western Japan. Figure 3.2 shows the spatial distribution of the protest events.

Figure 3.2 Prefecture Map for the Total Number of Events 2001-2004[i]



i. Total number of events from September 2001 to August 2004, (36 months)
ii. The map is made by me at (http://aoki2.si.gunma-u.ac.jp/map/map.html)

The darkest color prefectures are, from the west (left side of this figure), Nagasaki, Hiroshima, Osaka, and Tokyo. Figure 3.2 is also illustrating that western Japan had more events than eastern Japan.

Next, the top 10 prefectures and the leading cities based on event count are shown in Table 3.1. Although the total sequence of event counts in each prefecture is given in Table B.2 (Appendix B), here I focus on the total number of events from September 2001 to August 2004 in key areas.

Table 3.1 Top Prefectures of the Protest Events

Region	Prefecture	Population [i]	Event Count [ii]	Top cities (event count) **Capital city** of the prefecture [iii], US base* [iv]
Sanin	Hiroshima	**288**	**181**	**Hiroshima** (149), Fukuyama (6), Kure*(5)
Kanto	Tokyo	**1206**	**167**	Chiyoda (34), Shibuya (23), **Shinjuku** (20)
Kansai	Osaka	**880**	**161**	**Osaka** (127), Takatsuki (7), Izumi (4)
Kyushu	Nagasaki	**152**	**155**	**Nagasaki** (102), Sasebo*(39), Shimabara(3)
Kyushu	Fukuoka	**502**	**132**	**Fukuoka** (83), Kitakyushu (9), Kurume (4)
Kansai	Kyoto	**264**	**124**	**Kyoto** (104), Uji (4)
Tohoku	Hokkaido	**568**	**105**	**Sapporo** (64), Asahikawa (9), Otaru (8)
Chubu	Aichi	**704**	**102**	**Nagoya** (85), Komaki (5), Toyohashi (3)
Kansai	Hyogo	**555**	**99**	**Kobe** (75), Amagasaki (7), Nishinomiya (4)
Hokuriku	Ishikawa	**118**	**68**	**Kanazawa** (55), Komatsu (4)

i. Prefectural population shown in ten thousands (National Census 2000)[4].
ii. Event count is the total number of events during this period of time.
iii. The capital city of a prefecture is where the prefectural government is located.
iv. The city name with asterisk indicates a U.S. military base there.

Comparing Table 3.1 to Figure 3.1, one of the reasons why Kansai area had the most events may be because there are multiple active prefectures: Osaka, Kyoto, and Hyogo. For the same reason, Kyushu had many events because of Nagasaki and Fukuoka prefecture. Okinawa is included in Kyushu area; they had 33 events, although the average number of participants per event was quite high.

Table 3.1 shows that district capitals, cities where the prefectural government is located, were leading the protest. We need to give careful consideration to the possible biases of data: the population density and the nature of newspaper data. First, district capitals had many events maybe because there are more people living in prefecture capital cities, and so more antiwar groups. The more people could have the more chance

of protest events. So the events in such cities could mobilize enough number of people to warrant being reported. Second, it may be because events in the prefectural capitals got more journalistic attentions and more chance to be reported in newspapers. The regional branches of the newspaper office are usually located in the prefectural capitals.

Nevertheless, consulting the population of the prefectures in Table 3.1, population is not the only cause of the active event formations. Certainly, the event densities in Hiroshima and Nagasaki stand out. The two *hibaku* (A-bombed) cities take a leading part in the antiwar movement in Japan. The city of Hiroshima in Hiroshima prefecture and the city of Nagasaki in Nagasaki prefecture[5] are the only two atomic bombed cities in the world, and many victims and their families still reside there. Hiroshima and Nagasaki had numerous events even though the population of the two prefectures is much smaller than Tokyo and Osaka.

From the view of resource mobilization, anti-nuclear organizations and *Hibakusha* (atomic bomb victims) groups took a leading part in the protests in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Not only civic organizations, but also local government of Hiroshima takes an important role. Certainly, the Mayor of Hiroshima, Akiba Tadatoshi[6] has been a visible and energetic peace activist. He leads the Mayors for Peace organization as the president and takes a leading part in their international antiwar and anti-nuclear conference. His Peace Declaration[7] speech on August 6 every year is written both in Japanese and English as a message for the President of the United States. In addition, as a protest resources, Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and Nagasaki Peace Park are the symbolic places of praying for peace and the main sites of protest events.

Subsequently, Table 3.1 indicates that Tokyo has multiple bases of protest. Administratively, Tokyo contains 23 wards, each of which is considered a "city." Chiyoda ward is the national government office district, so protest events that took place in front of the Diet building, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or the Defense Agency ('Ministry of Defense' since 2007) are included. Shibuya and Shinjuku are two of the biggest downtown areas in Tokyo. Shibuya ward contains Shibuya and Harajuku, the major towns for young people's protest events in this movement, while Shinjuku has been a major location of the protest movement since 1960s because of a Ground-SDF base in Ichigaya, Shinjuku Ward. Also, the event count in Minato ward, where the U.S. Embassy located, is 17.

Global Coordinated Antiwar Protests

Figure 3.1 also shows a certain number of oversea events reported in *Asahi*; 132 events were coded as located outside of Japan. The reason why this number does not match to the 137 reported in (Figure 3.1) is because the numbers of Figure 3.1 are the result of location code counts; that is, multiple locations of one event are counted separately in the location code (see Coding Rules in Appendix A). Therefore, 132 events out of 2,598 events took place outside of Japan, and they can be divided into the following three types:

1. Single local events in other countries (72 events)
2. Events reported as a part of global coordinated antiwar protest (32 events)
3. Protest acts by Japanese nationals outside of Japan (28 events).

In the following chapters, the type 1 and 2 events will be excluded from analysis while the type 3 will remain included, since my focus of this thesis is Japanese antiwar protest.

As a result, 2,494 events will be analyzed as the post-9.11 antiwar protest events in Japan during the period from September 2001 to August 2004.

The worldwide coalition of protests is one of the distinctive characteristics of the post-9.11 antiwar movement. Table 3.2 provides the list of global coordinated antiwar protests tracked by *Asahi*.

Table 3.2 List of Global Coordinated Antiwar Protests

		Coordination of (for) ...	In Japan (Tokyo)	Participants[iii]
2003	1.18	ANSWER[i]	World Peace Now	7,000
	2.15	ANSWER, StWC[ii]	Labor Unions / WPN[iv]	25,000 / 5,000
	3.8	International Women's Day	World Peace Now	40,000
	3.15	ANSWER	Labor Unions	10,000
	3.21	(Iraq War) ANSWER	World Peace Now	50,000
	9.25	ANSWER, StWC	World Peace Now	2,000
	10.25	ANSWER	-	800
2004	3.20	1st anniversary of the Iraq War	World Peace Now	30,000

i. Act Now to Stop War and End Racism (U.S.)
ii. Stop the War Coalition (U.K.)
iii. Number of participants in the event reported in Tokyo
iv. They were not cooperated but separately held their own events.

ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism) is a coalition of organizations and individuals established in the U.S. in September 2001, which promoted the global simultaneous antiwar protests several times against the war in Iraq. The first global protest coordinated by ANSWER was on January 18, 2003. The leading organization in Europe is the Stop the War Coalition in the U.K. These global coordinated protests, for instance, started in Washington DC, went around the globe eastward taking two days and ended on at the West coast of the U.S. Such global protest actions involved more than ten million people in 60 countries (Asahi, 2004).

The global coordinated event in January 2003 was the trigger of the mass mobilization in Japan. Although the number of participants was one or two digit shorter

than those in the United States and Europe, mobilization in February and March was remarkable as a result of grassroots calls for participation. In Japan, although many local events corresponded to the global protest in each region, here I focused on the event reported in Tokyo as a sample to examine the level of Japanese mobilization. As I found in my preliminary research, a loose network of antiwar organizations, World Peace Now (WPN), took the leading part in Tokyo corresponding to ANSWER's coordination.

Organizations and Participants

Organizational Structure

As explained above, the World Peace Now is a loose network of civic organizations. The WPN-led events are typical of the new patterns of mobilization in the post-9.11 antiwar protests.

> "World Peace Now, Japan was started at the end of 2002 as a broad coalition of people in Japan from various groups such as citizens' peace groups and international NGOs and individuals who have agreed on four principles: no more war, opposition to the attack on Iraq, opposition to Japanese government's cooperation for the occupation of Iraq, and non-violent action. Since then, many citizens, young and old alike, have participated in actions against the Iraq War. The number of participants has reached proportions similar to those during the anti-Vietnam war movement 35 years on in the history of Japanese peace movement" (World Peace Now, Japan, 2002).

In Japan, protest participants have been mobilized through existing networks and affiliations such as labor unions. Subsequently, Japanese protest activity developed independent organizational structure, and formed systematic mobilization (Steinhoff, 1989). On the other hand, such organized activities caused hesitation and nervousness among those who do not belong to such conventional organizations. Ōtsuka Teruyo, a member of the steering committee of World Peace Now, told an interviewer of *Asahi*; "If

the labor unions or a certain political party take a leading part in the protest, the ordinary people hesitate to participate because of the allergy. We will not use that kind of organized mobilization; however, collecting tens of thousands of people is going to be really difficult without those organizations" (Asahi, 2003e, p. 19). The "allergy" here implies Japanese people's antipathy against any political (ideological) activities and being organized in that way, due to the memory of radical protests in the 1970s.

However, the labor union's capability of mobilization is significant. In Table 3.2, when the World Peace Now separately had an event in February 2003, the difference of number of participants demonstrates Ōtsuka's comment on mobilization. On March 8, 2003, labor unions joined the World Peace Now event, and the number of participants hit the peak. Overall, "labor unions[8]" participated in 221 out of 2,494 events in my data.

Mobilization without this conventional organization was one of the main challenges of the post-9.11 antiwar movement in Japan. A variety of small groups have been established during this period of time. These small groups got together to promote an event and tried to mobilize not only their members but also individual participants. I coded 640 organizations in total. Although I will not make a systematic analysis of these organizations here because of their complex diversity and the nature of the data, I provide some brief descriptive analysis about the groups and organizations in order to capture the characteristics of this movement.

To begin with, since my data is based on the newspaper articles, some biases need to be clarified. The newspaper articles do not report all the organizations participating in an event, so we cannot tell they were not there just because they were not reported. In many cases, an article reports the group's general status such as "shimin

dantai" (citizen's groups), "josei dantai" (women's groups), or "heiwa dantai" (peace groups) with no indication of which specific organizations, or how many organizations, participated in each category. In addition, even if an organization is reported as a "citizen's group," it may or may not be associated with the same people as the labor unions. Also, although the following brief categorization is roughly based on the organization's name, it does not tell everything about the group. Recognizing those biases of data, I found the following major tendencies of the participating organizations in the post-9.11 antiwar movement.

(1) Level of organization: the group's organized level is diversified as follows: international organizations, national organizations, local groups, and local branches of a national or international organization. In case of the antiwar protest post-9.11, 520 of 640 organizations are local groups. Even if a protest event was called corresponding to the global or national coordinated antiwar protest, each event was promoted by the local groups in town. Differences between local groups and local branches of a national organization are hard to judge. Many local groups have similar name as those in other regions but are not always related each other.

(2) *Jikkō iinkai*: Many antiwar events were led by "Jikkō iinkai" (organizing committee), which is promoted by a spontaneous group of organizations associated only for the particular event. A *Jikkō iinkai* is usually named with the event title. There were 43 of them with the name of the event, but many newspaper reports missed it. There were an additional 203 events coded as promoted by a *Jikkō iinkai* whose name was not specified.

(3) Groups specifying Iraq issue: there were 31 organizations specifically named as "anti-Iraq War," which indicates that they were explicitly established to protest against the war in Iraq.

(4) Primary issue of preexisting organizations: Although it is hard to tell whether the organization is a preexisting one or was established during this movement, some groups have a primary issue for their activity. Out of 640 groups, 36 are women's (feminist) organizations, 61 are pro-Constitution groups, 33 are anti-nuclear weapons groups, 12 are anti-U.S. base groups, and 11 are environmental groups.

(5) Various "peace groups": 320 out of 640 organizations are the so-called "peace groups" having "peace" or "antiwar" in their names.

Overall, a variety of organizations cooperated with each other to mobilize as many individuals as possible. Although the newspaper reports seldom give the number of organizations participating in an event, the World Peace Now website gives the whole list of participating groups in each event. They consist of 30 to 50 organizations listed as making the appeal for an event, and more than 120 organizations supporting the event (World Peace Now, Japan, 2002).

Social Actor Status of Participants

Coalition of various organizations also encourages individual participation. The antiwar protest in the post-9.11 Japan is said to have succeeded in mobilizing such new people. Regarding the World Peace Now event on March 8, 2003, *Asahi* commented that "there were many young people and their families who came out for this kind of action for the first time," "the members and numbers of people are completely different from the protests before. The real 'ordinary' people started to act" (Asahi, 2003b, p. 39).

According to this comment, the major characteristics of participants of the anti-Iraq War protest are young individuals who do not belong to any particular organization, and have never participated in any political activities before. Throughout the discourse, "young people" indicates not only teenagers and twenties, but also widely covers people who did not experience the radical protests in 1970s and have never participated in any political activities before[9].

CHAPTER 4: CYCLE OF ANTIWAR PROTESTS IN JAPAN

The Cycle of Antiwar Protest

The purpose of this chapter is to capture the whole cycle of protest and to examine its characteristics. Although this study initially intended to focus on 'the antiwar protests against the Iraq War,' I came to have a broader view of antiwar movement in the post-9.11 Japan. The anti-Iraq War protest activity in Japan not only covered a broad time span since 9.11 events, but also brought in a lot of protest activity by preexisting movements that incorporated opposition to the Iraq War, along with groups and activities that were mobilized specifically to oppose to the Iraq War. The wide time span of research also allowed me to capture the connections between opposition to the Iraq War and key domestic political concerns in Japan that became bound up with it. Therefore, we need to understand the anti-Iraq War protests in a whole process of antiwar movement of post 9.11 and along with the preexisting social movements and the domestic issues in Japan. Articulating these linkages is essential for study of antiwar protest in Japan.

