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**NAVAL
POSTGRADUATE
SCHOOL**

MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

THESIS

**NATIONALISM: THE MEDIA, STATE, AND PUBLIC IN
THE SENKAKU/DIAOYU DISPUTE**

by

Chrystopher S. Kim

March 2015

Thesis Advisor:
Second Reader:

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**NATIONALISM: THE MEDIA, STATE, AND PUBLIC IN THE
SENKAKU/DIAOYU DISPUTE**

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ABSTRACT

Since diplomatic normalization in 1972, Sino-Japan relations have hit a new low due to escalating military and diplomatic confrontation around the islands in the East China Sea, known as the Senkaku in Japan and the Diaoyu in China. Through a comparative media analysis of the dispute, this thesis considers the extent to which China and Japan are instrumentally influencing nationalist rhetoric in the media in order to advance state interests.

Media analysis indicates a pattern of rising nationalist rhetoric in both Japan and China over the 23-year period from 1990 to 2013. Contextual analysis of historical events also suggests that both China and Japan have used the dispute instrumentally to bolster domestic support while attempting to manage nationalist rhetoric in order to prevent negative international consequences. However, due to popular nationalism transforming journalistic and political consensus, Tokyo's influence over the media in Japan declined steeply after 2010. In China, the state maintains strict oversight over the media and public mobilizations, but Beijing may also be slowly losing its control over popular nationalism. In sum, popular nationalism may be growing beyond state control, limiting political options to improve bilateral relations for both Chinese and Japanese leaders.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CPD	Central Publicity Department
DPJ	Democratic Party of Japan
DTI	Dokdo/Takeshima Islands
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone
ICJ	International Court of Justice
JCG	Japan Coast Guard
KNT	Kuril Islands/Northern Territories
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party
NHK	Japan Broadcasting Corporation (<i>Nippon Housou Kyoukai</i>)
NSI	Nansha/Spratly Islands
PRC	People's Republic of China
SDF	Self Defense Force
SDI	Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands
SIB	Sino-Indian Border
UN	United Nations

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For my mother, who has sacrificed everything for my happiness

and

Maj-Britt, for the good times.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Since diplomatic normalization in 1972, Sino-Japan relations have hit a new low due to escalating military and diplomatic confrontation around the islands in the East China Sea, known as the Senkaku islands in Japan and the Diaoyu islands in China. Both states claim sovereignty over the islands. The two countries have increasingly taken to public media to criticize each other openly over the territorial dispute.

A. MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION

Since 2010, China and Japan have rapidly escalated their rhetoric and power projection over the Senkaku/Diaoyu territorial dispute. To what extent are China and Japan instrumentally influencing the media coverage of the island dispute in order to advance state interests? To answer this question, this thesis examines the origin of Chinese and Japanese nationalism, the historical background regarding the territorial dispute around the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands, and the relationship between mass media, the public, and foreign policy. Through a comparative media analysis of the dispute, it considers the extent to which the states are instrumentally influencing nationalism in order to advance their interests.

B. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH QUESTION

If nationalism is being used instrumentally in order to advance state interests, identification of those state interests would be critical to conflict resolution. Alternatively, if the territorial dispute is triggering popular nationalism, then growing nationalist public opinion may limit possible solutions even if the two governments want to resolve the dispute. By examining the role and degree nationalism plays in the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute, it may be possible to evaluate how nationalism propagates and affects the state and the public through the media.

If popular nationalism is the cause for rising tensions, Beijing and Tokyo may need to manage public opinion through the media to curtail possible international fallout over the dispute. However, popular nationalism may grow beyond state control and

constrain foreign policymaking. Such policy constraints may lead to a greater possibility of conflict escalation despite economic loss in both countries. For other countries dealing with China and Japan, knowledge of domestic political constraints may be useful in negotiations.

C. ORIGINS OF CHINESE AND JAPANESE NATIONALISM

Examining nationalism's origins in China and Japan will help in determining whether nationalism was formed primordially or instrumentally.¹ The theoretical framework on the relationship between mass media, the public, and foreign policy were employed in this thesis to analyze the effect of changing nationalism and its significance as a signal for future developments on the current Senkaku/Diaoyu territorial dispute.

1. Chinese Nationalism

Brendan O'Leary defines instrumentalism as a belief system that is "used and abused primarily by ruling classes or power elites."² Many scholars concur that Chinese nationalism is largely an instrument and creation of the state. Michael Yahuda argues that Chinese nationalism was created in response to the defeat of China by Japan in 1895.³ Similarly, Allen Carlson suggests that "a century of humiliation, lasting from the first Opium War through the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC)" from the West, and particularly Japan, formed the basis for Chinese nationalism.⁴ While initially created by elites to unite disparate ethnic groups against foreign invasion, Chinese nationalism propagated with a grassroots movement. According to Guoguang Wu, modern Chinese nationalism's first wave culminated in the May Fourth Movement of

¹ Structural and constructive theories also attempt to explain the origin of nationalism; however, for the purpose of this thesis, only primordial and instrumental viewpoints are discussed.

² Brendan O'Leary, "Instrumental Theories of Nationalism," in *Nationality and Nationalism*, ed. Athena S. Leoussi and Steven Elliott Grosby (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004), 149.

³ Michael Yahuda, "The Changing Faces of Chinese Nationalism: The Dimensions of Statehood," in *Asian Nationalism*, ed. Michael Leifer (New York: Routledge, 2000), 26.

⁴ Allen Carlson, "A Flawed Perspective: The Limitations Inherent within the Study of Chinese Nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 15, no. 1 (January 2009): 22, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/839136678?accountid=12702>.

1919, when 3,000 college students protested the Paris Peace Conference decision to consent to Japanese territorial rights to Shandong province.⁵

After the founding of the PRC, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) emphasized communist ideology over nationalistic anti-Japanese and anti-Western sentiments, but Chinese nationalism never vanished.⁶ In another view, Chalmers Johnson argues that “the communist rise to power in China should be understood as a species of nationalist movement,” integrally bound with anti-Japanese sentiments.⁷ As communist ideology lost its power with the advent of capitalism, Suisheng Zhao notes that the CCP “rediscovered the utility of nationalism” to instrumentally unite the Chinese people.⁸

In contrast to the idea that Chinese nationalism was created out of antagonistic relations against the West and Japan, Lei Guang contends that Chinese nationalism is “realpolitik nationalism,” which acts in response to threats against its nation-state concepts of sovereignty, territoriality, and international legitimacy.⁹ However, realpolitik nationalism deals in symptoms, not in the causes of primordial sentiments that mobilize the population. As Che-po Chan and Brian Bridges suggest, “in order to solidify its regime legitimacy, the CCP has increasingly responded to public opinion and firmed up its position toward Japan.”¹⁰ For the Chinese, the only way to alleviate the history of humiliation is to “belittle” and “punish” the offender, leading to international power struggles and conflicts.¹¹

⁵ Guoguang Wu, “From Post-Imperial to Late Communist Nationalism: Historical Change in Chinese Nationalism from May Fourth to the 1990s,” *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (April 2008): 468, doi: 10.1080/01436590801931454 .

