Japanese Newspapers and Representations of Taiwan
A Discourse Analysis of the depiction of Taiwan in the Newspaper Editorials of Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun Between 1990-2017

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Abstract

Despite developments and increased cooperation in various fields among the states in East Asia, the political relations have deteriorated due to failure to recognise political identities. However, the relationship between Japan and Taiwan seems like an exception in the otherwise heated political arena. Taiwan shares a similar history of colonisation by Japan with its neighbours, yet the relation is depicted favourably; anti-Japanese or anti-Taiwanese sentiments are rarely visible in the media, and an interest in each others cultures and societies has increased. Why is that? Previous research on Japanese representations of Taiwan is scarce. While the analysis of right-wing discourse has contributed to the understanding of deteriorating political relations, it does not offer enough understanding to explain the favourable relationship between Japan and Taiwan. The purpose of this thesis is to contribute to the explanation of this favourable relationship by examining how Taiwan is discursively understood and depicted in Japanese political mainstream media. In order to accomplish this, this thesis uses Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse analytical framework Discourse Theory to analyse 81 editorials in Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun published between 1990-2017. The analysis identifies three major topics, democracy, stability, and independence, and the insights from further analysis infers an interpretation of the general representation held by the two newspapers. This thesis suggests on the basis of the analysis that Taiwan is depicted as a praised, democratising pupil and not a threat or challenge to Japan in the discourse in liberal and conservative political media. This insight allows to explain to some extent why the relationship is not deteriorating.

Keywords
Japan, Taiwan, international relations, Asahi, Yomiuri, discourse analysis, Discourse Theory, identity, East Asia, Japanese
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1 Introduction

Japan has in the last two decades seen most of its neighbours in East Asia develop and modernise and thereby align with Japan in various fields such as economy and politics. Despite the developed similarities and an increased exchange in economical, cultural and tourism-related areas, the political relations are considered to have deteriorated. Anti-Japan demonstrations in China, cancelled summits and increased military activity at the Korean peninsula and South China Sea are manifestations of deteriorated political relations in the region. China, North Korea and South Korea have seen increased patriotism and anti-Japanese sentiments, to a large extent construed by resurfaced memories of the colonisation and atrocities committed by Japan in the first half of the last century.

However, the relationship between Japan and Taiwan seems like an exception in the otherwise heated political arena of East Asia. Not being recognised as a sovereign nation by the majority of nations worldwide, Taiwan is an important actor in the region, both economically and related to security issues. Taiwan shares similar colonial and war experiences as Korea and China, however, Japan bashing does not seem to be as prevalent in Taiwan as in China and South Korea. Taiwan has also seen a rapid democratisation and improved living standards fairly similar to South Korea. When visiting bookstores in Japan, books by large publishers such as Shoudensha Shinsho and Asahi Shimbun Shuppan with a Taiwan-friendly profile can be found on front shelves. Taiwan might for example be depicted as being in a “destined community” with Japan. Polls surveying cultural values and sentiments in East Asia among the populations show a comparably friendly stance between Japanese and Taiwanese as well.

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1 Kushner, Barak, "Pawns of Empire: Postwar Taiwan, Japan and the dilemma of War Crimes.” in *Statecraft and spectacle in East Asia: studies in Taiwan-Japan relations*. Ed. Adam Clulow (London: Routledge, 2011), 108-127; See the whole volume of *Statecraft and spectacle in East Asia: studies in Taiwan-Japan relations*, edited by Adam Clulow, for further accounts on Taiwan-Japan relations from different historical time periods.


3 Kase, 2009, 5 *日本と台湾国民は、将来を分かち合う二つの島国の民である。両国は「運命共同体」である。*
as them sharing some similar values. Online search on news about Taiwan and Japan also inform on a common representation of Taiwan in Japan that seems to be favourable. How come the Taiwan-Japan relations seem to be less infested with issues causing negative sentiments like with the other countries in East Asia and rather point to a favourable relationship?

Recent research by scholars in political science suggests that the cause of deterioration of the political relations in this region can be traced to national identities. These political identities are suggested to be discursively constructed, for example, by editorials in political mass media and parliamentary debates. These identity constructions also involve depictions of other states in the political discourse. Failure to recognise, and to have an identity recognised are suggested to cause deteriorating relationships. China is no longer in need of financial support from Japan and has employed anti-Japan rhetoric in education and museums in order to raise patriotism, while Japanese politicians seek recognition from China of its financial contributions during the last decades that facilitated China’s raise and at the same time aim at downplaying its apologetic stance towards its neighbours in a step for Japan to gain the status of a “normal country” in the international community. If political identities and related depictions of other states could explain deteriorating relations in the region, could they also contribute to an explanation of the favourable relationship between Japan and Taiwan?

There is a vast amount of research on Japan-China and Taiwan-China political relations, yet research on how Taiwan is depicted and understood in political discourse in Japan is scarce. A few examples of research on depictions of Taiwan provide some insights, but due to their

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4 データで見る東アジアの文化と価値観 (Culture and Values in East Asia), edited by Iwai, Noriko (岩井紀子), and Mitsue Ueda (上田光明), Tokyo: ラツニキ ユーコ出版, 2011; “Singapore, Japan, Canada top list of Taiwanese’ favourite countries” Japan Times, March 20, 2017; “Poll shows most Japanese feel affection for Taiwan”, Taipei Times, June 3, 2011.

5 “Ex-leader Lee Teng-hui cites Taiwan’s ties to Ishigaki Island as model for bilateral relations”, Japan Times. August 1 2016; “Japan’s Practical Taiwan Policy, What’s driving Japan’s outreach toward Taiwan?”, The Diplomat, April 14, 2017.


narrow focus on rather extreme right-wing representations, or neglect of what topics Taiwan is constructed in relation to in Japanese political discourse, this previous research does not provide insights that could contribute to the explanation to why Japan-Taiwan relations are currently favourable.

A reason for this research gap could be that a seemingly favourable relationship does not invite investigation since it is not perceived as a “problem” in society to be examined by scholars. However, this thesis argues that Japan-Taiwan relations are important to examine since they could provide insights that invite for additional research on how other states are depicted by Japan.

This thesis is written in the interdisciplinary Master Program of Asian Studies. The author of this thesis has ventured from his base discipline of cultural studies into the discipline of political science and this interdisciplinary transition with the work involved could be considered to have resulted in a hybrid-type of thesis. The interest and motivation for the research questions evolved during previous cultural studies, however the literature and methodology used in this thesis was mainly extracted from the works of social sciences and political science scholars. This hybridity might invite readers from different disciplines, although some might question the omission of important works, on identity for example, from the discipline of cultural studies. In order to maintain a consistent and focused inquiry, these types of omissions were considered necessary.

1.1 Purpose and research questions

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the explanation to why the Japan-Taiwan relationship seems to be favourable in contrast to Japan’s relationships with its other neighbours. In order to accomplish this, this thesis traces how the representation of Taiwan in Japanese political media has developed from 1990 until 2017, a time period with rapid changes in economy and democracy in several countries, to further the understanding of how Taiwan is depicted and understood in Japan. By utilising a discourse analysis framework to
examine a delineated discourse, this thesis aims at identifying major topics related to Taiwan and with these findings contribute to the understanding of what constitutes the representation.

The analysis will look into how Taiwan is discursively made up in editorials in Japan’s two largest circulating daily newspapers Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun from 1990 to 2017. Frequency of topics as well as how these topics inform on different ways of representing Taiwan in these two ideologically different newspapers might indicate a common, shared view or, on the contrary, indicate a diverse, changing view of Taiwan in Japan. Consequently, the general representations of Taiwan depicted in these editorials might present possible explanations to the favourable relationship, or phrased differently, to why the relation has not deteriorated, as political relations have done. Mainstream political media is here defined as liberal/leftist and conservative/rightist media that, for example, mostly avoid explicit extremist rhetoric such as pro-/anti- labels when depicting other states or cultures.

The questions this thesis seeks to answer are:
• How has Taiwan been represented in Japanese newspaper editorials in the past and how have these depictions changed in terms of what topics are articulated and in what way?
• What similar representations are to be found in both newspapers and on the contrary, what different representations are there?
• How does the liberal newspaper Asahi Shimbun and the conservative newspaper Yomiuri Shimbun differ in discourse on Taiwan.
• How can the insights from these questions contribute to explaining the relatively favourable relationship between Japan and Taiwan?

By identifying and analysing the main topics in discourse on Taiwan in Japanese leading newspapers, this study will further the understanding of how Taiwan is understood and represented in Japan.
1.2 Outline of the thesis

This thesis is divided into 5 major sections, starting with the introduction. 1.4 presents an overview of related research and theoretical claims in a literature review. The following section 2 presents the theoretical framework with the discourse analysis methodology chosen for this study. This is followed by section 3 on material and method which covers the motivation of the choice of material, its delineation and delimitations, and an account on the analysis in practice. Next is the section 4, the analysis that presents and discusses findings of the discourse analysis. This section ends in a sub-section, 4.5 with a summary of the analysis and its results. Lastly in section 5 is the conclusion that connects the result of the analysis to the previous research, the questions it raised and the purpose stated in the introduction on the basis of the theoretical framework.

1.3 A note on translation and citation

This thesis analyses editorials in Japanese newspapers and therefore contains Japanese words and quoted sentences. In the field of Japanese studies it is common practise to present quotes or words in Japanese together with transcription according to systems such as the Hepburn system and English translation, sometimes in the text body. An example could be: 日本 (Nihon - Japan). However, this thesis works on premises and methods that borrows mainly from the academic discipline of political science, and the text body will therefore only contain the author’s English translation within citation marks in order to avoid disruption in the reading experience of the discussion. It accounts for the original Japanese word or sentence in a footnote, sometimes after the reference of the source material. There are exceptions to this rule however. When referring to previous research that uses the transcript word in the original texts, ex. han’ichi (anti-Japan), it is used in the same manner. In a few instances the kanji is written out in the body for easier explanation of how one meaning can have different kanji in Japanese. Ex. 日本 (Japan), 日中 (Japan and China).
Macrons were not used for Japanese transcript and Japanese names were written in western word order. The name いわぶちこういち is written as Kouichi Iwabuchi.

Terminology from the theoretical framework and the identified major topics on Taiwan was written in italics in order to highlight their special connotation in the discussions. Quotes in Japanese are translated into English, however, they are as far as possible preserved in the original, which means the words that denote the topics that appear within a quote will not be in italics.

Names of Taiwanese presidents appear in several occasions. This thesis uses the officially used names in English translation found in newspapers and other media. These names are abbreviated later on to the surname of the president.

This thesis uses the Chicago Manual of Style (NB) system and following the recommendation found in a PDF on Purdue OWL’s homepage the quotes from the analysed editorials are only accounted for in a footnote and not in the bibliography in the end. The footnotes include name of newspaper, the word editorial and the date and year. This information is sufficient to trace the sources of the quotes.

1.4 Literature review

This section introduces previous research related to this thesis’ purpose. The aim is to outline literature and research on Japanese discourse and how Taiwan is discursively represented. First it presents a brief account on how recent academic research in political science on international relations deals with identity and discourse in East Asia. It then reviews two research articles by Karl Gustafsson and Jens Sejrup. The article by Gustafsson serves as previous research to which this thesis aims to contribute and it also borrows from Gustafsson’s method to this thesis’ analysis. This enables a critical comparison of results as

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well as method. Due to this twofold role, Gustafsson’s research is accounted for again in the material and method section of this thesis. The following literature are two articles on how Taiwanese representation manifests in discourse. Yih-Jye Hwang’s article and the study by Hui-Ching Chang and G. Richard Holt contribute with examples of how Taiwan has been represented by different actors of diverse ideological stance and different motives.

This thesis works largely around research and methods by scholars from social sciences and political science and claims concerning the current research situation are made with these academic disciplines in focus. Cultural studies, for example, also deal with Japanese identity. The neglect of scholars from cultural studies has the implication that this thesis does not claim validity of its conclusion to apply outside of the political science discourse on international relations. However, it might still contribute with insights that can be of value in various disciplines.

1.4.1 Identity construction in discursive struggle

Japanese national identity has been a frequently researched theme in political science in the last decade and the number of publications does not seem to drop.\(^9\) The reason for this interest in examining the Japanese national identity is that scholars in political science believe a deeper understanding of the identity construction of Japan might explain policy changes and other political actions internationally or domestically. Seemingly irrational or illogical behaviour, or relationships that challenge norms and predictions might be better understood by examining how the Japanese identity is discursively constructed.\(^10\) East Asia was heavily affected by the Cold War which severed communications and exchange between the countries. Authoritarian nationalist regimes in Taiwan and South Korea, British governed Hong Kong, secluded communist regimes in China and North Korea, and a democratic, capitalist Japan. Up to the 90s Japan was considered to be the most advanced, richest and

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\(^10\) Hagström and Gustafsson, 2015, 16-17; Gustafsson, 2016, 613-614.
modern of the countries in East Asia, if not of all countries outside of Europe and North America. Beginning in the 80s and peaking during the 90s, China, South Korea and Taiwan went through rapid economic changes and developments, and in the case of South Korea and Taiwan, fairly peaceful democratisation processes. At the same time, Japan’s unprecedented economic growth ended violently, and this is nowadays referred to as the burst bubble economy. Research on national identities related to the political realm increased after the 90s, and both South Korea and China started to bring back memories of the war-past into the diplomacy and education discourse; Japan saw a current of nationalistic movement aiming to abolish its identity of aggressor towards its neighbours; attempts of new identity constructions for the countries in East Asia are considered to have started during the 90s. These discursively constructed national identities in politics and failures to acknowledge them are considered by some scholars as the source of deteriorating political and diplomatic relations in the region. Gustafsson writes in his conclusion that: “ […] deteriorations in interstate relations can result from disruptions to states’ reciprocally performed routinised recognition […]”.

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11 Identity research in other disciplines such as cultural studies are not accounted for in this thesis. More on Japanese culture and national identity from a cultural perspective can be read in the work of Tessa Morris-Suzuki: Morris-Suzuki, Tessa, "The Invention and Reinvention of "Japanese Culture." The Journal Of Asian Studies no. 3 (1995): 759-780.


13 Yinan He’s article on how “Creole Nationalism” developed in Taiwan as a result of Taiwan’s relations to its former masters of Japan and China provides a detailed background on Taiwanese domestic politics and historical events that are argued to affect this in discourse: He, Yinan, “Identity Politics And Foreign Policy: Taiwan's Relations With China And Japan, 1895-2012”, Political Science Quarterly (Wiley-Blackwell), vol. 129, no. 1 (2014): 469-500.