In this chapter, I will show how a conflict by other countries in other countries became entwined with key domestic concerns in Japan. Objectively, for Japanese people, the Iraq War is a conflict by other countries in a faraway place. However, the protesters tried to connect the domestic issues to opposition to the Iraq war to deal with them together in their protests. This is a matter of how Japanese people perceive the problem, in other words, how they frame the relations between the war, domestic concerns, and themselves in the context of Japanese society. Despite of the limited nature of my data from newspaper articles, it can illuminate the linkage or conjunction of the boundaries of issues in this particular case. When people participate in a protest, they control the

boundaries of interpretive framework between the issue out there and the one to which they can directly relate. Early participants and the leading organizations extend the framework to include more interests or points of view attached to its potential adherents in order to enlarge the movement.

I argue that even though this was the protest about a war fought by another country in a faraway place, Japanese were mobilized for these protests because of the existence of longstanding antiwar or peace movements in Japan. Also, some domestic political issues came into the protest in relation to the war and the pressure by the U.S.

The Rise of anti-Iraq War Protest

To begin with, I explore the whole cycle of protest around the Iraq War. Figure 4.1 presents the total number of protest events per month recorded from my reading of *Asahi Shinbun* for the three-year period from September 2001 to August 2004. The following Table 4.1 identifies some historical points in this time period for reference.

Figure 4.1 Total Number of Events per Month

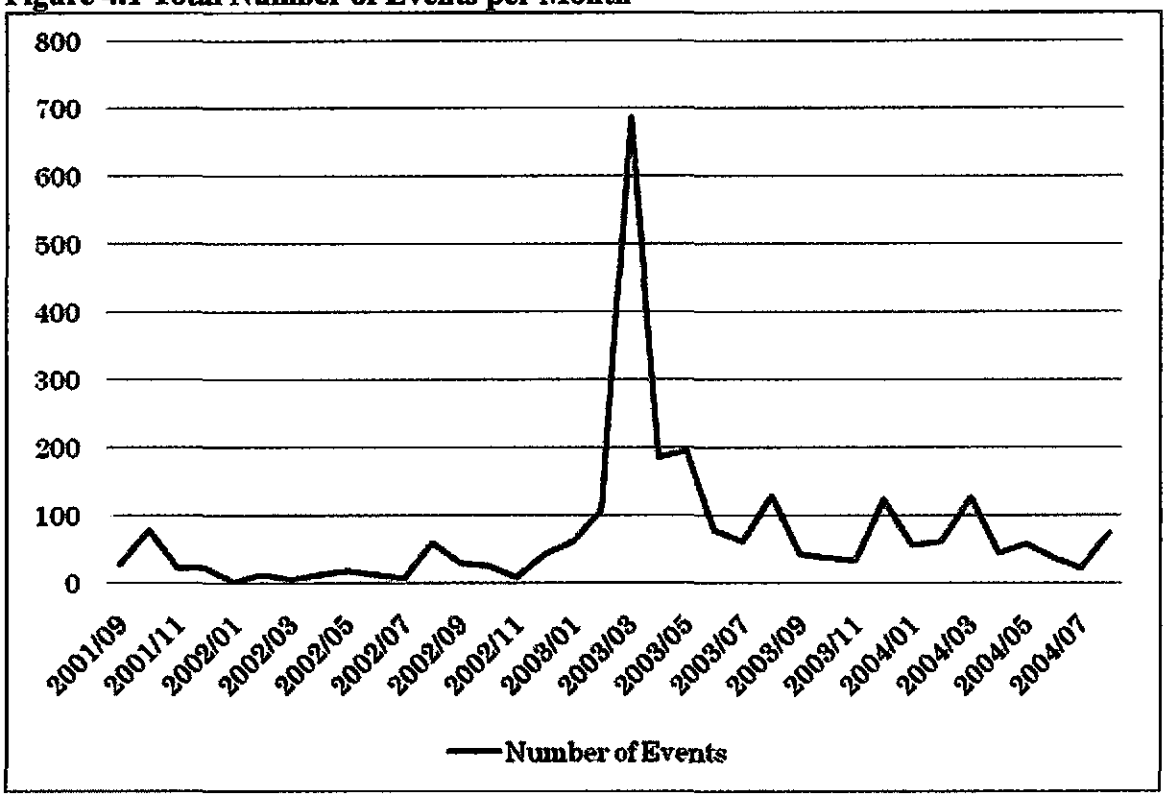


Table 4.1 Historical Points Regarding the War in Iraq

2001	9.11	September 11	Terrorist attacks in the U.S.
	10.7	Afghan War	US-led forces started bombing Afghanistan.
2002	1.29	Union Message	Bush's Doctrine "Axis of evil"
2003	3.19	Iraq War	US-led forces started the war on Iraq
	5.1	President's declaration	President Bush declared "major combat operations in Iraq finished"
	12.13	Hussein Capt.	US troops captured Saddam Hussein
	12.26	SDF dispatch	The first group of Air-SDF departed to Iraq

There are some important dates that need to be understood as the time sequence of the antiwar movement. In Japan, discussions on 'peace' started appearing with the events of '9.11' and the following Afghanistan War and these caused an initial uprising in September to October 2001. After that, protest stopped in at January 2002. President Bush used the term "Axis of evil" in his State of the Union Address on January 29, 2002 and then the attack on Iraq was gradually becoming a realistic choice. From the tone of the press, the war in Iraq became definite around June 2002, but the reaction of the

antiwar movement was relatively slow both in the U.S. and other countries, including Japan. The rise of the 'anti-Iraq War protest' in Japan was found in summer of 2002.

The first protest event reported in *Asahi* stating "against the attack on Iraq" was on August 13, 2002 (Event ID: 243). Although there was an event in October 2001 coded as an Iraq-related issue, the detail of the statement was "hoping for a peaceful solution of the matters in Middle East" (Event ID: 29), so it was not clearly about the attack on Iraq. Therefore, I define that the anti-Iraq War protest in Japan started on August 13, 2002.

The event on August 13, 2002 took place in Sasebo, which is a port town located in Nagasaki, a *hibaku* (atomic-bombed) prefecture. The City of Sasebo has both U.S. and Marine Self-Defense Force bases, thus it became one of the most active cities in Japan for protests. This first protest was a petition to the mayor of Sasebo, asking him to reject the arrival of a U.S. nuclear-powered aircraft carrier in Sasebo port. The groups insisted that Sasebo would become the forefront of the attack if it departs from Sasebo port to Iraq; as a city located in Nagasaki prefecture, they should not be involved in any nuclear attack. This is a good example of how the protesters connect the issues of anti-Iraq War and the preexisting anti-nuclear and anti-U.S. base movement.

Multiple Issues in Events

The intensive peak of mobilization is very clear in Figure 4.1, in March 2003 when the war actually started, and it is the clear peak of the entire movement. On March 19, 2003, the War in Iraq started. Even the dry data of the newspaper analysis clearly shows the "moment of madness" (Tarrow, 1989, p. 79) of this movement. At the moment of madness, collective enthusiasm, tactical creativity, and attempts to gain popular participation seize the highest point (Tarrow, 1989). However, we shall see that there are

some small peaks other than the moment of madness, and referring to Table 4.1, those mobilizations seem not to be directly responding to the circumstances in Iraq, but to concern some other issues. These protest events reveal another side of antiwar protest in the post-9.11 period.

The specific issues involved in each event were diverse even though all the protest events were picked by keywords 'antiwar' or 'Iraq War' (Table A.2 in Appendix A). They were all coded in the context of antiwar movement as long as the event reports indicated the connection and they were selected through the same keywords. Although collective enthusiasms are usually hard to convey in newspaper data, my criteria of coding and analysis allow me to communicate the intensive character of this mass movement. While I was coding each event, I made decisions on the issue code based on the title of the event, the name of the leading organizations, the statements they made at the event as reported in the articles, or the explanation and comments of the article writer. 1,724 events out of the total 2,494 events had more than one issue and the average number of issues per event is 1.34. These issues were counted separately in the issue coding but linked to a single event in the relational database. Table 4.2 shows the total array of major issues that I coded.

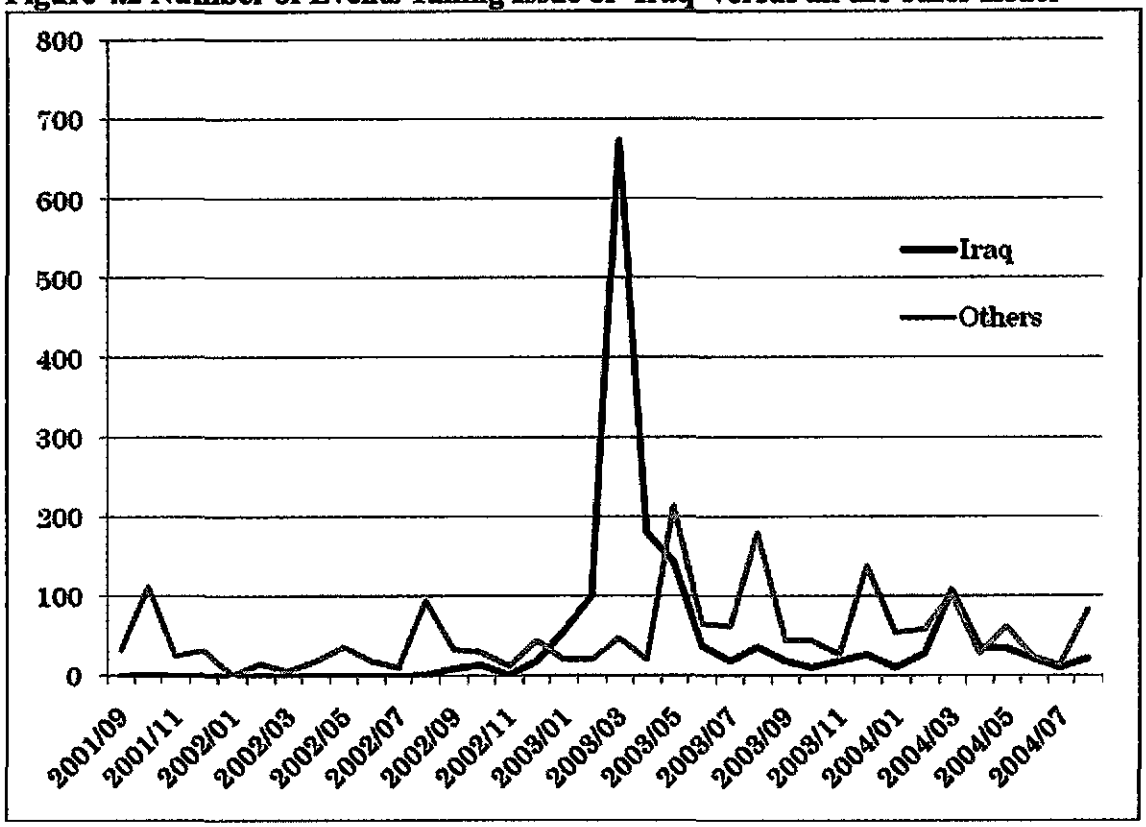
Table 4.2 Total Array of Issues

Issue	Event having the Issue	% to the total events
Iraq	1552	62.2
(general) Antiwar	649	26.0
Self-Defense Forces	370	14.8
Emergency Legislation	201	8.1
Anti-nuclear weapons	198	7.9
Constitution	122	4.9
Other	261	10.5

I added up the issues having less than 100 as "Other," including Afghanistan, 9.11 terrorism, US bases, women, labor, Okinawa and so forth. Each operational decision on coding is discussed in Appendix A. The total is more than 100 percent since many events are dealt with multiple issues. In addition to the 'Iraq' issue, there also existed many 'general antiwar' events, whose 'antiwar' statements as reported in the newspaper did not specify the war but just opposed any war and prayed for peace. Four other domestic issues need interpretation of how they came to relate to the anti-Iraq War protest. Issues regarding the Self-Defense Forces, Emergency Legislation, anti-nuclear weapons, and Constitution are closely related to each other.

Figure 4.2 investigates the number of events per month taking 'Iraq' issues in comparison to the total number of events taking all the other issues. At the peak of the cycle, most of the events naturally mobilized to protest against the war in Iraq. Before and after the biggest peak, the anti-Iraq War protests interacted with other issues.