⁶ According to Michael Billig, nationalism is an “endemic condition”; it ebbs and flows, but does not totally disappear from nations. Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London; Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995), 6.

⁷ Chalmers Johnson, *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: The Emergence of Revolutionary China, 1937–1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962), ix.

⁸ Suisheng Zhao, *A Nation-state by Construction: Dynamics of Modern Chinese Nationalism* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 6.

⁹ Lei Guang, “Realpolitik Nationalism: International Sources of Chinese Nationalism,” *Modern China* 31, no. 4 (October 2005): 487–509, doi: 10.1177/0097700405279355.

¹⁰ Che-po Chan and Brian Bridges, “China, Japan, and Clash of Nationalisms,” *Asian Perspective* 30, no. 1 (2006): 134.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 132–34.

In sum, many scholars concur that Chinese nationalism is an instrument and creation of the state; however, like most nationalistic sentiments, the Chinese people typically experience it primordially.¹² Additionally, primordialists usually neglect the ways in which “ethnic identities arise out of interactions with other groups” rather than forming internally.¹³ Therefore, the CCP-driven and popular nationalisms reinforce each other, transforming Chinese nationalism in a continuum. At the same time, in China’s case, its national narrative is inextricably linked with the history of humiliation by Japan and the West.

2. Japanese Nationalism

When asked for an ideal nation-state congruity, as Ernest Gellner advocated, scholars frequently name Japan. According to T.J. Pempel, the Japanese are so clear about their homogeneity that “nationality, citizenship, ethnicity, and cultural identity are largely meaningless distinctions for most Japanese.”¹⁴ Furthermore, Pempel argues that Japan has historically lacked “the social divisions of religion, ethnicity, and language that split so many other countries.”¹⁵ Connor concurs that Japan was “among the handful of states that clearly qualify as nation-states.”¹⁶ The idea of Japanese ethnic purity does not stop at the scholarly domain. Dubbed “hemato-nationalism” by some scholars, the Japanese believe their blood is so pure that, until recently, they attempted to keep their blood free of foreign blood transfusions.¹⁷

¹² Primordialists argue nations are ancient and biological, in which members attach “a certain ineffable significance...to the tie of blood.” In this case, I refer only to the Han Chinese who compose over ninety percent of mainland population and trace their origin to the Yellow Emperor. The CCP has distinctive narratives for including other minor ethnicities within China; however, that is beyond the scope of this work. Donald L. Horowitz, “The Primordialists,” in *Ethnonationalism in the Contemporary World: Walker Connor and the Study of Nationalism*, ed. Daniele Conversi (New York: Routledge, 2002), 73.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁴ T.J. Pempel, “Contemporary Japanese Athletics: Windows on the Cultural Roots of Nationalism-Internationalism,” in *The Culture of Japan as Seen through Its Leisure*, ed. Sepp Linhart and Sabine Fruhstuck (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 115.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Walker Connor, “A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group is a...,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 1, no. 4 (October 1978): 385, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/60668195?accountid=12702>.

¹⁷ Jennifer Robertson, “Hemato-nationalism: the Past, Present, and Future of ‘Japanese Blood,’” *Medical Anthropology: Cross-Cultural Studies in Health and Illness* 31, no. 2 (April 2012): 93–112.

A deeper examination of Japan reveals a linguistic, ethnic, and cultural diversity, rather than absolute homogeneity, as some suggest. While mostly assimilated now, the Ainu in Hokkaido and the Ryukuan in Okinawa once maintained languages, territories, and cultures that were quite distinctive from the mainland Japanese. Even after more than 140 years of assimilation, a small group of people in Okinawa is seeking secession because they feel marginalized as a dumping ground for U.S. troops.¹⁸ In 2008, the Japanese government finally passed a resolution that recognized the Ainu as the indigenous people of Hokkaido, after being pressured by the 2007 United Nations (UN) Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.¹⁹ Additionally, more than 500,000 Koreans, brought over as cheap labor, remained in Japan after the end of World War II. About 200,000 of them assimilated and became Japanese citizens by 1995, but approximately 660,000 ethnic Koreans refused to naturalize and remain as permanent residents.²⁰

Recent studies have also found a vastly diffused and complex nationalism in Japan, leading to a high number of nationalism types. As in China, Japanese elites initially used nationalism as a tool for mobilization in response to the Western threat, symbolized by the black ship of Admiral Matthew C. Perry in 1853. Elites espoused *kokugaku*, or national learning, to assert that the Japanese character was pure and mobilized the population around the Emperor and the Shinto religion, while rejecting Chinese knowledge.²¹ Through their writings, *kokugaku* scholars imagined Japan as “the source of individual and cultural identity” over prior feudal divisions of class, regions, and domains.²² Interestingly, after World War II, immediate postwar sentiment was

¹⁸ Martin Fackler, “In Okinawa, Talk of Break from Japan Turns Serious,” *New York Times* July 5, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/06/world/asia/in-okinawa-talk-of-break-from-japan-turns-serious.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

¹⁹ “A Shameful Statement on Ainu,” *Japan Times* November 17, 2014, <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2014/11/17/editorials/a-shameful-statement-on-ainu/#.VNfpNWO9bBs>.

²⁰ Teruki Tsunemoto, “Rights and Identities of Ethnic Minorities in Japan: Indigenous Ainu and Resident Koreans,” *Asia-Pacific Journal on Human Rights and the Law* 2, no. 1 (2001), 132.

²¹ Dawn R. Going, “Japanese Nationalism” (master’s thesis, The Naval Postgraduate School, 1989), 17–26.

²² Susan B. Burns, *Before the Nation: Kokugaku and the Imagining of Community in Early Modern Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 220.

remarkably free of anti-foreign feelings, and some factions even proclaimed the Japanese to be cosmopolitan citizens of the world.²³ With the sudden disappearance of former imperial nationalism centered on the Emperor and Shinto, some even claimed that Japanese nationalism was dead.

However, as Dawn R. Going notes, “the loyalty to nation was not changed, only its direction.”²⁴ Japanese nationalism splintered, and many different types emerged from the ashes of former imperialism; Brian McVeigh counts no less than sixteen major categories.²⁵ Like in China, elites led most of these new nationalisms; at the same time, popular movements bolstered them. Shunichi Takekawa compares the elite views of progressive left against the conservative right in the press to conclude that “postwar Japan’s nationalism is not composed of a single thread of ideas...[but of] unique sub-nationalisms.”²⁶ In a historical view, Laura Hein traces the development of postwar nationalism from state-led economic development in the 1950s and ’60s and the re-emergence of an elite-led ethnic component in the 1970s and ’80s, to right-wing militarist and grassroots cultural nationalism in the 1990s.²⁷ Despite various types, as with the Chinese, nationalism in Japan remains endemic and fluid.