15 Gustafsson, 2016a, 631.
1.4.2 Right-wing discourse and depictions of Taiwan

Gustafsson has in a systematic way examined the use of the term *han’ichi* (anti-Japanese) in Japanese daily newspapers.\(^{16}\) Contrary to previous research on Anti-Japanism that claims it is a declining phenomenon, Gustafsson discovered an increased use of the term *han’ichi* in editorials of Japanese newspapers during the period 1990 to 2012. He shifts focus in his inquiry from how identity is constructed in relation to, what he calls “obvious Others”, China for example, to how certain Japanese individuals are denoted as anti-Japanese due to their views.\(^{17}\) This *han’ichi* discourse within Japan discursively denotes persons with ideas that could be interpreted as pro-China for example, as anti-Japanese and thereby adversaries to Japan. Gustafsson analyses parliamentary debates and three major newspapers: *Asahi Shimbun*, *Yomiru Shimbun* and *Sankei Shimbun*, and also their affiliated magazines and books. His findings show that the right-wing *Sankei* and especially its extreme right-wing magazine *Sapio* use the rhetoric of *han’ichi* frequently when labelling opponents in editorials and domestic debates, while *Asahi*, *Yomiuri* and the parliament rarely, if ever, use it.\(^{18}\) He concludes that: “… Japanese identity is constructed not only in relation to other groups, but through discursive struggle over the meaning of “Japaneseness,” [sic.] which takes place in the discourse on anti-Japanism. Such dividing practices constitutes a form of “Othering” that goes beyond obvious, or easily identifiable, Others.”\(^{19}\)

Gustafsson claims that *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* arguably can be considered representative of the mainstream opinion in the context of Japanese political media, and this thesis follows the same assumption.\(^{20}\) Gustafsson’s insight in the right-wing use of *han’ichi* provides understanding on how Others might be discursively represented by extreme opinions in political discourse. However, his article focusing on a single phenomenon does not present what alternatives or contrasting views *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* would articulate on some of the

\(^{16}\) Gustafsson, 2015a, 41. 反日
\(^{17}\) Gustafsson, 2015a, 42-43.
\(^{18}\) Gustafsson, 2015a, 52.
\(^{19}\) Gustafsson, 2015a, 54-55.
\(^{20}\) Gustafsson, 2015a, 52-53.
events that are labelled *han’nichi* in *Sankei* and *Sapio*. This is in line with his purpose and research question, yet a different focus of inquiry could contribute to the understanding of how Japanese newspapers discursively depict events or phenomenons that could be considered to influence the society or politics on a mainstream level. Gustafsson’s research provides this thesis with insights on how Japan depicts Others in a way that can be related to deteriorating relations. His insights do not however offer any hints on how Japan depicts Others in a way that could explain a favourable relationship.

Jens Sejrup’s analysis of a large text corpus of newspapers among other news sources in Japan and Taiwan, shows how Taiwan is being depicted in media as following a trajectory into modernity already paved out by Japan.\(^{21}\) Sejrup uses over 1500 individual texts from the first decade of 2000s and the results of his inquiry inform on a mentor-pupil type of relation between the two countries. Sejrup focuses his inquiry on the material around three specific cases of depiction. One is how Japan is pictured as an important actor of the founding and development of modern Taiwan. Another is how Taiwan on the other hand is depicted as in need of a precedent, Japan, to solve its present problems by learning from Japan’s past. Finally, the foundation of the relations between the two societies can be explained as a historically fixed advancement of Japan ahead of Taiwan.\(^{22}\) In his analysis Sejrup argues that “The idea seems to be that Japan has a mature democracy and that Japan is ‘liberalist’ and orderly (that is the implicit meaning of ‘a law-abiding nation’: general law cannot be disorderly in this line of thinking). In other words, Japan already has it all and has nothing to learn, while Taiwan is steadily on the move towards that goal.”\(^{23}\)

Sejrup thus identifies some traits of Japanese and Taiwanese discursive representations in their relation to each other, and since he also examines *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* among other newspapers, it could be possible to trace the same traits in this study’s analysis as well. However, in the cited article he does not evaluate or highlight how each newspaper performs in the discourse; he does not provide a clear comparison, as Gustafsson did in his article

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\(^{22}\) Sejrup, 2012, 748.

\(^{23}\) Sejrup, 2012, 758.
where he for example argued *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* represent “mainstream” opinion. Neither does Sejrup’s article present quantitative evidence to back up his conclusions. Despite his textual corpus being vast he does not anchor his findings in terms of frequency in each source. Nonetheless, his conclusion provides insight in how Taiwan is depicted. This thesis might support and contribute to his findings concerning the trajectory notion by introducing more details of the discourse on Taiwan. This thesis works within some common frames with Sejrup’s study related to time and material and is therefore a fairly comparable source of reference to the results of this thesis’ analysis.

Yih-Jye Hwang has examined the discourse on the controversial manga *On Taiwan* by the right-wing cartoonist Yoshinori Kobayashi. His study differs from Gustafsson and Sejrup in that Hwang examines a discourse in newspapers and debates around a mediated idea, in the form of a manga book by one author, whereas Gustafsson and Sejrup examine discourse in a wider sense, not materialised into a physical object, or connected to a certain individual. Hwang’s study could in a sense be seen as meta study, where he performs an analysis of a discourse on a discourse. Kobayashi produced a manga from building blocks of the Japanese right-wing discourse on Taiwan, in which Japan is depicted as benevolent and beneficiary to Taiwan’s development, and picturing the Chinese influence as negative. Hwang analyses the discourse in media on this right-wing discourse. *On Taiwan* became famous, and infamous, in 2001 for its simplified depiction of Taiwan and a Taiwanese people that largely benefited from the Japanese colonial rule and how this heritage constructed the unique national identity of Taiwanese. Kobayashi, in his anti-China sentiment, proposed that Taiwanese identity is mainly made up of Japanese contributions to the modernisation of Taiwan, in terms of infrastructure, morale and control. Despite the controversy and strong opposition towards its depictions, it became a best seller in Taiwan the same year. However, Kobayashi was initially banned by the government from entering Taiwan after the release of the manga but this

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24 Kouichi Iwabuchi has dealt with similar traits in cultural studies where he also identified this advanced position by Japan and a sense of nostalgia when Japanese consumes its neighbours mass media in Iwabuchi, Kouichi. "Time and the neighbor: Japanese media consumption of Asia in the 1990s." Rogue flows: trans-Asian cultural traffic. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University press, 2004: 151-174.

decision in turn met strong opposition among the population as it was considered infringing on human rights in the form of freedom of speech. Hwang shows in his study how the historical narratives, in particular the colonial rule of Japan, are discursively used among nationalists in Taiwan and right-wing politicians and activists in Japan in order to distance Taiwan from China, and shed a positive light on Japanese history. It is not a question if the Japanese investments in the Taiwanese society during the colonial rule in fact influenced the unique Taiwanese self-awareness and national identity or not, but how this right-wing historical depiction discursively promotes that opinion. Hwang refers to Hayden White and follows his arguments that the present does not derive directly from actual events in the past, but rather from how these events are narrated, represented and interpreted. Hwang continues to argue for further research on how conflicting and competitive narratives and interpretations interrelate to each other. He means that research should focus on this interrelationship of different narratives rather than trying to unfold a “true” account of the past.26 Hwang also highlights an important notion of discourse: what is not included, and what this can tell about the identity of the “Self” that performs the discourse.

Hwang’s conclusions can be added to Gustafsson’s account on how discourse might construe different depictions depending on the ideology of the participants. Since Asahi and Yomiuri is more situated in the political centre the historical apologist/glorifying discourse that Hwang identifies should probably not be found in this thesis material. Hwang’s insight also echoes one of the findings of Sejrup, on how Japan depicts Taiwan as a pupil who should learn from its former master. What Hwang’s article does not offer, is a contrasting account on how Taiwan is depicted by non right-wing actors, in fact he does not suggest there are competing views on Taiwan in Japan. This study could contribute with an insight to this problem by identifying if Asahi and Yomiuri refer to the colonial era at all in their editorials on Taiwan, and if they do, how they depict that era.

Earlier accounts on how Taiwan is depicted or represented before the time frame of the material this thesis examines, will prove if specific depictions this analysis might find, have been used already in the past or are new phenomenons. Empirical research in English on

26 Hwang, 2010, 76-77.
political news material from before the 90s is scarce. By widening the scope of the type of material however, there are sources worth mentioning. Hui-Ching Chang and G. Richard Holt show how three different publishers in the field of English tourist literature written for westerners depict Taiwan in different ways along a continuum of traditional vs. modernity in their claim of representing the cultural Other. Chang and Holt compare how an official Taiwanese guidebook issued by the GMD government in the end of the 80s depicts Taiwan’s modern history to how two independent publishers, one in Hong Kong and one in Australia, do it. They argue that the different publishers’ choice of words show the sociopolitical aims of the texts. A clear example is how the three different sources depict how the nationalists transferred to Taiwan after the loss in the Chinese civil war in 1949. The official account states that Taiwan was “restored to” Nationalist rule. The Hong Kong publisher depicts it more neutral: the Nationalist government “moved to” Taiwan. The Australian publisher describes the transfer in a negative sense, the Nationalists’ “evacuation […] following defeat”. Chang and Holt argue that these three depictions respectively represent a favourable stance, a neutral stance and an unfavourable stance on how to depict the cultural Other, in this case GMD in particular and Taiwan in general. By using the same historical event but different rhetoric describing it, actors in the present can choose from which narrative to construct the present identity of Taiwan, or more specific parts of Taiwan, such as the political party GMD.

Chang and Holt’s research differs from this thesis in aspects of time frame and origin of the material and its readership, but theoretically they perform a discourse analysis that is similar and their findings that show the ambivalent depictions of Taiwan do have some similarities with the motivation of this thesis. In their study, they do not include quantitive evidence like Gustafsson did in his research. This has the implication that it is unclear to what extent these differences in discourse actually could have an effect on the readership and in a wider extension the view of Taiwan in the readerships’ home countries. A published guidebook’s circulation is undoubtedly much less than a daily newspaper, of the seize of Asahi and Yomiuri. It could be difficult to make any claims on correlation between a public view of an

Other and a published work with no quantitive aspects in the analysis of it. Chang and Holt do not either explicitly sort the publishers in a political/ideological spectrum in their article which this thesis takes into account. However, their focus on depictions of Taiwan in the notion of a continuum of development is of interest in that it shares traits with Sejrup’s study that discovers “progress” and “development” to be keywords in how Taiwan is represented. In light of Chang and Holt’s study it is possible to draw conclusions that the development or progress depiction is not only held by Japan and Taiwan, which Sejrup focuses on, but also by actors outside East Asia, in this case an Australian publisher.

This section has presented literature on how Taiwan has been, and still is discursively represented, and also presented examples of how Japan depicts Others in discourse. It started by introducing research of Karl Gustafsson and Jens Sejrup, who both have analysed discourse in Japanese newspapers. Gustafsson shows how right-wing media use pejorative depictions of adversaries to try to influence policy making in politics. Sejrup identifies certain traits of how Japan discursively depicts Taiwan in official discourse. Hwang discusses in his article how Japanese nationalists used the colonial history of the Japanese rule of Taiwan in discourse for political purpose, by examining the discourse on the infamous manga *On Taiwan*. Lastly, Chang and Holt compare how different politically motivated agents choose to depict the cultural Other, Taiwan, for English readers of tourist literature. The ambiguous identity of Taiwan is visible in the different depictions, inferring that the representation of Taiwan is discursively made up by different political agendas, and with different focus. These previous researches provide knowledge on how discourse might construe the representation of Taiwan, to which this thesis might contribute with further details. They also give hints on what to look for in the delineated material of this analysis.
2 Theoretical framework and method

This section introduces the theoretical framework used for the discourse analysis of this thesis. It begins in 2.1 with a brief, general overview of the concepts of discourse and discourse analysis. The theoretical framework consists of parts from *Discourse Theory* developed by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe and is presented in 2.2.

2.1 Discourse and discourse analysis

The thesis performs discourse analysis on the definition of discourse drawn from the works of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe as a process of communicative actions to fixate meaning in the society.29 This means that by talking, writing or performing, someone produces or reproduces how something is represented in the world. The physical world exists outside of discourse, but it is through discourse that things and events in it gain meaning.30 Thereby the discourse might affect social practise on the premises of that meaning. One example is how a murder attempt on a politician is reported; it could be depicted as an attack on democracy and perhaps result in a wider debate on anti-democratic movements; it could be linked to mental illness and a failure of related policies and rehabilitation procedures of such illness. Another example could be how missile tests by North Korea are reported as a security threat and provocation against Japan, South Korea and USA and thereby raise the possibility of increased military budgets in those countries; it might as well be reported as a natural counter measure by North Korea to military exercises performed in its vicinity by South Korea and USA. The point is that the action might undeniably have taken place in the physical world; a politician was attacked or murdered; North Korea did launch missiles in the direction of Japan, however, it is the discourse on these events that fixates meaning to them. On a political

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30 Laclau and Mouffe, 2008, 159-161.
scale, discourse might affect policy making. It could do so in different ways depending on for example how widespread the discourse becomes or the ideology of the actors. A perceived external security threat before an election might influence the public opinion to vote for a certain candidate or party that is deemed suited for the challenge. Public opinion polls may affect policy changes. Regardless of how of a phenomenon manifests itself in society or in the world, some schools of discourse analysis such as Laclau and Mouffe’s *Discourse Theory* propose that it is from the discourse on that phenomenon that social practice is chosen and initiated.\(^{31}\)

In their work “Hegemony and Socialist Strategy” among other, Laclau and Mouffe outline the premises for the framework *Discourse Theory*, which will be further accounted for in the next sub-section. It works on the premise that everything is constituted by discourse; something gains meaning from how we talk of, write about or act upon it. There are no predetermined “structures” or areas in society that constitute or regulate discourse, structures are reproduced by discourse itself. Some schools of discourse analysis however, such as Norman Fairclough and his *Critical Discourse Theory*, argue that there is a field that exists outside discourse\(^{32}\). This notion is sometimes referred to as “extra-discursivity”.\(^{33}\) These two different notions of discourse have different implications in an analysis. In the case of *Discourse Theory*, not only explicit vocative measures that are often understood as discursive actions, but also non-vocative actions are considered to be part of discourse. A missile launch by North Korea could thus be considered part of a discourse as well as a murder attempt could be. The notion of extra-discursivity rather claims that discourse is always laden with power from preset structures, but power is not necessarily interwoven with discourse and power could therefore be seen as existing in the extra-discursive field.\(^{34}\)

\(^{31}\) Laclau and Mouffe, 2008, 161; Laclau, 1990, 100.


As mentioned above, this thesis chooses to view discourse from the perspective of Laclau and Mouffe; discourse entirely constitutes the social without any preset structures. By the choice of that definition, this thesis discards Fairclough’s view on discourse that works on the premise of an extra-discursive field that is laden with power and constitutes discourse in a dialectical relation, meaning it both constitutes the social and is constituted by social structures. The implication of the choice of this theoretical angle is that the editorial could be seen as an independent voice that, unaffected by actual events and actions in relation to Taiwan, construes how Taiwan is represented through the discourse on these events and actions. In reality however, a big event in relation to Taiwan would probably result in a written editorial about this event, perhaps motivated by the ideological stance of the newspaper or the wish of its financial support base. This indicates the presence of extra-discursivity; a dialectical relation between discourse and the materialistic reality. However, theoretically Discourse Theory provides enough tools to analyse a delineated discourse in an editorial, since it is not the aim of this thesis to examine why Asahi and Yomiuri write about Taiwan, rather how they choose to write about it.