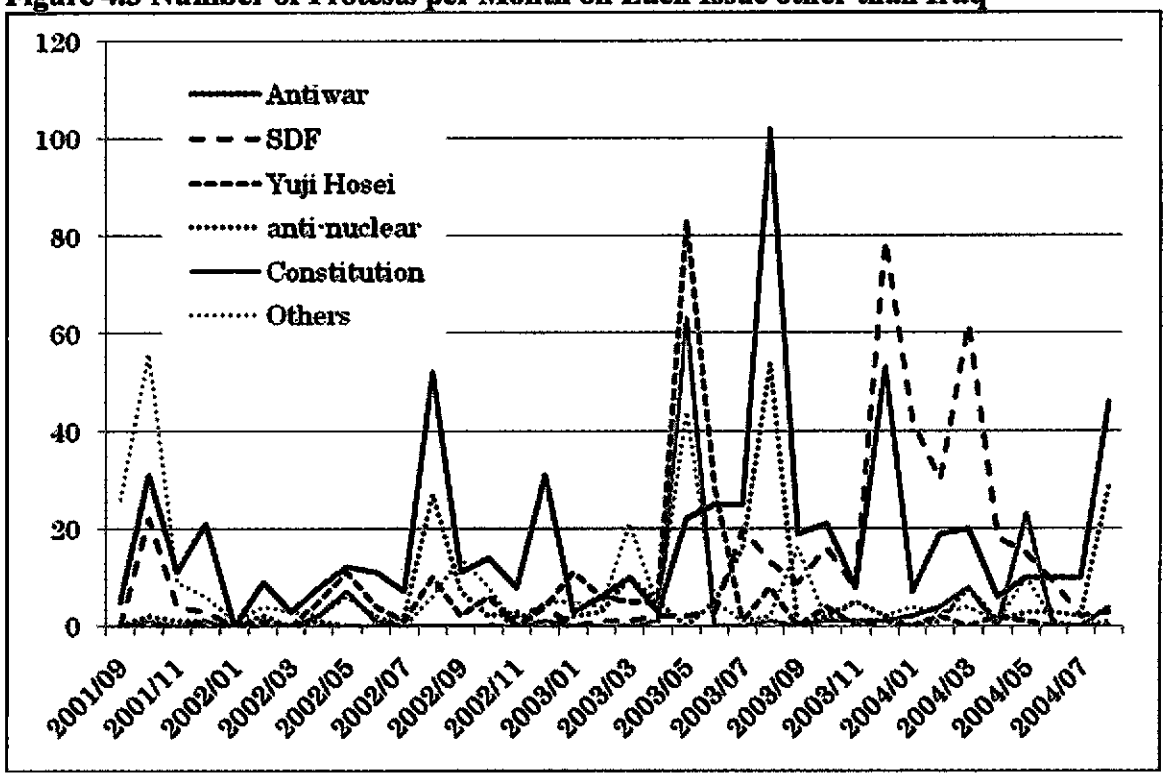
Figure 4.2 Number of Events Taking Issue of 'Iraq' versus all the other Issues



The cycle of Iraq War issue is very clear. The outbreak of the war in March 2003 is the biggest peak, and one year anniversary in March 2004 has a small peak.

In contrast, the following chart will show the number of events per month for each issue other than Iraq. Since the protest sequence of the anti-Iraq War is too distinctive, it is removed in Figure 4.3 to show the whole picture of other issue shifts. The crosstab table for this chart is placed in Appendix B (Table B.3).

Figure 4.3 Number of Protests per Month on Each Issue other than Iraq



In the initial protest period (September 2001 to August 2002), the main protest issues were protested were the War in Afghanistan in 'retaliation' for the terrorist attacks on September 11, and sending the SDF to the Indian Ocean to help the U.S. Marines. There also existed many general antiwar events such as 'praying for peace' in October 2001. In March 2003, since people protested specifically against the war in Iraq, there were not many other issue events.

In this chart, we can see two constant peaks in August and December every year on the general 'antiwar' issue. These were because of the anniversary events on historical memorial dates, and it is one of the significant characteristics of the antiwar movement in Japan. The total number of events reported in newspapers increased during these periods because there were originally many official ceremonies and memorial services for the war dead. I excluded such political practices, but coded the ones organized by antiwar

groups that mentioned 'Iraq War,' 'antiwar,' or 'pray for peace.' It is noticeable that although there are similar antiwar and anti-nuclear peaks each year, the peaks in 2003 were substantially bigger than those in 2002 and 2004. I will analyze such cycles of particular issues in following subsections.

Longstanding Antiwar Movements and Anniversary Events in Japan

The various issues during this period of time can be divided into two categories: longstanding antiwar movements and current political concerns in Japan. Apparently, anniversary event formations for political commemorations are one of the characteristics of the longstanding movements in Japan.

Although the preexisting social movements have not been very active since the 1970s, antiwar, anti-nuclear, and anti-U.S. base movements are consistent longstanding movements in Japan. Especially, the general peace (rather than antiwar) and anti-nuclear movements provide available perspective that easily extended to opposition to the Iraq War. Also, the Constitution of Japan, which is called a 'pacifist' constitution, is often cited as legitimating peace movements. In terms of the resource mobilization, pro-Constitution groups, *Hibakusha* (atomic bomb victims) groups, and labor unions have been taking a major mobilization role in these various protest events. These preexisting movements are reinforced each year by the anniversary events commemorating key events related to the war.

Anniversary Events

Anniversary events are the events mobilized on historically and politically significant dates. Those dates are recognized as political commemorations and often held

as official or state-sanctioned ritual practices (Pfaff & Yang, 2001). Pfaff and Yang (2001) articulated the role of political commemorations in the mobilization of protest. Social movement actors utilize cultural practices of political commemorations as symbolic resources of collective action. Political commemorations include rituals surrounding historical dates, commemorations of cultural heroes, the founding of the state, the end of war, the birthday or the death of a political leader or national hero. Such political commemorations and rituals provide an opportunity for action, expanding space where the dissidents stage protest, and symbolic resources of protest (Pfaff & Yang, 2001).

In the antiwar movement in the post-9.11, the anniversary events were very significant. 546 out of 2,494 events (approximately 21%) were anniversary events, especially about antiwar, anti-nuclear, and constitution issues. Table 4.3 shows the percentage of the total number of events about each issue that were anniversary events.

Table 4.3 Anniversary Events on Each Issue

Issue	Events on that issue	Anniversary events	
Antiwar	649	278	43%
Anti-nuclear	198	101	51%
Constitution	122	106	86%

Table 4.4 is the list of anniversary events forming annual commemorations in Japan. Events on these dates are coded separately as 'anniversary event' (detailed coding issues are discussed in Appendix A). In the events on these dates, the issues were discussed and people protested together. The "initial issue" column indicates the issues that the anniversary event normally concerns, so the issues of the event were coded as such.

Table 4.4 Annual Anniversary Event Dates in Japan

Date		Initial Issue
September 11	September 11 Memorial	Antiwar
October 21	International Antiwar Day	Antiwar
December 8	Pearl-Harbor Day	Antiwar
February 11*	Japan National Foundation Day	Antiwar
May 1	May Day –Labor Union annual event	Labor
May 3*	Constitution Day	Constitution, Antiwar
June 23	Battle of Okinawa mourning day	Antiwar
August 6	Hiroshima Day	Antiwar, Anti-nuclear
August 9	Nagasaki Day	Antiwar, Anti-nuclear
August 15	The end of the Pacific War Day	Antiwar

*The dates marked with an asterisk are public holidays.

First, the events on September 11, 2001 became an anniversary date, and I found several event formations to pray for peace in September 11, 2002 and 2003. Next, the "International Antiwar Day" came from the commemoration of anti-Vietnam War protest in 1960s. It is recognized within narrow limits, but some events were organized by traditional antiwar groups whose members are middle aged people who participated in the anti-Vietnam War protests in their youth. On the other hand, the National Foundation Day is usually commemorated by the traditional nationalist groups, but some antiwar groups also coordinate events. Next, May Day on May 1 treated as a memorial for labor, but they deal with various current issues. Since social movements in Japan traditionally have been developed and led by the labor unions (Steinhoff, 1989), they deal with the presently heated issue during their annual May Day rallies. So it is typical for them to mention the current war in the annual event on May Day. They discussed and stated opposition against the Iraq War, deployment of the Self-Defense Forces, and *Yuji Hosei* (the Emergency Legislation on war contingencies).

Also, Constitution Day is a national holiday to celebrate the day when the current Japanese Constitution came into effect on May 3, 1947. The day of May 3 is in

the middle of a long consecutive holidays that is called 'Golden Week' (from April 29 through May 5, both of which are public holidays), so that various events are coordinated. The use of public holidays to stages protest is a common strategy for dissidents to get mass mobilization (Pfaff & Yang, 2001). Pro-Constitution groups regularly organize the antiwar protest events on Constitution Day because the pacifism is one of the pillars of the Japanese Constitution, consisting of a part of the Introduction and Article 9.

> Introduction:
> "We, the Japanese people, acting through our duly elected representatives in the National Diet, determined that we shall secure for ourselves and our posterity the fruits of peaceful cooperation with all nations and the blessings of liberty throughout this land, and resolved that never again shall we be visited with the horrors of war through the action of government, do proclaim that sovereign power resides with the people and do firmly establish this Constitution. ...
> We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving people of the world."
>
> Article 9:
> "Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of setting international disputes.
> In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized" (The Constitution of Japan, 1947).

The pro-Constitution antiwar groups' argument is that as a nation having this pacifist Constitution, Japan should not be involved in or even support any war. There is no end to the controversy concerning whether or not the existence of the Self-Defense Forces is a breach of the Constitution. When Japan initiated a direct commitment to the Iraq War by deployment of the SDF, it caused more extensive constitutional discussions.

Moreover, commemorations related to the Pacific War are especially significant in peace movements in Japan. Certainly, Japanese social movements have an annual cycle with distinctive memorial dates of the Pacific War in August and December. The number of events in August is regularly increased every year on three anniversary dates: Hiroshima Day on August 6, Nagasaki Day on August 9, and the end of the Pacific War day on August 15 (Table 4.4). On the other hand, December 8, Pearl-Harbor Day, is also important day for Japanese people to think about and pray for peace. These annual peaks in August and December are clearly shown in Figure 4.3. Such general antiwar events were used for anti-Iraq War mobilization as well, and the issues were discussed and protested together.

Preexisting Movements

Next, I will analyze these two issues more closely, since these are very important to see the linkage between Japanese commemorations of the past war and the current war issue in Iraq. The preexisting movements in Japan are reinforced each year by anniversary events commemorating key events related to the war, and they involve a significant mobilization. In such 'general antiwar' events, people protested against not only the Iraq War but also any war anywhere in the world. Their logic here is to remember the horrors of war and resolve never again to repeat it. This becomes even clearer with the issue of anti-nuclear events. As we saw in previous tables and figures, antiwar and anti-nuclear protest events increase in August. The following figure shows the number of events dealing with antiwar and anti-nuclear issues, which are taken out from Figure 4.3 for further clarification. These two issues are often dealt with together and produce similar wave patterns, especially the peaks in August.

Figure 4.4 Number of events by each issue code (Antiwar & Anti-nuclear)

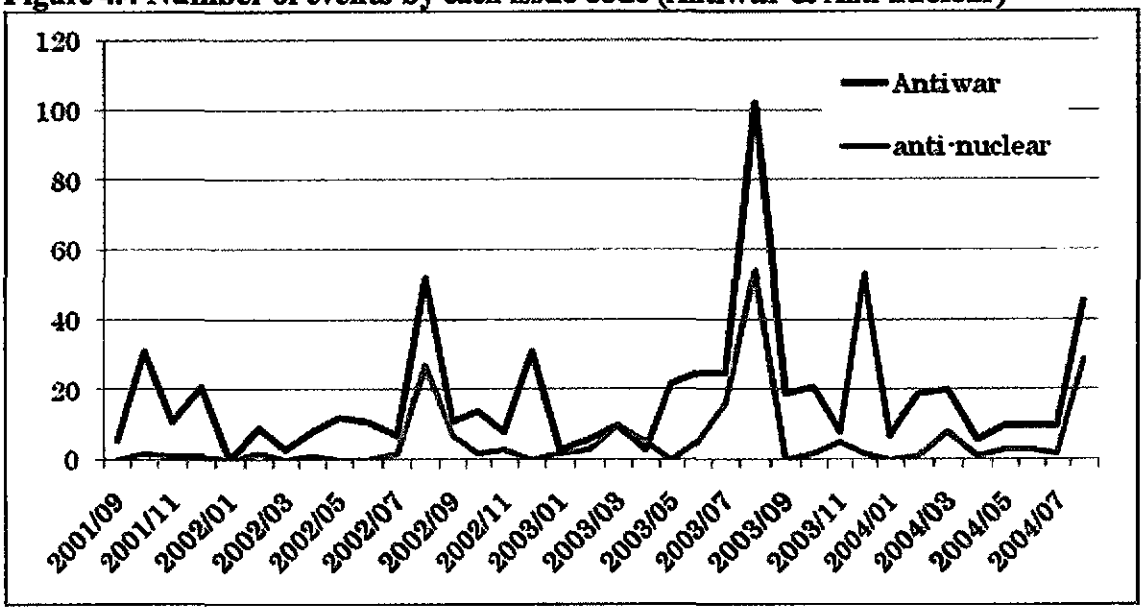


Figure 4.3 also showed that anti-nuclear events increased every August. As I briefly showed in Chapter 3, two *hibaku* (A-bombed) cities, Hiroshima and Nagasaki are significant on this issue. The concepts of 'antiwar' and 'anti-nuclear' overlap enormously for Japanese people, especially in the two A-bombed cities. As a part of the of the anti-nuclear issue, people were also concerned about Depleted Uranium (DU) ammunition and other weapons of mass destruction (WMD) used in the Iraq War; in this manner, the past war memorial was connected to the present antiwar protest. "No war" and "No DU" are the major statements of events in August in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Certainly, *hibakusha* (atomic bomb victims) and their organizations took a leading part in many antiwar events not only in those cities but also all over Japan. Their statements always remark "as *hibakusha*" or "on behalf of the residents of *hibaku* city," and it is one of the important frames of the Japanese antiwar movement based on the memories of war disaster and mass destruction. Protests in Hiroshima and Nagasaki are based on the "spirit of reconciliation born of the *hibakusha*'s determination that 'no one else should ever

suffer as we did'" (Akiba, 2004). This representative concept is clearly stated in the Peace Declaration, which is issued by Mayor of Hiroshima at the annual Peace Memorial Ceremony on August 6 to "pray for the peaceful repose of the victims, for the abolition of nuclear weapons, and for lasting world peace" (The City of Hiroshima, 2001).

Since there have been scientific, medical, and ideological discussions regarding the influence of Depleted Uranium (DU) ammunition on the human body, many symposiums and study group events were coordinated by the antiwar groups and civic organizations. In this way, they embedded their memory of the atomic bomb disaster into the sympathy for the victims of DU ammunition and other weapons of mass destruction (WMD) being used in Iraq.

