

*Persuasive Strategies in Debates on Japan's Constitution and Article 9:
The Gulf War Case Study*

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Abstract

This article presents a qualitative analysis of persuasive strategies used in debates on Japan's security policy, related, in particular, to Article 9. The study examines the Japan Diet deliberations during the Gulf War, focusing on the Budget Committee of both Houses. Two hypotheses are tested: the first one suggests that threat perception arguments are more persuasive, while the second hypothesis proposes that sentiment-based arguments hold greater sway. The findings reveal the importance of seeking international recognition, feeling anxiety, taking pride in Japan's Constitution/Article 9, and anxiety management in driving or preventing security policy changes. The study emphasizes the need for a balanced approach that incorporates both sentiment-based and rational arguments in constitutional debates, providing insights for policymakers and stakeholders.

Keywords: Article 9, Gulf War, Persuasive Rhetorical Strategies, Sentiment-Based Arguments, Threat Perception-Based Argument

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Introduction

Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution, which renounces war and prohibits Japan from maintaining military forces, has been a contentious issue since its establishment in 1947. However, for several decades, questioning Article 9 and its interpretation was considered anathema among Japanese political elites. The perception began to shift with the onset of the Gulf War, which served as a pivotal moment for Japanese elites to reassess their thinking regarding Japanese security policies and cooperation.

What happened exactly at the dawn of the post-Cold War era that made Japanese politicians and public change their stance? There is a plethora of scholarship attempting to explain the changes and lack thereof in Japanese security stance in the 1990s, varying from neorealist claims to constructivist arguments. Overall, one may agree that it may be impossible to pick just a single factor which would be of utmost influence or create a holistic model which would comprehensively explain the direction of security policies and logic of decision-making among Japanese politicians. Yet, it is more than possible to uncover how Japanese elites framed their reasoning and which factors they perceived as the most persuasive in order to effect or hinder a change to Japanese security stance and vision of Article 9.

Hence, the present research asks which rhetorical approach, threat perception (rational) or sentiment-based arguments, is more persuasive in driving change or amendment in debates about Japan's Constitution and Article 9. By delving into the effectiveness of these two argumentative strategies, this paper seeks to shed light under what political circumstances which of these strategies was preferred by the politicians in their discussions on Article 9-related issues.

The first approach revolves around threat perception, wherein proponents argue for the necessity of modifying or amending Article 9 based on perceived threats to national security. These arguments typically underscore the changing and uncertain geopolitical landscape, emerging security challenges and the necessity to maintain a robust defence posture for provide for national security. When resorting to this approach, politicians, who advocate the change, may claim that an overly rigid perception of Article 9 may impede Japan's ability to respond effectively to security threats or may threaten Japan's survival in general. Those who resist any modifications may refer to the lack of security threats or attempt to undermine any threatening events or scenarios.

On the other hand, sentiment-based claims draw upon emotional and societal aspects associated with Article 9. Opponents of changes tend to emphasize the sentiment of pacifism, historical memory of Japan and the symbolic value of Article 9 as an embodiment of a nation's commitment to peace and rejection of war. They hold that any attempts to amend or weaken Article 9 would undermine its core principles, diminish public and international trust and lead to the repetition of the bitter experience of launching a war. Proponents of alterations accentuate the value of international cooperation and sense of responsibility which Japan bears as a major economy. They also stress the importance of seeking a proper status for Japan on the international arena by trying to frame changes and alterations as within the scope of Article 9 and Japanese Constitution.

By investigating the persuasive power of these two rhetorical approaches, the present study seeks to contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics within debates of Article 9.

Furthermore, it strives for unveiling insights into the factors which can potentially relate to the Japanese sense of ontological security and empower or hinder decision makers in their attempts to amend or preserve Article 9.

To achieve this objective, this research utilizes a qualitative content analysis of the transcripts of parliamentary debates. This article represents a case study focusing on the Gulf Crisis and Guld War historical periods. Such an analysis endeavours to provide nuanced insights into the relative strengths and weaknesses of threat perception and sentiment-based arguments, contributing to informed dialogue and decision-making regarding the future of Article 9.