What is also an important dimension in the definition of discourse mentioned above is that it implies that to fixate a meaning, other possible meanings are discarded or omitted. This insight makes it possible to assess someone’s intention and position by identifying what he/she is articulating in a discourse as well as is not articulating in the same discourse. If a discourse reaches hegemony, in discourse analysis defined as a ruling discourse, it may thereby ignore or obstruct certain practices or policies, thereby leaving minority opinions aside, as one example of implication.

2.2 Laclau & Mouffe’s Discourse Theory

Discourse Theory (hereinafter referred to as DT) opposes historical materialism in Marxist theory in that historical materialism proposes that the social has an extra-discursive dimension in the form of a materialistic base that postulates and regulates discourse in society.35

35 Laclau and Mouffe, 2008, 159-163.
Marxism’s historical materialism thus argues that the nature of peoples’ involvement in discourse is predetermined or constrained by the economy and production means.\textsuperscript{36} \textit{DT} opposes this deterministic notion in Marxism and takes a post-structuralist approach, meaning it also opposes the notion of a fixated and unchangeable structure in language that structuralism aims to uncover.\textsuperscript{37} Structuralism holds that discourse is constrained by predetermined and solid structures in language, like a solid net without any possibilities for change in the meaning bearing knots, identified as \textit{nodal points} or \textit{moments} in \textit{DT} terminology. \textit{DT} suggests that all social practise and meaning making is discursively constituted.\textsuperscript{38} There are no fixed structures in society that are unaffected by discourse; all seemingly natural, solid structures are open for change in a discursive struggle over their meaning. However, critic against this fluid view of discourse and the social could be met with the explanation that it does not infer that all discourses have the same impact or the same possibilities to cause change in meaning in society. Yet theoretically the possibility always exists. This thesis understands this view as in the following example: we divide humans and animals in two simple categories, a separation that is an objectively accepted categorisation. But this categorisation could change in the future and, for example, lead to further division of the animal category. The objective view that our world is inhabited by humans and animals might change, however, it will probably be a slow and contested discursive struggle to reach that point.

Discourse in the \textit{DT} definition and ontology can be illustrated as a fishnet to explain how the different terms work in discourse.\textsuperscript{39} Discourses exists on various levels and interact with each other. There are in other words numerous fishnets linked together in a number of connection points in the form of words, themes, topics etc. In structuralism, the fishnet would be fixed and unable to change its links or expand or narrow down. In post-structuralism the fishnet is

\begin{flushright}
\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{36} Laclau and Mouffe, 2008, 126.
\textsuperscript{37} Laclau and Mouffe, 2008, 26, 138-142, 204-205. See chapter 1-2 in the same work for an elaborate account of their criticism of Marxist theory.
\textsuperscript{38} Laclau and Mouffe, 2008, 159.
\end{quote}
\end{flushright}
rather unstable, some connections are more contingent than others and there are always several possibilities of an alteration of the structure and contents of the fishnet.

Laclau and Mouffe introduce and define a set of terms that can be utilised when performing a discourse analysis in order to identify and assess what different signs in the discourse means or enable in the meaning making.\textsuperscript{40} The purpose of this thesis is to contribute to the explanation on why Japan and Taiwan have a favourable relationship by examining how Taiwan is discursively represented in newspaper editorials. This thesis considers Taiwan to be an important topic in \textit{Asahi} and \textit{Yomiuri}. The discourse on the topic Taiwan contains a number of sub-topics, \textit{nodal points} in DT terminology, around which meaning is produced or reproduced, and consequently constitute meaning to the whole, Taiwan. The common topics in connection to Taiwan can be identified and translated into terminology of the DT framework. With this insight it is possible to identify \textit{when}, and \textit{how} the representation changes, due to the status each term holds in the discourse. The following sub-sections introduces a couple of terms that this thesis considered suitable for this analysis, and explains with brief examples what roles they play in discourse. The reason for the selection of these terms is that each of them, identified as a topic or word in the texts, or how these are preformed in discourse, is deemed to enable the analysis to apply the fictive fishnet to the editorial and thereby identify \textit{where}, (in which years/under which topics), and \textit{how}, (by which signifying words/how the words are used), change in discourse is articulated and thereby how the representation of Taiwan might have changed.

\textbf{Nodal point}
A central term in a DT to which in connection other words gain meaning in the same discourse.\textsuperscript{41} For example, \textit{Japan} could be a \textit{nodal point} in a discourse on East Asia, which can be illustrated as Japan being a strong knot in the fishnet of East Asia with many connections to it. Other words in the same discourse gain specific meaning in relation to the word \textit{Japan}. In the same discourse on East Asia \textit{Taiwan} might also be a \textit{nodal point}, and \textit{Confucianism}

\textsuperscript{40} Laclau and Mouffe, 2008, 157-170.

\textsuperscript{41} Laclau and Mouffe, 2008, 168.
could be argued to be another. In this sense a certain discourse is built around several
important words. To empirically identify *nodal points* in a discourse could be a first step in
conducting a discourse analysis, since it reveals what could be viewed as a structure of that
discourse.\(^\text{42}\)

**Moment**

A meaning bearing knot in the imagined *fishnet.* A discursive struggle is trying to fixate
meaning and thereby creating *a moment* in discourse, but this meaning bearing knot is always
open for discursive change, in line with *DT’s* post-structuralist view on discourse.\(^\text{43}\)

Government of GMD “fled” to Taiwan according to some historical accounts. However, as
Chang and Holt’s study showed, this act by GMD is described differently depending on
source: “evacuated…”, “moved to” etc. These words that describe GMD movement could be
crucial *moments* in different discourse on GMD history, for example. The *moment,* the act of
moving to Taiwan, is opened up to other meanings in discursive struggle and in this case the
changed perception of how GMD moved to Taiwan could change the whole representation of
GMD. As cowards fleeing to safety or perhaps as an actor making rational choices as war
strategies.

**Floating signifier**

A word with a high degree of contested meaning.\(^\text{44}\) The word *Taiwan* could be argued to be a
*floating signifier* in a discourse in Japan. From a pro-China source in Japan, Taiwan could
possibly be depicted as a sort of rebel state, endangering the geopolitical security in East Asia.
It could also, from an anti-China source, be depicted as a de-facto independent country,
threatened by a bullying China. The more complex something is in the material world, one
could say that the higher possibility that its meaning is contested in discourse and thereby
gains the status of *floating signifier.* But this is always depending on how each discourse is
framed and delineated. By identifying *floating signifiers* in a specific discourse, it is possible
to trace where in a discourse different agents are involved in discursive struggle over
meaning.

\(^{42}\) As accounted for previously, *DT* opposes the notion of solid structures but due to slow discursive
change, this thesis understands it as a sense of a structure might still be identified.

\(^{43}\) Laclau and Mouffe, 2008, 157.

\(^{44}\) Laclau, 1990, 28; Laclau and Mouffe, 2008, 195.
Articulation

*Articulation* is the action that deploys, in this case, different topics in discourse in order to constitute a certain meaning.⁴⁵ By mentioning democracy in discourse on Taiwan repeatedly, democracy is *articulated* as a signifier of Taiwan.

Objectivity

Laclau and Mouffe define this as a sedimented discourse.⁴⁶ The discursive struggle over a floating signifier has subsided over time and left is a *moment*, connoting a meaning that appears not to have any contingency left in it; it does not invite other interpretations, we take it for granted. Vietnam is rarely mentioned when addressing East Asia, despite its historical close connections with China rather than its southern neighbours. It is an example of *objectivity*, it is a sedimented notion that has been discursively constructed, and rarely contested anymore.

Antagonism & Hegemonic intervention

*Antagonism* is the action when meaning is being contested in struggle.⁴⁷ This action might subside by an *hegemonic intervention*,⁴⁸ a ruling discourse that manages to fixate the meaning of the *floating signifier*, turning it into a *moment*. Asahi and Yomiuri might view an event from different perspectives and by *articulating* differently, constituting different meaning to the event. The event is a *floating signifier* in discourse, its meaning being contested and not fixated. However, new knowledge or another voice may act as a *hegemonic intervention*, ruling out other meanings, resulting in a *moment*. The view on “comfort women”, the women forced into prostitution during Japan’s war in Asia, has *antagonism* to it in that right-wing voices in Japan try to reduce Japan’s burden of guilt, while other voices try to make Japan claim responsibility to a larger extent than presently. Taiwan has obvious *antagonistic* struggle to its meaning in light of its own claim for independence and China’s claim that it is an autonomous region of China.

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In line with the criticism of deterministic structuralism, DT is not interested in identifying a discourse structure, as much as detecting changes in discourse. DT considers what a discourse omits, in this case, what meanings in discourse on Taiwan are not articulated in Asahi and Yomiuri. Omitted meanings imply there may have been, and may be other possible meanings to our society. It could be a challenge to detect that something is omitted in a discourse. However, there are ways of theoretically identify other meanings not articulated in a specific discourse. First of all, an event might appear in discourse but never be articulated in apparent meaning making. One editorial might mention an event in a sentence without assigning any particular meaning to it, while another editorial might articulate this same event and assign meaning in the discourse. Second, the literature review presented previous research related to this study, where Taiwan is shown to be represented in different ways. These previous research findings are taken into consideration when discussing the result of the analysis. Some meanings could be omitted in Asahi and Yomiuri, what implications could it have in the overall representation of Taiwan? A third way is to consider accounts on things that has happened in relation to Taiwan, yet does not appear in the discourse. This demands knowledge of the subject and/or plenty of time to search and map all possible articulations in discourse. This leads to another concept in DT denoted the field of discursivity. This is the area outside a specific discourse which houses all other discourses which at any moment could intervene and engage in struggle over meaning with the delineated discourse. This is an important insight when defining a subject in discourse. For example, Taiwan may be depicted as a struggling, new democracy whose biggest challenge is to balance its stance towards China. Taiwan might however have several other challenges as well that are not articulated in Japanese editorials; these might exist in the field of discursivity and could possibly enter the discourse at any time.

As mentioned in the introduction, the cause of the deteriorated relations in East Asia can be traced to discursively constructed identities. In order to explain some traits of this process of identity construction, the following part is a brief account on how Laclau and Mouffe deal with construction and perception of the subject and identity in discourse. According to Laclau and Mouffe, someone’s or something’s identity is discursively made up and by identification

with a subject position in a discourse.\textsuperscript{50} This identification is always organised in relation to something the subject is \textit{not}. For example, in the 90s in discourse on new technology, Japan might have been identified, or identified itself, as a modern and advanced society in relation to its East Asian neighbours, however in discourse on women rights in relation to Europe it might have been identified as a backward or lagging behind society. When its neighbours caught up on the technology advancement, this certain identity of Japan might have altered in different ways, depending on which discourse that was articulated. Things might change in Japan as well; women gain more rights and become better treated in relation to men; if Europe does not follow this advancement, but rather sees a set back of women’s rights, Japan’s identity might alter again in this type of discourse. Identity is changeable, as are discourses, and the subject is always split up, fragmented and overdetermined in that it can always identify itself in different ways in a certain situation. An identity is contingent, meaning it is one possible result of discourse, but not necessarily the only possible. This insight applied to this thesis invites for some hypothetical assumptions: since Japan historically had several different roles in relation to Taiwan, coloniser, investor, trading partner, etc., and Taiwan has seen a couple of major changes and advancements of its society in the last decades, the Japanese identity in relation to Taiwan might show a relatively fragmented status. Right-wing, liberal, conservative, these political positions may depict different aspects of Taiwan differently, and thus indicate a fragmented status of the subject Japan in discourse on Taiwan. Taiwan might continue to develop in different fields that could affect the subject position of Japan and thereby its relational identity. Future discourse analysis in light of new developments in Taiwan could identify if, and if so how, the discourse on Taiwan changes in Japan. It might be that the representation does not change easily, despite noticeable changes in Taiwan’s society.

There are limits to the analytical approach in \textit{DT}. \textit{DT} does not focus on linguistics and social power structures, however this thesis involves some discussions on linguistic matters nonetheless. Yet, it is not to the extent that another more detail oriented school was deemed necessary to employ for that reason. Other discourse analysis schools could provide other tools and ontological positioning toward discourse for analysis means. It is possible from \textit{DT} \textsuperscript{50}Laclau and Mouffe, 2008, 171-180; Laclau, 1990, 30.
to some extent identify where in the discourse struggle over meaning occurs, what is omitted in the discourse and what this could infer on the representation, and how the discourse has changed over time. It is difficult to explain why the discourse changes. The possibilities in the field of discursivity are uncountable and one or many other discourses previously not related to Taiwan directly might at any moment intersect with the discourse on Taiwan. It could come from change in the leadership of the newspaper, a changed view of China due to another discursive struggle, or perhaps a paradigm change in our view on national states. In simple terms, it could be on many different levels, and even at the same time.

The next section presents how the material and the method, drawn from the theory and tools of DT presented above, the analysis was performed.
3 Material and Method

This section begins in 3.1 with presenting and explaining the material used in this discourse analysis. As mentioned earlier in the literature review, Gustafsson’s work is accounted for again, in 3.2, and parts of the method he used are implemented for this analysis. The final section 3.3 points out some limitations in the material.

3.1 Material

The material for analysis is compiled of editorials in Asahi Shimbun, hereinafter referred to as Asahi, and Yomiuri Shimbun, hereinafter referred to as Yomiuri. The editorials have been accessed via the database Asia Portal, from Asahi’s and Yomiuri’s digitalised libraries which contain digitalised and/or photocopies of past newspapers and several magazines from each company’s establishment in the end of 19th century up to the current date’s newspaper. Asia Portal was accessed by Stockholm University Library student login.

The search span was set to 1990-01-01–2017-05-10. The search credentials were delimited to editorials, (社説) and headlines (見出し). The search terms were as follows:

In Asahi: (社説) & 台湾

In Yomiuri: [社説] AND 台湾

The differences between the two in search terms were that in Asahi’s database it was possible to choose headlines in advanced search as a delimitation and that “editorial” as a search term was put into parentheses as shown above. In Yomiuri’s database it was necessary to

51 朝日新聞 読売新聞
52 Asia Portal http://www.asiaportal.info/
manually sort out headline hits. Also, the search term “editorial” was put into brackets instead of parenthesis. Except for these minor differences the databases operated fairly similar and the material collection could be systematised and enabled easy comparison of search hits.

