CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research Background

In the absence of threat perception, even in the presence of objective evidence, there can be no mobilization of defensive resources (Cohen, 1978: 93). While objective evidence may provide clear proof of insecurity, it is the perception of threats that defines the extent to which defensive measures are placed. Hence, in the context of international security, state actors have recognized the importance of constructing the reality of threats to properly address the need for defensive measures against other threatening states or entities. A compelling example can be observed in Japan, where security policies must evolve while considering existing norms and identity to respond the ever-increasing international security issues.

Following its defeat in the Second World War, Japan has been rebranding as a 'pacifist' nation. The constitution, which has been in effect since 1946, preserves a policy of non-militarization that constrains the construction of a dominant military (Kaseda, 2012: 27). Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution outlines the government's commitment to prioritizing non-military approaches in conflict resolution, which resulted in a decrease in the nation's overall military capability. In an attempt to deter armed attacks, the government signed the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty in 1951 as a defensive measure.

However, Japan's long-standing 'pacifist' posture has declined since Prime Minister Shinzo Abe from the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), a political party

with a conservative outlook, assumed office with his doctrine of "Proactive Pacifism." It was clear that Abe intended to revise Japan's military posture by heavily securitizing China, along with the issue of North Korea, both in his first (2006-2007) and second period (2012-2020) (Lindgren, 2018: 11-13). Despite two attempted securitizations, the latter was objectively more successful. The most significant securitization during Abe's leadership can be seen in 2015, when he introduced the Legislation for Peace and Security Bills (*Heiwa anzen-hō*), which entailed a partial revision of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces Law and Article 9 itself. His speech act centered around the issues of China, North Korea, and Islamic terrorism (Schulze, 2016). These bills authorize the military to operate beyond national borders, including in acts of collective self-defense. The legislation was subsequently approved by the National Diet, sparking one of the biggest nationwide disputes (Nasu, 2016).

The approval of the security bills resulted in a large protest in Tokyo, demonstrating the growing mistrust towards Abe's policies (Takenaka, 2015). In the same year, a public survey held by *Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai* (NHK), the national public broadcasting media, showed that 50% of the public disapproved of Japan's increasing military, leaving 49% of others feeling uncertain about the policy changes (Sieg, 2015) (Mori, 2015). While Abe's endeavors paved the way to the further enhancement of Japanese military capabilities, the most significant buildup of postwar Japan became more apparent under the Kishida Cabinet due to the evolving international security climate.

Japan has been presented with a heightened set of challenges in 2022, requiring it to address a range of international; issues to safeguard its security, as specified in its Defense White Paper (Japan Ministry of Defense, 2022b). China's military and assertiveness grew rapidly over the past few years, increasing the rivalry between Beijing and Tokyo. The issue of China has been the main concern of Japanese foreign policy (Yamamoto, 2016: 75). In fact, recent Japanese political discourse particularly elevated China's status from a "concern" to a "threat." The escalating military tension in the Taiwan Strait in 2022 contemporarily serves as a reminder for Tokyo regarding potential regional conflict (Fukuda, 2023). Alongside China, North Korean activities involving its missiles became an issue for Japan to encompass. North Korea tested approximately 90 missiles in 2022, prompting Japan to pay closer attention to Pyongyang in its security assessments. Moreover, the Russo-Ukrainian war has caught Japan's attention. Since the war's outbreak, Japan has closely stood beside Ukraine, condemning Russia for their unpeaceful actions (Brown, 2023). This security climate has left a void to be filled by Fumio Kishida, Japan's elected Prime Minister since 2021.