The subsequent sections will delve deeper into the existing literature, highlighting key concepts, explain our research methodology, and present and discuss the potential implications the results of a study. Ultimately, this study aims to contribute to a better understanding of how to effectively communicate about Article 9 in the context of Japan's changing security environment, and may have broader implications for the analysis of rhetoric in political contexts more generally.

Literature Review

The debates surrounding Article 9 and its potential alteration have been the subject of significant scholarly attention. This literature review will explore three main themes: the historical background of Article 9, Japan's security posture in international relations academia, and the role of rhetoric in shaping these debates.

Historical Background of Article 9

Born in the aftermath of World War II, Article 9 became a point of contention among Japanese political groups from the very beginning. While conservative right-wing politicians were eager to revise the no war clause and meet the US demands about remilitarization, pragmatists and left-leaning elites opposed such action. Moreover, feeling deceived by the previous government, the Japanese society did not show much enthusiasm about rebuilding the army under the hawks, many of whom were previously detained as A-class war criminals (Dower, 1993).

The 1960 U.S.-Japan Security Treaty revision, which allowed the United States to maintain military bases in Japan, sparked widespread protests and heightened the debate surrounding Article 9. These protests, often led by student activists, reflected the deep-rooted pacifist sentiment within Japanese society and their determination to preserve Article 9's principles. Although the ruling LDP party had set the revision of Article 9 as its primary goal due to the provision's foreign nature, it had to shelve the issue in the 1960s in order to maintain its grip on power, prioritizing economic growth and even adding more limitations to Japan's anti-militarist and anti-nuclear posture (Kapur, 2018).

The discussions on Japan's security stance became more heated throughout the 1970s and 1980s as the aggravation of regional threats and economic growth of Japanese economy inspired questions regarding Tokyo's involvement in international security affairs. Some continued prioritizing the preservation of a peaceful image while others lobbied for building up defence capabilities, commensurate with Japanese economic power (Auer, 1990). Nevertheless, the LDP, which had dominated Japanese politics for much of the post-war period, prioritized economic growth and domestic stability, recognizing potential social and

political backlash of pursuing a constitutional revision. As a result, Article 9 remained intact during this period, albeit with varying interpretations and ongoing discussions.

The early 1990s witnessed the collapse of the bipolar world order and elimination of geopolitical tensions between the US and the Soviet Union. The conclusion of this era had an impact on Japan's security environment, prompting a reassessment of the national defence posture and of the US-Japan alliance. The positive outlook, caused by the end of the Cold War, was clouded by the Gulf Crisis which later developed into the Gulf War. The Gulf War had a significant impact on Japan's foreign and security policy decision-making, raising questions concerning Japan's response to such crises and wars. Japan's limited involvement in the war, primarily in the form of financial contributions rather than military deployment, sparked debates about the extent to which Article 9 allowed for Japan's participation in collective security efforts through financial, material and human resources.

Japan's Security Posture in International Relations Academia

The sturdiness of Japan's Constitution, in particular, Article 9, has spurred debates among international relations. The neorealist tradition has placed Article 9 at the centre of Japan's pragmatic approach towards its security policies. According to some theories, Japan has employed Article 9 to avoid involvement in the regional arms race and maintain the status-quo military balance, relying on the US security umbrella (Midford, 2002; Twomey, 2000). Following this logic, once the US support has vanished, Japan will rearm and become a "normal" state. Another realist explanation, related to the alliance dynamics, states that Japan uses Article 9 as a "buck-passing" tool: Tokyo dodges the burden of providing for its own security, conferring as much responsibility as possible on the US shoulders (Heginbotham & Samuels, 1998; Lind, 2004).

While neorealism deciphers some patterns of Japan's security behaviour on the international arena, it fails to provide coherent elucidation, inter alia, of Japan's turn towards internationalism in the 1990s, Tokyo's readiness to support the United States after the 9/11 attacks or Abe's build-up of defence capabilities against the background of reaffirming the US-Japan alliance. Moreover, if one looks at neorealist approaches towards explaining Japan's security, most of them follow the existing national narratives, blurring the neorealist theoretical framework.