As McVeigh suggests, “Japanese identity is very much standardized, compartmentalized, and controlled by politico-economic forces; it is not a natural given.”²⁸ Similar to China, the Meiji government created the Japanese national identity to instrumentally promote the state’s political, social, and economic goals against the “other,” namely the West. On the other hand, in Japan’s case, World War II forced a

²³ Going, “Japanese Nationalism,” 41.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Brian J. McVeigh, *Nationalisms of Japan: managing and mystifying identity* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 10; Shunichi Takekawa, “Forging Nationalism from Pacifism and Internationalism: a Study of Asahi and Yomiuri’s New Year’s Editorials, 1953–2005,” *Social Science Japan Journal* 10, no. 1 (2007): 61.

²⁶ Takekawa, “Forging Nationalism,” 59–80.

²⁷ Laura Hein, “The Cultural Career of the Japanese Economy: Developmental and Cultural Nationalisms in Historical Perspective,” *Third World Quarterly* 29, no. 3 (2008): 447–65.

²⁸ McVeigh, *Nationalisms of Japan*, x.

constant renovation of its nationalism, through the primordial myth of a homogeneous, pure race.

D. THE SENKAKU/DIAOYU ISLANDS

Senkaku is the Japanese name for a group of eight uninhabited islands controlled *de facto* by Japan in the East China Sea. The Chinese and Taiwanese call them Diaoyu and Diaoyutai, respectively. The Japanese claim that they annexed the islands *terra nullius* in 1895, meaning that the islands belonged to no state. According to China and Taiwan, the islands historically had belonged to China since the 14th century.²⁹ After the end of World War II, the United States controlled the islands, which then passed to Japanese control with the Okinawan Reversion Treaty in 1971.

The Chinese assert that the Japanese annexed the islands along with Taiwan after the first Sino-Japanese War; the San Francisco Treaty of 1951 required Japan to return all lands that were taken from China. However, Japan had rejected even the existence of a dispute for many years, stating that the islands were not under Chinese control before 1895. Only in November of 2014 did both sides acknowledge that “different positions exist” over the islands.³⁰ Complicating matters, the United States avoided the issue of sovereignty over the islands in the San Francisco Treaty.

Suggesting a resource grab, China’s official claim did not occur until 1971, after the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East identified oil and gas deposits around the islands in 1969. Likewise, the Japanese push for regaining control of the islands from the United States started soon after the UN report.³¹ However, during the negotiations for the Friend and Peace Treaty between Beijing and Tokyo in

²⁹ Alfred Soons and Nico Schrijver, “Policy Brief: What Does International Law Say about the China-Japan Dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands?” December 2012, The Hague Institute for Global Justice, http://issuu.com/hagueinstitute/docs/policy_brief_1_the_china-japan_disp.

³⁰ Jane Perlez, “China and Japan, in Sign of a Thaw, Agree to Disagree on a Disputed Island Group,” *New York Times*, November 7, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/08/world/asia/china-japan-reach-accord-on-disputed-islands-senkaku-diaoyu.html?_r=0.

³¹ Krista E. Wiegand, *Enduring Territorial Disputes: Strategies of Bargaining, Coercive Diplomacy, and Settlement* (University of Georgia Press, 2011), 99–100.

1978, Deng Xiaoping unofficially agreed to shelve the dispute.³² Since Taiwan is not recognized by the UN and lacks military power, the People's Republic of China took the lead over the dispute in the 1990s.

E. POTENTIAL EXPLANATIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Connor opined that a nation is harder to define than nationalism; however, nationalism is just as hard to define.³³ Japanese nationalism is known for its diverse expressions; as previously noted, McVeigh counts at least sixteen major types.³⁴ Interestingly, these nationalism types exist not only in Japan, but also in China; the only difference is in the degree of their manifestations. The supposedly distinct categories of nationalism are just different facets of the same phenomenon.³⁵

I define nationalism as an “endemic condition”³⁶ that enables an individual to “imagine”³⁷ shared ineffable, immutable, essential, and unique characteristics of “our group.”³⁸ I categorize three levels of nationalism not by their forms but their source: state, social, and individual. State nationalism can be defined as ideology promulgated by the state, instrumentally seeking support or reinforcing legitimacy.³⁹ By social, I refer to unofficial, popular nationalism that represents “popular perceptions, expectations, and demands” of a nation, usually driven by the media.⁴⁰ Finally, there is the individual level that is normally not addressed in scholarly literature, because nationalism effectively expresses itself in a group. The individual level of nationalism becomes salient when we consider that the nationalistic ideas of a powerful decision maker, such as Shinzo Abe or

³² Ibid., 122.

³³ Connor, “Nation is a Nation,” 92–93.

³⁴ McVeigh, *Nationalisms of Japan*, 5.

³⁵ Ibid., 4.

³⁶ Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 6.

³⁷ Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991), 24.

³⁸ McVeigh, *Nationalisms of Japan*, 6.

³⁹ Caroline Rose, “‘Patriotism is not taboo’: nationalism in China and Japan and implications for Sino–Japanese relations,” *Japan Forum* 12, no. 2 (2000): 169–81.

⁴⁰ McVeigh, *Nationalisms of Japan*, 6.

Xi Jinping, can be very influential in foreign policy making. However, since the individual level requires the elite level of political power to be effective independently, I subsume this category under the state. Furthermore, ideological boundaries can overlap and contest each other, resulting in constant fluidity and reinvention at each level as illustrated in Figure 1.

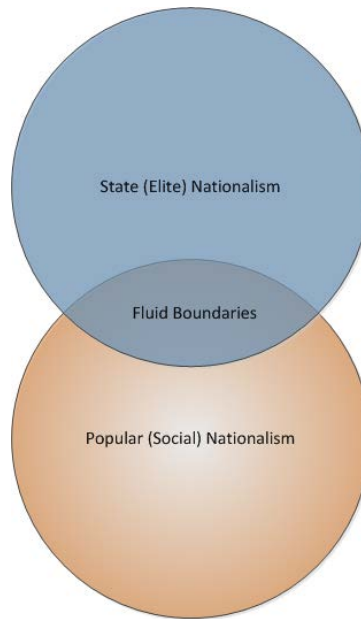


Figure 1. Nationalism Boundaries: state and popular nationalisms can overlap and compete with each other, creating fluid boundaries

As shown in Figure 2, the media lies between the public and the state as the transporter of nationalism by enabling the imagined and shared community through video, audio, print, and Internet channels. Using critical discourse analysis discussed later in Chapters IV and V, I argue that the governments in both Japan and China attempt to instrumentally influence public opinion through the media to boost their legitimacy and domestic support. Considering the fluid boundaries in each level of nationalism, as the state control over the media declines, the public will begin to exercise greater constraint on foreign policymaking in both Japan and China. Some opportunistic elites may exploit popular nationalism for political gains, encouraging its growth. On the other hand, as

Thomas A. Hollihan notes, the public can also use news coverage of issues to gauge the effectiveness of their government.⁴¹