Subsequent to the assumption of the office by Fumio Kishida, Japan has continued to pursue its military development while tackling national security concerns, as indicated by the introduction of various new policies. In December 2022, Tokyo issued a new national security strategy, national defense strategy, and defense buildup program collectively called the Three National Security Documents (*Anpo San Bunsho)*. This iteration of the Japanese National Security Strategy represents the second supreme national security policy document,

following the initial disclosure in 2013 (Liff & Hornung, 2023). These policies aim to address international security issues, such as China's growing dominance and assertiveness, North Korean missile projects, as well as Russia's aggression against Ukraine. The new strategy documents underline Japan's intention to acquire counter-strike capabilities, marking a shift in its security posture. This development is important because it allows the Japanese Self-Defense Forces to retaliate against attacks by launching a missile strike against the opposing force. This enhancement in deterrence potential would be a divergence from Japan's decades-long defensive only measures (Koshino, 2022). Moreover, the strategy has proposed a ¥43 trillion plan to increase Japan's defense budget within five years. The implementation of this plan will raise Japan's defense budget from 1% of GDP to 2%.

Kishida appears to carry on Abe's legacy of "Proactive Security," but these new policies are clearly perceived by the public, and there is a notable difference. In contrast to the responses to the 2015 security bills, there appears to be exceptional public support for the 2022 *Anpo San Bunsho*, while public opposition is weakened. Survey results regarding public support for the improvement of national defense are rising to records high. In 2022, A survey held by Professor Masaki Taniguchi of the University of Tokyo and Asahi Shimbun revealed that 64% of the public agreed to the refinement of national defense, while 10% were opposed to this idea (Isobe, 2022). A newer survey conducted by Professor Taniguchi in 2023 also concluded that approval for strengthened national defense has remained high with 62% of respondents expressing their support (Sasagawa, 2023).

A paradox of public opinion towards Japan's military buildup can clearly be drawn. It can be understood that Japan has undergone two securitization attempts in the 21st century prior to Kishida's ascension. The first one was a failed attempt in 2006-2007 when Shinzo Abe utilized weak politicization processes to expand the military, resulting in few signs of success. The second attempt was in Abe's second term (2012-2018), when he tried to revise Article 9 to enable collective self-defense, which was not well received by the public. However, another set of actions that fits the patterns of securitization has been conducted under Fumio Kishida, hinting at a successful outcome. This has been proven by the positive perception from the audience, as well as the construction of a stronger security measure. What is more intriguing is the fact that the newer changes are more significant than their older counterparts, requiring direct public support to make the military buildup a success.

Although Kishida's attempt seems relatively successful, there has only been few research regarding the securitization process under his cabinet. Furthermore, securitization research focused on the speech act is still rare. This condition raises a gap to be filled by this research. Seeing how the increasing Japanese public support towards the 2022 security policies under PM Fumio Kishida as a result of renewed discourses and circumstances matches Copenhagen School's perspective of security, this research will analyze the problem using the Copenhagen School's "Securitization" Theory. This research concludes that more advanced linguistic functions and contexts are applied by the Government in their speech acts. Although China's description in security discourses is elevated from 'concern' to 'greatest

security challenge', Tokyo employed other, more threatening international issues and linking them to one another, namely the issues of North Korea and Russia.

1.2. Research Question

From the background, it can be understood that there is a problem that can be researched scientifically through an international relations approach. The question at hand is: *"How does the process of securitization utilized by Japan shape supportive Japanese public opinion towards its newer and more proactive 2022 National Security Strategy under the leadership of Fumio Kishida?"*

1.3. Research Objective

This research is conducted to fulfill two objectives: a general objective and specific objectives, which will be explained as follows:

1.3.1. General Objective

This research aims to explain how the process of securitization can construct the perception of national threat within a society.

1.3.2. Specific Objective

a. Illustrate the securitization process utilized by the governing institutions of Japan in the creation of its national security strategy.

b. Investigate how the securitization process intersects with and influences public perception regarding Japan's national security strategy amidst the increasingly tense global and regional security climate.

1.4. Research Purpose
1.4.1. Theoretical Benefit

This research is expected to contribute to the scholarly study of International Relations with a focus on security issues through the lens of constructivism, specifically utilizing the securitization framework for analysis. Through this

research, the researcher can provide a scientific analysis of the linkage between securitization, political discourse, threat perceptions, public opinion and policy outcomes.