The second major explanation of the Article 9's sturdiness stems from the constructivist paradigm. Constructivists look at Japan's security stance through the lens of identity and normative theories, traditionally emphasizing Tokyo's pacifism, peacefulness and anti-militarism (Berger, 1993; Hagström & Gustafsson, 2015; Katzenstein & Okawara, 1993). The normative approach proponents underscore the importance of Japan's normative and institutional constraints. The relational identity constructivists tend to delve into the very process of Japanese self-imagining against other states. While both constructivist approaches seem to complement each other and explicate some links between Article 9 and identity formation, they rarely explain particular changes in Japan's security policy or the lack thereof.

The research at hand acknowledges the intricate nature of the international environment and inherent limitations in conducting controlled experiments within the realm of international relations. Accordingly, this study does not aim to definitively ascertain the dominant factors that influence Japanese security decision-making. Instead, the focus lies in examining the

underlying rationale employed by politicians when defending Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution or advocating for its revision. Consequently, this research views threat perception-based rhetorical devices as indicative of realist perspectives, while the employment of emotionally charged speeches are regarded as manifestations of constructivist-based reasoning.

Role of Rhetoric in Shaping Debates on Article 9

Within the realm of Japanese political discourse, numerous studies have been conducted to analyse the speeches and rhetoric employed by political elites (Feldman, 2021; Pope, 2017; Samuels, 2013; Teraoka, 2020). However, it is noteworthy that the majority of these studies have predominantly focused on examining the political positions and ideological stances adopted by political leaders and legislators, thereby limited attention to an in-depth exploration of their rhetorical strategies. However, research within the field of political behaviour suggests that emotive appeals have been found to enhance political participation, activate existing loyalties, mobilize support for populist ideologies, shape information interpretation, and even sway public opinion. Studying rhetorical devices, employed by political leaders, promises to help master a better comprehension of politicians' actions and interaction with voters (Arceneaux, 2012; Feldman, 2020; Osnabrügge, Hobolt & Rodon, 2021; Westen, 2008).

There exist a number of studies analysing speeches and rhetoric of Japanese political elites, as indicated above. Nevertheless, most of the studies concentrate on the political stance of political leaders and legislators rather than on their rhetorical strategies. Thus, this study aims to address this gap by undertaking an analysis of political rhetoric in the Japanese Diet, specifically juxtaposing rational and sentimental rhetorical devices.

Hypotheses

To answer the question, "Which rhetorical approach, threat perception (rational) or sentiment-based arguments, is more persuasive in driving change or amendment in debates about Japan's Constitution and Article 9?" the current research offers two logical hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1. Threat perception arguments are more persuasive in driving change or amendment in debates about Japan's Constitution and Article 9.

This finding would imply that politicians and policymakers who employ threat perception arguments have a higher likelihood of garnering support for amendments or changes to the Constitution, particularly in relation to Article 9. The implications may indicate that concerns over regional security dynamics, geopolitical shifts, or internal threats have a significant impact on shaping the discourse and potential revisions to Japan's constitutional provisions.

Hypothesis 2. Sentiment-based arguments are more persuasive in driving change or amendment in debates about Japan's Constitution and Article 9.

This finding would imply that politicians and advocates who utilize sentiment-based arguments, such as appeals to historical narratives, cultural pride, or shared values, are more likely to sway public opinion and drive support for constitutional amendments or revisions. The implications may indicate that public sentiment and emotional resonance play a crucial role

in mobilizing support or opposition to changes in Japan's Constitution, particularly concerning Article 9.

Methodology

To test the aforementioned hypotheses, this study employs qualitative content analysis (QCA) to investigate the deliberations of the Japan Diet during the Gulf War (October 1990-February 1991) as a case study. Specifically, given its significance in shaping Japan's policy directions (Hisanaga & Nakazaki, 2019), the analysis focuses on the deliberations conducted by the Budget Committee of both Houses of the Japan Diet. The transcripts of deliberations are retrieved from the National Diet Proceedings Search System website (国会会議録検索システム Kokkaikaigiroku kensaku shisutemu, n.d.).

Given the concept-driven nature of QCA in the present paper, the research coding framework is built inductively. Nevertheless, the research does allow for data-driven additions, if proven necessary, during the coding phase. Although the collected data has been processed and coded manually, the present research uses Quirkos software to manage coding as well as to accumulate and analyse the codes.