There are several reasons for this choice of material and specific delimitations on the selection of data material. First of all, Asahi and Yomiuri are generally considered the two newspapers with the largest number of readers in Japan. However some sources claim the official numbers of distribution are exaggerated.\(^{54}\) Regardless of these critical reports, even their proposed numbers point to a comparably large circulation of the newspapers world wide. Both newspapers stand in opposition with different ideological profiles: Asahi is considered leftist/liberal, while Yomiuri is considered rightist/conservative.\(^{55}\) Gustafsson analysed the more explicitly right-wing newspaper Sankei Shimbun in his research on the use of han’nichi, however this thesis’ focus is on a moderate or mainstream representation of Taiwan, and this motivated the choice of two ideologically less extreme newspapers. The large number of readers and both newspapers’ ideological positions are in this thesis presumed to some extent reflect a common, mainstream opinion making apparatus in Japanese political discourse on Taiwan. Secondly, the selected time period is motivated first of all by a liberation and democratisation process in Taiwan that research has suggested reverberated its identity construction and positioning in international relations, especially towards China and Japan.\(^{56}\) Democratisation with freedom to form political parties in 1986 and the next step, free elections in the 90s set the battle field for the discourse by the Chinese communist party’s “One country, two systems” in contrast to Taiwan’s Democratic Progressive Party’s quest for independence. In light of these events, this thesis considers this time period as particularly interesting to start an inquiry from. Gustafsson analysed material within the time period set by this study and this also motivated the choice, however his study included editorials up to 2012, whereas this thesis includes editorials up to 2017. Thirdly, the editorials of the newspapers could be considered to be the official opinion of the newspapers and thereby arguably have a stronger effect on the readership and society.

\(^{54}\) “Japan stays silent on newspaper circulation scandal”, dpa-international, November 17, 2016.


\(^{56}\) He, Yinan, 2014.
As discussed in the theory section, DT views the social as entirely constituted by discourse, meaning the events and progresses that occurred in the real world which partly motivated the examined time period do not necessarily explain a favourable relationship between Japan and Taiwan, since it depends on how Asahi and Yomiuri articulate these events and progresses in discourse on Taiwan, if they articulate them at all. The selected time period and type of material is thus in the first step motivated by a hypothetical claim that a discourse analysis might find that the material contains discourse on the events and progresses in the real world that motivated the choice, but not necessarily. This would still be valid finding as a result of the discourse analysis.

3.2 Method

This section explains how the analysis will be performed practically. An analysis method suitable for the purpose and the type of material of this thesis is assembled by relevant parts of the theoretical framework of Discourse Theory explained in the theory section. It also borrows from the database search-method that Gustafsson used in his research on han’nichi since this thesis considers that type of systematic inquiry to produce a clear and delineated text corpus in which findings of discourse analysis can be transparently linked to numerical, as well as content related evidence. By counting specific words or topics throughout the editorials over 27 years this thesis assumes that a rough estimation of importance of topics could be assessed and in the next step, by analysing what these topics mean and how they are articulated, a general representation held by Asahi and Yomirui could be inferred. In other words, it enables a dualistic inquiry of both quantitative and qualitative insights.

While Gustafsson focused on a single phenomenon, the use of han’nichi and engaged his material from a widespread notion of a decrease in Japan bashing from the neighbours, this thesis starts in an inductive way in order to first identify words or topics in the text corpus that are assessed as important and to be further examined. This thesis excludes Sankei and other newspapers considered extreme in their opinions in contrast to the mainstream. It also limits
its inquiry to editorials, with headlines including the word Taiwan, in Asahi and Yomiuri. Thus it does not take into account magazines published by the two newspapers. Based on Gustafsson’s claim about mainstream media’s restrained use of han’nichi, the result of this thesis’ analysis was assumed to show less antagonistic or extremist representations of Taiwan. For example, explicit anti-China and pro-Taiwan related opinions would probably be scarce in the analysed material. This delineation of discourse has implications that explained in DT terms leads to a fairly strict border between the discourse and the outside field of discursivity, in which antagonistic discourses or hegemonic interventions could exist. Sankei, for example, could be argued to be shut out from the discourse to the field of discursivity. In this way it could be easier to identify nuances of less extreme differences between two mainstream newspapers. Depending on what topics the editorials seem to be focusing on in most of the texts, while ignoring or seldom reporting on other topics, theoretically located in the field of discursivity, it could be possible to sketch a general representation of Taiwan. This representation is not a given or absolute representation, it is inferred as one plausible representation on the premises of the delineations set up by this thesis.

The analysis does not take into account what is written about certain events in other parts of the same newspaper edition, or in other editions. By analysing what is written about Taiwan in Asahi and Yomiuri in other articles and parts of the newspapers as well, another representation of Taiwan might appear, however these different accounts would probably have an author, which it could be possible to assign an opinion to, and this thesis is only concerned with the official opinion of the newspapers.

The initial inductive step by which commonly occurring, and interpreted as important topics in relation to Taiwan are identified are considered nodal points, centralised positions in the discourse in relation to which other words gain meaning. Next step further analyses and defines these topics. Subordinated to these main topics there might be certain subtopics that participate in producing or reproducing meaning in the discourse.

The discussion on each main topic, or nodalpoint, differ from each other due to their complexities and sometimes intersecting occasions. A certain topic might have several
definitions depending on newspaper or time frame, it might also be closely related to the other topics and thereby alter its meaning when the other topics do. The discussions of the topics are not limited to their specific subsections; if the discussion on two intersecting topics was deemed to have been satisfactory accounted for in one section, the following section might only refer to the previous section’s discussion. *Intersecting* is here defined as when two, or all three of the chosen topics appear in the same editorial related to the same reported event, such as an election, political event or conflict over an issue. This thesis translates the occasions when different topics in one editorial intersect as an example of a discursive struggle in *DT*. Depending on how one editorial articulates a certain topic in relation to another topic it might indicate two possible representations in struggle to represent Taiwan. A problematisation of increased military activity due to policy changes might be interpreted as being subordinated to how the peaceful democratic election that led to that policy change was performed. Taiwan could be viewed as a peace problem for the region or as a stable democracy, or even as a mix of these topics.

The main point of the choice of method for this analysis is that the quantitative dimension of frequency of occurrence of topics in the editorials over 27 years could complement a discourse analysis, otherwise merely focused on interpretation of content and thus enable assessment of which topics and thereby representations that are mostly articulated and related to Taiwan, and how they are articulated.

3.3 Limitations in material

There are limits to what extent the findings in the analysis can be applied into a broader perspective. Demographic data on readership, the readership’s influence in the various discourses in society, and the impact the mass media vis-a-vis government have on each other, are some dimensions that need other frameworks and theories to account for.

When searching in the databases on editorials with headlines containing a word meaning *Taiwan*, a linguistic problem appears which necessitates a delimitation. The Japanese word 台
Taiwan (Taiwan) is not the only way of denoting Taiwan. In the Japanese language, the Kanji, originally Chinese characters implemented into the Japanese written language system in the past, can be separated or split up and connected with other Kanji to create new words where the Kanji’s original meaning is intact. One example is 中台 (China and Taiwan). This word combination in the headline indicates that Taiwan is one focused topic the editorial, and could therefore be treated like the word 台湾 (Taiwan) in the database search. However, this thesis chooses to focus only on database hits on the word 台湾 on the basis that this word excludes other interpretations of the focus of the headline, compared to 台中 which could be viewed as focusing on the relationship between Taiwan and China, and not specifically Taiwan as main topic. In the same manner, a data base search on China (中国) necessitates the same delimitation. 米中 (USA and China) and 日中 (Japan and China) are other combinations of the same problem. This decision of delimitation to one word connoting Taiwan also has the implication of narrowing down the material considerably. A more flexible search on different combinations of Taiwan or employment of other analytical tools in a larger research project could bring in new perspectives to some conclusions this thesis presents.

There is research on how newspapers structure their articles and distribute words and topics in them. There is also research that focuses on modality, how articles and editorials use different grammatical or rhetoric measures in articles. This type of research that focuses on the form and linguistic structure could complement and contribute to a discourse analysis to enable an even more detailed analysis of editorials. This thesis does not engage in that analytical dimension, however future analysis of editorials could benefit from these insights. Two examples of the type of research mentioned above can be viewed in: Kato-Yoshioka, Akiko, (1,2), “Differences in structural tendencies between Japanese newspaper editorials and front-page columns: Focus on the location of the main topic.” Discourse Studies vol. 18, no. 6 (2016): 676-694; Iwamoto, Noriko, “Newspaper discourse in wartime and peacetime Japan: a contrastive linguistic and stylistic analysis.” (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1998), 255-279.
4 Analysis of discourse

This section presents and discusses the result of the discourse analysis. The presentation is divided into subsections. The subsection 4.1 Common topics summarises the findings of the first inductive inquiry and suggests the most frequently appearing topics in both newspapers. It also briefly summarises some other less articulated topics. 4.1 thus presents the first step in the discourse analysis in that it identifies *nodal points* in the discourse on Taiwan by interpreting raw data from the database search in both numerics of frequency and contents of topics. The subsections 4.2-4.4 present a more detailed discussion on each major topic identified in 4.1. Finally, paragraph 4.5 summarises the findings and the result of the analysis.

4.1 Common topics

There are a few editorials in *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* in which an event or topic in relation to Taiwan is mentioned only by one of the newspapers. For example, *Asahi* devotes one editorial propagating for Taiwan’s membership as observer in WHO in 2003 in connection to the outburst of the virus epidemic SARS. *Yomiuri* on the other hand uses WHO in a headline in 2008, but only uses two sentences in that editorial propagating for Taiwan as observer in the organ. The focus of that editorial is rather to problematise, with different examples, the China-Taiwan relationship; to recognise Taiwan as WHO observer could here be interpreted as a rhetoric weapon to highlight China’s responsibility, or here possibly implied as irresponsibility, as a “great power” in the world, as *Yomiuri* labels China. In another example *Yomiuri* has an editorial on the Tuna fishing industry in the region, but *Asahi* never covers this issue in any editorial. Except for a few similar examples like the ones mentioned above, both newspapers share a similar focus on topics in relation to Taiwan in their respective editorials. The date for when a topic appears in an editorial often differs between the two newspapers, and in rare cases like the one above on WHO, there can be years between them if

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59 Editorial, *Yomiuri*, June 14, 2008. 大国

it is a continuing issue in the diplomatic relations. Yet, the contents of the editorials are mostly clear when they cover the same topic. This results in two fairly similar textual corpuses that enable comparison.

### 4.1.1 Result of database search

The initial hit result of the database search according to the method previously explained in section 3 showed a fairly similar result of the two newspapers: *Asahi* had 43 editorials with *Taiwan* in the headline over the period 1990-01-01 to 2017-05-10 (date of last search), whereas *Yomiuri* had 38 editorials under the same prescripts. As a contrast, a similar search on *China* (中, 中国) in *Asahi*’s database gave 239 hits, close to 6 times more than *Taiwan*. *USA* gave 177 hits, *North Korea* 155 hits, and *South Korea*, closer to Taiwan in terms of seize of population and economy, gave 84 hits, almost the double that of *Taiwan*. In *Yomiuri* the same search criteria for *China* gave 350 hits, about 10 times more that *Taiwan*. This indicate that Taiwan might be a less important and prioritised topic in news discourse in Japan. An explanation for this could that there is more at stake in relation to China, the other East Asian neighbours and USA, than Taiwan in various aspects such as economy and security. It might, however, also be the fact that Japan adheres to the widely accepted “One China” policy which does not recognise Taiwan as a sovereign nation but as an autonomous region of China.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of the editorials in *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* during the time span of 27 years. In this figure it is possible, to some extent, to identify when Taiwan seems to have been an important topic in the newspapers. The following text presents possible interpretation for this spread of the editorials.
During the time period of 27 years the distribution frequency of Taiwan in the headlines of the editorials shifted from about 1 editorial in 1½ year to, at one occasion, up to 6 editorials in one year. The proportionately most common events covered by editorials in both newspaper were the different types of elections. Most frequently, and thoroughly covered were the presidential elections; once every fourth year, with the first free direct citizen election taking place in 1996, and subsequently 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012 and 2016. Other elections involved the city mayors, prefectural and National Assembly elections in between the presidential elections. The city mayor elections were also held once every fourth year, starting 1994 and subsequently 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2014. The capital Taipei’s election was the most important and considered to represent a probable outcome of the upcoming presidential elections, the following years. Both Yomiuri and Asahi denote elections in-between presidential elections as “skirmishes” prior to the main election battle. The editorials before and after the presidential election dates cluster those years, which to a large extent explains the varied frequency during the time period. There were however differences in relevance among these elections as well. Presidents Chen Shui-bien (hereinafter referred to as Chen) of DPP and Ma Ying-jeoh (hereinafter referred to as Ma) of GMD, were both re-elected with the implication that both were in office for 8 years each. President Lee of GMD was in office before the abolition of the one-party system in 1986 and continued as president until he was

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re-elected in 1996 when the first free election was held. He was in office for a total of 17 years. Taking the re-elections into account, due to uninterrupted presidency, both newspapers highlighted possible implications of new major policy changes most elaborately for the election years of 2000, 2008 and in 2016 when a new presidency of Cai Ing-wen of DPP started. The policy that the editorials always brought up in some form in relation to an election was the so called “China-policy”\textsuperscript{62}, which postulated how the new presidency and government were to position themselves towards China. Of Asahi’s 43 editorials, at least 21 editorials concerned an upcoming or ended election. In Yomiuri the same search yielded at least 23 editorials of 38 that was related to elections.

In some cases “election” or “presidential election” or similar words were present in the headline of the editorials.\textsuperscript{63} In some cases, due to references to upcoming or past elections in the text body of the editorial, the editorial was deemed to cover this election topic. Other occasions had editorials covering important issues such as the Taiwan Strait militarisation or the Senkaku Islands territorial rights issue, published in the same year as an election, rendering a high number of articles during election years, yet due to no apparent reference in the form of related words to the possible election outcome, these were not deemed as being part of the election topic. However this choice can be questioned. Hence the number of election related editorials can be estimated to be even more than the numbers suggested here.

4.1.2 Frequent topics in editorials

Most editorials in connection to an election consisted of a few repeated topics. China was present in all of these editorials. Each elected, or to be elected, president’s China policy was a main concern in both Asahi and Yomiuri. Both newspapers expressed desire for, or demanded in different ways, bilateral talks between Taiwan and China in the end of these election related editorials. However, the editorials’ view on responsibility and what to expect from the two actors in case of a new presidency and policy differed. Asahi sometimes propagated for, or pointed to the danger of departing from a “realistic” approach towards China from Taiwan’s

\textsuperscript{62} 対中政策

\textsuperscript{63} 選挙, 総統選
side in its quest for independence in the beginning of the 90s. However, also China was addressed in line of this rhetoric in an editorial in 1993, in that China should adhere to a “realistic” approach towards Taiwan’s situation. Furthermore, as Chen was elected in 2000 and his initial approach to China was depicted as “realistic”, China should take responsibility, as a “great power”, and act “realistic” in its response to Chen’s policy. The word “realistic” seems to point to the same connotation whether it is Taiwan or China that is addressed: a stance in favour of stability. However, in China’s case, Asahi argued that China should adhere to stability, since Chen was ready to compromise the independence advocacy for stability, at the same time as honouring the vote of the people of Taiwan. In 2005, one editorial forecasted how GMD and DPP would fight over a realistic approach that would convince the voters, and in 2006 another editorial continued to suggest that both parties “[…] should compete over policy choices that answer to voters’ worries.”