1.4.2. Practical Benefit

This research is useful for policymakers, stakeholders, and scholars in providing a scientific study related to the securitization process behind the Japanese security policies of 2022, which resulted in a discernible increase in public support towards bolstered defense. Therefore, this research has the potential to guide policymakers in creating effective security discourses to reinforce the need for better security policies while also contributing to the science of international relations.

1.5. Theoretical Thinking Framework
1.5.1 State of the Art

This research is using several academic literatures as its references. The first one being *Advancing the Role of Social Mechanisms, Mediators, and Moderators in Securitization Theory: Explaining Security Policy Change in Japan* by Petter Y. Lindgren. Lindgren's research compares two securitization attempts by Japan in 2006-2007 and 2012-2015 with a causal approach, using a mixed method of qualitative and quantitative analysis. This research argues that the more recent securitization attempt is more successful compared to the previous one due to several variables, namely China's assertiveness in the Senkaku Islands dispute as the main variable, Japan's fear of abandonment by the United States as the secondary variable, and North Korea's nuclear activities as a supporting variable (Lindgren, 2018). Although this research illustrates how securitization affects

policy change inside Japan's parliament, it pays little to no attention to the Japanese public, which broadly opposed Abe's security bills in 2015.

The second literature is *Securitization of Japan Under Shinzo Abe December 2012 – July 2016* by Alexander Kruse. In his research, Kruse heavily utilizes descriptive process-tracing approach towards Japan's securitization of radical Islam terrorist, illustrating the change of policies across three sectors and the public response in detail. This research concludes that the public have remained severely divided towards Abe's security policies, but highly supports his economic policies 'Abenomics' (Kruse, 2017). This is the main reason why the Liberal Democratic Party LDP can win elections, even if Abe's security policies are not supported by the public. Although it manages to highlight the process of securitization and the public's response as one of its outcomes, this research was done during Abe's tenure and does not explain the recent changes in the newer 2022 security policies under PM Kishida.

The third literature is *Japan's new assertiveness: institutional change and Japan's securitization of China* by Kai Schulze. Schulze uses the discursive institutionalism approach to analyze the process of securitization, viewing Japanese governing institutions as the audience. This research argues that Japan has been securitizing China since 2006-2007 through discourses, thus changing how the institutions within the Japanese governing elites perceive China as a potential security threat (Schulze, 2016). Although this research succesfully outlines the impact of the securitization of China within Japan's governing institutions from the

year 2007-2010, it pays limited attention towards the correlations between socio-political discourse and public perception dynamics.

The fourth literature is a study titled *Rethinking Japanese Public Opinion: From Pacifism to Realism* by Paul Midford. This study utilizes qualitative methods by using process-tracing and congruence procedure studies to explain the linkage between public opinion and policy. This approach is also known as 'triangulation'. The study argues that long-term growth of public trust in civilian control and the government's ability to wisely use the military has shifted the public's attitudes from that of pacifism to defensive realism. Although this study demonstrates the long-term evolution in public opinion regarding defense and military, it does not explain the phenomenon using Copenhagen School's Securitization Theory. Hence, Midford's arguments are based around the increase of public trust towards the government rather than socially constructed security urgencies through a securitization process. Aside from theory, this study was conducted in 2011, meaning there are newer data that reflects newer dynamics between security policies and public opinion.

The fifth literature is titled *Securitization of the "China Threat" Discourse: A Poststructuralist Account* by Weiqing Song. Using the poststructural securitization approach, Song argues that Western discourses have been securitizing China as a notable threat through several "misleading" narrations (Song, 2015). This research effectively demonstrates how biased discourses in various contexts, such as scientific research, ideological disputes, and cultural-civilizational narratives are able to amplify the audience's perception regarding the growing China issue,

particularly in the west. Therefore, political discourses are able to penetrate a wide variety of audiences, from educated scholars to the general public. In spite of that, due to the poststructuralist standpoint this research employs, its arguments tend to be critical towards the bias and misinterpretation of the existing structure.