Analysis of the coded data entails examining the frequency, patterns, and variations of the identified categories within the transcripts. The goal is to discern the prevalence and effectiveness of threat perception arguments and sentiment-based arguments in driving change or amendment in the debates about Japan's Constitution and Article 9.

As the present research examines speeches, it appears reasonable to regard sentence clauses as a unit of coding. As a sentence clause represents the smallest fraction of language which expresses a complete thought regarding a certain entity in the world and has easily definable boundaries in writing, establishing clauses as coding units makes the analytical algorithm clearer and more reliable. Although regarded as relatively rare, if any repetitions take place, they are treated as separate units of coding, as the current research aims at assessing the strength of opinions expressed in the Diet deliberations. In case of a difficulty to comprehend the meaning of a given sentence, paragraphs act as context units to which one can refer to clarify a connotation of a coding unit.

The coding process is to be carried out as follows:

1. The first step involves searching for instances of the word “constitution” (kenpō 憲法) in the selected data sources.
2. Upon identifying relevant passages, a thorough reading is to be conducted to extract and summarize information pertinent to the study.
3. The next phase entails categorizing the sentence clauses based on their content and relevance to the research.
4. In cases where existing categories do not adequately cover certain passages, new categories are to be created. These new categories should be defined and subsequently applied to the previously coded passages, ensuring a comprehensive coding framework.

The hierarchical structure of the coding frame for the present research comprises the main categories and categories as indicated hereunder. The categories, designated for coding, can be subcategorized as follows:

- High Threat Perception
 - Agent
 - Weapon
 - Scenario
 - Threat of being cut from trade/resources
 - Endangering US-Japan Alliance
 - Armed invasion During Unarmed Neutrality
 - Global/Regional Uncertainty

- Low (Lack of) Threat Perception
 - Agent
 - Weapon
 - Scenario
 - Threat of being cut from essential resources

- International Recognition
 - Sense of Responsibility
 - Status-seeking
 - Shame for Being Passive
 - Fear of Isolation and Criticism
 - Safe Future for Next Generations

- Anxiety
 - Anxiety among People
 - Re-Living the Past, Ignoring History
 - Lack of Trust to the Executive Authorities
 - Fear of not Being Recognized as Peaceful
 - Lack of Willingness Among JSDF
 - Fear of Breaking the Oath
 - Concerns about Sovereignty

- Taking Pride in Japan's Constitution/Article 9
 - Maintaining Peace in Asia
 - Repenting the Past
 - Withstanding the Test of Time
 - Importance for Japanese People
 - Japan's Status as a Contributor to Peace

- Anxiety Management
 - Building a New World Order
 - Ability to Explain Constitutional Changes to Asian States
 - Japan Has Learnt Its Lesson
 - Japan's Commitment to Peace