Yomiuri also used “realistic” in an editorial in 1995 when expecting both Taiwan and China to make an effort in easing the tensions between them on the basis of the reality surrounding Taiwan. Yomiuri’s use of “realistic” seems similar to that of Asahi, meaning not to risk the stability in the region. Before the upcoming presidential election in 2016, an editorial in 2014 argued that DPP’s task is to come up with a “realistic China policy”. Yomiuri also urged China in two editorials in 2000 to respect the democratic voice of the Taiwanese people, and in another also expressed that, “[we] wish for a self-controlled response from China suitable a responsible great power.” The “great power” label appears again in an editorial in 2016, when Yomiuri criticised China’s decision to limit tourism to Taiwan from China, stating that, “[t]his kind of behaviour cannot be said to represent that of a great power with responsibility for the Taiwan strait’s and Asia’s

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64 Editorial, Asahi, October 21, 1991; Editorial, Asahi, December 25, 1991. 現実的
65 Editorial, Asahi, February 27, 1993.
67 Editorial, Asahi, December 6, 2005; Editorial, Asahi, December 13, 2006. […] そんな有権者の悩みに応えるような現実的な政策選択で競うべき時を迎えている。
69 Editorial, Yomiuri, December 5, 2014. 現実的な対中政策
70 Editorial, Yomiuri, February 19, 2000; Editorial, Yomiuri, March 19, 2000. 中国には、「責任大国」にふさわしい自制ある対応を望みたい。
“Self control” is another word that appears in a couple of editorials in Yomiuri; urging the virtue of “self control”, they expressed wishes related to China’s behaviour. These different ways of placing responsibility accentuate a depiction of Taiwan as a youth with sometimes unrealistic visions, and China as a powerful grownup that should know better and take more responsibility for the stability in the region while respecting others. Asahi seems to have changed its opinion about unrealistic behaviour along DPP’s quest for independence from around 2000 and onward. This could be seen as an example of objectivity in the DT sense that Asahi’s view of Taiwan had sedimented on the depiction of Taiwan’s democratisation and continued struggle for independence as objective parts of its identity.

Frequently articulated topics in the editorials were democracy, stability and independence. These were in most cases accounted for with some relation to China, as some previous quotes above show. The three topics are, however, not limited to editorials on election but can be traceable during the whole time span. This thesis suggests that these three commonly occurring topics could be identified as nodal points in the discourse on Taiwan in Asahi and Yomiuri editorials. A brief review on the DT framework explains that nodal points are considered knots in the fishnet of discourse, in relation to which other words gain meaning. Figure 2 shows the three topics identified in the editorials with the number of occurrences in the time period in both newspapers. In order to identify changes easier, the data is split into three time periods. The election of new presidency in 2000 and 2008 was the motivation for the choice of periods. This is due to the possible, (yet not necessary), implication the China policy proposed by the elected president may have to these three topics in discourse.

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71 Editorial, Yomiuri, May 22, 2014. こうした振る舞いは、台湾海峡、ひいてはアジアの安定に責任を持つ大国のものとはいえまい。

72 自制

73 民主 安定 独立
As the table shows, these topics appear in a majority of the editorials. *Democracy* is in some way articulated in more than 50% of all editorials, with *Asahi* showing a slightly stronger use of this topic. *Asahi* tended to articulate *democracy*, or “peoples’ will”,\(^74\) in many editorials to a larger extent than *Yomiuri*. 63% of all editorials articulate *stability*, which mainly related to the Taiwan-China relationship and the Taiwan Strait, which both were articulated in discourse to visualise, or situate where cracks in the *stability* would manifest themselves. *Yomiuri*, however, also used the same term *stability* for Taiwan’s domestic politics in 3 editorials. Almost 82% articulated *independence*. Both *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* mostly signified the political parties of GMD and DPP and their respective presidential candidate with their stance in relation to the dichotomy of independence vs. unification with China.

The following part of this section summarises and exemplifies how these three topics are accounted for in the editorials and what subtopics exist in connection to these.

*Democracy* and the related word *democratisation*\(^75\) are often articulated in discourse on Taiwan in the editorials in *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*. The analysis identified that 28 of *Asahi*’s 43 editorials and 18 of *Yomiuri*’s 38 editorials articulated these two words along with other combinations of Kanji, referring to the same meaning.\(^76\) The topic *democracy* rarely had one editorial solely dedicated to it, it rather was articulated together with other topics such as elections, *stability* and *independence*. The editorials on the elections in the 90s and beginning of 00s were sometimes presented with the historical background of the abolishment of

\(^ {74} \) 民意

\(^ {75} \) 民主化

\(^ {76} \) Ex. 民主主義, 民主的
“martial law” and the “one-party state” of GMD. Yomiuri explains in the first editorial from within the time frame, the pragmatic reason behind the laws of control in Taiwan’s constitution that dictated the system of rule after the war against the Japanese. It enabled martial law, forbid political parties apart from GMD and appointed the ruling politicians in GMD as life-long members. One motivation being to counter pro-China movements towards the regime. This way of accounting for the history of the Taiwanese dictatorial political system as a background before articulating democratisation and democracy in the discourse might be a way to emphasise the changed nature of Taiwanese politics and society in contrast to its own past, as well as to the non-democratic China. Yomiuri provided more detailed explanations of Taiwan’s former system.

Both newspapers use the word “peoples’ will” when presenting the result of an election, and they clearly point out that it is the people who has chosen, for example, stability or independence, when they voted for a certain president. “Peoples’ will” was also used in the headlines of the editorials; in Asahi in 7 of the editorials, 6 of them after 2012. 5 Headlines also implied the choice or voice of the people but with different wordings. Yomiuri only has 1 headline with “peoples’ will” in it, and about 3 more could be considered to point to peoples’ choice or voice with other words such as “the citizens’ have chosen”. Asahi seems to articulate the democracy aspect of Taiwan more frequently and explicitly than Yomiuri.

Money-related scandals such as money laundering by politicians are briefly reported on in a few editorials. One instance involving ex-president Chen and his wife is perhaps the most noticeable. It is mentioned in editorials in 2006 in both newspapers. In an editorial in 2008, Yomiuri presents an analysis of the reasons for the lost election for DPP the same year. The allegations of money laundering in 2006 is seen as one of two main reasons for the loss of presidency for DPP, the other being failure to enact policy change. The money scandal even

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78 Editorial, Yomiuri, April 24, 1991. 臨時条項

79 住民が選んだ

made it to the headline: “Former president’s arrest, a stain on the democratic politics of Taiwan”.

Asahi did not link the loss in the election to the scandals, as Yomiuri did.

The topic this analysis choose to denote stability often manifested explicit concerns about the stability in the region, or in East Asia as a whole. Yomiuri had 12 editorials on this topic with explicit recommendations or warnings over the situation between Taiwan and China. Some examples show how Yomiuri states its concerns that, “[a] quiet Taiwan Strait is indispensable to peace and stability in the region.”82, and that “Taiwan’s position affect the security of East Asia.”83

Asahi had 15 editorials with similar recommendations or warnings concerning the relationship Taiwan-China. Examples: “Bilateral talk itself, by China and Taiwan is a move that connect to peace and stability, not only for those two but for Asia, and [we] wish to welcome that.”84 And, “[t]he China and Taiwan relationship holds one of the keys to peace and stability in Asia.”85

As seen in one of the examples above, the Taiwan Strait is used as the geographic point of embarkation in the editorials on stability. Asahi claimed Taiwan Strait is depicted as a “powder keg” of East Asia, together with the Korean peninsula.86 Both Asahi and Yomiuri criticised the mobilisation of long range missiles in Fujian-province neighbouring Taiwan Strait, and the military drills performed by China the days before the

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81 Editorial, Yomiuri, November 14, 2008. 「前総統逮捕 台湾民主政治の大きな汚点」
82 Editorial, Yomiuri, May 21, 2004. 静かな台湾海峡は、地域の平和と安定に不可欠である。
83 Editorial, Yomiuri, August 23, 2008. 台湾の行方は東アジアの安全保障にもかかわる。
84 Editorial, Asahi, April 26, 1993. 中台が話し合うこと自体、双方だけでなくアジアの平和と安定につながる動きであり、歓迎したい
85 Editorial, Asahi, May 21, 2016. 中国と台湾の関係は、アジアの平和と安定を考える上で鍵を
にぎる問題の一つである。
86 Editorial, Asahi, November 29, 2010. 火薬庫
election in 1996. Yomiuri uses the signifying word “threat” more frequently than Asahi to describe the pressure from China. However, Asahi mentioned the missiles in Fujian-province in more editorials than Yomiuri. As visible in figure 2 above, Asahi had more editorials mentioning stability during the 90s than Yomiuri. The explanation for this is that Asahi, in almost all editorials in the 90s mentioning the *independence* movement in Taiwan, linked this to *stability*, particularly the missiles in Fujian. In short, Yomiuri tended to assess the actions from China as “threats” and thereby placed more responsibility for a heated situation on China. Asahi, despite explicitly objects against the military drill in a headline, placed responsibility on the domestic politics in Taiwan as well, interpreted as urging Taiwan not to anger its neighbour. The word “threat”, and the different levels of detailed accounts are good examples of how a situation can be discursively made up as problematic or less so by the choice of words. The word “threat” assigns a negative meaning to an action performed by China. On the other hand, the lack of detailed account from Asahi’s side invites for a reflection on what is omitted in the discourse, and thereby perceived as less important.

Both newspapers often proposed a close scrutiny of the progress of the relations between Taiwan and China. The two newspapers rarely explicitly sided with either side of GMD or DPP when analysing their respective policies and chances in elections, but rather advocated *stability*. In editorials from 2005 the word “harmony” is used frequently to denote GMD and Ma’s China policy. “Harmonious China policy” became the slogan for GMD in contrast to the “independence oriented” DPP. As accounted for above, Asahi used a rhetoric in the 90s where voices in Taiwan for *independence*, contesting unification with China were labeled as unrealistic and thereby problematic to the *stability* of the region. As both GMD and DPP were depicted as softening their absolutist stances towards China, the softening of words from

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87 Editorial, Asahi, February 10, 1996; Editorial, Yomiuri, March 6, 1996.
88 噴威
90 Editorial, Yomiuri, December 19, 2005; Editorial, Yomiuri, January 14, 2008; Editorial, Yomiuri, January 16, 2012; Editorial, Yomiuri, December 5, 2014; Editorial, Asahi, May 1, 2005; Editorial, Asahi, December 6, 2005; Editorial, Asahi, May 23, 2009. 融和
91 対中融和, 独立志向
“unification” to “harmony” and “independence” to “independence oriented” seems to be a discursive change shared by both newspapers.

The Taiwan-China relationship deteriorated during the last president of GMD’s one party rule Lee Deng Hui, hereinafter referred to as Lee, and even more so after he was re-elected by democratic voting in 1996. Both newspapers reported how Lee was depicted as a “hidden independence advocator” by Beijing. In the end of the 90s he presented his vision that could be translated into “Two state ideology”, and this is mentioned in both Asahi and Yomiuri as the major reason for deteriorating relations. Lee is depicted as the founder of the democratisation of Taiwan, and also an advocator of a Taiwanese identity. However, he is also depicted as a pro-Japan, independence advocating nationalist and thereby responsible for a deteriorating relationship with China and damaged stability in the region.

In 2000, Chen, leader of the largest opposition party DPP, initially with an explicit independence agenda, won the election and this further increased the tensions with China. The focus on stability and the deteriorating relationship, increased in frequency in editorials during the latter half of 90s after Lee’s re-election, and remained a prioritised topic in editorials on Taiwan elections up to 2008 when Ma for GMD was elected. Ma was depicted as aiming at improving the relationship with China again, but not to the extent as to follow Beijing’s “One-China” policy directly. This is the background on which the use of “harmony” appeared and later implemented in Asahi and Yomiuri discourse. According to editorials, this preserving stance by Ma was in order to meet the demand of the peoples’ will to maintain de-facto independent, yet peaceful Taiwan.

Next are two examples of how stability intersects with democracy in discourse, and they also point out how independence must never risk the stability between Taiwan and China. Asahi and Yomiuri, in that order, presents the following analysis on the finished representative election for the National Assembly in December 25, 1991: “The Taiwan islanders’ judgement

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92 李登輝

93 Editorial, Asahi, February 26, 1996; Editorial, Yomiuri, March 9, 1996. 隱蔽獨立派

94 Editorial, Asahi, December 27, 1999; Editorial, Yomiuri, February 19, 2000. 二國論
can be interpreted as a declared opinion of ‘No’ towards the independence ideology brought forth by DPP. A rapid claim on independence will stir up wary feelings in Main Land China. [...] From this judgement, a realistic way forward was chosen.”95 In Yomiuri: “Conclusively, the voters want to maintain the prosperity under the current de-facto independence, and we can probably say they wish for progressing democracy. The Taiwanisation of Taiwan. They want to avoid tension with the Main Land caused by independence advocacy, and the fear of being absorbed into the Main Land is probably also part of the majority of voters true sentiment.”96 These two quotes above sum up what many future editorials continued to analyse: the respect for the people’s will of balancing between maintaining independence from China, yet not stir up tensions to affect the stability in the region.

The Taiwanese were categorised into two groups when Asahi and Yomiuri discussed domestic politics. The third category, the few percent of the native inhabitants were rarely mentioned; most emphasis was on the split between “Islanders” and “Mainlanders”. The former group is defined as the Han-Chinese that settled down on Taiwan before WW2, the latter defined as the Han-Chinese that evacuated to Taiwan in 1949 after GMD’s loss against the Communists in the civil war. GMD is depicted as the party of the Mainlanders while DPP houses mainly Islanders.97 Both newspapers mentioned ex-president Lee and his introduction of a “New Taiwanese” identity in his attempt to embrace all citizens regardless origin.98 Asahi’s account on Islanders and Mainlanders was a little more elaborate than Yomiuri. However, this focus on origin seems low prioritised during the time span and the few instances it was covered, does not seem to have been explicitly related to anything important.