Previous studies highlighted how Japan securitizes various issues as a threat to national security, but they mostly neglected the role of the general public as key audiences in the securitization process, an oversight that this research aims to address. Although Midford's study is an exception, it does not employ Copenhagen School's Securitization theory to explain the shift of the Japanese public opinion. Midford also conducted the study in 2011, requiring a renewal to explain the newer, more explicit change happened in 2022 and 2023. Despite arguing the success of Japan's securitization process in terms of influencing elites and policymakers, the existing studies overlooked the persistence of public opposition, which contrasts with how the public perceives Japan's 2022 security policies. Furthermore, these studies focused more on previous securitization attempts rather than the more recent one under PM Kishida. Hence, this study offers a new perspective of the Japanese securitization agendas for its newer 2022 security strategies, emphasizing on its discourse.
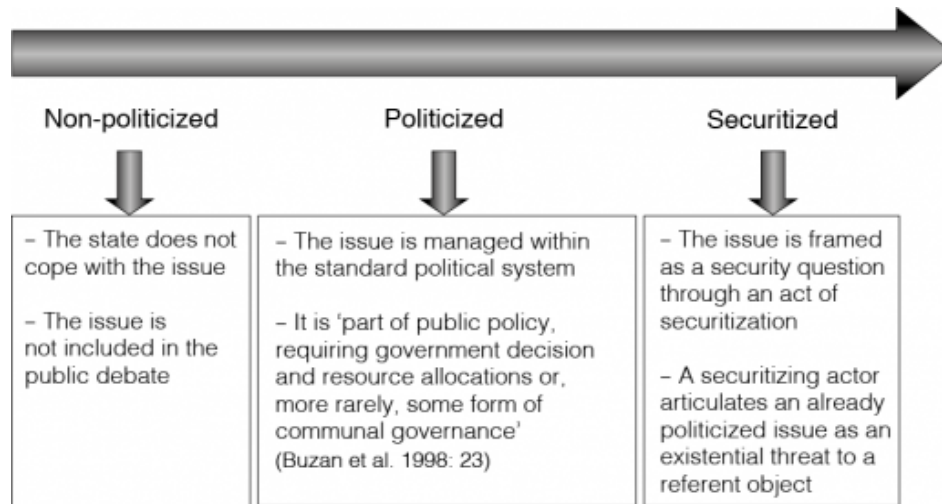
1.5.2. Theory Framework

The theory that will be used to examine this case is a synthesis of the constructivism paradigm, namely securitization, developed by Barry Buzan, Jaap de Wilde, and Ole Wæver. Securitization is a non-traditional security theory that is part of the Copenhagen School, combining the basic tenets of neo-realism and the

relative social construction tenet of constructivism. The focus of securitization is on the process of securitization actors turning ordinary national political subjects into security issues so as to justify special efforts for security (Buzan et al., 1998: 23). Security appeals have been key to justifying the use of force. Moreover, they have paved the way for states to mobilize or seize specific powers to deal with existing threats. Traditionally, state representatives asserted the right to declare a state of urgency with "certainty" and use any means or policies necessary to stop threatening offensive deployments.

Contrary to the traditional security perspective, securitization does not only look at the state and military sectors. The Copenhagen School argues that other non-traditional aspects are considered as important, such the economic, political, social, and environmental sectors. This view of a broader scope of threats is identified as "sectorization." Buzan also expressed disagreement with the efficacy of conventional, practical, and inflexible approaches employed by states and other influential entities in addressing diverse threats that pose risks across multiple layers of national security (Buzan, 1983: 105). He advocated for a combination of the principles of realism, which emphasize the pursuit of self-preservation, and the intersubjective perspective of constructivism in interpreting certain issues as threats. This implies that actors may interpret issues differently from one another, based on their circumstances and socially constructed view, allowing them to determine whether a given topic should be perceived as a threat or not.