In terms of the Pacific War memorial events, there are other events related to Okinawa, the island prefecture located at the southern end of Japan, which experienced the only ground-battle on Japanese home territory at in the end of the war (the battle of Okinawa), remained under the U.S. occupation for almost three decades after Japan concluded the peace treaty, and still has 75% of U.S. bases in Japan located in its tiny islands (Kojima, 2004). Among anniversary events, the day when Okinawa reverted to Japanese control (May 15) was supposed to be recognized, especially since 2002 was the 30th anniversary of Okinawa's reversion to Japan. In addition, June 23 is *Irei no hi*; the day when the battle of Okinawa ended. People in Okinawa regard it as more important than the end of the war day in August as an occasion to pray for peace and mourn for the deceased, since they have strong memories of war disaster. Nonetheless, compared to Hiroshima and Nagasaki day when many events are coordinated in other cities as well,

there are few events outside of Okinawa prefecture on such Okinawa-related anniversary dates.

Accordingly, these antiwar and anti-nuclear movements provide basic perspectives of the peace movement in Japan. It is common in protest cycles to have such initial mobilization by preexisting groups, such as pro-Constitution groups and atomic bomb victims associations. Near the peak, new organizations with a specific focus on the current issue emerge and contribute to the expansion of protest. The perspective, reminding people of the war memory with the commemorations, is a key frame of preexisting antiwar movements in Japan. Here, the peace movement and anti-nuclear movements are serving as a combined master frame that easily covered the Iraq War issue. These specific war issues form a master frame for opposition to war and nuclear weapons in Japan, and then that master frame is kept alive by key anniversary events that happen every year in Japan.

Domestic Political Concerns

During the anti-Iraq War movement, Japanese people were also struggling with domestic issues of *Yuji Hosei* (the emergency legislation on war contingencies), the deployment of the Self-Defense Forces, and the Constitution. These domestic issues also came into anti-Iraq War protests, and formed the second set of waves of mobilization. These issues were often discussed together, but they are separate issues even though they are closely linked to each other within the context of opposition to the Iraq War. They are essential to discussion of anti-Iraq War protest since Japan became directly committed to

the war through them. The targets of the protest on these issues were the national government and Prime Minister Koizumi.

Self-Defense Forces, Emergency Legislation, and the Constitution

To begin with, the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) of Japan were established to maintain order in Japan through America's circumstances during the Korean War in the early 1950s. When the SDF were established in spite of Article 9, it was never intended that such forces would operate abroad. They were named *Jieitai*, 'Self-Defense Forces,' and were not considered as a military because the Constitution of Japan proclaims that the Japanese people renounce war forever, and forbids maintaining any forces and war potential. According to the 'no war' clause of Article 9, the SDF is not a military, but was created solely for the purpose of defense as a sort of extension of police force to maintain internal order of the country (Hayashi, 2004; Iwamoto, 2005). As we can see here, even the implications of the SDF itself are very controversial. Some people in Japan want to revise the Constitution to officially redefine the SDF as a military. In short, there are some deeply conflicting views surrounding the interpretation of the constitutionality of their existence.

Furthermore, it is very problematic to send a force whose name is the 'Self-Defense Force' to another country in a state of war. Nevertheless, the Koizumi administration decided the deployment with only a minimum of discussion under the U.S. pressure on Japan to contribute to America's war in Iraq. It is said that they hastened to send the SDF to assist the Iraq War because they did not want to be criticized as they had been in the first Gulf War, when Japan only provided financial resources. The government tried to justify the deployment as having a humanitarian purpose,

non-combat activities for reconstruction of Iraq, and interpreted it as a sort of self-defense in a broader sense. These rationalizations did not make sense to protesters, as sending the SDF to another country 'in a state of war' means Japan would therefore also be committing to the war, which contradicts the war-renouncing Article 9. These discussions were focused more during the series of hostage incidents after the SDF dispatch.

Another national discussion in post-9.11 Japan was about the emergency legislation on war contingencies, so called '*Yuji Hosei.*' The National Diet approved the first set of three emergency bills on June 6, 2003, and the seven more laws followed on June 14, 2004. At least one of these, the Military Attack Contingency Legislation, is familiar to many people in Japan: the law is designed to deal with any possible invasion from outside (Iwamoto, 2005). The opposition to this legislation is also related to anti-Iraq War, but needs to be separately coded from anti-SDF deployment.

The controversial discussions on the Emergency Laws dealt with the struggle over how to actually define *Yuji*, a national emergency and how to understand it within the framework of the constitutional principles of Article 9 that guide Japan's security policy. Some scholars and pro-constitution groups pointed out that the assumption of 'national emergency' contradicts the 'no war' clause in Article 9. In this legislation, the definition of what constitutes a 'national emergency' is very vague, and one serious flaw is the lack of measures to protect people's basic human rights as well as their lives and assets in case of such an 'emergency.'

Domestic Political Issues and Antiwar Protest

Protests events concerning the Self-Defense Forces, the Constitution, and the Emergency Legislation were coordinated with the policy making process of the Japanese

national government. Figure 4.5 shows the cycle of the protest events dealing with those issues. Table 4.5 indicates the policy making process regarding the SDF and the Emergency Legislation, as well as the dates of the incidents related to the SDF deployment, which may cause mobilization.

Figure 4.5 Number of Events per Month Issues on the SDF, Emergency Legislation, and the Constitution

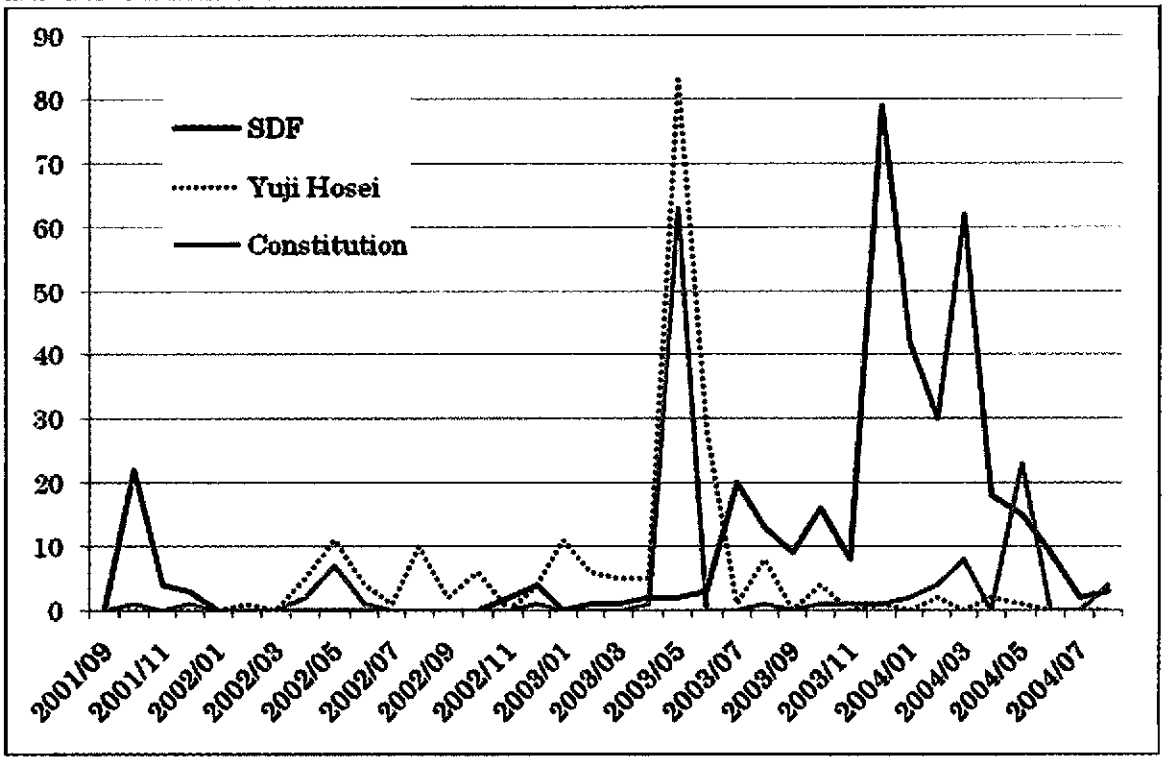


Table 4.5 The Key Dates of the Policy Making Process and Incidents in Iraq

2001	11.2	Antiterrorism Legislation enforcement in Japan
2003	6.6	Diet approved Emergency Legislation on War Contingencies
	7.26	Diet approved the SDF-Iraq bill for the deployment
	11.29	2 Japanese Diplomats were killed in Iraq
	12.9	Japanese special Cabinet meeting agreed on the basic plans of the dispatch of the SDF to Iraq
	12.26	The first group of Air-SDF departed to Iraq
2004	1.16	The first group of Ground-SDF deployed to Iraq
	4.8 →4.15	A group of 3 Japanese civilians were kidnapped in Iraq → hostages released
	4.14 →17	A group of 2 Japanese civilians were kidnapped in Iraq → hostages released
	6.18	Japanese Government announced that SDF will participate in the multinational force in Iraq

First, the protest events regarding the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) follow their own independent wave since these protests were sequenced around law making in the Diet. Due to the severe restraints of the pacifist Constitution, the Japanese Government

resorted to *ad hoc* legislation in each case of the use of SDF abroad (Hayashi, 2004). The Antiterrorism Special Measures Law came into force in November 2001 and enabled the SDF to provide fuel to U.S.-led forces operating in Afghanistan. This law was amended when it expired in November 2003 and allowed the SDF to continue its support. Although the next law, Law concerning the Special Measures on Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq, so called 'SDF-Iraq bill' was passed for the dispatch of the SDF to Iraq in July 2003, the protests against the SDF deployment arose more in December when they actually departed to Iraq.

At the time of the hostage incident in April 2004, the number of protest events did not increase very much. The Prime Minister Koizumi immediately declined the captors' demand of the SDF withdrawal from Iraq. Although some protesters criticized the decision and requested the withdrawal, the hostage incident did not lead to a mass mobilization. A part of the reason might be because of the sharp division of public opinion at that time in Japan. Some people sympathized with the hostages and protested to demand the withdrawal of the SDF; on the other hand, others blamed the hostages for going to such a dangerous place. Some of the hostages refused to give a full account of the incident, but the rest took a certain role in antiwar protest after they came back to Japan. Protest groups invited them to events or coordinated a symposium for them to report about the real situation in Iraq and to protest against the SDF deployment.

Secondly, the protest sequence of Emergency Legislation (*Yuji Hosei*) and the Constitution issues were closely connected and made similar waves. The issue of the Constitution in this movement was protest against revision of the current Constitution. The argument over the Constitution of Japan has been active for a long time. In terms of

the antiwar movement, pro-Constitution people want to preserve the antiwar clause of Article 9. Since the Emergency Legislation on War Contingencies is a constitutional issue in terms of conflict with the renunciation of war in Article 9, these issues were often discussed together and both reached peaks in May 2002 and 2003, around Constitution Day (May 3).

The first set of laws regarding Emergency Legislation was approved by the Diet on June 2003. There were few events when an additional set of seven laws was approved in June 2004; it may be because of three reasons. First, the total number of protest events itself had decreased by that time. Second, people may have had given up on protest over this issue since they could not prevent passage of the first onset of laws. Third, it is possible that they did protest but not in the context of opposition to Iraq War so that was lost through the keyword search of articles.

Overall, the issues of the emergency laws are related to war, the SDF, and the Constitution, so they came into anti-Iraq War protest events. Compare to other issues explained above, however, the general public's reaction to the emergency legislation was slower since this is a legal problem and full of technical interpretations.

Discussion

The purpose of this chapter was to examine how the anti-Iraq War protest in Japan was both embedded in domestic concerns and linked to international activities. According to my data, the protest cycle of antiwar movements in Japan during this period is closely connected to domestic issues. These domestic issues of protest consist of preexisting movements that were reinforced by anniversary events and by current issues

that Japan was facing under the U.S. pressure. The linkages among Japanese preexisting movements, domestic political concerns, and the Iraq War issues were mutually incorporated in their protests. I argue that the preexisting movements provided to anti-Iraq War protests the symbolic resources for collective action, while the Iraq War influenced the preexisting movements by highlighting the domestic issues in Japan.

The preexisting movements such as antiwar and anti-nuclear movements influenced anti-Iraq War protest by providing resources and opportunities for mobilization. First, the longstanding peace movements in Japan were based on historical memories of the previous war, and they pray for peace in any other place. They try to recollect and share the memory of war disaster and the pain of suffering people, and the anniversary events have been organized to reinforce the general perspective of opposition to war.

Such commemorations are a part of political subcultures in Japanese society that are normally unfocused. However, these perspectives functioned as symbolic resources for anti-Iraq War protest in terms of framing of the issue. Here, the peace movement and anti-nuclear movements are serving as a combined master frame that easily covered the Iraq War issue. Also, the anniversary events are identified as a space and opportunity for mobilization. This set of cultural processes is recognized significantly in the dry data of the news paper articles.

At the same time, the anti-Iraq War campaign stimulated the domestic political concerns that had been discussed by preexisting movement groups. Facing the war and the U.S. pressure as an ally of Japan, issues about the Self-Defense Forces and the Constitution became highlighted. Although the political concerns regarding the SDF and

the Constitution have been discussed for a long time since their establishment, the ambiguous fact that Japan may legally go to war overseas despite Article 9 brought the fear that Japan might be forced into war by U.S. military action. Therefore, these domestic issues connected the preexisting movements to antiwar protests against the Iraq War.

These multiple interactions of mobilizing processes show how a set of domestic concerns were linked to the anti-Iraq War campaign, and how anti-Iraq War protest was placed in a larger context of the antiwar movement in Japan. It is a cultural process in which the movement actors recognize the available resources and opportunities, and utilize them to mobilize a new protest movement.