95 Editorial, Asahi, December 25, 1991. 台湾島民の審判は、民進党の持ち出した独立論に「ノー」の意思表示をしたものと解釈できよう。急進的な独立の主張は大陸中国の警戒心を呼び起こす。それによって現在の繁栄と安定も揺らぎかねない。 [...] こうした判断から現実的な道を選んだようだ。

96 Editorial, Yomiuri, December 24, 1991. 結局、有権者は現在の事実上の独立状態のなかで繁栄を維持し、民主化を進めることを望んだと言ってよいだろう。台湾の台湾化である。独立論議で大陸との緊張は避けたいし、大陸に飲み込まれるのも困るというのが有権者の多数の本音だろう。

97 Editorial, Asahi, February 27, 1993; Editorial, Yomiuri, December 8, 1998. 本省人、外省人

98 Editorial, Asahi, December 7, 1998; Editorial, Yomiuri, December 8, 1998. 新台湾人
Economy and trade could be argued to be closer related to topics around *stability* than *democracy* and *independence* in this delineated material. A deteriorated *stability* in the region partly due to the independence advocating DPP election, seems to be more associated with negative economic reports than the topics of the *democratisation* progress or struggle for *independence* are. The economic status of Taiwan, business exchange and trading relations were mentioned in some articles, yet rarely as a headline topic. A few exceptions are one editorial in *Asahi* on fishing industry and in one in *Yomiuri* on Taiwan-Shinkansen, Bullet Train. Usually economy related discourse is embedded in other main topics such as *stability*.

In line with Gustafsson’s findings in his study on the use of *han’nichi* in newspapers and debates, the extremist use of anti- and pro- are scarce in this material. However, in one case, the two newspapers showed a relatively different attitude in an editorial on territorial rights. In June 18, 2008, a Taiwanese fishing boat sank after hitting a Japanese patrol boat on territory that *Yomiuri* claimed Japanese in the editorial. *Asahi* depicted it as an incident and divided the responsibility in the aftermath between Japan and Taiwan. *Asahi* stated that “[t]he Japanese reaction was definitely numb”. *Yomiuri* had more accusatory attitude in the whole editorial and wrote that “Taiwan’s authorities prioritised claiming territorial rights before dealing with the incident, which lead to anti-Japanese agitation.” *Yomiuri* also pointed to the fact that the new government of GMD are generally Mainlanders, and expressed concern that this incident may be a step towards anti-Japanese tendencies in Taiwan. *Yomiuri* used the word *han’nichi* in 4 occasions. *Asahi*’s stance being more diplomatic nonetheless, stated that “It is probably a mistake of Japan to lean against the common presumption that Taiwan does not hold any grudge against Japan.”

This paragraph presented data from the database search based on how often a topic appeared and the depiction of its contents. Three topics were assessed as important in this first

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99 Editorial, *Asahi*, June 18, 2008. 日本側の対応が鈍かったのは確かだ。

100 Editorial, *Yomiuri*, June 18, 2008. 台湾当局は事件処理よりも、尖閣の領有権保有の主張展開を優先させ、反日行動を煽（おお）ってきた。

101 Editorial, *Asahi*, June 18, 2008. 対日感情が悪くないとされる台湾だが、日本側がそれに寄りかかってしまうのは誤りだろう。
inductive step of the analysis. Democracy, stability and independence were the topics identified that will be further analysed and discussed in the following paragraphs.

4.2 Democracy

This section is the first of three that presents a focused analysis of each of the identified topics, in this thesis considered nodal points in discourse. Examples from the editorials are given as quotes in order to show how each topic could manifest itself in the discourse and also highlight differences between the newspapers. Due to the large number of editorials, only a selected, limited number of quotes can be presented in the scope of this thesis.

The first topic the analysis examines deeper is democracy, which is articulated in nearly half of all editorials during the 27 years time span. Democracy in the context of Taiwan in the editorials of both Asahi and Yomiuri could be summarised into freedom to vote, freedom to create political parties, and free speech including freedom to demonstrate and protest. Following are examples of how democracy can be discursively defined, in this case in relation to presidential election. Asahi: “Taiwan’s presidential election is a continuation of the democratisation of the politics, […]”102 Yomiuri: “The presidential election is the symbol of democratisation, […]”.103 In two editorials from March 29 and April 12, 2014, Asahi explained that student protest at the parliament can be seen as a sign of a developed democratisation. One quote from the editorial from March 29: “This uncontested political movement of young, spirited freedom could be said to be a sign of a development of Taiwan’s achieved democracy since the 80s.”104 In the same editorial Asahi also summarised the overall achievements of the democratisation: “The progress of Taiwan’s democratisation up to now, with few victims, acceptance of opposition parties, direct presidential elections, policy

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102 Editorial, Asahi, April 26, 1993. 台湾の総統選は政治の民主化に続き、[…]
103 Editorial, Yomiuri, March 20, 2004. 総統選は民主化の象徴で、[…]
104 Editorial, Asahi, March 29, 2014. こうした若者らの奔放で自由闊達（かったつ）な政治行動は、80年台以降の台湾が成し遂げた民主主義の発展のあかしともいえる。
changes, all these, compared to other countries, have proceeded in a gentle manner.”

What is noticeable in Asahi and Yomiuri when writing about democracy in Taiwan, is that it is often in a sense of progress or development, as the quotes above show.

The word *democratisation* in contrast to the static *democracy* connotes the meaning of progress. This implies that Taiwan is transferring or developing into a democracy. This study does not identify a definite point when this progress is argued to have reached its goal, that is when Taiwan is democratised. However, both newspapers offer statements that could be interpreted as if the progress has reached the goal; Taiwan is a democracy. Signifiers describe the status of Taiwan’s *democracy*, here exemplified in two different editorials. In an editorial on the peaceful re-election of president Ma of GMD in 2012, *Asahi* wrote: “[...] it did not stir up election conflicts as in the past, we should praise the ripened democracy of Taiwan that has made an impression.” A little more than 2 years later in an editorial in March 29, 2014 on student protests, previously quoted in this section, *Asahi* stated in two places suggestions that could be interpreted as Taiwan still being in a *democratisation* stage: “[...] could be said to be a sign of a development of Taiwan’s achieved democracy”, and later on: “The progress of Taiwan’s democratisation up to now, [...]”.

In an editorial on the assassination attempt on president Chen of DPP before his re-election in 2004, *Yomiuri* wrote: “Coming up is the third direct citizen election on president post, but it also has the meaning of a completed democratisation of Taiwan, since the 1980s.” However, while *Yomiuri* in the editorial from March 20, 2004 quoted above, seems to have described Taiwan’s *democratisation* as complete, later in the same year, December 14, an editorial analysing the stability situation in

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105 Editorial, *Asahi*, March 29, 2014. これまでの台湾の民主化の過程は、他国の事例と比べて犠牲者が少なく、野党結成の容認、総統の直接選挙、政権交代でと、穏やかに進んできた。これは誇るべき歴史だ。


108 Editorial, *Yomiuri*, March 20, 2004. 総統が住民の直接選挙によって選ばれるのは、今度が三回目だが、総統の直接選挙は、一九八○年代半ば以降の、台湾における民主化の総仕上げとも言える意味合いを持っている。
the region after the re-election of Chen, suggested that “[t]he next topic in the hitherto steadily advancing Taiwanese democratisation, is to build a political culture of ‘settlement and cooperation’.”[109]

The editorials depicted the elections as what could be interpreted as steps in democratisation. This way of depicting a certain progress of Taiwan, told from a Japanese perspective, echoes the findings by Sejrup; the notion that Japan is fixed in an advanced position in a sort of imagined modernity, watching Taiwan’s movement towards Japan’s position.[110] As the quotes above show, Taiwan has arguably never been depicted as having reached the goal of the trajectory related to democratisation. The original word-stem of the Japanese word democracy, 民主, and all of its combinations decreased in frequency in the editorials after 2004, and more so after 2010. However, words and clauses like “peoples’ will” and “citizens chose”, were used in the whole time span, and these could also be interpreted to represent statements within the topic of democracy. The numbers showing frequency of the topics in the editorials presented in figure 2 in 4.1, include these types of statements and this explains why both Asahi and Yomiuri have a slightly higher number of the topic democracy occurrence in between 2008-2017 despite less use of the actual word democracy.

Democracy was articulated at different events that occurred during election times, noticeable are gun shootings, financial scandals and demonstrations. The first two were deemed problematic in the otherwise democratic or democratising Taiwan. Yomiuri devoted nearly a whole editorial to strongly condemn the assassination attempt on president Chen. In this particular editorial the word-stem democracy in Japanese, 民主, was used 10 times in different combinations: 民主、民主化、民主的、民主政治 and 民主社会. The headline of the editorial has a harsh tone when labelling the assault: “This is terrorism against a democratic election”[111]. Asahi, on the other hand, wrote about it the day after Yomiuri, and

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called it an “assassination attempt” in a subordinate clause in the body.¹¹² Editorials that involved issues between Taiwan and China, used different words related to democracy, possibly as a way to signify the different political systems in China and Taiwan. This discursive measure might be an aim to situate Taiwan in relation to China and Japan on a scale of autocratic-democratic.

A couple of editorials in both newspapers discussed the national identity of Taiwan and the people living there, often in connection with the word Taiwanisation.¹¹³ In the first half of the 90s Asahi established the use of Taiwanisation in three editorials, where the term was explained as an awaken sense of self-identity in the tracks of democratisation of the political system in Taiwan, as a contrast to the incident on Tianjinmen-square in Beijing in 1989 where Chinese troops crushed the protests in favour of democratisation.¹¹⁴ Next time the term was used explicitly in Asahi was in 2006 when the wailing support for Chen’s DPP government was blamed on a “rapid Taiwanisation policy”.¹¹⁵ The concept word Taiwanisation was in many occasions intersected and equated with democratisation; both words usually appear in the same editorial, and this apply for both newspapers. They both made similar claims on defining the term Taiwanisation, and democratisation appear to be directly linked with Taiwanisation in discourse. Asahi stated in an editorial that “[i]t is unavoidable that democratisation also invites Taiwanisation.”¹¹⁶ Yomiuri wrote about Taiwanisation in an editorial on December 24 1991, one day before Asahi. Since the database search was set from January 1, 1990, Taiwanisation possibly appeared for the first time in Asahi and Yomiuri around these dates in the end of 1991. Whether the term was invented and used earlier than this, remains unknown in this thesis due to the limited material. However, it is clearly a signifying term when writing about Taiwan from the 90s in Asahi and Yomiuri.

¹¹² Editorial, Asahi, March 21, 2004. 暗殺未遂
¹¹³ 台湾化
¹¹⁵ Editorial, Asahi, December 13, 2006. 急進的な台湾化政策
¹¹⁶ Editorial, Asahi, December 22, 1992. 政治の民主化が同時に台湾化を招くのは避けられない。
Yomiuri wrote in December 22, 1992 that, “[t]ogether with the Taiwanisation of Taiwan’s politics, from now on it is natural that the Taiwanese self perception connected to the [One China, One Taiwan] idea will grow even stronger.”117 This quote is in a context where Yomiuri wrote about how Taiwan is stepping away from the “fiction” of representing all of China as Republic of China, in several steps, including abolition of life-time party member system of GMD the year before and introduction of free citizen elections.118 When predicting effects of Ma of GMD being elected president later on in 2008, Yomiuri suggested that “[t]he democratisation=Taiwanisation-line that started under former president Lee Deng-hui in 1990, will from now on unavoidably retreat.”119 In 2016, Yomirui reported on the election of the new president of DPP, Cai Ing-wen and depicted Taiwanese self perception without explicit references to democratisation or Taiwanisation but instead involves the younger generation in the explanation of GMD’s set back in the following way: “This is because the younger generation’s ‘Taiwanese self perception, based on the claim that China and Taiwan are different, have grown stronger.”120

A noticeable thing about the identity of being Taiwanese in contrast to being Chinese, is that both Asahi and Yomiuri claim that democratisation equates, but also postulates Taiwanisation. The democratic aspects of freedom are thus claimed to awaken a sense of national identity. This is a somewhat perplexing conclusion since it would logically question the sense of national identity in less democratic and free countries like China. What was the Taiwanese identity in Japanese discourse before the democratisation in the 80s and development in the 90s? It seems to be too simple to divide the Taiwanese identity into the dichotomy Chinese vs. Taiwanese. In light of research by Gustafsson among others on Chinese patriotism this simplified definition by Asahi and Yomiuri of Taiwanisation invites criticism.

117 Editorial, Yomiuri, December 22, 1992. 台湾政治の台湾化とともに、今後、一中一台につながる台湾人意識が一層強まるのは自然でもある。
118 Editorial, Yomiuri, December 22, 1992. フィクション
119 Editorial, Yomiuri, March 23, 2008. 総統だった李登輝氏の下で、1990年代から始まった民主化 = 台湾化路線は、今後、一時的な後退を余儀なくされよう。
120 Editorial, Yomiuri, January 17, 2016. 中国と台湾は別だとする「台湾人意識」が若い世代の間で高まったためとみられる。
As presented earlier in this section, the concept of Democracy in discourse on Taiwan is defined similar by both Asahi and Yomiuri. Depending on the status of the democratic components in form of free elections and their peaceful processes, and also multiple party organising and freedom of speech, the representation of Taiwan’s progress of democratisation in Asahi and Yomiuri shifted from a dictatorship in the 80s, to a democratising autonomous region in the 90s, and finally, what could be labeled a “ripe”, however not completed, democracy, where the “peoples’ will” is articulated in discourse. This is a simplified interpretation of how the representation of democracy in Taiwan has changed in the set time period in the delineated material.

This section developed the discussion on the topic democracy by presenting quotes from both Asahi and Yomiuri. It proposed definitions and subtopics to democracy, particularly Taiwanisation, and showed examples how democracy intersects with the two other main topics.

### 4.3 Stability

The stability of Taiwan, and consequently East Asia is articulated as a main focus point and topic in the editorials, as the database search result showed. Nearly 67% of Asahi’s and 57% of Yomiuri’s editorials articulated stability-related issues in discourse on Taiwan. The greater proportion by Asahi could largely be explained by how Asahi more often than Yomiuri used stability in connection to most accounts on independence as to highlight possible implications of independence advocators such as Lee of GMD or Chen of DPP influencing policies. Yomiuri also had a slightly higher number of editorials on specific issues where none of the three topics were identified, which lowered the percentage.

In the 90s, Asahi was critical towards the independence seeking DPP in connection to the first elections. The word “realistic” appeared a couple of times in editorials reporting on policies and election results in the 90s. The definition of realistic in this discourse seems to be mostly related to stability. Taiwan needs to be realistic in its China policy in the face of threats to stability in the region. The “China policy” is basically the stance in which Taiwanese
politicians decide on how far from, or close to China’s demand of respecting the “One China policy” they are ready to position themselves. In editorials that include both topics independence and stability, these often seem to be in conflict and Taiwan is treated either as a victim of China’s threats of military intervention against Taiwan’s desire for official independence, or Taiwanese fear of being “swallowed up by China”. The depiction of Taiwan could also at times be interpreted as an irrational, immature democracy whose ambitions might affect the stability in the region. “Realistic” imply the opinion of the editorial for the outcome of an election. In relation to the nodal point stability, realistic connotes the pragmatic meaning of a stable, safe policy that takes the threats from China seriously. The people of Taiwan are rarely blamed explicitly for deteriorated relationship with China due to election of independence oriented presidents; however both newspapers advocated respect for the democracy and the vote of the people before and after elections. The people were sometimes praised as having made a “realistic” choice; while Taiwan, should take responsibility for a “realistic” approach.