Figure 1.1 Phases of Securitization

Non-politicized	Politicized	Securitized
– The state does not cope with the issue – The issue is not included in the public debate	– The issue is managed within the standard political system – It is 'part of public policy, requiring government decision and resource allocations or, more rarely, some form of communal governance' (Buzan et al. 1998: 23)	– The issue is framed as a security question through an act of securitization – A securitizing actor articulates an already politicized issue as an existential threat to a referent object

Source: (Emmers, 2011: 134)

Every securitization consists of security measures (by speaking the language of security and requesting the adoption of extraordinary countermeasures) and political measures (political decisions to articulate threats in such a way as to convince the target audience). Overall, the securitization process has three main steps that make a securitization distinct compared to other security endeavors. These steps include identification of existential threats, emergency action, and effects on inter-unit relations by breaking free of rules (Buzan et al. 1998: 28).

When identifying existential threats, speech acts are used by entities that actively partake in it, assuming a persuasive and explanatory role when communicating proposed countermeasures to the audience regarding existential threats (Emmers, 2011: 140). These entities are called securitizing actors by the Copenhagen School. The same thing was stated by (Buzan et al., 1998: 26) that securitization is generally rooted in a speech act, which is the main political effort

in placing an issue as security through the creation of narratives. It is important to conceptualize securitization as a speech act because it shows that words not only describe reality, but also directly illustrate empirical situation and evoke specific responses. By describing the reality that we see, we go a long way toward interacting with that world and seeing that reality in a different way. While certain actors may initiate the process of securitizing an issue through speech acts, a wider range of agents and institutions are involved in this process, including political elites, civil society members, and the media (Huysman, 2000: 758). Every agent plays an equally critical role in shaping threat perceptions by disseminating information that strengthens the discourse of securitization among audiences.

Audiences are one of the most fundamental aspects of the intersubjective values of securitization, serving as groups that are targeted to be persuaded through securitization actions to be able to accept legitimacy from extraordinary security practices. Audiences have the agency to either accept or reject the issues or problems that are presented to them by securitization actors. Audiences can take various forms, including technical, bureaucratic, public, and policy-making, and different audiences can perform different functions in accepting securitization. In a liberal democratic society, the public is assumed to play a significant role due to the valuable "moral" support they can provide to the governing institution (Roe, 2008: 616). The acceptance or opposition of these issues as security threats is ultimately up to the audience, and they also have the power to legitimize them.

Securitization can be referred to as a practice governed by rules, where the effectiveness of said practice does not necessarily depend on the threat itself, but

on the capacity to use discourse to imbue a situation with a particular complexion of threat (Balzacq, 2005: 179). (Buzan et al., 1998: 23-25) explain that there are three phases of the securitization process. The Copenhagen School defines a spectrum in which public affairs can be categorized from non-politicized to politicized to securitized, where this is carried out by securitizing actors (Emmers, 2011: 134). Issues that are not politicized are issues that are not handled and are not part of public contestation. Politicized issues are part of the public policies that are handled within the political system and require government action. Securitized issues fall at the opposite end of the spectrum and require extraordinary resources outside of normal government policy processes.

The level of seriousness of extraordinary security efforts carried out by securitizing actors is not an indicator of success. The Copenhagen School so far measures the success of the securitization process based on the subjective beliefs of targeted audiences (the public, politicians, military officers, or other actors) regarding the narrated existential threat (Emmers et al., 2016: 4). Thus, securitization generally involves political efforts made by securitizing actors. These efforts require resources that come from support from important parties to gain securitization legitimacy. Once a Speech Act is declared as a success, state actor can undertake courses to mitigate dangerous consequences in various forms, depending upon the sectorization of threats.

In analyzing securitization, several circumstances can affect and impact the process, effectiveness, and output of securitization (Emmers et al., 2016: 7-8). Interplay between different concepts of security is the first factor, which involves

how various types of security concepts are interlinked with the securitization process. Linkages between security issues is the second factor, encompassing how securitizing actors can link an emerging problem with an issue that has been constructed as a security threat. The role of powerful actors is identified as the third factor, meaning the power of actors can affect how the securitization is perceived by audiences. The domestic political system is the fifth factor that is worth considering. The success of securitization can be easily achieved in certain forms of government or bureaucracy due to the political process, which directly influences securitization processes. The fifth factor is international norms, which can promote a broader conception of security and threat into securitization.