CHAPTER 5: THE REPERTOIRE OF CONTENTION

The "repertoires of contention" have developed and changed through social movement history (Tilly, 1995a; Tarrow, 1998). We may find a new repertoire in this contemporary movement of a new era. Tilly defined the "repertoire of contention" as "the ways that people act together in pursuit of shared interests" (1995b, p. 41). A new repertoire would be diffused to various types of protest once its strategic advantages were recognized. Tarrow called such a new repertoire "modular" because it can be used to unify people with different aims and is not specific to one particular kind of protest campaign (1998, p. 30).

Even though this study focuses on a limited subject, its event formations involved various forms of contention that constitute its repertoire. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the variety of formations used in collective action in the post-9.11 antiwar movement in Japan. In addition to conventional types of protest formations such as petitions, demonstrations, assemblies, and sit-ins, they created some new forms of action. The repertoire is "at once a structural and a cultural concept, involving not only what people *do* when they are engaged in conflict with others but what they *know how to do* and what others *expect* them to do" (Tarrow, 1998, p. 30). When the protesters did something new, it needs to be recognized as a new form of contention. Therefore, the concept of repertoire should be defined along with the definition of 'a protest event' in this movement.

In my database, I coded 17 types of formation (Table A.3-1 in Appendix A); half of them were new formation codes added and defined by me. These new types of contention were much milder, non-violent acts compared to those used in the past in

Japan or in other countries. We need to include them as 'protest events' and understand how the protesters used them in mobilization. The petition, the public meeting, the demonstration, and the sit-in were well-known routines since the 1960s; while they used the conventional repertoire, new distinctive features of anti-Iraq War protest will also be examined in this chapter as new patterns of behavior.

Quantitative Data and Analysis

Table 5.1 shows the categorization of the various types of protest formation. The full explanation about coding of formations is found in Appendix A (Table A.3-1 and A.3-2).

I categorized the formations into three types: conventional, moderate, and cultural contention[10]. Although even the conventional forms of contention in Japan during this protest movement are very mild, I distinguished them from even more moderate ones. The 'moderate' contentions here are acts such as making speeches, passing out handbills, and seeking signatures on petitions in front of train stations that have not been given attention by researchers as protest actions. These types of protest activity are quite routine in Japan today and they did occur in earlier protest movements, but perhaps during a period that included violent protest, they were not reflected in newspaper coverage of protest events. Similarly, the 'cultural' contentions are new types of formations in this movement that were recognized as forms of protest in the newspaper coverage, for which I added new codes. I have distinguished them from the other very mild forms of contention because of their particular cultural character.

Table 5.1 Major Types of Formation

Traditional Contention	Public Meeting, Assembly, Demonstrations, Direct Actions
Moderate Contention	Appeals, Petitions, Resolutions, Lawsuits, Symposiums, Letter Campaigns
Cultural Contention	Music Concerts, Exhibition, Movies, Human Shield

Also, I divided the time period into two parts: before and after Iraq War began on March 19, 2003. Based on the categorization in the table, I crosstabulated the time periods and formation type to investigate the tendency of the tactics in each period. Table 5.2 gives the results of the crosstabulation of period of term and formation type. Formation type is multiple response data since some events have multiple sequential forms of action. Here, denominator of number of events is 2,494, the total number of Japanese protests, which is calculated in Chapter 3.

Table 5.2 Formation Type Changes by Time Period

			Formation Type			
			Traditional Contention	Moderate Contention	Cultural Contention	Total
Time Period	Before Iraq War (~3/18, 2003)	Count	413	259	129	769
		% within Period	53.7%	33.7%	16.8%	
		%within Formation Type	32.2%	31.6%	26.2%	
	After Iraq War (3/19, 2003~)	Count	870	561	364	1725
		% within Time	50.4%	32.5%	21.1%	
		%within Formation Type	67.8%	68.4%	73.8%	
	Total	Count	1283	820	493	2494

Percentages and totals are based on events.

Table 5.2 indicates that the distribution between contention types seems to be stable across the time periods. Both before and after the Iraq War began, what are now traditional forms of contention in the world-wide repertoire accounted for just over half of all forms of protest. The overall tendencies of the formation in each period were not very different before and after the war started. That is, even after the war started, people

used various types of protest formation in about the same proportions, rather than shifting to the either type of tactics.

Next, Table 5.3 tests the relationship between issues of event and the formation type, to see whether particular issues engaged in a particular type of formation. Both of these variables are multi response.

Table 5.3 Relationship between Issues and Formations

			Type of Formation			
			Traditional Contention	Moderate Contention	Cultural Contention	Total
Issue of Event	Iraq Issue	Count	832	538	252	1552
		% within $Issue	53.6%	34.7%	16.2%	
	Antiwar Issue	Count	284	144	251	649
		% within $Issue	43.8%	22.2%	38.7%	
	SDF Issue	Count	228	144	18	369
		% within $Issue	61.8%	39.0%	4.9%	
	Emergency Legislation Issue	Count	126	72	11	201
		% within $Issue	62.7%	35.8%	5.5%	
	Anti-Nuclear Issue	Count	76	56	72	197
		% within $Issue	38.6%	28.4%	36.5%	
	Constitution Issue	Count	91	36	5	122
		% within $Issue	74.6%	29.5%	4.1%	
	Other Issues	Count	161	77	38	261
		% within $Issue	61.7%	29.5%	14.6%	
	Total	Count	1283	820	493	2494

Percentages and totals are based on events.

The result shows that protests on all the issues used a variety of types of formations, but there are clear differences in the balance of formation types for different issues. The whole movement during this period hosted various types of events and utilized both conventional and new types of tactics.

'General antiwar' and 'anti-nuclear' are rather traditional movements in Japan as we saw in Capter4, and both protest event formations are distributed very similar across

all three categories. Both have the lowest use of traditional forms of contention, but are the most likely to use cultural formations, which includes music concerts, exhibition, and movie events. Since this kind of event formations intend to remind the war disaster and moderately encourage people to think about war and peace, cultural formations are suitable for the nature of 'general antiwar' movements. Similarly, anti-nuclear events tend to focus on informing about the horrors of nuclear weapons, exhibitions are often held all over Japan. Therefore, these longstanding movements take a form of cultural contentions as a means of protest. Inversely, that is how these traditional movements in Japan have been existed for a long time.

Anti-Iraq War protest events is similar to 'general antiwar' and 'anti-nuclear' movements, but inclined more toward both traditional and moderate forms of contention rather than cultural forms. There were many traditional-moderate forms of contentions, such as petitions and protest resolutions for anti-Iraq War protest. They prefer more visible contentions more than general antiwar movements maybe because the Iraq War is an immediate issue.

On the other hand, the events regarding the domestic political concerns such as the Self-Defense Forces (SDF), Emergency Legislation, and the Constitution have very similar patterns of being high on traditional confrontational forms with the Constitution issue the most extreme. As we saw in Chapter 4, the SDF and Emergency Legislation issues are often taken up as a subject for discussion in labor unions' event. Also, events regarding the Constitution issue are mostly assemblies and demonstrations held in Constitution Day. Therefore, these contemporary domestic issues are counted a lot in traditional forms of contention. In addition, since these issues usually involve technical

discussions construing the law and the Constitution, they also hold the moderate types of event such as symposiums to educate the public about the issue.

Qualitative Analysis of Event Formations

As the above tables showed, the protesters formed various types of events in the antiwar movement in post-9.11 Japan. However, the newspaper articles could provide more than these dry quantitative data about the characteristics of the movement. There were some distinctive forms of contention that were newly created or especially focused during this period of time. In this subsection, I will illuminate the qualitative character of event formations from my reading of the newspaper articles.

Human Shield

First, the "human shield" is a military and political term which means presence of civilians at or near a target of attack, in order to prevent that place from being targeted. Human shield activity in Iraq War was done as a form of peace campaigning. Although the criticisms pointed out that some human shield participants' motivation was out of mere curiosity, groups of people traveled from all over the world, including Japan, and gathered in Iraq to become human shield volunteers. News reports followed their departures from Japan, their reports from Baghdad, and their decisions to leave Iraq during the period from March to April 2003. *Asahi* followed four human shield participants and repeatedly reported about their activities with their names: Takayabu Shigeko (a practical nurse from Ishikawa, supported by Human Shields Kobe), Takahashi Jamila Chiyo (representative of Arab-Islam Cultural Association from Tokyo), Aizawa Yasuyuki (an executive of a company from Miyagi), and Kimura Koichi (a minister from

Fukuoka). In addition to these four, there were some more Japanese human shield participants who were reported as ex-human shield participants after they came back to Japan.

Their post-human shield activities also attracted media attention. They led protest events in their hometowns and were invited to give a speech and report about what they had seen in Iraq. For instance, Minister Kimura Koichi formed a new antiwar group, "Love and Peace" and took a leading part in protests in Fukuoka prefecture and Kyushu region. Also, Aizawa Yasuyuki established an antiwar NPO called "Peace On" in Tokyo and actively attended public meetings to give speeches. Moreover, Yasuda Junpei, an independent journalist was another active ex-human shield participant. His speeches included the story about one of the two diplomats whom he met during his stay in Baghdad as a human shield, and who was killed before the Self-Defense Force's dispatch (December 19, 2003, Event Code 1232). Later on, Yasuda went back to Iraq to report in April 2004, and got involved in the second hostage incident. Even after the hostage incident, he remained active to attend anti-Iraq War protest events.

Demonstration, Parade, or Peace Walk

There were also some unique characteristics in the newspaper's description of protest formations. Although I used the same code for march, parade, and demonstrations, there were diverse wordings for these event formations. How the newspaper describes an event is a part of inevitable media biases of my data because newspaper reports are influenced by event intensity (Ortiz, Myers, Walls, & Diaz, 2005; McCarthy, McPhail, & Smith, 1996; Barranco & Wisler, 1999; Oliver & Myers, 1999; Oliver & Maney, 2000). However, it is worth examining the discourse in order to gain a clearer view about the

people's patterns of behavior. Also, *Asahi* was not only reporting events, but also often discussing them in editorials and carrying the articles or interviews of protesters, critic, and intellectuals.

The street demonstration is one of the most conventional types of formations, and is basically confrontational rather than other newly developed mild formations. Some protesters and the newspaper records expressly used the words "peace walk" or "peace parade" rather than *Hansen Demo* (antiwar demonstrations). There were 563 formations coded as "March or Parade" (Formation Code 4, Table A.3-1) in my data. While 281 out of the 563 events were reported as *demo* (demonstration) the remaining 282 were named as "peace walk," "peace parade," or "peace action." Particularly, 130 out of 563 march event reports quoted the title of event, and 102 events out of those 130 had named their own action as "peace walk" or "peace parade," instead of demonstration. Therefore, I consider that wording was used intentionally during this movement.

Asahi discussed the differences between 'peace walk' and 'demonstration' several times in its culture, society, opinion, and editorial pages. Overall, when the protesters or article writers call an event a "peace walk," they imply that it is a new type of demonstration, organized and led by young people, mobilized through the Internet or emails, and they 'perform for peace' rather than 'protest against war' by singing, dancing, or playing music (Asahi, 2003a; Asahi, 2003c). Also, their 'peace walk' took place in young people's downtown areas such as Shibuya and Harajuku rather than Kasumigaseki, the government office district. Kobayashi Ichiro, the leader of a new antiwar group[11] told *Asahi*'s interviewer that they chose such downtown areas for their march because of their intention to involve as many young people as possible, so that the event would appeal to

the media (Asahi, 2003a). Therefore, the purpose of the 'peace walk' wording is mass mobilization of the younger general public that has never participated in such events before[12]. They tried to distinguish their event from the negative image that 'demonstrations' and radical protest activities have had since the late 1960s. Instead of yelling a slogan, they danced, sang, and used musical instruments, to make the march something fun rather than a serious contention. Apparently, some intellectuals who used to lead the anti-Vietnam war movement in the 1970s appreciate such efforts of young people. Oda Makoto and Tsurumi Shunsuke, the organizers of *Beheiren* (Citizen's League for Peace in Vietnam) encouraged and showed some respect to such new waves of young people's movement (Tsurumi, 2003).

However, some experienced activists from the 1970s criticized it as "lack of madness" (Henmi, 2003; Muto, Hirota, & Amano, 2004). Their criticism is that such an easygoing "peace parade" is not enough for the reactionary government. *Asahi* reported about an open debate session "Demonstration, parade, or peace walk?" (April 11, 2004) and examined the great gap between the two generations (Fujiwara, 2004). At the debate, the new generation insisted that the leftist antiwar protests were exclusive, ideological, and too old for the present time. On the other hand, the senior generation criticized back that the peace walk was anger-less, too vague, and lukewarm. Not only after this debate session, but throughout the movement, the discussion did not seem to find a compromise each other over these strategies and principles.

Furthermore, the use of music is one of the distinctive features of young people's collective action. The most extreme case during this period of time is the so-called 'sound demo' although many of "peace parade" performances also included singing pop songs.

Despite of its name of *demo* (demonstrations), it was also a 'peace parade' kind of march in terms of the social actor status of the participants and because its basic principle was to perform rather than protest. The first sound demo was organized by dozens of people on May 10, 2003. They were held several times in Shibuya, and gained a thousand participants in events in July and October (Kondoh, 2003). The demonstrators were led by a big truck carrying loud speakers and several DJs playing house, techno, and hip-hop music. The organizers, including music critics, cultural studies scholars, and DJs, called the sound demo a "street rave," "party protest," and "electric protest" (Abe, Ishiguro, & Oda, 2004; Kondoh, 2003). Although they briefly protested against the Iraq War, SDF dispatch, and Emergency Legislation, the criticisms against the sound demo points to the fact that many of the participants just wanted to dance. In spite of the criticisms, sound demo were organized several times, and one was also reported in Nagoya, Aichi prefecture (June 7, 2004, Event Code 2510).