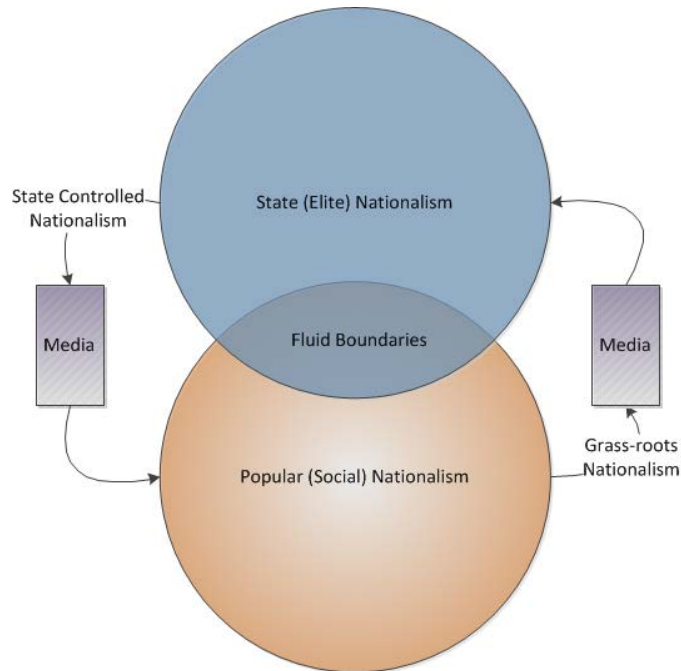


Figure 2. Media as the Transporter of Nationalisms: the media provide a means by which the state and public compete and reinforce nationalism

Referred to as a “priming effect,” “when asked to appraise their politicians and political figures, voters weigh their opinions on particular policy issues in proportion to the perceived importance of those issues: the more prominent the issue, the greater the impact of opinions about that issue on the appraisal.”⁴² As the prominence of SDI dispute increases in each country, political leaders will be increasingly constrained by public opinion through the priming effect. The states will find that foreign policies will be increasingly constrained by hardline nationalists, preventing moderates from forming accommodating solutions.⁴³

⁴¹ Thomas A. Hollihan, “Introduction,” in *The Dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands: How Media Narratives Shape Public Opinion and Challenge the Global Order*, ed. Thomas A. Hollihan (Basingstoke, United Kingdom: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 10.

⁴² Shanto Iyengar, *Media Politics: A Citizen’s Guide*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), 253.

⁴³ Peter Hays Gries, “Chinese Nationalism: Challenging the State?” *Current History* 104, no. 683 (2005): 255, accessed August 3, 2014, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/59696414?accountid=12702>.

II. THE MEDIA, PUBLIC, AND STATE

The territorial dispute around the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands is an expression of Chinese and Japanese nationalism, allowing a comparative study of symptoms and trends in each. There are two ways to view nationalism. First is as a range of types, and second is by intensity or degree evident in each type.⁴⁴ Using the second definition, the case of the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute can be used to potentially gauge the intensity of nationalist rhetoric through the media. As Hollihan explains, “people encounter the world beyond their immediate personal experience through the media.”⁴⁵ To measure the intensity of nationalist rhetoric in the media, an understanding of relationships between the media, public, and state is needed. However, the relationships between the media, public, and state differ depending on the type of regime. Complicating the analysis, regimes differ widely in their implementation. For our purposes, the extent of media freedom present in each state is the most salient characteristic.

A. THE MEDIA, PUBLIC, AND STATE: THE MEDIA IN A LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

Matthew A. Baum and Philip B. Potter suggest that the causal relationships between the media, public, and state in a liberal democratic regime like the United States are so convoluted that “further investigation ... is likely to produce diminishing returns.”⁴⁶ For example, James D. Meernik points a causal arrow from the state to the public. He contends that U.S. presidents have historically exercised the restricted use of force, rather than all-out war, that have affected the public for security, economic, liberal idealism, and domestic political reasons.⁴⁷ Alternatively, James T. Hamilton argues that the public influences the media; the media in a liberal democracy sustain its livelihood by

⁴⁴ McVeigh, *Nationalisms of Japan*, 9.

⁴⁵ Hollihan, “Introduction,” in *The Dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands*, 9.

⁴⁶ Matthew A. Baum and Philip B.K. Potter, “The Relationships between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (2008): 41.

⁴⁷ James David Meernik, *The Political Use of Military Force in U.S. Foreign Policy* (Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

“readers seeking diversion, reporters forging careers, and owners searching for profits.”⁴⁸ On the other hand, Richard A. Brody suggests that the public affects decision makers. The public forms opinions based on “news of outcomes rather than reported policy announcements,” while the public response to the news seems to be outside of the U.S. president control.⁴⁹ Brody concludes that decision makers have limited control over the public through the media, while decision makers are constrained by public opinion. Continuing the investigation of discrete causal chains, Baum explains how the media affects the public. The media packages and sells foreign events as dramatic and humane “soft news,” which increases the public’s knowledge of foreign events.⁵⁰ A vast array of studies paints diverse causal relationships between the media, public, and state in liberal regimes.

Unlike those who draw specific causal relationships, some scholars examine the issue at the macro level and suggest that the media forms the fourth pillar of democracy in addition to legislative, executive, and judicial branches. D.A. Graber suggests that the media provides a socially accepted behavior model for the public, offers a nation shared political experiences, and keeps the public informed, while being constrained by government control.⁵¹ David L. Paletz sums up the idea of the fourth pillar:

The media are indispensable to democracy, a political system predicated on the consent of the governed; to be meaningful and effective, that consent should be informed: based on truth, not falsehood; knowledge, not ignorance.⁵²

Graber and Paletz, both proponents of the fourth pillar, also argue that the attempt to chart the causation between the media, the public, and decision makers is fruitless

⁴⁸ James T. Hamilton, *All the News that’s Fit to Sell: How the Market Transforms Information into News* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), accessed August 3, 2014, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/621242239?accountid=12702>, 6.

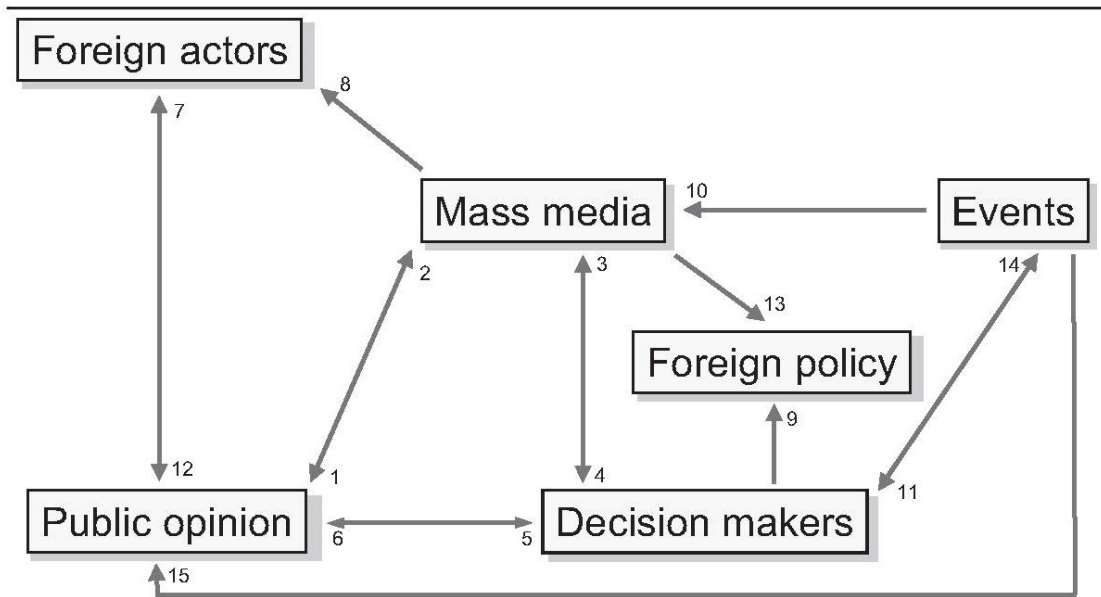
⁴⁹ Richard A. Brody, *Assessing the President: the Media, Elite Opinion, and Public Support* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press).