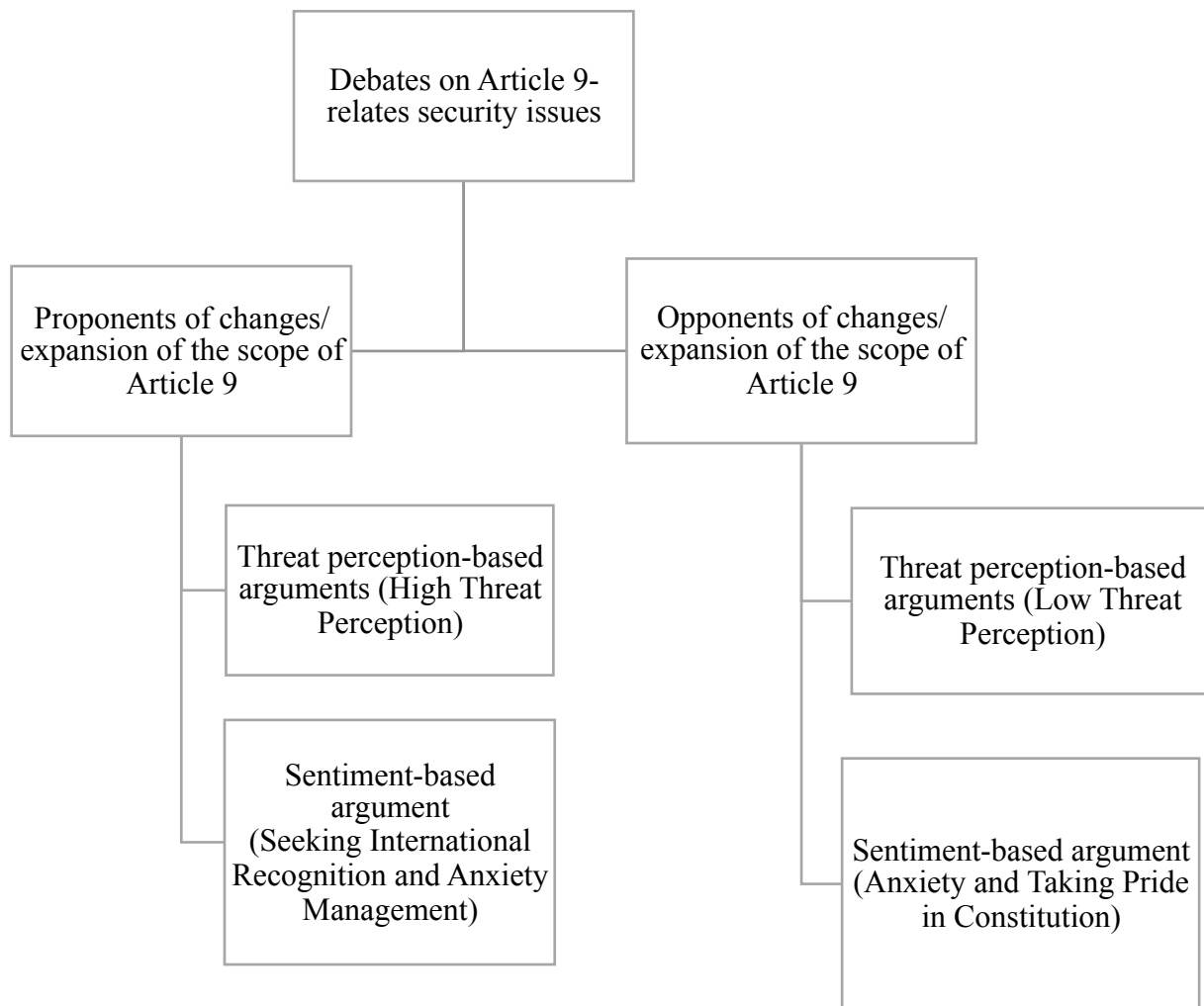


Figure 1. General Coding Frame.

Terminology: Amendment and Alteration of Article 9

In this study, alteration or change of Article 9 is defined as any modification that affects the effective scope or interpretation of this constitutional provision. It is important to note that not all constitutional modifications encompass Article 9, but when they do, they are considered relevant to this analysis. In turn, amendment of Article 9 entails a legislative rectification process that involves parliamentary proceedings and subsequent approval through a national referendum.

It is important to mention that during the Gulf War, the Japanese political elites did not formally propose any legislation to directly amend the text of Article 9. However, the legal regulations discussed during that period were interpreted, at least by some political figures, as altering the essence or broadening the interpretation of Article 9.

Rational and Sentiment-Based Arguments

The concept of rationality encompasses multiple interpretations and is not necessarily devoid of emotions. However, for the purpose of this study, rationality is examined from the

standpoint of diverse realist traditions that prioritize state survival, i.e., the minimization of threats to national security, as a crucial factor in making optimal political choices.

Conversely, sentiments may frequently appear rational and logically coherent. Nevertheless, they predominantly originate from personal values and carry emotional significance. While arguments can contain both rational and emotional components, this study categorizes them based on their dominant aspect.

Results

Overall Results

The qualitative content analysis conducted in this research aimed to explore the persuasive power of threat perception (rational) and sentiment-based arguments in driving change or amendment in debates about Japan's Constitution and Article 9. The coding results, consisting of 35 categories and a total of 190 codes, provide valuable insights into the prevalence and significance of these arguments within the context of the Japanese Diet deliberations during the Gulf War (October 1990-February 1991).