Overall, the peace walk and peace parade are more like an entertainment event rather than a protest because there is no identity field or historical context, but only a focus on getting media's attention. They intentionally excluded the ideological vernacular from the argument but focused on emotional feelings to appeal to people's empathy of pain. Their basic strategies to create mass mobilization were the very target of the senior generations' criticisms[13].

Human Letter Events

The anti-Iraq War movement created another new modular from, an adaptive form of collective action. One good example is *Hitomoji* (Human Letter), a letter formed by people standing in a special order. Human letter is a kind of performing arts originally

used in physical education exercises at schools or for cheering a sports team. The protesters assembled in a public park or any spacious place and spelled out words like 'N-O-W-A-R.' When they had sufficient funds, they took a picture of the letter from an airplane. The bird's-eye view picture may be used for an antiwar advertising leaflets and posters.

The first and most successful case was held on March 2, 2003, in Hiroshima (Event Code 571). *Asahi* repeatedly announced the event from two weeks before both in regional and national editions and also reported about their prior events such as flyer distribution to recruit the participants. I found a total of 10 articles mentioning this event. As a result, this antiwar human letter event was successfully carried out by 7,000 people, including *Hibakusha* (A-bomb victims), local residents, the Mayor of Hiroshima, a group of college students who came by tour bus from Tokyo, and citizens from all over Japan. They spelled the letters "NO WAR NO DU!" (Depleted Uranium), and the picture of the letter was posted to the Washington Post as an antiwar advertisement.

After this first successful mass mobilization some other antiwar human letter events were reported in other prefectures as the following table shows.

Table 5.4 List of Human Letter Events

Date	Event Code	Location (city)	Spelled Message	Participants
3/2, 2003	571	Hiroshima	NO WAR NO DU!	7,000
3/31, 2003	1228	Osaka	せんそうアカン [No War]	2,500
4/7, 2003	1315	Sasebo	NO WAR	150
5/1, 2003	1440	Sapporo	NO WAR	5,000
5/3, 2003	1535	Kobe	命 [Life]	500
3/20, 2004	2293	Fukuoka	PEACE	Not reported
3/21, 2004	2383	Miyazaki	PEACE	120

The first event in Hiroshima was a challenge for mass mobilization without existing organizations such as labor unions. The event was coordinated by a steering committee of

citizen's volunteers headed by a professor at Kobe University. They tried to mobilize as many individuals as possible. As Table 5.4 shows, the message is very simple and mostly alphabetic in order to make it international and easy to shape the letters.

The human letter formation was created at the beginning of March 2003, and the first one in Hiroshima triggered the anti-Iraq War protest reaching the peak. In the report of the second human letter event four weeks later in Osaka, the article mentions the prior event in Hiroshima. The organizers in Osaka were college students who joined in the first event in Hiroshima and tried to imitate it (Asahi, 2003d). When the new type of formation is innovated, "its appropriateness to a new situation is immediately obvious" (Tarrow, 1998, p. 103). Therefore, that new form causes a variety of processes of rapid diffusion, extension, imitation, and reaction among groups (Tarrow, 1998). Here, the human letter formation gave the impression of a dramatic breakthrough, and therefore it was widely taken up, adopted as a new form in the repertoire of contention, and spread over Japan. Although the human letter events were mostly planned and coordinated by young people, the one in Sapporo was formed by a labor union at a May Day event.

Cultural Symbols for Contention

Culture is defined as the publicly available symbolic forms through which people experience and express meaning; including beliefs, art forms, language, and rituals of daily life. Culture influences protest action by shaping a repertoire as a tool of 'strategies of action' (Swidler, 1986). During the antiwar movement in post-9.11 Japan, there were some peculiar formations newly recognized as protest. Although it is hard to judge whether it is a 'protest event' or not because of their vague expressions such as "hoping for peace," I dealt with an event as a protest as long as the article was reporting it

as a protest event, for example, when such events were organized by antiwar groups. All the operational decisions during my coding are explained in Appendix A. Antiwar concerts, exhibitions, and movie events are new types of formations using cultural symbols.

First, the use of music in protest actions functions as the cultural alignment of the social actor groups by constructing an aesthetic identity (Roy, 2002). Other than the sound demo mentioned above, some music concerts were coordinated as protest events. The performers might be professional or amateur musicians, and they played original or famous songs as an expression of opposition to war or praying for peace. Such events were often titled 'Peace Concert.' John Lennon's "Imagine," a globally recognized antiwar song, was also adopted in Japan. In 26 events, it was reported that 'the protesters showed opposition to the war by singing Imagine.' Also, some songs by a Japanese popular singer gained the media's attention[14].

Secondly, exhibitions of and symposiums are identified as types as protest formation in terms of their educational purposes. Although previous social movement researches have not included this kind of event as protest, I identify them as a new genre of protest. Exhibitions include both fine arts and photographs. Photography exhibitions of Iraqi children taken by independent photo journalists were held around all over Japan, hosted by antiwar groups or the photographer's group. The purpose of such exhibition events was to show the reality of war disaster, and encourage people to participate in antiwar action; therefore, I treated such events as a new type of protest event. Such photo journalists not only provided pictures for exhibition, but also were invited to symposiums to give reports on the real situation in Iraq when they took those pictures. Japan Visual

Journalist Association (JVJA) is the professional organization of independent photograph and video journalists. Its members, Morizumi Takashi, Toyoda Naomi, and Hirokawa Ryuichi were major actors producing such Iraqi photograph exhibitions. Morizumi is one of the co-representatives of JVJA and had the most picture exhibitions and reporting lectures; 63 events were coded under his name. *Asahi Shinbun* had an interview with Morizumi and introduced him and his work in an editorial (Yoshii, 2004).

Thirdly, a showing of antiwar movies is another educational type of formation, and I coded 70 events as such. Unlike regular movies, those films were not shown in movie theaters, but antiwar groups held a special showing of the films followed by some discussions about it to think about the war. Various film titles were reported in the event articles, such as "*Hibakusha –sekai no owari ni*" (A-bomb victims –at the end of the world) and "*Gunati wo suteta kuni*" (the country that abolished the military: documentary film of Costa Rica). Moreover, the most popular film during this period was Noam Chomsky's documentary film "Chomsky 9.11 -Power and Terror: Noam Chomsky in Our Times" (2002). The film is the recordings of Chomsky's lectures and interviews given immediately after 9.11 and released on DVD in November 2002. In total, 15 Chomsky film events were reported in *Asahi*. The significance of these film events is that they used the film as a hook to critically think about and discuss the war, rather than just showing the film.

Accordingly, there were various strategic usages of cultural symbols in protest events. This new repertoire of contention using cultural symbols tends to focus on people's emotional feelings and sympathy rather than logical ideology. The organizers of the events chose such cultural tools to get the public's attention and interest, and the

media labeled them as an antiwar symbol. These cultural contentions played the role of provide information about the issues to the unconcerned people.

Discussion

The purpose of this chapter was to examine the repertoire of contention in the antiwar movement in the post-9.11 period Japan. The protesters utilized various types of formations, including both traditional and new ones throughout the movement. Even in the traditional formations such as demonstrations and public meetings, they brought new tools into expressions of opposition to the war. It is clear that the peace movement's patterns of behavior have been changed during this period of time. Their new repertoire of contention was created to increase the potentiality of unorganized mass mobilization; hence their strategies of action are characterized as simple and brief messages, avoidance of historical and ideological discussions, and free, non-violent formations.

First of all, messages of the antiwar protests were very simple and brief, such as "no war" or "anti-Iraq War." In order to attract as many people as possible, they avoided the logical discussions because the ideological argument makes the event exclusive. Japanese society has antipathy against the radical protests of the 60s and 70s. Although the criticisms pointed to it as "lack of historical context" and "lack of ideology," that was their strategy to recruit more participants. Instead, their messaging can be typified as appealing to people's emotional feelings. Tsurumi interprets their motivation to oppose the war is as based on the feeling of "not wanting to be killed." He argues that ideological theories do not help maintain the antiwar attitude on a long-term basis because such theories do not stem from the reality of daily life. (Tsurumi, 2003). Therefore, their

strategy was to empathize with the victims' pain and fear, which enable unorganized mobilization of young people who do not belong to any preexisting organizations like labor unions.

For the same reason, the repertoire of contention was modified to free-style, non-violent, and festival-like formations, whose participants express the opposition in their own way rather than yelling a specific slogan in an organized march. The radical violent actions are not accepted by the general public who have a negative image of political activities. Such a festival-like, easygoing atmosphere was necessary to mobilize the general public who are not politically active in daily life.

Overall, Japanese people utilized various types of formation and created a new repertoire in this antiwar movement. The new repertoire of contention is characterized by the openness for various people and the ways that enable unorganized mobilization. In spite of the criticisms such as self-satisfaction and self-intoxication, they actually succeeded in several mass mobilizations[15]. Nevertheless, the discussions between these new groups of young people who have newly joined and the senior generation who used to lead the movement showed that there is a discontinuity among the two anti-Vietnam and anti-Iraq War movements.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

I have shown how the antiwar protests in post-9.11 Japan were composed and mobilized against the Iraq War, using *Asahi* newspaper articles. The nature of antiwar protest in post-9.11 period Japan was that they protested against a war fought by another country in faraway place. Japanese protests against the war in Iraq meant opposition to the both U.S. policy and the Japanese government that supports it. Since the Iraq War was a part of the whole process of Bush's anti-Terrorism policy, protest against the war was constructed in both Japanese and international context.

Although protest event analysis with newspapers has limitations to some extent, it is a sufficient way to describe the macro picture of the antiwar movement. The antiwar protest in the post-9.11 Japan consisted of many local events in regions all over Japan, and several nationally or globally coordinated protest events. *Asahi* report covers not only the protest events in Japan, but also those in other countries and globally coordinated actions. The antiwar movement in Japan rapidly grew from the beginning of 2003 in response to several global coordinated anti-Iraq War protests. The protest cycle of the antiwar movement reached the peak, its "moment of madness" in March 2003, when the Iraq War actually started.

The two key characteristics of the antiwar protests in Japan are close relation to the domestic political concerns and the event formation for some kind of anniversary. An event usually dealt with multiple issues, and the anti-Iraq War issue was embedded into Japan's preexisting movements and the domestic issues. The major key domestic issues during this period were Emergency Legislation, dispatch of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces to Iraq, and constitutionality of these actions. Also, Japanese people tended to

combine the anti-Iraq War statement with their historical memory of the Pacific War and the longstanding movements against U.S. bases and nuclear weapons. These preexisting movements are reinforced by anniversary events every year, and this provided the basic perspectives for Japanese people to frame the current issue.

In order to frame the issue in Japanese context, and to mobilize the "general people" who are not politically active in their daily life, peace movement actors modified their perception of the issues as well as patterns of behavior. I would argue that the key idea for understanding the recent antiwar movement in Japan was the 'empathy of pain.' Their statement for the protest was very simple and focused on the fundamental value of human life, so that people could easily share the feelings to oppose the war. The historical commemorations of the past war experience underlies the way in which Japanese people rationalize themselves to protest against the war.

Regarding the repertoire of contention, people utilized various types of protest formations. Although they also used the traditional types of formations such as assemblies and demonstrations, they arranged them in a contemporary style. Their 'art of peace' avoided ideological argument, but here again tried to share the empathy of pain in mobilization.

There are both positive and critical discourses concerning the development of this antiwar movement. Some people appreciate the mobilization of the "general people" in some extent, while others criticize the lack of continuity from the protests in the 1970s and to the future movement. New movement actors denied the ideological argumentation in relation to the traditional leftist movement. In this sense, protests in the 1970s and the post-9.11 antiwar movement were not connected in the historical context. Nevertheless,

to the extent that my findings reveal the role of the preexisting antiwar movement and the frame alignment using the past war memory, there is some general linkages to the past. The comparative studies of 1970s and the post-9.11 antiwar movements would be a possible issue for future research.

APPENDIX A: CODING MANUAL

I coded the event articles into a Microsoft Access database with the following variables and coding rules. This database was originally designed by Dr. Patricia Steinhoff for social movement research in 1960s Japan, and included codes, lookup tables, and data entry forms. I revised and added some cods for my own data. In the detailed codes listed below, an asterisk denotes a code that I added for this study. All other codes were in the original database, which in table was based on the coding scheme used for "Democracy and Disorder" (Tarrow, 1989).

List of Codes

(1) Article ID, article date, edition, page name, number of stories

The event ID was given automatically by the database. I gave the article ID number to the main article that I coded basically in chronological order. Number of stories shows how many articles mention about the event. When I needed to exclude an event, the event data table of Access has a check box to 'exclude' that enabled me to exclude it from the analysis.

(2) The dates and duration of the event

Both of the date of the event and the date of the article are needed to correctly investigate the action as a reaction to a political event. Some articles do not mention the clear date of an event. In those cases, I gave a provisional date according to the report. If the report says "recently" or "the other day," I put the event date to an arbitrary day before of the article date; the first of the month to "the beginning of the month," 15th to "the middle of month," and 25th to "the end of the month." When I could not guess the

date of an event from the article, or it was a kind of event that is impossible to guess the date it begins, the event would not be counted. The events that have duration (e.g., sit-ins and exhibitions) may be reported in more than one article. In that case, I dealt with the first report after the beginning as the main article. I coded the end date of the event although it was not used in this study.

(3) Event type

Event type is coded as 10 types.

Table A.1 Event Type Code Lookup

code	Event Type	
1	Single Local Event	Local events
2	Single National Event	National-coordinated or national group's events
3	Spatially Diffused Activities	Events diffused over multiple cities
4	Local Event Spreading Out	Part of spreading acts (e.g., protest resolutions)
5	Chain of Activities	Phases of continuous activities
6	Campaign of Activities	Campaign activities without a periodical limit
7	ITJ	Events that cannot be coded
8	Human Shield*	News reports about 'human shield' activities
9	International Event*	Global coordinated protest events
10	Anniversary Event*	Anniversary events

The events during this movement were mostly single local events. I added the codes number 8 through 10 to the original database in order to modify the codes for this movement.