⁵⁰ Matthew Baum, *Soft News Goes to War: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy in the New Media Age* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).

⁵¹ D.A. Graber, *Mass Media and American Politics* (Chicago, IL: University Of Illinois at Chicago, 1984).

⁵² David L. Paletz, *The Media in American Politics: Contents and Consequences* (New York: Longman, 2002), 1.

because the “media influences nearly every aspect of the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy” in a liberal democracy.⁵³ Baum and Potter’s illustration (Figure 3) highlights this lack of clear causal relationships between the media, the public, and decision makers.



Prior specifications of causality in relationship(s) between the mass media, public opinion, and foreign policy. The citations associated with each arrow are illustrative rather than exhaustive. They represent simplifications of the authors’ arguments, intended to highlight the absence of a clear causal chain across the broader system.

Figure 3. Illustration of Possible Causal Relationships in a Liberal Democracy⁵⁴

B. THE COMPROMISED MEDIA IN CHINA

In comparison to a liberal democracy, a clearer relationship can be observed between the state and media in an authoritarian regime. In an authoritarian regime, the state restricts the freedom of the press in order to control information, because the state’s legitimacy depends on a “singular, monolithic narrative” about the regime’s

⁵³ Baum and Potter, “Relationships between Media, Public, and Policy,” 40.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 41.

indispensability and supposed reflection of popular will.⁵⁵ Furthermore, free media enables mobilization of dissenting voices, challenging the regime and forcing accountability.⁵⁶ As Pierre F. Landry and Daniela Stockman suggest, “media control is [the] key ingredient in authoritarian resilience.”⁵⁷ Likewise, Fen Lin and Xinzhi Zhang assert that an authoritarian regime is more resilient than a totalitarian mode because “the state selectively sensors information based on its challenge to the state legitimacy.”⁵⁸

Authoritarian regimes, like China, exercise a greater instrumental control over information than liberal democracies in order to maintain a monolithic, nationalist narrative and boost their legitimacy. As Peter Gries suggests, “lacking the procedural legitimacy accorded to democratically elected governments and facing the collapse of communist ideology, the CCP is increasingly dependent on its nationalist credentials to rule.”⁵⁹ Making the CCP’s job easier, authoritarian regimes have a marked advantage in framing because they can shape material conditions relatively easily to conform better to their message.⁶⁰ Until the mid-1990s, all Chinese news organizations were funded either directly or indirectly by the state to ensure almost total control over information.⁶¹ While the media have been somewhat deregulated and commercialized since then, all Chinese media are still regulated by the CCP’s Central Publicity Department (CPD). In a strategy Jonathan Hassid calls a “regime of uncertainty,” “the CPD demarcates the boundaries of

⁵⁵ Carlson, “A Flawed Perspective: The Limitations Inherent within the Study of Chinese Nationalism,” 31; Ericka Strecker Downs and Phillip C. Saunders, “Legitimacy and the Limits of Nationalism: China and the Diaoyu Islands,” *International Security* 23, no. 3 (1998-1999), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539340>, 118.

⁵⁶ Haifeng Huang, “Essays on News Media, Governance, and Political Control in Authoritarian States” (PhD diss., Duke University, 2009), 3.

⁵⁷ Pierre F. Landry and Daniela Stockman, *Crisis Management in an Authoritarian Regime: Media Effects during the Sichuan Earthquake* (Rochester: Social Science Research Network, 2009), <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1463796>, 24.

⁵⁸ Fen Lin and Xinzhi Zhang, “The Bureaucratic Nature of News websites and Online Activism in China,” *Conference Papers -- American Sociological Association* (Annual Meeting, 2011), EBSCOhost (accession number: 85659545), 19–20.

⁵⁹ Gries, “Chinese Nationalism,” 256.

⁶⁰ Edward Schatz and Elena Maltseva, “Kazakhstan’s Authoritarian ‘Persuasion,’” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 28, no. 1 (2012): 62, <http://dx.doi.org/10.2747/1060-586X.28.1.45>.

⁶¹ Jonathan Hassid, “Controlling the Chinese Media: An Uncertain Business,” *Asian Survey* 48, no. 3 (2008): 416, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2008.48.3.414>.

the acceptable in such a deliberately fuzzy way that news workers self-censor to a critical degree.”⁶²

However, capitalist reforms have begun to marginally transform the media sphere and Beijing is slowly losing its control in China. Landry and Stockman argue that the progressive loss of government control over the media is due to the diverging media companies’ incentives from the state to maximize profit.⁶³ Likewise, Susan Shirk notes that commercialization gives the media incentive to break sensational and inflammatory stories, sometimes against Beijing’s aims.⁶⁴ Additionally, the Internet has become the vehicle of choice for dissension in China. The CCP realizes that erosion in information control poses a grave threat to its legitimacy. Jianwei Wang and Xiaojie Wang contend that when “the media and the public have gone too far in expressing their sentiments on foreign policy issues, [the CCP] will take measures to minimize potential adverse impacts.”⁶⁵ On the other hand, according to Lin et al., the Internet “serves as a catalyst to initiate alternative voices that otherwise wouldn’t be heard in the institutionalized media, especially at the beginning of the online protest.”⁶⁶ In this respect, the Chinese media has mobilized the public to put pressure on the government and policy making process. While Beijing still maintains draconian control over the information flow within the state, its ability to police the media is very slowly declining due to commercialization and the public’s increasing ability to bypass Internet censors.

C. THE COMPROMISED MEDIA IN JAPAN

Although Japan is a liberal democracy, its media have been compromised by the *kisha kurabu* and a dominant-party system. As with China, legitimacy is a clear incentive for the Japanese government to control the media and flow of information. So why is

⁶² Ibid., 415.

⁶³ Landry and Stockman, “Crisis Management,” 22.

⁶⁴ Susan Shirk, quoted in Samuel Popkin and Ikuo Kabashima, “Introduction: Changing Media, Changing Politics,” *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 8, no. 1 (2007): 5, doi: 10.1017/S1468109907002538.

⁶⁵ Jianwei Wang and Xiaojie Wang, “Media and Chinese Foreign Policy,” *Journal of Contemporary China* 23, no. 86 (2014): 223, doi: 10.1080/10670564.2013.832523.

⁶⁶ Lin and Zhang, “Online Activism in China,” 18.