Securitization in the traditional military sector commonly revolves around the ability of governments to maintain security against internal and external threats (Buzan et al. 1998: 50). However, in this sector, securitization involves more than just the utilization of power. At least as significant as military considerations are the parameters of political legitimacy and the degree to which those parameters are acknowledged by the ruled as well as by various groups of rulers. Hence, the state become the most important referent object while the elites become the main securitizing actors. Interstate relations give rise to the traditional military security dilemma when elites and the public begin to perceive the armed forces of other states as existential threats. The growth of military technologies, the arms race, and the conflict between national deterrence and defense programs are all factors in this conundrum (Buzan et al. 1998: 52). This agenda is then heavily impacted by the weapons that each state possesses and how these weapons, and their evolution,

affect state-to-state relations after military relations become securitized. The military security agenda ultimately concerns how states prepare to use force and how other states perceive their actions in this regard at the interstate level.

1.6. Concept Operationalization
1.6.1. Conceptual Definition
1.6.1.1. Speech Act

Speech act is defined in the field of philosophy and linguistics as a basic part of language that is used to convey meanings, which express intentions. In other words, it is an "utterance that serves a function in communication." Speech act theory emphasizes how language is not only used to express things, but also to project actions or intentions (Austin, 1962: 6-8). According to Copenhagen School scholars, speech acts can be seen when securitization actors declare certain referent objects existentially threatened unless immediate action is taken. The purpose of this act is to construct reality and a sense of urgency to the audience (Buzan et al., 1998: 26-27). The public, which must "accept" the threat narrative contained in the securitization movement, thus taking and justifying extraordinary action to counter the perceived threat. One constructivist scholar, Nicholas Onuf, argues that speech act is a linguistic act where the speaker expresses states of affairs (Onuf, 1989: 83). Onuf classifies the concept of speech act into three different patterns: assertive, stating a belief or intention held by the speaker, directive, calling the audience for actions the speaker would like to have performed, and commissive, the speaker's intention of being realized into a concrete set of actions (Onuf, 1989: 87).

1.6.1.2. Public Opinion

In terms of Japanese politics, public opinion primarily consists of collective cognition regarding social and political problems (Yamaguchi, 2019: 45). The Japanese public recognizes discourses and value inclinations not only in terms of numbers, but also as the ultimate reflection of social communication. It is crucial for the idea to convey a perception of being widely accepted or endorsed by the majority of the population (Key, 1961: 4). The notable portion or general consensus among members of society is what gives public opinion its power in politics.

Lippmann defined public opinion more theoretically, explaining that public opinion is constructed by one self or others rather than a direct representation of facts since public opinion surrounding foreign policy and international relations are ill-structured and ill-informed (Lippmann, 1922: 25). Therefore, public opinion has to be influenced by the political elites who are well-informed regarding a set of issues, creating a top-down model of the construction of public opinion. A top-down approach by Adam J. Berinsky suggests that public opinion on International Relations is primarily elite-driven, placing political actors and their discourse as the main shapers of mass opinion (Berinsky, 2007: 975). When political elites share a unified interpretation of a particular political situation, the public tends to grant them considerable leeway to take exceptional actions, even including the possibility of engaging in conflicts or wars. Berinsky's arguments were also rooted in John R. Zaller's perspective which argues that distribution of persuasive messages in the political media shapes the distribution of public opinion on a specific policy issue (Zaller, 1992: 122). People who possess a high level of political knowledge are

more inclined to encounter these political messages and are more likely to embrace messages that align with their existing political beliefs and inclinations.