Categories Title	Parent	Grandparent	Total Codes
HIGH THREAT PERCEPTION			8
Agent	High Threat Perception		0
Weapon	High Threat Perception		0
Scenario	High Threat Perception		8
Threat of being cut from trade/resources	Scenario	High Threat Perception	3
Endangering the US-Japan Alliance	Scenario	High Threat Perception	3
Armed invasion During Unarmed Neutrality	Scenario	High Threat Perception	1
Global/Regional Uncertainty	Scenario	High Threat Perception	1
LOW (LACK OF) THREAT PERCEPTION			1
Scenario	Low (Lack of) Threat Perception		0

Threat of being cut from essential resources	Scenario	Low (Lack of) Threat Perception	1
INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION			98
Sense of Responsibility	International Recognition		55
Status-seeking	International Recognition		20
Shame for Being Passive	International Recognition		6
Fear of Isolation and Criticism	International Recognition		16
Safe Future for Next Generations	International Recognition		1
ANXIETY			33
Anxiety among People	Anxiety		2
Re-Living the Past, Ignoring History	Anxiety		9
Lack of Trust to the Executive Authorities	Anxiety		3
Fear of not Being Recognized as Peaceful	Anxiety		7
Lack of Willingness Among JSDF	Anxiety		1
Fear of Breaking the Oath	Anxiety		1
Concerns about Sovereignty	Anxiety		10
TAKING PRIDE IN JAPAN'S CONSTITUTION/ ARTICLE 9			15
Maintaining Peace in Asia	Taking Pride in Japan's Constitution/ Article 9		1

Repenting the Past	Taking Pride in Japan's Constitution/Article 9		3
Withstanding the Test of Time	Taking Pride in Japan's Constitution/Article 9		2
Importance for Japanese People	Taking Pride in Japan's Constitution/Article 9		2
Japan's Status as a Contributor to Peace	Taking Pride in Japan's Constitution/Article 9		7
ASSURANCE (ANXIETY MANAGEMENT)			35
Building a New World Order	Assurance (Anxiety Management)		12
Ability to Explain Constitutional Changes to Asian States	Assurance (Anxiety Management)		3
Japan Has Learnt Its Lesson	Assurance (Anxiety Management)		3
Japan's Commitment to Peace	Assurance (Anxiety Management)		17
TOTAL NUMBER OF CODES			190
TOTAL NUMBER OF CATEGORIES			35

Table 1. Coding Results.

The analysis revealed that the categories related to high threat perception captured a total of eight codes. These categories encompassed mainly scenarios associated with perceived threats. Within this group, the category “Threat of being cut from trade/resources” received the highest number of codes (three), highlighting concerns over potential economic repercussions and resource scarcity, if Japan fails to act in response to the Gulf War potentially expanding the scope of Article 9. The category “Endangering the US-Japan Alliance” also received considerable attention, suggesting that the perceived threat to the strong bilateral relationship between Japan and the United States played a role in shaping the discourse on security decision-making.

The category “Low (Lack of) Threat Perception” only accounted for one code, specifically related to denying the threat of being cut from essential resources. Although limited in representation, this category suggests that concerns over essential resources did not play a significant role, as rhetorical tool, in shaping the discourse on security policy changes during the Diet deliberations.

On the other hand, the analysis identified a significantly broader range of categories associated with sentiment-based arguments. The category “International Recognition” accounted for the highest number of codes (98) among all the categories. This indicates the prevalence of the arguments centred around seeking international recognition in the discussions about constitutional amendments. Within this category, sub-themes such as the sense of responsibility, status-seeking, shame for being passive, fear of isolation and criticism, and the desire for a safe future for the next generations emerged. The subcategory “Sense of Responsibility” garnered the most codes (55), suggesting that the appeal to a shared responsibility for global stability and security was regarded as a powerful rhetorical device to resonate with policymakers and legislators.

The category “Anxiety” comprising 33 codes, indicates the presence of emotional appeals and concerns over various aspects such as anxiety among the people, re-living the past and ignoring history, lack of trust in the executive authorities, fear of not being recognized as peaceful, lack of willingness among the JSDF, fear of breaking the oath, and concerns about sovereignty. The presence of these anxieties indicates the emotional undercurrents that influenced the perception and interpretation of Japan's constitutional provisions, particularly Article 9. At the same time, they also involve attempts to rationalize the sentiments towards Japan's commitment to peace and its international image.