Japan more successful in controlling the media than other liberal democracies? On one hand, Ikuo Kabashima and Jeffrey Broadbent defend the Japanese press by arguing that the media are increasing political pluralism and acting as the fourth pillar of the Japanese political system.⁶⁷ Despite their optimism, two reasons make the Japanese media ineffective as the fourth pillar of a liberal democracy.⁶⁸ I first discuss how the *kisha kurabu* creates a cartel-like system in the Japanese media. Then I argue that combined with a dominant-party system, the Japanese media is compromised in its plurality and freedom, although not overtly like China.

Unlike Kabashima and Broadbent, Pak Hung Au and Keiichi Kawai draw a clear link of the state influence on the Japanese media through the *kisha kurabu* (reporters club) to monopolize the information in a way that is beneficial to both the media and the state. The reporters' club system works like a cartel: membership is limited to monopolize information; strict rules control independent and investigative reporting; and, effective and tough retributions exist for those who break the rules.⁶⁹ Despite the foreign pressure to open up the reporters' club, including from the American embassy in Tokyo, any reforms have been superficial or *tatemaie*.⁷⁰ Even then, only a few foreign reporters and previously blocked elements of the Japanese press were able to gain membership through torturous deny and delay tactics; however, new members gained only "non-regular" membership and limited benefits.⁷¹ During the media visits to the Fukushima nuclear power plant in 2012, the Japanese government banned foreign journalists during

⁶⁷ Ikuo Kabashima and Jeffrey Broadbent, "Mass Media and Politics in Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 12, no. 2 (1986): 329–61, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/132391>.

⁶⁸ According to Dahl, "democracy provides opportunities for 1) effective participation, 2) equality in voting, 3) gaining enlightened understanding, 4) exercising final control over the agenda, and 5) inclusion of adults." The political institutions that are necessary to pursue these goals are "1) elected officials, 2) free, fair and frequent elections, 3) freedom of expression, 4) alternative sources of information, 5) associational autonomy, and 6) inclusive citizenship." Japan's compromised media with its cartel-like *kisha kurabu* system would have difficulty meeting the third and fourth requirements. Robert Dahl, *On Democracy* (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press, 1998), 38; 95.

⁶⁹ Pak Hung Au and Keiichi Kawai, "Media Capture and Information Monopolization in Japan," *The Japanese Economic Review* 63, no. 1 (2012): 131.

⁷⁰ *Tatemaie* means face or public position as opposed to private thoughts or actions.

⁷¹ Laurie Ann Freeman, *Closing the Shop* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 175.

the initial visit, restricted two Japanese freelancers from using any equipment, and insisted on checking video images before the broadcast.⁷²

As a result of the cartel-like *kisha kurabu* system, the Japanese government weakens the role of media to hold the government accountable and reduces the media's plurality. William Nester similarly decries the Japanese media's "amazing uniformity" in coverage due to their deep dependence on the state.⁷³ Increasing state control over the media, Prime Minister Abe appointed Katsuto Momii as the director-general of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) along with four new members to the governing board in 2013. The NHK is an influential national broadcasting service funded by a compulsory tax and government subsidies. Despite the government funding, the NHK is legally bound to be impartial; however, Momii's controversial official comments on the comfort women and the disputed islands after the appointment as the NHK director widely raised the question of media independence in Japan.⁷⁴ In a most blunt display of state censorship in Japan, the NHK prohibited any critical comments on nuclear power until the Tokyo governor race was over.⁷⁵ Toru Nakakita, a NHK radio talk show host for 20 years, exposed the NHK's internal censorship and resigned in protest. As a result of *kisha kurabu*, similar coverage, and scandals after the Fukushima nuclear disaster, the Japanese public has "a profound distrust of the media" and refers to the media as *masugomi* (mass

⁷² Makiko Segawa, "Freelance Journalists Face Discrimination on Fukushima Plan Visit," *Reporters without Borders*, May 23, 2012, <http://en.rsf.org/japan-freelance-journalists-face-23-05-2012,42669.html>.

⁷³ William Nester, "Japan's Mainstream Press: Freedom to Conform?," *Pacific Affairs*, 62, no. 1 (1989): 33–37.

⁷⁴ Kosaku Narioka, "New Head of Japan's National Broadcaster to Side With Government?," *Wall Street Journal: Japan Realtime*, January 26, 2014, <http://blogs.wsj.com/japanrealtime/2014/01/26/new-head-of-japans-national-broadcaster-to-side-with-government/>; "Japan's National Broadcaster: My Country Right or Righter," *The Economist*, February 8, 2014, <http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21595983-ghosts-past-once-again-embrace-shinzo-abe-my-country-right-or-righter>.

⁷⁵ Martin Fackler, "Japan's Public Broadcaster Faces Accusations of Shift to the Right," *New York Times*, January 31, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/02/01/world/asia/japans-public-broadcaster-faces-accusations-of-shift-to-the-right.html?_r=1.

trash)⁷⁶ even though mass media in Japan holds vast influence over both the state and the public.⁷⁷

In addition to the *kisha kurabu*, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) has historically dominated Japanese politics, leading to a lack of competition and political pluralism. Since 1958, the LDP has governed Japan for 56 years except for two periods of brief interruption from 1993–1994 and 2009–2012. The hegemonic party system encourages entrenchment of more cartel-like institutions and corruption that reduces electoral competition and political dissension, even though the system may be procedurally democratic.⁷⁸ Due to the lack of significant competition, corruption, inefficiencies, and lack of accountability thrive in Japan’s dominant-party system. In sum, the presence of the reporters’ club and dominant party system classifies Japan as a liberal democracy where freedom of press and political pluralism are compromised, leading to weaker media that is unable to function fully as the fourth pillar of democracy.

D. THE MEDIA FREEDOM INDICES

Shown in Tables 1 and 2, Reporters Without Borders and Freedom House are the two major international organizations that publish indices that numerically rate the extent of press freedom for many countries in the world. Reporters Without Borders relies on questionnaires sent to selected journalists, researchers, jurists, human rights activists, and other experts to create a composite score for each state.⁷⁹ Freedom House calculates its scores based on expert assessments on the political, legal, and economic environments of

⁷⁶ *Masugomi* is a play on the Japanese word *masukomi* or mass communication, which refers to mass media.

⁷⁷ Kiyoshi Abe, “Every Policing in Japan: Surveillance, Media, Government, and Public Opinion,” *International Sociology* 19, no. 2 (2004): 217; John M. Glionna, “A Year after Tsunami, a Cloud of Distrust Hangs over Japan,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 11, 2012, <http://articles.latimes.com/2012/mar/11/world/la-fg-japan-quake-trust-20120311>; Ginko Kobayashi, “In Japan, a Wave of Media Distrust Post-Tsunami,” *Public Broadcasting Service*, April 15, 2013, <http://www.pbs.org/mediashift/2013/04/in-japan-a-wave-of-media-distrust-post-tsunami105/>.