1.6.1.3. National Security

According to Barry Buzan, although security as a concept is still underdeveloped, it does not inhibit discussion. Nonetheless, he attempts to define security as freedom from threats (Buzan, 1983: 11). Buzan's concept of national security is deeply rooted in his understanding of security, which is predominantly state-centric. He conceptualizes security to encompass the capacity of states and societies to preserve their independent identity and functional integrity, meaning that sovereign territorial state is the standard unit of security. In general terms, national security can be inferred as the ability of a state to defend its people through economy, military, and political power. It is the measurable capability of a state to overcome multidimensional threats towards the well-being and survival of its citizens at all times, by balancing every single instrument of policy through governance (Prabhakaran, 2008: 52-54). Thus, national security is absolute to safeguarding the integrity and stability of a nation.

1.6.2. Definition Operationalization
1.6.2.1. Speech Act

The speech act refers to the influential official statements made by key political figures of Japan such as the Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Defense, and other notable actors, which are disseminated through various mediums, such as verbal speeches, political messages, and publicized official documents. In this research, the speech act concept will be focused on the

behavior of the Japanese government in the context of narrative constructions and corresponding actions that lead to the securitization of issues that are perceived as threats to national security.

1.6.2.2. Public Opinion

Public opinion concept being used in this research leans more towards the top-down model indicated by the stance that the Japanese public take in response to elite-driven discourses regarding defense policies of Japan, meaning the public can either support or oppose the issues at hand. In this case, the public opinion strives towards the supporting stance, shown by several indicators. The first variable is the approval for the 2022 National Security Strategy, which can be seen through the results of conducted surveys, polls, and interviews. Secondly, the lack or absence of opposing actions from the public, namely protests, social movements, etc., contrary to the previous security policies. The third indicator is supports from public figures, serving as a collective cognition regarding the 2022 National Security Strategy.

1.6.2.3. National Security

This research will adopt the Copenhagen School's perspective on Japanese national security as the conceptual framework for analyzing and understanding the subject. Consequently, national security will not only encompass traditional security aspects, but also non-traditional ones. The non-traditional nature of national security encompasses issues across five sectors: military, politics, economy, social, and environment.

In this research, the prioritization of national security will focus on objects or elements perceived as posing a threat to the military sector, taking into account Japan's increasing aspirations for a stronger defense, starting from the tenure of Shinzo Abe and continuing under the current Prime Minister, Fumio Kishida. National security concerns in this context encompasses several issues. The first issue is China's assertiveness shown by its actions in the South China Sea and East China Sea, particularly concerning its current tension with Taiwan. Secondly, the Japanese national security concerns the growing military activities of Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), as well as its hostility towards Republic of Korea (South Korea). The third issue revolves around the Russian invasion of Ukraine, which triggered the nature of realism-based "self-preservation" and "anarchy" within the international system.

1.7. Research Argument

This research concludes that more advanced linguistic functions and contexts are applied by the Japanese Government in their security discourses, encompassing multiple contemporary issues and linking existing issues to one another even further. Japan's 2022 securitization places China's assertive nature from a national concern to an imminent threat. The China narratives are accompanied by North Korean military activities and the Russian invasion of Ukraine as supporting issues that directly interlink the main one. This led the public to better perceive threats and construct social reality concerning national security as the referent object, thus elevate the support towards the 2022 National Security Strategy.