The analysis also highlighted the category “Taking Pride in Japan's Constitution/Article 9,” which received a total of 15 codes. This finding suggests that arguments emphasizing the importance of maintaining peace in Asia, repenting the past, and Japan's role as a contributor to peace through Article 9 were deemed as potent rhetorical tools to prevent changes in Japan's security posture.

Finally, the category “Assurance (Anxiety Management)” encompassed 35 codes and represented the rhetoric aimed at managing anxieties and providing reassurance in order to promote proactive security policies by Tokyo. Within this category, subcategories such as “Building a New World Order” and “Japan's Commitment to Peace,” despite, or better to say, through the change offered by the government, received notable attention. Those arguments reflect attempts to alleviate anxieties and address potential objections or criticisms, expressed in the categories “Anxiety” and “Taking Pride in Japan's Constitution/Article 9.”

The above results indicate a notable presence of sentiment-based arguments, particularly in the categories of “Seeking International Recognition”, “Feeling Anxiety,” and “Taking Pride in Japan's Constitution/Article 9.” This suggests that sentiment-based arguments may hold greater persuasive power in driving change or amendment in debates about Japan's Constitution and Article 9, at least in October 1990-February 1991.

However, it is important to note that rational arguments were present as well, particularly in the “High Threat Perception” category. This indicates that threat perception arguments, based on tangible facts and potential risks, can also be viewed as contributing to persuasiveness of pro-revisionist arguments.

Contextual Results

The graph provided below showcases the coding results pertaining to the months in which the Diet deliberations took place. The data is structured into four distinct categories: “Threat Perception Based (P),” “Sentiment-based (P),” “Threat Perception Based (O),” and

“Sentiment-based (O).” In this context, “P” denotes proponents of change, while “O” represents opponents of change. The values within each category represent the count of codes for each respective month.

Contextually, it is noteworthy that the political stakes were higher in February 1991 compared to October 1990. Specifically, in early October 1990, the Kaifu Cabinet presented the UN Peace Co-operation Bill to the Diet, urging the Japanese parliamentarians to consider the cooperation of Japanese Self-Defense Force (SDF) personnel with United Nations peacekeeping forces. The bill, which appeared to lack popular support, was subsequently rejected by the ruling Liberal Democratic Party in early November, citing insufficient deliberations. However, the debates surrounding the discarded bill laid the foundation for future discussions on alternative means for Japan to actively support the United Nations, beyond financial assistance. In January 1991, the Cabinet decided to circumvent the customary legislative process and instead passed an ordinance granting permission for SDF aircraft to provide assistance in transporting refugees. Although this ordinance had not yet been implemented, its introduction sparked intense debates among politicians, thereby increasing the stakes for the Japanese legislators involved (Dobson, 2003).