⁷⁸ *Keiretsu* is a Japanese term for large conglomerates, such as Toyota and Sony. *Keiretsu* wield large influence in politics through an organization called *Keidanren*. Jose Antonio Crespo, “The Liberal Democratic Party in Japan: Conservative Domination,” *International Political Science Review* 16, no. 2 (1995): 199–209.

⁷⁹ “World Press Freedom Index – Methodology,” Reporters without Borders, accessed October 21, 2014, <http://rsf.org/index2014/en-index2014.php>.

each country. Each year, the process involves sixty to over one hundred regional experts, advisors, and scholars who gather information from various media and professional contacts.⁸⁰

Table 1. World Press Freedom Index (Reporters Without Borders), 2002–2013.⁸¹ Range of possible scores change from year to year.⁸²

Country	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011/ 2012	2013
Japan	7.5	8	10	8	12.5	11.75	6.5	3.25	2.5	-1	25.17
South Korea	10.5	9.17	11.13	7.5	7.75	12.13	9	15.67	13.33	12.67	24.48
China	97	91.25	92.33	83	94	89	85.5	84.5	84.67	136	73.07

Table 2. Freedom of the Press Index (Freedom House), 2002–2013.⁸³ Scores range from 0 to 100, with 0 being the best possible score and 100 the worst.

Country	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
China	80	80	82	83	84	84	85	84	85	85	83	84
South Korea	29	29	29	30	30	30	30	30	32	32	31	32
Japan	17	18	20	20	21	21	21	21	21	22	24	25

China has consistently ranked as one of the worst countries when it comes to press freedom, reflecting the CCP’s sustained success at maintaining information control. Reporters Without Borders has ranked China 175th out of 179 countries in its 2014

⁸⁰ “Freedom of the Press 2014 – Methodology,” Freedom House, accessed October 21, 2014, <http://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2014>; Cynthia English, Lee B. Becker, and Tudor Vlad, “Comparing Elite and Citizen Assessments of Media Freedom Using Data from the Gallup World Poll,” paper presented at the Journalism Research and Education Section of the International Association for Media and Communication Research, Istanbul, Turkey, July 2011, http://www.grady.uga.edu/coxcenter/Conference_Papers/Conf_Paper_July_2011_2.php.

⁸¹ “World Press Freedom Index 2014,” Reporters Without Borders, accessed October 21, 2014, <http://rsf.org/index2014/en-index2014.php>.

⁸² Reporters Without Borders index score ranges vary from year to year. Lower score indicates more media freedom whereas higher score indicates less media freedom. In 2002, 0.5 to 115.5; in 2003, 0.5 to 97.5; in 2004, 0 to 107.5; in 2005, 0.5 to 109.0; in 2006, 0.5 to 109.0; in 2007, 0.75 to 114.75; in 2008, 1.5 to 97.5; in 2009, 0 to 115.5; in 2010, 0 to 105.0; in 2011/2012, -10.0 to 142.0; in 2013, 6.38 to 84.83. Index specifies minimum and maximum ranges only for 2013, from 0 to 100.

⁸³ “Freedom of the Press 2014,” Freedom House, accessed October 21, 2014, <http://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/freedom-press-2014>.

World Press Freedom Index.⁸⁴ Similarly, Freedom House has ranked China 183rd out of 197 countries in its 2014 Freedom of the Press ranking.⁸⁵ Interestingly, despite the much higher score in 2013, China's rank only increased by one place in the Reporters Without Borders index of country rankings. Both international media organizations are unified in their condemnation of the lack of liberalism and press freedom in China over the years.

In contrast with China, Japan has consistently achieved high scores in both media freedom indices as shown in Tables 1 and 2; however, indices' reliance on elite consensus may affect the accuracy in a state like Japan. The Freedom House index reflects a consistent but slow drop in the score over the years. In its 2013 report, Freedom House criticizes the government's preferential treatment of the *kisha kurabu* and restricted access for foreign and freelance journalists after the Fukushima catastrophe. Similarly, the Reporter Without Borders index shows a huge drop in 2013 due to Japan's lack of transparency over the Fukushima incident. When indices involve selected journalists and elites who are complicit in a cartel-like institution like the *kisha kurabu*, the integrity of the scoring system is in doubt. China exhibits obvious forms of media control like imprisoning journalists, state-owned media enterprises, and overt censorship; however, Japan's state control over the media is more discreet, which may explain the high scores despite having compromised media.

E. CONCLUSION: THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE MEDIA, PUBLIC, AND STATE IN CHINA AND JAPAN

As I have established in this chapter, both Chinese and Japanese media are compromised to different degrees in comparison with the United States. In a liberal democracy with more press freedom like the United States, as Baum and Potter argue, causal relationships are hard to identify between the media, public, and state. In addition, the media acts as a check and balance on the state in more liberal regimes, referred to as the fourth pillar of democracy. In contrast, the compromised media in China and Japan

⁸⁴ "World Press Freedom Index 2014."

⁸⁵ "Freedom of the Press 2014."

lack pluralities by design to allow more state influence and thus the media lacks effectiveness in its role as the check on the government as illustrated in Figure 4.

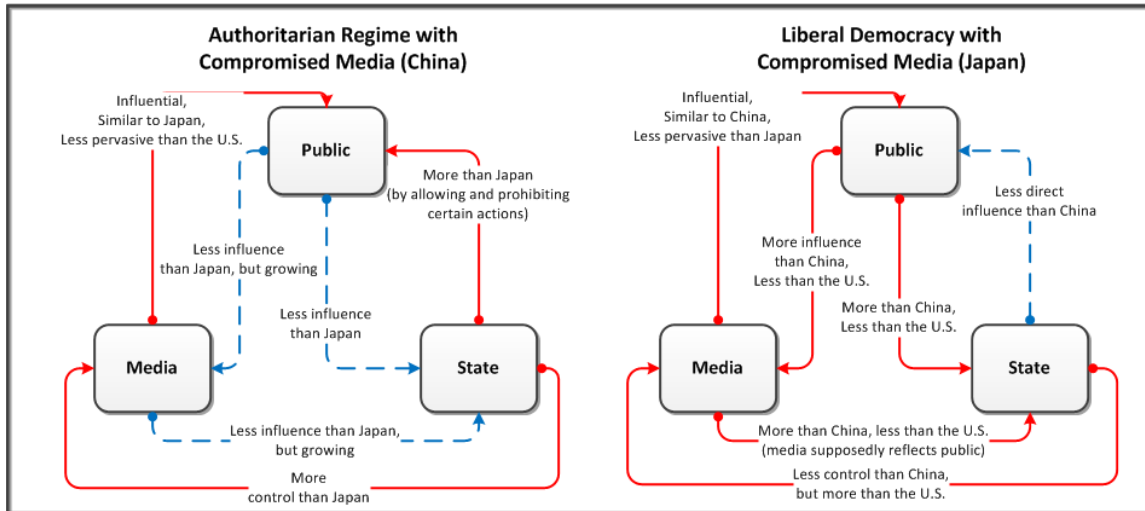


Figure 4. Causal Relationships in Authoritarian and Liberal Democratic Regimes with Compromised Media: Both Chinese and Japanese media are compromised to different degrees in comparison with the United States

While slightly less potent now, the Chinese government still maintains strict control over its media through a mix of strategies that include ownership, co-optation, and the CPD’s deliberately unclear policies that encourage severe self-censorship. As a result, many Chinese news outlets exist that serve as the direct mouthpieces of the CCP like the state-owned Xinhua General News Service. Likewise in Japan, as Susan J. Pharr and Ellis S. Krauss assert, “the reporters’ club system ... provides Japanese politicians and officials with a mechanism for transmitting their messages to the public to an extent probably unparalleled in other democracies.”⁸⁶ In sum, the compromised media in China and Japan, albeit to different degrees, becomes the main instrumental tool for disseminating the state’s nationalistic ideas as depicted in Figure 2, Chapter I.