Figure 1.2. Japan Securitization Research Scheme
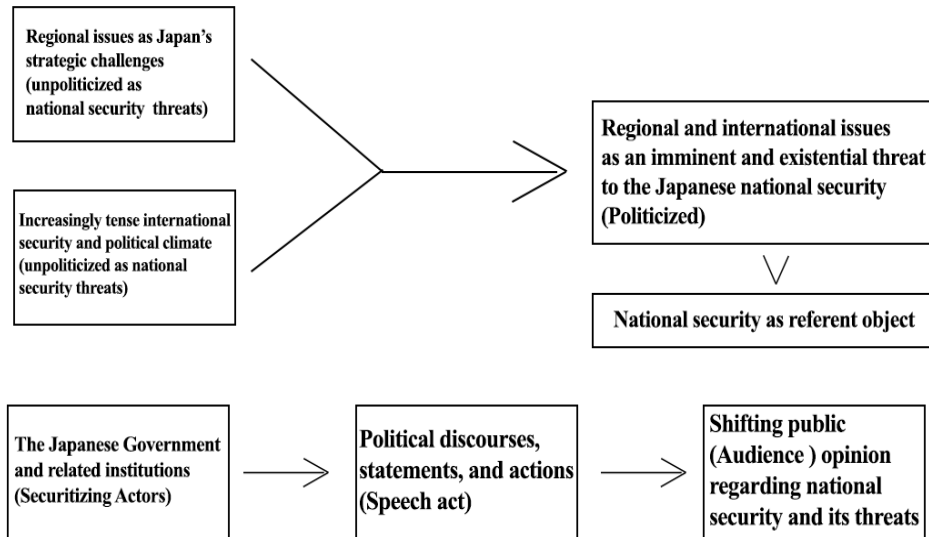
1.8. Research Methodology

Research methodology is a procedure utilized by researchers in describing, analyzing, and assessing conceptualization, generalization, theorizing, explanation and so on; outlines the assumptions underlying the theorizing efforts; and assessing the strengths and weaknesses of these theoretical endeavors (Mas'ud, 1990: 2).

1.8.1. Research Type

This research is using qualitative methods which provide a comprehensive analysis of the current state of the researched phenomenon, and subsequently compares it with established theories (Sumanto, 1995: 51). This technique enables the researcher to systematically, accurately, and factually depict or illustrate various aspects, characteristics, and relationships related to the investigated phenomenon. Its primary focus is on providing detailed analysis of the relationships among different elements or variables in a systematic manner.

1.8.2. Research Sites

Research sites generally refer to physical locations where research activities are conducted. This research is conducted through desk research sites by collecting research-related data and variables from physical and electronic text sources.

1.8.3. Research Subject

The main subject of this research is Japan and its political elites, including The Prime Minister, Minister of Defense, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other political figures with significant standing. This is due to the fact that the researcher aims to analyze the securitization process and political discourses or speech acts carried out by the Japanese Government for its new defense policy.

1.8.4. Data Type

The type of data that this research will use is qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative data refers to information that is in the form of text while quantitative data refers to numerical data. Both types of data in this study will be collected through desk studies, or observations to gather rich, detailed, and accurate data. These methods enable researchers to obtain a deeper understanding of the phenomena under investigation.

1.8.5. Data Source

This research analysis uses secondary data that researchers collect from as many credible and competent sources as possible. Data for this research, such as texts, literature, articles, and quotations will be collected by desk study. This research is focusing on security discourses that are published through various mediums and in multiple forms. Textual data that this research is using encompass various publications, both official and unofficial, including but not limited to the

National Security Strategy, Defense of Japan White Paper, National Defense Program Guidelines, and other publications that can be found online. Quantitative statistical data in the form of surveys are collected from government official surveys, previous research, literature, and media surveys.

1.8.6. Data Collection

Data collection for this study is carried out through library research. Library research is a method of collecting information through electronic and non-electronic media. By utilizing this technique, the researcher can conduct the research without being physically present at the site where the phenomenon is happening, enabling the researcher to get insights into the phenomenon from a distance. The researcher will collect materials such as scientific journals, annual reports, policy papers, information from official websites, books, and documents from credible and competent sources.

1.8.7. Data Analysis & Interpretation

This research is using content analysis as its analysis technique, (Bryman & Bell, 2011: 289). Content analysis is a research technique employed by social scientists to scrutinize documents and communication artifacts, encompassing diverse formats such as texts, images, audio, or video. This approach enables researchers to systematically and reproducibly investigate communication patterns related to a specific case that the researcher is trying to analyze.

1.8.8. Data Quality

This research guarantees the use of credible and trustworthy secondary data. Researcher collects information from scientific journals, both local and international sources, by browsing the internet and Undip's own free access

platform. The researcher will also use credible news reports and articles that correlate with the issue at hand.