The following examples show how the two newspapers articulate stability in discourse on Taiwan. Asahi’s analysis of possible implications of the upcoming presidential election in the year 2000 exemplify the dichotomy of independence versus stability: “There is a possibility that the contents of the election debate and the result of the election will have great consequences on the relationship between the Main Land and Taiwan. If Taiwan’s independence tendency gets stronger, the tension at the Taiwan Strait will rise. That will reverberate to Japan-China and USA-China relations as well.” In an editorial in 2012 when Ma for GMD had been re-elected, Yomiuri stated that, “[t]his would mean that the voters of Taiwan selected, following the China related harmony-line, the stability of the China and Taiwan relationship. […] chairman Ma of GMD was re-elected by beating the strongly ‘Taiwan Independence’ oriented chairman of the largest opposition party Cai Ing-wen of...
DPP.” As the examples show, all three topics are currently discussed at the same time. This type of articulation is common in both newspapers and seen to frequency, strengthen the impression that these are the three most important topics in relation to Taiwan in the delineated discourse of this study.

The issues around stability in the Taiwan Strait are linked to the security of Japan. There may be different explanations to why stability appeared more frequently in the editorials in the 90s. First of all, there was an explicit and substantial threat of military intervention by China in 1996 before the first free election of presidency. Both Asahi and Yomiuri reported that China was not in favour of Lee as president as they saw him as an “undercover independence advocator”. China placed long range missiles in Fujian province across the Taiwan strait, which was reported in the editorials as means to intimidate the Taiwanese voters before the election. This did not work as planned, Lee won the election and the newspapers claimed this resulted in the self perception of a Taiwanese identity among the citizens becoming even stronger afterwards. As exemplified in the theory section, the placement of missiles in Fujian province is a fact, it happened, but the meaning, or interpretation of this event, being that of a “threat” or “military pressure” manifests itself in discourse in the editorials. Both newspaper used the word “threat” in describing this event, however Yomiuri used it more. The word “threat” in this discourse thus gains a specific meaning that could be elaborated to a “threat of a military intervention from China”.

Related to the topic stability Taiwan tend to get less sympathy and support in the editorials compared to when democracy and independence are discussed. Probably because an armed conflict between Taiwan and China is considered to affect the whole region including Japan, and thereby put a lot at stake. This was exemplified by quotes in 4.1. Arguments on stability

123 Editorial, Yomiuri, January 16, 2012. 台湾の有権者は、中国との融和路線による中台関係の安定を選択したということだろう。[...] 国民党の馬英九主席が、「台湾独立」志向の強い最大野党・民進党の蔡英文主席を破り、再選を果たした。

124 Editorial, Asahi, February 26, 1996. 隠れ独立派

125 Editorial, Asahi, February 26, 1996; Editorial, Yomiuri, December 6, 1995; Editorial, Yomiuri, March 6, 1996.

126 脅威
trumps the sympathy for Taiwan’s wish for independence when they both intersect in editorials. Even the editorials with a positive view on democratisation where Taiwan is observed as a progressing, positive pupil of Japan are sometimes bended into an expressed desire that the people in Taiwan should vote in favour of stability. As one example of this type of articulation, Asahi began an editorial in the aftermath of the loss for DPP in the election to the legislative court in 2004, and thereby thwarted Chen’s planned constitutional change, by pointing out that “[i]t is fine to pursue independence, but to elevate tension with China by being hasty is troublesome.”127 Last in the same editorial Asahi repeated this with its own conclusion: “But there is no gain for anyone with an elevated tension at the Taiwan Strait. We [Asahi] want both actors to take advantage of the leveraged landing area prepared by the result of the citizens’ opinion, and re-open mutual political talks where the policy was cancelled.”128

Yomiuri often, Asahi at one or two instances, adopts president Ma’s word “harmony” from his “harmonious China policy”, and use this instead of stability till the end of Ma’s presidency and beginning of Cai’s when writing about the dichotomy of independence and stability. The semantic difference a side, the frequent use of this word could imply a wish for a conflict-free environment in East Asia. Both Asahi and Yomiuri are balancing, or avoid strong emphasis, on where the responsibility lies in the heated conflict between Taiwan and China, arguably in contrast to how more politically extreme, anti-China voices such as Sankei Shimbun and its magazine Sapio would depict it.

The stability at the Taiwan Strait would perhaps not be an issue if the independence movement would not have the support it has among the people, vocalised by the democracy. These topics are in different, but inseparable, ways related to China in discourse. The Taiwanese people are depicted as the most pragmatic voices in the discourse and both newspapers claim the outcome of many elections to show that the will of the people is to

127 Editorial, Asahi, December 14, 2004. たとえ今後はいかがなる状況にあっても、台湾が独立を求める動きを抑制することの重要性を改めて考えるべきだ。

128 Editorial, Asahi, December 14, 2004. だが、台湾海峡での緊張が高まるのは、誰にとっても得にはならない。安定を求める民意がつくった騰勢を生かして、反対の政策は途絶えただまの政治対話を再開に動いてもらいたい。
“maintain present situation” in relation to China. This gives the impression that stability is the top priority for the people of Taiwan in most elections. Some editorials mention other reasons for wins or losses during the years, but these reasons are always added on top of the peoples’ stance in the “independence from China” vs. “harmony with China” scale that is claimed to have determined the outcome. Domestic economic problems, financial frauds, murder attempts, these are claimed to have affected election results, but in the same editorials the elected president is always signified by his or her “China policy”.

As mentioned earlier, China is sometimes requested to respect the democratic vote of the people of Taiwan or requested to act accordingly to its status as a great power in the world. Asahi and Yomiuri do not explicitly wish for, or urge Japan to enter the conflict in any way. However, both newspapers frequently urge Japan to follow the developments with caution.

USA is present in East Asia with a large number of military bases and personnel in both Japan and South Korea, and it could be assumed that USA would be a main subtopic on stability in the region. However, Asahi mentions USA in just a handful of editorials related to stability. It might be too little evidence to draw conclusions from, however, indications point out that it might be Asahi’s aim to omit USA, as well as Japan in the discourse. In two editorials in 2003 and 2004 Asahi described the verbal involvement in the “Taiwan problem” by George W. Bush and later the Japanese government as “exceptional”. Together with the frequently expressed desire for increased dialogue between China and Taiwan this might imply that Asahi continues to see it as a China-Taiwan problem that should be solved among themselves. Yomiuri involves USA more in its editorials. It discussed USA and the security guaranty of East Asia in some occasions, and especially in 2004, 3 editorials covered stability-related issues with USA in the discourse. One of these stated that “[it] is a urgent task to restore the relations with Taiwan’s life-line USA.” In an editorial in 2015, Yomiuri also wrote that

129 現状維持
130 Editorial, Asahi, December 12, 2003; Editorial, Asahi, February 7, 2004. 異例
132 Editorial, Yomiuri, December 14, 2004. 台湾の生命線である米国との関係修復は、とくに急務だ。
“USA’s active involvement is crucial for maintaining the peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait, and consequently East Asia.”

This section discussed the topic stability identified in the editorials and pointed to some examples how it intersects with other topics.

4.4 Independence

Taiwan is officially not recognised as a sovereign nation by Japan; they do not have official diplomatic ties since Japan adheres to the international One-China policy. Independence is in different ways articulated in more editorials than the two other topics, be it as signifier of DPP or a whole editorial dedicated to problematise the issue of Taiwanese independence. Both Asahi and Yomiuri give brief accounts on the history of the aftermath of the civil war and the split between the two governments. The frequency and complex relation to the topic and nodal point stability motivated the decision to also identify independence as a nodal point in discourse in Taiwan.

The analysis of how Taiwan is discursively represented in the editorials, reveals somewhat of a paradox when the nodal points of democracy, stability and independence intersect. The representation inferred by these nodal points seems perplexing when placed in a hypothetical trajectory. Taiwan is depicted as a de-facto independent state and both newspapers express wishes that China should respect the voting of the people in the democratic elections of Taiwan. Both Asahi and Yomiuri seem to equate democratisation with Taiwanisation, as explained in the section on democracy. Democracy can thus be interpreted as an identity marker of Taiwan in this delineated discourse. It is not clear however if Taiwanisation means that Taiwan progresses into a new identity from, either its dictatorial one-party state past, or in contrast to China, or even a combination of them both. The paradox can be traced to an editorial in which Asahi writes that, “[w]e [Asahi] wish of China to understand that for their

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133 Editorial, Yomiuri, December 24, 2015. 台湾海峡、ひいては東アジアの平和と安定の維持には、米国の積極的な関与が欠かせない。

own sake, to speed up the economic development and put an effort into democratisation mean a short cut to unification”. Asahi and Yomiuri often depict Taiwan as being in a trajectory of Taiwanisation. This is linked to democratisation in Taiwan, as well as an awakened sense of self perception of being Taiwanese. The Taiwanese national identity is argued to have strengthened during the rule of Ma of GMD due to his “harmonious China policy”. This is argued to be an effect of the peoples’ perception that Taiwan is brought closer to an unwelcome unification with China. The quote above by Asahi suggests that a democratic progress in China will help bring Taiwan closer and finally result in the unification of the two. Is this to be understood as if China could thwart Taiwanisation by becoming more democratic itself, and thereby nullify the creation of a Taiwanese identity? How would Asahi define a Taiwanese identity if independence and democracy, that seems to be major traits if its current discursive identity, were no more? This paradox further highlights a possible interpretation that the opinions of both newspapers are that stability in the region is top priority, and secondly, a continued democratisation of Taiwan and China. In light of these two other priorities, the independence or unification of Taiwan is not major concerns for Asahi and Yomiuri. However, this interpretation may need more evidence from a broader material.

Again, the question that rises is if Asahi and Yomiuri construct the current Taiwan representation in contrast to Taiwan’s past as the Other or China as the Other, or a combination. Based on the text corpus of the editorials and how often Taiwan’s past political system is accounted for, in the light of the democratisation aspect of Taiwanisation, it could be seen as a trajectory in which Taiwan is being distanced from its past Self rather than from China. However, in light of Xi Jin-ping’s dismantling of the democratisation in China, Taiwan’s past may be omitted and replaced by China as the Other in how the Taiwan identity construction manifests in Asahi and Yomiuri. In the depiction of Taiwan’s progress, China’s development seems to be, or becomes crucial to Taiwan’s future. In a sense, it takes away Taiwan’s agency of modelling its own future.

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135 Editorial, Asahi, April 26, 1993. 中国にとっては、経済発展を加速し、民主化に力を入れることが、統一への近道であることを知ってほしい。

136 Editorial, Asahi, April 12, 2014.
There is an occasion where Taiwan’s ambiguous status as de-facto independent, yet officially belonging to China is considered a problem, in which the newspapers show sympathy for Taiwan, arguably for the sake of the world. Taiwan wished for membership as observer in WHO. *Asahi* devoted one editorial about this in 2003 when the problem is spurred on by the outbreak of SARS during which Taiwan’s politically muted state institutions caused problems in reporting and monitoring the epidemic.\(^{137}\) *Yomiuri* expressed its opinion that China should grant Taiwan status as observer in WHO in an editorial in 2008 after Ma was been elected on his “harmonious China policy”.\(^{138}\)

To articulate Taiwan’s pendulum between *independence* or harmony with China over the years is undoubtedly a major focus in both newspapers. The implication this pendulum has on *stability* is also frequently highlighted. Yet, it is rare that implications specifically for Japan are explicitly stated. Following are, however, examples that highlight exceptions where *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* see pros and cons in the independence vs. harmony pendulum movement for Japan. Taiwan helped Japan with high amounts of disaster fund relief after the triple disaster in March 2011. In one editorial, it is highlighted that, “[t]aiwan does not have diplomatic relation with Japan, but just as they offered 17 billion yen in relief funds after the East Japan great earthquake disaster, they are extremely Japan-friendly”\(^{139}\) *Yomiuri* on the other hand departs from the usual line of restrained use of the label *han’ichi*, when writing about how Taiwan close ranks with China over the Senkaku Islands in editorials in 2008. The first instance is in the same editorial where they address the WHO issue mentioned above. In the end of it *Yomiuri* writes: “At the same time of improving China-Taiwan relationship, a Taiwanese fishing boat trespassed into Japanese territorial waters in vicinity to Senkaku Islands possessed by our country. Both China and Taiwan’s diplomatic organs claim territorial rights over Senkaku Islands. […] For our country, this work as an example that shows how

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139 Editorial, *Asahi*, January 16, 2012. 台湾は日本と外交関係はないが、東日本大震災で世界一の額の義援金170億円を寄せたように、極めて親目的である。
improved China-Taiwan relations are not only beneficial.”\textsuperscript{140} In an editorial 4 days later \textit{Yomiuri} dedicates one whole editorial on the issue that begins asking: “Has the China approach by Taiwan led to a shared anti-Japan sentiment? We want to highlight this bitter after taste as well.”\textsuperscript{141} \textit{Yomiuri} continues in this editorial to express criticism against this illegal act against the sovereignty, and opposite to \textit{Asahi}’s rather neutral stance and assessment that Japan’s reaction was “numb” in solving the issue, \textit{Yomiuri} claims that, “[t]he measures from Japan’s side can be said to be calm and reasonable.”\textsuperscript{142} \textit{Yomiuri} then points out that it is under the recently inaugurated GMD government, with many members originating from Main Land China, that this incident occurred, and that anti-Japan tendencies will increase from now on. \textit{Yomiuri} also urges Japan to avoid damaging the “[…] renown, extremely good status of Japan-Taiwan relationship […]” continuing from the severed diplomatic ties in 1972.\textsuperscript{143}

Protection of Japan’s sovereignty seems to be a more important task for \textit{Yomiuri} than for \textit{Asahi}, this conclusion is of course only on the basis of this delineated material. However, if \textit{Yomiuri} would view similar occasions of trespassing or similar perceived violations as grave as this, it might inform of a prioritised opinion held by \textit{Yomiuri}. A priority that Japan’s claimed territorial rights rank above stability in the region. Would that then imply that the independence of Taiwan is more important for \textit{Yomiuri}, than most editorials on Taiwan seem to suggest? Important as long as Taiwan remains faithful to Japan and respects its claimed territory, perhaps as a buffer to China. \textit{Asahi} is considered relatively China friendly in Japan, while \textit{Yomiuri}, a right leaning, conservative newspaper usually is understood as pro-Taiwan. The independence of Taiwan could be the topic of the three where the different ideological stances of the newspapers manifest themselves most vividly. \textit{Asahi} often connects the independence movement to possible implications on the stability in the region, and they

\textsuperscript{140} Editorial, \textit{Yomiuri}, June 14, 2008. 中台改善とほぼ同時に、わが国が領有する尖閣諸島付近の海上で、台湾の遊漁船が日本の領海内に侵入する事件が起きた。[…]. わが国にとって、中台改善が利益ばかりではないことを示す例と言うべきだろう。

\textsuperscript{141} Editorial, \textit{Yomiuri}, June 18, 2008. 台湾は中国と接近するあまり反日感情まで共有するようになったのか。こんな苦言のひとつも呈したくなる。

\textsuperscript{142} Editorial, \textit{Yomiuri}, June 18, 2008. 日本側の措置は、冷静かつ妥当なものと言えよう。

\textsuperscript{143} Editorial, \textit{Yomiuri}, June 18, 2008. […] 最も良い状態と言われる日台関係 […]
articulate this by placing responsibility on Taiwan, urging it to make “realistic” choices, while China should act responsible as a great power. *Yomiuri* uses less diplomatic words when depicting the militarisation of the Taiwan Strait, the missile deployment in Fujian is described as a “threat” more frequently than *Asahi*.

