

Topic and Research Question

Despite the lack of formal diplomatic relations between Japan and Republic of China (Taiwan) since 1972, Japan remains an important actor within Taiwan's foreign policy. Due to the both states' shared history, their mutual influences, as well as the spatial proximity that results in the need to respond to similar challenges within the changing international environment, the analysis of Japan-Taiwan relations stands as a representative case for understanding the identity politics, especially in the context of changing perceptions of history held by different administrations in Taiwan. A research puzzle was identified in terms of nonsufficient research concerning Japan-Taiwan relations that applied discourse analytical approach. Therefore, the goal of this thesis was to answer the following research question and three sub-questions:

RQ: *How did the construction of Self and Other change over time in the official discourse in Taiwan and Japan regarding their bilateral relations?*

Sub-RQ1: *What are the strategies and argumentation schemes used most frequently in the KMT and the DPP's speech acts regarding Japan, and Japan's government speech acts regarding Taiwan?*

Sub-RQ2: *How did framing of Japan as an Other to Taiwan's Self change from Ma Ying-jeou to Tsai Ing-wen's administrations?*

Sub-RQ3: *How did framing of Taiwan as an Other to Japan's Self change during Shinzo Abe's second administration from 2012-2020?*

State of the Art

In existing research Taiwan-Japan relations had been analyzed from multiple perspectives. The research on Taiwan-Japan relations that draws on identity politics includes works of He (2014), who treats identity politics as an important determinant of foreign policy preferences, and Sun (2007), who considers a positive interpretation of the colonial experience as one of processes that influence the changes in Taiwan-Japan relations.

According to He (2014) "Othering" is a way to build a sense of common fate and mutuality, which generates national integration. He (2014) and Tekin (2010) provide the framework of analysis including the motivation of Othering, as well as axiological and praxeological levels of analysis.

As for the Discourse Analysis, the Discourse-Historical Approach was most the relevant to the thesis' topic, as it is concerned with discourses on identity, discrimination and politics (Reisigl 2017). It attempts to integrate historical background and the original sources in which discursive events take place (Wodak 2009).

Methodology and Approach

In order to provide the answers to the research questions in the most comprehensive way the thesis applied discourse historical approach based on Wodak's (2009) and Reisigl's (2017) works, as well as the Othering analysis based on works of He (2014) and Tekin (2010). The analysis focuses on the use of argumentation schemes/ topoi and the choices of discursive strategies in particular.

Discursive strategies	Argumentation schemes and means of realization	Othering Analysis
Main discursive strategies: Nomination Predication Perspectivization Mitigation/ Intensification Strategies regarding Identity: Construction Perpetuation Justification and Relativization Transformation Destruction/ Dismantlement	Argumentation schemes/ topoi: topoi of justice, threat, responsibility, burden, reality, law, history, illustrative example, consequence Means of realization: personal/ spatial/ temporal references, euphemisms, allusions, rhetorical questions, metonymy	Motivation: countering threats, policies or ideologies legitimization, national integration Axiological Level evaluation of the Other: good vs. bad, similar vs. different, superior vs. inferior Praxeological Level response to the Other: indifference, assimilation, confrontation

Source: Author based on sources cited in the study: Simplified design – full design presented in the full version of the thesis.

Based on initial research, most important events and the accompanying discursive acts in Japan-Taiwan relations were identified. Subsequently, the analytical framework was applied to the collected speech acts collected that accompanied the selected events.

Main Facts

Discourses centered around how Japan and Taiwan frame each other

The Tōhoku earthquake and the subsequent Taiwan's contribution and assistance in 2011 was a breakthrough in Japan-Taiwan relations, and the constructions of the Other was predominantly positive in both countries while the cooperation between the respective Self and Other was accentuated. On the other hand the Okinotorishima Incident in 2016 resulted in a very strong reaction of the KMT's government which Othered Japan negatively and chose the approach of confrontation and distancing from the Other on a praxeological level. Japan reacted less strongly and aimed mainly at cooperation and alleviating the tensions. The most important issue currently affecting Japan-Taiwan relations is the ongoing Taiwan's import ban on food from Fukushima disaster affected provinces which also stalls Taiwan's efforts to join Japan-led Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership. While the DPP continued to Other Japan in superlative terms, Japan remained distanced, especially after the outcome of the referendum in Taiwan in favor of prolonging the import ban.

Discourses centered around Japan's and Taiwan's own past

Regarding the discourse on Japan's colonization, the topos of consequence and the strategy of Positive Self-Representation were applied by a Japanese actor when referring to the Japan's colonial contributions in order to convince the audience that the Japanese rule was a positive experience for a Taiwanese population. When talking about Japan's colonial history and militarism, Abe used the topos of external force to shift the blame to the influences of Western powers, as well as the Strategy of Avoidance regarding the unresolved "comfort women" issue. The different perceptions of wartime history, which influence the Taiwanese identity, as well as the Othering of Japan, were visible in Lee's and Ma's utterances. While Lee stated facts and pointed out to Taiwan's colonial history, Ma confronted his opinion and referred to the China-centered stance on history approved by the KMT.

Results

The shift in positive and negative framing of the Other depend largely on the context of the event and the discursive topics. Despite the positive representation of

the Other within their mutual discourses, the relations between the two countries have not improved significantly regarding the most important areas such as security and economic cooperation. Therefore, the positive discourse does not translate into direct progress and improvement in bilateral relations.

The findings show that the focus of identity discourse shifts when undertaken by the KMT and the DPP. Referring to the main research question and the above findings, the political background affects the way Japan was portrayed in the discourse. For instance, history is used strategically within the KMT and the DPP's respective identity politics in order to construct preferred national identities. Different memories of the War embraced by the KMT and the DPP result in production of different narratives of the past, and in turn, in disparate constructions of the national identity.

This thesis regarded only the two most recent presidents of Taiwan and only one LDP's prime minister's administration in Japan. In the analysis of how powerful discourses are sustained or transformed the focus on classical speaking agents in IR, such as heads of state, needs broadening. Including e.g. local communities, in order to expand the discourse research agenda to those without means to coerce or threaten, would be essential to show how much discourses shape the life of larger public not directly involved in politics.

References

All references can be found in the full version of the MA thesis available at <http://othes.univie.ac.at>.

About the Author

Karolina Barańska holds a BSc in Business, Chinese language and Culture from Copenhagen Business School. She spent an exchange semester at Tsinghua University in Beijing and has studied Chinese language at Hunan University. She gained work experience in areas of finance, banking and law in Poland and Austria.



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