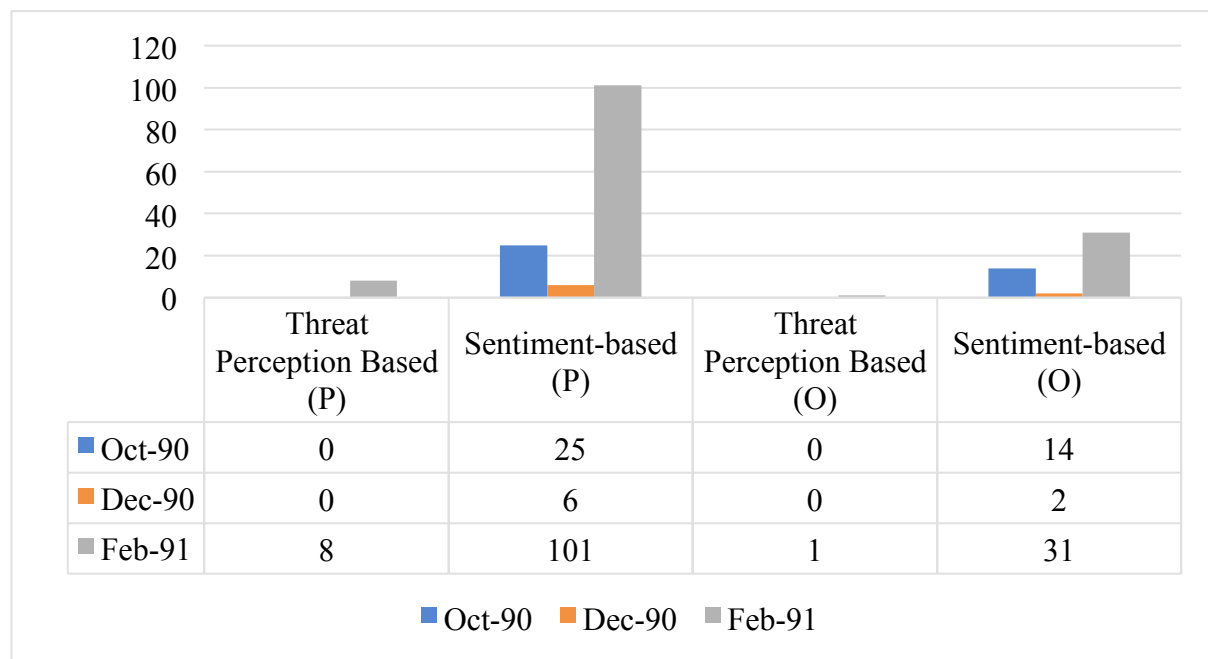


Figure 2. Temporal Analysis of Coding Results by Month.

When analysed against the previously mentioned hypotheses, the findings reveal that there were no instances of threat perception-based arguments (P) recorded in October 1990 and December 1990. However, during the heightened stakes in February 1991, eight instances of threat perception-based arguments (P) were identified. Additionally, only one instance of threat perception-based arguments (O) was recorded in February 1991. These results suggest that as the discussions intensified and the stakes became higher, threat perception arguments started gaining prominence.

The results likewise show a broader usage of sentiment-based arguments to drive change in debates about Japan's Constitution and Article 9 during the Gulf War period. In October 1990, there were 25 instances of sentiment-based arguments, which decreased to six instances in

December 1990, and then significantly increased to 101 instances in February 1991. Similarly, sentiment-based arguments (O) were used in all three time periods, with 14 instances in October 1990, two instances in December 1990, and 31 instances in February 1991. These findings provide strong support for Hypothesis 2, suggesting that sentiment-based arguments were deemed as more persuasive by the Diet members.

The difference in the political significance of the Diet deliberations is reflected in the number of codes for each month. Although it likely influenced the intensity and frequency of both threat perception and sentiment-based arguments, it is worth noting that the proponents of change resorted to emotionally charged claims much more during the period of fiercer contestation. Given Figure 2, one may say that threat perception arguments during this period were relatively insignificant and played a supplementary role in the discussions.

The implications of these findings suggest that a combination of both rational and sentiment-based arguments may be viewed as necessary for effective persuasion in debates about Japan's Constitution and Article 9.

Limitations

It is worth noting that the results of this qualitative content analysis are specific to the selected case study, which focused on the Japan Diet deliberations during the Gulf War (October 1990-February 1991). Further research incorporating a broader range of cases would enhance the generalizability and robustness of the findings.

Conclusions

The analysis of parliamentary debates regarding Japan's Constitution and Article 9 during the Gulf War period sheds light on the persuasive power of different rhetorical approaches. The findings of this study contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics within these debates and the factors that influence political rhetoric around Article 9 and security policies.

The first hypothesis of the present research has posited that threat perception arguments are more persuasive in driving change or amendment in debates about Japan's Constitution and Article 9, while the second hypothesis has stressed the importance of sentiment-based reasoning. The results of this study suggest that sentiment-based arguments were consistently more persuasive in driving change or amendment in the debates about Japan's Constitution and Article 9. However, threat perception arguments gained prominence as the stakes intensified during the deliberations. These findings highlight the significance of emotional resonance and public sentiment, as well as certain influence of perceived threats, in shaping the discourse surrounding potential revisions to Japan's constitutional provisions. As mentioned above, one must consider the limitations of this study, such as the focus on a specific time period and the use of qualitative content analysis. Further research incorporating a greater variability of cases could provide a more comprehensive understanding of the persuasive power of different rhetorical approaches in constitutional debates.

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