This section presented a further discussion on the most frequently articulated topic of *independence*. As mentioned in the previous section on *stability*, *independence* is a topic that is articulated in the majority of the editorials together with *stability*.

### 4.5 Summary and conclusion of analysis result

The analysis was performed on the theoretical base of Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse analytical framework *Discourse Theory*, and by using parts of its terminology, the analysis examined how newspaper editorials in *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* depicted Taiwan in light of three topics this thesis interpreted as prioritised in the discourse. The result of the initial analysis identified these topics and assessed and translated them into *DT* terminology as *nodal points* and the analysis then proceeded to examine how other words gained meaning in relation to these *nodal points* in discourse. The three topics chosen to examine further were denoted *democracy, stability and independence*.

Examined one by one, the three topics provided different interpretations that informed on a diverse representation of Taiwan. *Democracy* was articulated in different ways in more than half of the editorials. Both newspapers evaluated and sometimes praised the progress of Taiwan’s *democratisation* that started in 1986 by gradual reforms of the political system. Later in the 2000s Taiwan’s *democracy* was described as “ripe” and “finalised”. However contradicting statements were found after the descriptions mentioned above, that implied that Asahi and Yomiuri continued to define Taiwan as a *democratising* country. This progress type of depiction related to Taiwan has been identified in previous research by Jens Sejrup, where he suggests that Taiwan is progressing into a modernised future along a trajectory already paved out by Japan who in turn is watching from a static, advanced position. Taiwan is viewed as a pupil to Japan, from which it should learn from Japan’s mistakes to succeed in its
own modernisation. This thesis’ interpretation of how democracy is articulated in discourse shares this notion. Democracy was also used as a signifier when discussing results of elections, noticeable was the use of the phrase “peoples’ will”. This type of phrase might be considered a normal use in media reporting in any country with a democratic system, yet this study interpreted the fairly high frequency of use in this context, and especially in headlines in Asahi in the years after 2008, as a rhetoric means to differentiate modern democratic Taiwan from an assertive authoritarian China, or Taiwan’s past as a one-party dictatorship.

Taiwanisation was a concept basically equated with democratisation. However, the definition of Taiwanisation seems more complex than that. First of all, it also implies a progress. A progress that could be explained as a synthesis of progresses leading the people and country of Taiwan into a Taiwanese identity, mainly constructed on democracy and nationalism. The democratisation leads Taiwan away from its dictatorial past, and justifies its independence movement from China’s political system. This enforced contrast results in an awakened and strengthened sense of national self-awareness in the Taiwanese citizens. In short, democracy in discourse on Taiwan indicates a representation of one aspect of Taiwan as being in state of progress. It also connects this progress of the democratic system with a progress into an identity, Taiwanisation, possibly contrasted to Taiwan’s past and China.

Stability was the topic in relation to which both newspapers showed most explicit concern in the form of expressed wishes or warnings in the end of the editorials. Stability, or the threat to it, was articulated as the implication that an election outcome could have on the Taiwan Strait, the whole region or East Asia. Both newspapers’ editorials ended in advocating the need for Japan of monitoring the developments before possible changes, and after changes in Taiwanese politics. The Taiwan Strait was cited as being the “Powder keg of East Asia” and the most dangerous place in the region, together with the Korean Peninsula. However, Japan’s participation in maintaining the stability in the region was rarely mentioned. Asahi stated once that it was “exceptional” of the Japanese government to get directly involved in matters concerning Taiwan and China after a statement in the Japanese parliament. The “people chose stability” was a type of phrase that was used frequently. GMD and DPP were often depicted as in a polarised struggle of independence or unification. When one of these tilted too much from the centre it was problematised in the editorials as leading either to a sense of threat to
the stability or a fear, held by the Taiwanese, of being swallowed by China. However, both former presidents Chen and Ma, as well as current president Cai, were, also depicted as making realistic adjustments to their China policies, in order to meet the demand of the people. However, whereas the political actors could be blamed for threatening the stability or independence and thereby implicitly being un-realistic, the peoples’ will was never blamed for disturbing stability, the people was only deemed having made realistic choices when the outcome was deemed favourable for the stability. Some editorials urged therefore the politicians in Taiwan to listen to, and China to respect, the peoples’ will. Peoples’ will was often equated with preservation of current situation, meaning not to anger China by advocating official independence, but neither befriend China too much. This depiction of the dichotomous “Taiwan problem” along with the recommendations or wishes directed to the Taiwanese politics to listen to the peoples’ will could be interpreted as if stability is the most important topic for the newspapers. Since democracy often was articulated together with stability, it could be implied that democracy is the stabilising force that controls one side of the dichotomy from prevailing over the other, since the people were deemed pragmatic and favoured stability. USA seems to be a dividing topic of the newspapers. Asahi sparsely involved USA in the discourse, while Yomiuri highlighted its crucial role in the region for stability. Despite Japan rarely being addressed in relation to the stability topic, the frequent articulation of it in the editorials imply its importance for the newspapers. Taiwan, discussed around this topic, is arguably represented as being in a dichotomous position in which danger to its existence awaits in both ends. Asahi and Yomiuri advocated a realistic approach by both Taiwan and China, meaning, maintaining the status quo.

The topic of independence is in different ways articulated in nearly 80% of all editorials, indicating that among all the topics on Taiwan deemed important enough to be covered in the editorials of Asahi and Yomiuri, the topic of Taiwan’s independence is an inseparable aspect to Taiwan’s representation in Japanese newspaper discourse. As the, arguably, most important nodal point in the discourse, it could be argued that the two other topics presented here gain their meaning in relation to this topic. Neither Asahi or Yomiuri one-sidedly expressed support on the issue of independence for Taiwan. Respect for democracy and a realistic approach for the sake of stability seem to trump independence as to what Asahi and Yomiuri are supporting.
However, Yomiuri expressed strong criticism and asserted the territorial rights of Japan after the incident of the “trespassing” Taiwanese fishing boat into, what Yomiuri claims are Japanese territorial waters. Yomiuri explicitly problematised Ma’s harmonious stance towards China. And yet, Yomiuri did not advocate independence for Taiwan either. Asahi’s statement in one editorial puts the aspect of Taiwanisation in a perplexing light when Asahi suggested that China should understand that democratisation is a “short-cut to unification” with Taiwan. Since the identity construction process of Taiwanisation includes and sometimes are equated with democratisation, this statement seems to simplify the difference and split between Taiwan and China, being merely a difference in political systems, and not take into account the cultural and national identities that the decades apart probably have enforced. In short, the topic of independence seems to be a signifying aspect how Taiwan is represented and understood in discourse. However, Asahi and Yomiuri did not express explicit support for the independence movement, led on by DPP, but rather treated the dichotomy of independence vs. unification as a natural aspect of Taiwan.
5 Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis is to contribute to the explanation to why Japan’s relationship with Taiwan is favourable. In order to accomplish that, a discourse analysis examined how Taiwan is understood and depicted in the Japanese newspaper editorials of *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiru Shimbun*.

The discourse analysis identified three major topics around which the majority of the editorials discussed Taiwan. *Democracy, stability* and *identity* were the analysed topics that led to insights that answer the research questions stated in the introduction: How has Taiwan been represented in Japanese newspaper editorials in the past and how have these depictions changed in terms of what topics are articulated and in what way? What similar representations are to be found in both newspapers and on the contrary, what different representations are there? How does the liberal newspaper *Asahi Shimbun* and the conservative newspaper *Yomiuri Shimbun* differ in discourse on Taiwan. How can the insights from these questions contribute to explaining the relatively favourable relationship between Japan and Taiwan?

Previous research has shown that the cause of deteriorating relationships in East Asia can be traced to discursively constructed political identities, and in this discourse, extreme right-wing actors are vocal and influential. Karl Gustafsson suggests that it is when states fail to get their perceived identities recognised that relations might deteriorate. This premise offered clues to why Japan and Taiwan are in a favourably relationship. If failure to be recognised causes deterioration of the relation, it could infer that the reason for Japan and Taiwan’s relatively favourable relationship is that they do not fail to recognise the other’s identity. Answer to this hypothetical inquiry could arguably be found by analysing how Taiwan is represented in Japanese discourse. Gustafsson’s research on the use of *han’nichi* focused on a single phenomenon, mostly identified in right-wing discourse. Though his findings managed to highlight how extreme right-wingers act in discourse, they did not provide enough understanding of less pejorative mainstream political discourse. His insights do not suffice to explain why Japan and Taiwan is in a favourable relationship. This thesis contributed by showing that the discourse on Taiwan by mainstream political media is concentrated around a
few major topics, indicating their importance in the representation of Taiwan. The result of the analysis pointed to three main topics denoted democracy, stability and independence, and this thesis argues that Taiwan in Japanese mainstream discourse can be understood in light of these and from that insight contribute to the explanation of the favourable relationship.

Previous research on how Japan depicts Taiwan in discourse is scarce, yet a few examples provided clues to what could be expected to be found in the analysis. Jens Sejrup identified a trait of Japan being in an advanced position in a trajectory towards modernisation in relation to Taiwan. Japan perceives itself to be ahead of Taiwan, and consequently constructs an identity based on the relation of mentor-pupil. Sejrup’s study on political mass media did not however show in what kind of topics in relation to Taiwan these notions of trajectory and mentor-pupil, manifest themselves. This study suggests that democracy in discourse on Taiwan is depicted along this trajectory notion, as well as positions Japan as mentor to Taiwan as pupil of democracy. Asahi and Yomiuri use the word democratisation frequently instead of democracy, and as it connotes a meaning of progress, this thesis considers this as evidential support for Sejrup’s theory and a contribution to it. Yih-Jye Hwang's research shares ground with Gustafsson in that it analysed discourse on right-wing phenomenon. Hwang showed how right-wing actors utilise narratives of the colonial past in discourse on Taiwan. However, the insights did not suffice to explain why the relationship is depicted favourable since the right-wing, however influential, do not inform on a general representation of Taiwan. Right-wing favoured rhetoric was scarcely present in this study’s material and deployment of the colonial past in a positive light was non-existent. This infer that the mentor-pupil notion that Sejrup pointed out, and Hwang’s study managed to link to the colonial past in right-wing rhetoric is not a representation of Taiwan that can be found in Asahi and Yomiuri. Hui-Ching Chang and G. Richard Holt presented in their research on depictions of Taiwan in tourist discourse how different ideological actors depict Taiwan differently in discourse by how they narrate historical events. Though Japan was not present in their research, it offered examples of different representations of Taiwan. Asahi as liberal, Yomiuri as conservative, did generally depict Taiwan in a fairly similar manner, however differences could be identified as well. It was when territorial rights were on the agenda that the two newspapers’ opinions and depictions differed most clearly in this analysis.
This thesis argues that on the basis of the findings of this analysis, Taiwan can be summarised as represented and understood in Japanese mainstream newspaper discourse as a progressing democracy, able to make realistic adjustments to its China policy, balanced on a dichotomous scale of independence vs. unification in order to maintain a status quo that is equated with stability in the region. Both newspapers were fairly similar in depicting Taiwan more as a victim to China’s unification pressures than as an agent responsible for its own actions. However, Asahi was less condemning towards China’s missile deployment, while Yomiuri tended to depict it as a threat by China. Both newspapers were also restrained in using pejorative right-wing depictions, which is in line with other studies assessment on Asahi and Yomiuri. There is however an exception that stood out in the discourse and that is when the conservative Yomiuri took a strong stance and claimed Japan’s territorial rights at an incident near the Senkaku Islands, with a Taiwanese boat colliding with a Japanese patrol boat at sea. Taiwan’s role in the incident and following reaction was depicted highly problematic in Yomiuri and the cause was argued to be the improved China-Taiwan relations and the fact that GMD was considered made up of Mainlanders. The GMD government eventually stepped away from further official claims from Taiwan’s side, and thereby put a lid in the dispute between Japan and Taiwan. However, the way Yomiuri depicted this incident could be an indication of what could be considered a future sensitive topic in Japan-Taiwan relations: contestations of territorial rights.

Apart from the Senkaku incident, despite Taiwan’s crucial role in the perceived dangerous area of the Taiwan Strait, Taiwan was not depicted as a threat, or challenger to Japan in the analysed discourse. Japan watched how its pupil in democracy was pursuing its quest for independence in a mostly rational manner, while recognising its own place outside Japan’s territory. Taiwan could be argued to be represented as an ideal neighbour for Japan, in that Taiwan was depicted as maintaining status quo at the Taiwan Strait and showing progress in the same type of political system as in Japan. The liberal Asahi, and most of the time the conservative Yomiuri as well, did not seem to perceive Taiwan as having agency enough to pose a threat to Japan on any level; ontological, security-related or economical. Discursive use of sensitive issues such as the colonial past and the “comfort women” were close to never depicted in the editorials during this period. However, the issue of official independence of
Taiwan seems to harbour more clues on what to make of the relationship in the future. Following *Asahi* and *Yomiuri*’s depictions, a logic result of a recognised official independence could spur on the *Taiwanisation* and thereby nationalism in Taiwan. By becoming a sovereign nation, territorial issues like Senkaku Island could perhaps be depicted as a much more elaborate threat in Japanese discourse than this analysis indicated, and thereby raise the risk of deteriorating relations. *Yomiuri*’s reaction on the Senkaku incident provides hints, but further research is needed to pursue this hypothesis.

To conclude the results, this thesis contributed to the explanation of why Japan and Taiwan are in a favourable relationship by pointing out how *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* rarely depict Taiwan in a problematic or negative manner and thereby, arguably contribute to the overall representation of Taiwan in Japan, as a less problematic neighbour than China and South Korea. However, it could be argued that this thesis only managed to shed light on reasons that could contribute to the explanation to why the relationship is *not deteriorating*, rather than explaining *why it is favourable*. Additional research in social sciences could undertake discourse analysis on other influential media, aside from the mainstream political media, in order to identify topics in Japan-Taiwan relations that could further contribute to the explanation.

Finally, this thesis was written within an interdisciplinary program. The supervision of the thesis, and large parts of its literature and academic framework derived from scholars of political science. As the author originates from cultural studies, issues concerning identity, both the concepts of national identity, as well as cultural identity, has previously been studied within that discipline, and the author suggests studies and research echoing the same purpose as of this thesis, however with theories and frameworks from cultural studies, as this possibly would complement conclusions inferred here, and contribute to scholarship on international relations in general and Japan-Taiwan relations in particular.
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