In the cases of national or global coordinated events, each event was coded separately with the event type code 2 or 9. Even though a national/global coalition called for such coordination, each event was usually organized by local groups as a response to the national/global action. All national holidays and war memorial days were coded as anniversary events. Global coordinated events on an anniversary day were coded as anniversary events.

Some events may be diffused over multiple cities or prefectures (e.g., a long distance demonstration), the code for those cases are 3.

The 'human shield' is not really one event, but given to news reports about 'human shield' participant's departures to Iraq and their activities there.

(4) Issue and object

What do people protest for? To clarify why the protesters acted is also important in relation to tactical innovation and the protest cycle. In addition to the issues already in the database issue code, I also added some issue codes for this research. These are the main sources of protest for this movement. Although there were a few events coded under existing issue codes, they are combined as "others" in this analysis. The codes from 31 to 37 are my original for this particular period of time. Multiple issues could be coded for one event.

Table A.2 Issue Code Lookup

code	Issue (Japanese)	Issue (*Roma-ji*)	
13	自衛隊	*Jieitai*	The Self-Defense Forces of Japan
31	反戦平和*	*Hansen Heiwa*	(general) antiwar, peace
32	アフガニスタン*	Afghanistan	Afghanistan
33	イラク*	Iraq	Iraq, Iraq war, Middle East, Gulf War
34	有事法制*	*Yuji Hosei*	Emegency Legislation
35	憲法*	*Kenpou*	Constitution of Japan, Article 9
36	同時多発テロ 9.11*	*Douji Tero 9.11*	Terrorist attacks on 9.11, 2001
37	反核・非核・原爆*	*Hankaku, Hikaku*	Anti-nuclear power, anti-atom-bomb

Regarding the code 31 and 33, antiwar/peace was coded for a general antiwar event that did not specify its topic as Iraq war. The commemorations of the Pacific War tended to have this code. People mourn for the war dead and pray for world's peace.

Regarding the code 32 and 36, since the bombing on Afghanistan was operated as retaliation for the attacks on 9.11, it is hard to distinguish them. For the protesters, however, such excuse to attack Afghanistan was the very subject to accuse, so I separated

these issues. Also, the annual memorial services for 9.11 victims are different from protests against Afghanistan bombing.

Regarding the code 13 and 33, the protest issues regarding the deployment of the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) to Iraq are all coded as 13, *Jieitai*. The deployment of the SDF was processed through legislation of the SDF-Iraq bills (Law Concerning the Special Measures on Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq) in the Diet, so these were also coded as 13. In the case the protesters both mentions about anti-Iraq War and the SDF deployment, the event issues coded as both. The SDF-Iraq bills and the series of *Yuji Hosei* bills (Emergency Legislation on War Contingencies) were two different legislations, so they coded separately.

(5) Type of action formation (tactic)

Each type of formation was coded with multiple formations possibly per event. Formation type of action is coded as 28 types, but some of them did not appear in this research. This was happened because the original coding list was made for the protest events in 1960s.

In the antiwar movement in Japan, protesters did not use violent acts but engaged in rather moderate types of protest. I added formation code 21 through 28; these are new types of formation, showing that some major protest tactics have changed. They expressed their antiwar ideas via cultural events such as music concerts and special exhibitions at museums. Musical events, symposiums, and movie events are hard to judge whether they are 'protest event' or not because of their vague expressions such as "hoping for peace"; I coded only events that were coordinated by the antiwar groups.

Table A.3-1 Formation Code Lookup

code	Type of Formation	
1	Legal Action	Lawsuit as a form of protest against state actions
2	Petition or Presentation	Declaration against the war
3	Assembly	(*Shuukai*) protest rally
4	March or Parade	March, parade, demonstrations, walk
5	Public Meeting	(*Shuukai*) meetings
6	Strike	Strike, including hunger-strike
8	Direct Action	Disruptive direct action, interference
17	ITJ	Event formation impossible to judge
19	Sit-in	Sit-ins
21	Human Shield	'Human Shield' activities in Iraq
22	Music and Stage Events	Concerts/ theatrical performances of antiwar theme
23	Symposium, Debate, Lecture	Symposiums, lecture meetings, study groups
24	Exhibition	Photos/ arts exhibitions at museums/ galleries
25	Protest Resolution	Protest resolution by local governments
26	Films	Antiwar film-viewing events
27	Letter Campaign	Collecting signatures & messages, advertisement
28	Speech, Appeal	Distributing hand bills, speeches/ appeals on street

Regarding assembly, public meeting, and symposium, these are coded from the same Japanese word, *shuukai*, but I distinguished between ones that were protest rallies and ones that were more like meetings. Nevertheless, its distinction was very vague, so I dealt with them together in analysis part. Symposiums are meetings of study group or lecture talks open for anyone. I excluded simple study groups unless they were sponsored by an antiwar group. An open lecture of scholars and intellectuals was included if the person who was giving a talk took an antiwar position. Certain intellectuals took a leading part in such events to educate the general public.

In the later part of the movement, there were many public speaking events of the human shield participants and the ex-hostages reporting their experience; these events were coded as public meeting. They were not just reporting but calling for more antiwar protest, and such events were usually hosted by antiwar groups.

Regarding the difference between speech and appeal, petition and presentation, and protest resolution, my basic criteria are as follows. 'Speech and Appeal' were events such as distributing hand bills, standing with banners and giving speeches on the street. If they do so to collect signatures, the event was coded as letter campaign. Unlike lectures or symposiums, those speeches were acted outdoor, on the street; mostly in front of a train station or middle of a shopping street.

Lawsuits and Petitions are conventional form of moderate protest action. 'Petition or present' is an event such as a group requesting or complaining for the local government to do something. This event code is also given to such group's statements protesting against the war. Protest resolutions by the local governments are coded separately as code 25. Some articles just report the total number of protest resolutions, but not specifying which local government passed it. It is impossible to record as an event, thus such cases are not counted.

Although formations were coded separately, categories were combined for analysis. First, I grouped 17 codes into 10, and then made four major classifications. The column "SPSS" in Table A.3-2 is the categories I use in statistical analysis in SPSS.

Table A.3-2 Reorganized Formation Type for Unit of Analysis

Code	Formation Type		SPSS
3	Assembly	*Shuukai*	Conventional Contention
5	Public Meeting		
4	March or Parade	March	
6	Strike	Direct	
8	Direct Action		
19	Sit-in		
1	Legal Action	Legal Action	Moderate Contention
2	Petition or Present	Petition	
25	Protest Resolution		
27	Letter Campaign	Appeal	
28	Speech, Appeal		
23	Symposium, Debate, Lecture	Symposium	
22	Musical Events, Stages	Culture	Cultural Contention
24	Exhibition		
26	Movies		
21	Human Shield	Human Shield	
17	ITJ (Impossible to Judge)	ITJ	

(6) Number and characteristics of participants

The number of participants is one parameter to measure the expansion and decline of a movement. When the report mentions number of participants, the number was recorded. Usually, the report tell the number with the word *yaku* or *oyoso*; means 'about' or 'approximately.' There is usually a gap between police and the hosting organization's reports of numbers. Both the high and low numbers are recorded, but for analysis, I took the middle value of the two numbers.

Also, the main characteristic of participants is recorded as social actor. I also modified the codes for my project. The codes from 22 to 30 are added. There are some missing codes in the following table; they are the codes that never used in my coding. The word *Roudousha* (a laborer) is simply coded as a 'workers.' Although it used to traditionally indicates blue collar, it is hard to tell if they are white or blue collar from the article in these days.

Even if the article report did not mention who the protesters were, I coded the social actor according to the participating organization's status. If the leading organization was Labor Union, I coded the social actor as code 1, 'workers, private industry.' Likewise, if the leading organization was Teacher's Union, I coded the social actor as 26, 'school teachers.' Similarly, if a *Shimin Dantai* (Civic Organization) participated, I coded the social actor as 'citizens.'

Table A.4 Social Actor Lookup

1	Workers, private industry	
2	Workers, government	
3	Agriculture	
4	Artisans, Trade, Commerce	
6	White Collar, public	Bureaucrat
8	Professional	Lawyer/ attorney, doctor
9	Owner, manager	
10	Neighborhood or residential	Local Residents (住民)
11	Local or regional	Prefecture residents (都道府県民)
12	Public service clients	Nurse, welfare facilities workers
13	College students	
14	High school students	
15	Working youth	
16	Youth (status not given)	
17	Working women	
18	Housewives	
19	Women (status not given)	
20	Retired persons	
21	Elected representatives	Members of the Diet/ local government
22	Intellectuals	Scholars, scientists, novelists, literary critics
23	Celebrity, musician, artist	Actor, singer, a big-name personage, artist
24	Citizens	*Shimin* (市民), Citizens
25	Foreigner	
26	School teachers	
27	Journalist	Freelance Journalist, photographer
28	Monks, religious man	Monks, ministers, priests (any religion)
29	Primary/middle school kids	Children, minors
30	Human shield participants	Coded especially after they came back

In terms of codes 10, 11, and 24, they are almost the same. Since in Japanese language, "市民" *Shimin* may mean citizens in general or residents of a city. Although it

is hard to tell from the context, I mostly coded *Shimin* as code 24 citizens based on the view of recent civil society. I coded 10 and 11 only in the cases that the report specified where the participants came from.

Regarding the 'human shield' participants, they were coded as their social status in the 'human shield' type event. The human shield actor code 30 was given only events after they came back to Japan when they led or were invited to an antiwar event. In addition, ex-hostages were given this code in order to make it easy to deal with these cases as well because some of the hostages had participated in the human shield activity before the war started.

(7) Number and type of leading / participating organizations

All participating organizations mentioned in the news articles were coded. Usually, existing organizations such as labor unions or major NGOs take a primary role in participation in protests at the beginning, and protesters later form new organizations that focus in particular on the main issue. Each organization was coded with the level of participation: leading, hosting, cosponsoring, or participating. Local branches of national organizations were coded under the national organization's name. In case of the anti-Iraq War movement, a loose network of many organizations took on an important role in mobilization; this network is notable in terms of their connections and memberships.

(8) Location (prefecture, city, town, and local area)

The distribution of protests geographically both in Japan and internationally is examined in this research. The location may be reported as a prefecture, city, or even more specific place such as the name of a public park in town. Prefecture is coded according to a standard code, and text was entered for the city/town name and specific

place in local area. Prefectures are reorganized by regions (*Chihou*) for analysis, based on standard geographic regions in Japan.

Table A.5 Prefecture Code Lookup

	East Japan			West Japan	
code	Prefecture	Region	code	Prefecture	Region
12	Hokkaido	Tohoku/ Hokkaido	33	Osaka	Kansai
3	Aomori		13	Hyogo	
16	Iwate		22	Kyoto	
24	Miyagi		36	Shiga	
2	Akita		28	Nara	
45	Yamagata		44	Wakayama	
8	Fukushima		42	Tottori	Sanin
41	Tokyo	Kanto	37	Shimane	
19	Kanagawa		31	Okayama	
35	Saitama		11	Hiroshima	
4	Chiba		46	Yamaguchi	
14	Ibaraki		40	Tokushima	Shikoku
39	Tochigi		17	Kagawa	
10	Gunma		5	Ehime	
47	Yamanashi		20	Kochi	
29	Niigata	Hokuriku	7	Fukuoka	Kyushu/ Okinawa
26	Nagano		34	Saga	
43	Toyama		27	Nagasaki	
15	Ishikawa		21	Kumamoto	
6	Fukui		30	Oita	
1	Aichi	Chubu	25	Miyazaki	
9	Gifu		18	Kagoshima	
38	Shizuoka		32	Okinawa	
23	Mie				

I added these codes for the events in overseas.

48	USA*	California, New York, D.C., Hawaii, Colorado
49	Europe*	Belgian, France, Germany, Greek, Holland, UK, Russia
50	Asia*	China, Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia
51	Other Overseas*	Iraq, Iran, Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Turkey, Australia, Pakistan, Afghanistan

For USA, I put the state's name in the 'City/Town' column and city name in 'Local Area' column. For Europe, Asia, and Other Overseas, I put the country's name in 'City/Town' column and particular city name in 'Local Area' column.

Coding Rules

Protesters may have included multiple actions in an event; for instance, assembly and parade. Such continuous actions would be counted as a formation sequence within an event. For example, an antiwar group had assembly in a public park and marched in a 'peace parade' to the station. In this case, the assembly (formation code 3) and the parade (formation code 4) are coded as sequence 1 and 2 in an event. The location is also coded sequence 1 (the public park) and sequence 2 (the public park to the station).

Even though two actions occurred at the same place by the same actor, it would be counted as another event if the date or the duration of the action is different. For example, a photographer had an exhibition of his Iraq Children photograph for a week, and also held a reporting session about it on the weekend. In this case, the exhibition (formation code 24) and the report meeting (formation code 5) are coded as separate events.

Protest events that occurred in separate places were counted as different events. Even in the case of global or national coordinated events, each local event was coded separately. In such cases, each event is organized by local groups in response to the global or national antiwar campaign. Also, investigating spatial diffusion of the movement is one of the purposes of this project.

Some events do not have locations. For example, protest advertising in a newspaper cannot have location code. Similarly, when an antiwar group made a protest statement, the formation code is 2 'petition or present,' it is just announced but usually no specific location is given.

APPENDIX B: TABLES & FIGURES

Table B.1 Key Dates of the War and Major Protest Events

2001	9.11	September 11	Terrorist attacks in the U.S.
	10.7	Afghan War	U.S. started bombing Afghanistan.
	10.21	国際反戦デー	(Anniversary event) International Antiwar Day
	10.26	Legislation	Anti-terrorism legislation is passed in the United States
	11.2	テロ特措法	Anti-terrorism legislation in Japan
	12.8	Pearl-Harbor Day	(Anniversary event) 60th Anniversary Pearl-Harbor Day
2002	2.11	建国記念日	(Anniversary event) Japan National Foundation Day
	5.1	May Day	(Anniversary event) Labor Union annual event
	5.3	憲法記念日	(Anniversary event) Constitution Day
	5.15	沖縄復帰 30 年	(Anniversary event) Reversion of Okinawa
	6.23	沖縄慰霊の日	(Anniversary event) Battle of Okinawa mourning day
	8.6	広島原爆の日	(Anniversary event) Hiroshima Day
	8.9	長崎原爆の日	(Anniversary event) Nagasaki Day
	8.15	終戦の日	(Anniversary event) the end of the Pacific War Day
	9.11	September 11	One year anniversary of "September 11"
	10.7	Afghan War	One year anniversary since Afghan War started
	10.21	国際反戦デー	(Anniversary event) International Antiwar Day
	12.8	Pearl-Harbor Day	(Anniversary event) Pearl-Harbor Day
2003	1.18	Global antiwar	Global coordinated antiwar protest day led by ANSWER
	2.11	建国記念日	(Anniversary event) National Foundation Day of Japan
	2.15	Global antiwar	Global coordinated antiwar protest day led by Stop the War Coalition (StWC) and ANSWER
	3.8	Global antiwar	Global coordinated antiwar protest day for International Women's Day
	3.15	Global antiwar	Global coordinated antiwar protest day led by ANSWER
	3.16	Global antiwar	Global coordinated antiwar protest day (Candle light vigil)
2003	3.19	Iraq War	U.S. started the war on Iraq
	4.5	Baghdad invasion	U.S. troops invaded Baghdad → (4.10: Collapse of Saddam Hussein's regime)
	4.26	Chernobyl'	(Anniversary event) Chernobyl nuclear power station accident
	5.1	May Day	(Anniversary event) Labor Union annual event
	5.1	President's declaration	President G. W. Bush declared "major combat operations in Iraq finished"
	5.3	憲法記念日	(Anniversary event) Constitution Day

	6.6	有事法制成立	Japanese Diet approved "*Yuji Hosei*" legislation
	7.26	イラク特措法	"SDF-Iraq bill" for the dispatch approved
	8.6	広島原爆の日	(Anniversary event) Hiroshima Day
	8.9	長崎原爆の日	(Anniversary event) Nagasaki Day
	8.15	終戦の日	(Anniversary event) the end of the Pacific War Day
	9.11	September 11	Second anniversary of "September 11"
	9.25	Global antiwar	Global coordinated protest day led by ANSWER & StWC etc. (25-27 around the globe)
	10.25	Global antiwar	Global coordinated protest day led by ANSWER
	11.9	衆議院総選挙	General election of the House of Representatives
	11.29	Diplomats killed	Two Japanese Diplomats were killed in Iraq
	12.9	自衛隊イラク派遣閣議決定	Japanese special Cabinet meeting agreed on the basic plans of the dispatch of the SDF to Iraq
	12.13	Hussein Capt.	U.S. troops captured Saddam Hussein
	12.26	SDF dispatch	The first group of Air-SDF departed to Iraq
2004	1.16	SDF deployment	The first group of Ground-SDF troops departed to Iraq
	2.11	建国記念日	(Anniversary event) National Foundation Day of Japan
	3.11	Terror in Spain	Terrorists' attack on a train station in Madrid
	3.20	1st anniversary	One year anniversary of Iraq War
	4.8	1st Hostage incident	A group of 3 Japanese civilians were kidnapped in Iraq → Hostages released on 4/15
	4.14	2nd Hostage incident	A group of 2 Japanese civilians were kidnapped in Iraq → Hostages released on 4/17
	5.1	May Day	(Anniversary event) Labor Union's annual event
	5.3	憲法記念日	(Anniversary event) Constitution Day
	5.28	橋田信介殺害	2 Japanese journalists were killed in Iraq
	6.18	自衛隊多国籍軍参加決定	Japanese government announced that SDF will participate in the multinational force in Iraq
	7.11	参議院選挙	General election for the House of Councilors
	8.6	広島原爆の日	(Anniversary event) Hiroshima Day
	8.9	長崎原爆の日	(Anniversary event) Nagasaki Day
	8.15	終戦の日	(Anniversary event) the end of the Pacific War Day
2006	7.21	SDF withdraw	Ground SDF withdrew from Iraq

Table B.2 Cross-tabulation of Prefecture and Number of Events per Month

yyyy/mm	Hiroshima	Tokyo	Osaka	Nagasaki	Fukuoka	Kyoto	Hokkaido	Aichi	Hyogo	Ishikawa
2001/09		5	1	2			2	1		
2001/10	7	5	4	9	5	3		1	10	
2001/11	1	1	1	2	3	1				
2001/12		2	1			2			2	2
2002/01										
2002/02	1	1							3	
2002/03			1		2			1		
2002/04		1		5						1
2002/05		1			2					
2002/06		1	2	1	2					
2002/07							1	1		
2002/08	17	4	1	6	3		8		1	
2002/09	6	1	3		2	1		3	2	
2002/10	2	1	3	2	3	2			6	
2002/11	1	1		1						
2002/12	1	7	2	4		4	1	1	2	3
2003/01	3	3	6	5	5		5	1	2	1
2003/02	6	8	11	8	4	6	3	1	2	1
2003/03	40	38	29	30	34	31	24	26	16	18
2003/04	15	11	9	9	10	11	8	6	10	6
2003/05	7	5	8	13	5	7	16	8	5	6
2003/06	6	5	6	7	3	4	2		3	3
2003/07	4	11	6	3	1	9	2	2	3	1
2003/08	22	9	5	14	4	3	5	3	3	4
2003/09	2	4	6	2		1	1	3	2	
2003/10	3	6	5	4	3		1	3	1	1
2003/11	2	3	5	3	2	2		2	4	
2003/12	5	7	13	3	10	4	2	6	6	5
2004/01	1	4	3	1	3	6	6	7	3	1
2004/02	3	6	5	1	2	4	4	5		2
2004/03	5	4	10	11	7	5	8	3	6	5
2004/04		1	5	1	4	2	2	4	2	4
2004/05	4	2	3	2	4	10		3	1	3
2004/06	2	4	1	1	2	3	1	6	1	1
2004/07		3	2	1	1	2		2		
2004/08	15	2	4	4	6	1	3	3	3	
	181	167	161	155	132	124	105	102	99	68

Table B.3 Cross-tabulation of each Issue per Month

yyyy/mm	Iraq	Antiwar	SDF	Yuji Hosei	Anti -nuclear	Constitution	Others
2001/09		5					26
2001/10	1	31	22		2	1	56
2001/11		11	4		1		9
2001/12		21	3		1	1	6
2002/01							1
2002/02		9		1	2		4
2002/03		3					3
2002/04		8		5	1	2	2
2002/05		12		11		7	6
2002/06		11		4		1	2
2002/07		7		1	2		0
2002/08	1	52		10	27		6
2002/09	9	11		2	7		14
2002/10	14	14		6	2		8
2002/11	1	8	2		3		0
2002/12	19	31	4	4		1	5
2003/01	56	3		11	2		5
2003/02	101	6	1	6	3		4
2003/03	674	10	1	5	10		21
2003/04	180	3	2	5	5	1	4
2003/05	143	22	2	83		63	44
2003/06	38	25	3	28	5		5
2003/07	20	25	20	1	16		1
2003/08	37	102	13	8	54	1	2
2003/09	19	19	9				16
2003/10	12	21	16	4	2	1	1
2003/11	20	8	8		5	1	5
2003/12	28	53	79	1	2	1	2
2004/01	11	7	42			2	4
2004/02	29	19	30	2	1	4	3
2004/03	107	20	62		8	8	4
2004/04	37	6	18	2	1		1
2004/05	35	10	15	1	3	23	10
2004/06	22	10	9		3		1
2004/07	11	10	2		2		0
2004/08	22	46	3		29	4	1

Yuji Hosei = Emergency Law Legislation in War Contingencies

NOTES

1. The full name of the law is "Law concerning the Special Measures on Humanitarian and Reconstruction Assistance in Iraq," translated by Hayashi (2004). The English language media shortens it as the "SDF-Iraq bill" (Takahashi, 2003).

2. Japanese hostage incidents are summarized as follows. (1) A group consisting of a volunteer, a photographer, and an underage boy were kidnapped on April 7 and released on April 15 as a result of negotiation mediated by Association of Muslim Scholars. (2) A group of an independent journalist and an NGO staff person were kidnapped on April 14 in the west of Baghdad and released on April 17. (3) After data collections ended for this project, a young male backpacker was kidnapped and the message video from the captors was broadcasted on October 24, 2004. He ended up beheaded in front of a camera and the video was opened to the world through the Internet on November 3.

3. "World Peace Now, Japan was started at the end of 2002 as a broad coalition of people in Japan from various groups such as citizens' peace groups and international NGOs and individuals who have agreed on four principles: no more war, opposition to the attack on Iraq, opposition to Japanese government's cooperation for the occupation of Iraq, and non-violent action. Since then, many citizens, young and old alike, have participated in actions against the Iraq War. The number of participants has reached proportions similar to those during the anti-Vietnam war movement 35 years on in the history of Japanese peace movement" (World Peace Now, Japan, 2002).

4. Japan's National Population Census is conducted every five years by Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. The data is available online as an Excel file (http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/index.htm). The closest census for the period of my research is either 2000 or 2005. I chose the one of 2000 although there is not big difference.

5. It is sometimes confusing that some city names and prefecture names are the same in Japan; the city of Hiroshima is located in Hiroshima prefecture, and the city of Nagasaki is located in Nagasaki prefecture. When *Hiroshima* and *Nagasaki* connote being atomic bombed, it specifies the city rather than prefecture. In this text, when I simply say "Hiroshima" or "Nagasaki," I indicate the city of Hiroshima or the city of Nagasaki. I add "prefecture" together (e.g., Hiroshima prefecture) when I talk about the whole prefecture.

6. Japanese person's name is spelled last name first in this paper. Akiba is a unique character as a mayor of a local city. He is originally from Tokyo (not Hiroshima) and obtained his Doctorate degree in Mathematics from MIT. After years of teaching experience at universities both in New York and Hiroshima and working as a member of the House of Representatives, he has been elected as the Mayor of Hiroshima since 1999. He often makes speeches in English.

7. The full text of Peace Declaration is printed in *Asahi* every year. English translation is also available at City of Hiroshima website (The City of Hiroshima, 2001).

8. Regarding Labor Unions, I gave the same code to any kind of labor union in spite of a distinctive division between the socialists' and communists' labor unions. These are also both private sector and public sector unions, but all labor unions are combined in this code.

9. Yamamoto (2005) reveals the characteristics of participants in the anti-Iraq war demonstrations by investigating the data obtained through a questionnaire survey. The findings of his analysis are congruent with the widely held images of participants. That is, many of the participants who seem to participate in the demonstrations for the first time are young and do not belong to any associations.

10. In a study of protests in West Germany 1965-1989, Koopmans categorized protest into 4 types: demonstrative, confrontational, and protests using light violence, and heavy violence (1997). Tarrow's research on the Italian movement between 1966 and 1973 categorized protest formations into 3 types: conventional, confrontational, and violent events (1997). According to Tarrow's categorization, 'confrontational' forms include occupations, obstructions, forced entries, and radical strikes while 'conventional' forms contain "petitions, audiences, and legal ations, marches and public meetings, and strikes and assemblies" (Tarrow, 1997, p. 332). However, in the case of the antiwar protest in post-9.11 Japan, there were no violent events. The most serious types of protest activity corresponded roughly to Tarrow's "conventional" category and Koopmans' "demonstrative" category. In order to reflect the nature of contemporary protest events in Japan accurately based on the newspaper reports, I created new categories for rather mild types of formations.

11. The group CHANCE! pono2 is a young people's network for peace movements established in September 2001 as CHANCE! Tokyo (CHANCE! pono2, 2002). From the end of 2002, it became one of the leading groups of the organizational antiwar network, "World Peace Now, Japan." Although WPN is still active, CHANCE!'s website had disappeared as of February 2008.

12. The correlations among the leading organization type, participants' social status, specific location of the event, and the level of mobilization could be tested with my data, but are not included in this report. Certainly, social actor is the hardest code to investigate only from the newspaper record. The word "young people" in an article indicates not only college students and others their age, but more vaguely covers people who came into society after the 1970s.

13. This discussion between the old and new movement generations is significant in understanding the movement, but is not pursued further in this report. In order to analyze the discourse, more precise qualitative content analysis and in-depth interview would be necessary. In addition, the cultural momentum created by promoting "their" own music involves the control of social and cultural boundaries as folk music did in 1960s America (Roy, 2002). Such cultural sociological analysis will also be possible in

the future research.

[14] Two representative examples are *Sekai ni hitotsu dake no hana* (The only one flower in the world) sung by SMAP (a pop group) and *Satoukibi batake* (Sugar cane field) sung by Ryoko Moriyama. *Sekai ni* came on the market on March 5, 2003 and gained a great attention of the media since a journalist introduced the song as he considered it as an antiwar song (Asahi, 2003f). The lyrics do not directly mention the war, but its massage say that every person is like a precious only one flower in the world, so we do not have to fight each other for 'number one' because everybody is the 'only one.' On the other hand, *Satoukibi* is a sad song for the war dead during the battle of Okinawa in the end of the Pacific War. The cultural sociological analysis on use of music in protest can go further, but it would exceed the focus of this thesis.

[15] Regarding the nature of participants, closer qualitative research will be necessary. News reports and even scholars generally summarize that these new waves started involve young people in their 10s and 20s who never participated in political actions. However, it is hard to prove it with statistics only from newspaper data.

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