⁸⁶ Susan J. Pharr and Ellis S. Krauss, *Media and Politics in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1996), 361.

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III. RESEARCH SOURCES AND DESIGN

In their book *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes*, Paul Baker, Costas Gabrielatos, and Tony McEnery use an analysis framework drawn from critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine how Islam is portrayed in the British press via both quantitative and qualitative means.⁸⁷ I borrowed Baker et al.'s approach to analyze a collection of Chinese and Japanese reports on the dispute from 1990–2013.

A. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

I used critical discourse analysis to provide context and corroborate my analysis of media reports. Baker et al. employ a method of critical discourse analysis, which combines linguistic analysis with a consideration of social, historical, and political contexts. References to actual events, official statements, political environment, and social pressures help to explain certain linguistic patterns identified through corpus linguistics. In addition, trying to identify the origin of political content in the media is very difficult due to its complexity. As John Zaller notes, an analysis of elite-mass relations through the media requires case-by-case judgments since a high degree of correspondence between elites and popular opinion do not help in determining causation.⁸⁸ Therefore, laying out clear criteria to identify which media reports reflect state control or public opinion can be highly problematic. The CDA helps in identifying the extent of state control in the news reports by providing social, historical, and political contexts.

Additionally, Baker et al. focus on a concept of “who benefits” from the critical discourse analysis framework to highlight particular biases in their corpus. They explain,

As well as focusing upon context, as discussed, critical discourse analysts also point out that texts are not isolated occurrences and do not materialize out of nowhere. Instead, they are produced by particular people for

⁸⁷ Paul Baker, Costas Gabrielatos, and Tony McEnery, *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes: The Representation of Islam in the British Press* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁸⁸ John Zaller, “Elite Leadership of Mass Opinion: New Evidence from the Gulf War,” in *Taken by Storm: the Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*, ed. W. Lance Bennett and David L. Paletz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 203.

particular reasons, with certain restrictions or expectations placed upon them....In considering how to interpret a text, a key question posed by CDA is ‘Who benefits?’⁸⁹

Asking the question of who placed the restrictions or expectations on the media reports for what reasons within the social, historical, and political context assists in identifying the party that benefits. In turn, answering the question of who benefits may help in answering the research question.

B. AUTONOMOUS AGENDA-SETTING BY THE MEDIA

This thesis examined the extent of the state’s influence on the SDI dispute through the media to advance its interests. As discussed in the previous section, trying to identify the origin of political content in the media is a difficult proposition. In addition to the state and public, I have not addressed a third possibility that the media may set its own agendas.⁹⁰ For example, Tsuneo Watanabe, a powerful media mogul in Japan and the owner of The Daily Yomiuri, is well known for supposedly using his paper to promote his own political views.⁹¹

Despite the possibility of the media setting autonomous agendas, contents tend to reflect either the public or state’s influence over media’s own agendas over time. If the media is promoting state views in order to gain access to information, as in the *Kisha Kurabu* system, then the media should be considered under state influence. Even if the media’s privileged access to information via a cartel like the *Kisha Kurabu* system is to gain more readers, contents reflect the view of the state rather than the public. On the other hand, as Hamilton explains, media bias can be a product differentiation to serve a particular market segment. If the media caters more to the public in order to make profits, while negatively framing the state, then the media is a reflection of the public rather than

⁸⁹ Zaller, “Elite Leadership,” 21–22.

⁹⁰ I define agenda-setting as “the process by which problems become salient as political issues meriting the attention of the polity.” Fay Lomax Cook, et al., “Media and Agenda Setting: Effects on the Public, Interest Group Leaders, Policy Makers, and Policy,” *American Association for Public Opinion Research* 47, no. 1 (Spring, 1983): 17.

⁹¹ Norimitsu Onishi, “Shadow Shogun Steps into Light, to Change Japan,” *New York Times*, 11, 2006, http://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/11/international/asia/11watanabe.html?_r=2&.

the state. A media outlet that consistently pushes its own framing in exclusion of a sponsor, be it the state or public, cannot sustain its operations. As a result, media framing tends to reflect either the public or state's influence by necessity over time. In this thesis, I examined a 23-year period to minimize the possibility of autonomous agenda-setting by the media, if it exists.

C. RESEARCH SOURCES

For this study, I used the English version of three news services for media analysis: Jiji Press Ticker Service, The Daily Yomiuri, and Xinhua General News Service. Jiji Press Ticker Service was established in 1945 after the state-owned Domei News Agency was dissolved at the end of World War II.⁹² Jiji is a Japanese newswire service that delivers news to about 140 publications and also directly to the general public. The Daily Yomiuri is the English version of a Japanese daily newspaper started in 1874 that is now the world's largest newspaper with a circulation of more than 10 million readers.⁹³ Xinhua General News Service, like Jiji, is a newswire service run by Xinhua News Agency, the state-level press agency for China.⁹⁴

I used one Chinese source, Xinhua, and two Japanese sources, Jiji and Yomiuri, to balance the coverage. As the state news agency, Xinhua releases both news and editorials that invariably reflect the Chinese government view of events. On the contrary, Jiji largely sticks to news only. Yomiuri was chosen to make up for Jiji's lack of editorials; additionally, its influence in Japan is reflected by both its circulation rate and access. In 2014, Yomiuri printed the exclusive interview with President Obama in which he officially confirmed that the defense of the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands was covered under the U.S.-Japan Mutual Defense Treaty.⁹⁵ In this paper, I used the term Diaoyu/Senkaku or Senkaku/Diaoyu in no particular order; I also sometimes simply use "the islands."

⁹² "About Us," *Jiji Press*, accessed May 18, 2014, http://www.jiji.com/c_profile/about_us.html.

⁹³ Abhijit Nag, "The World's Biggest Selling Newspapers," *Pressrun.net*, accessed May 18, 2014, <http://www.pressrun.net/weblog/2010/09/the-worlds-biggest-selling-newspapers.html>.

⁹⁴ "A Brief Introduction to Xinhua News Agency Service," *Xinhua News Agency*, accessed May 18, 2014, <http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/wtstxns.htm#2>.

⁹⁵ "Q&A: Japan's Yomiuri Shimbun interviews President Obama," *The Washington Post*, April 23, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/qanda-japans-yomiuri-shimbun-interviews-president-obama/2014/04/23/d01bb5fc-cae3-11e3-95f7-7ecdde72d2ea_story.html.

D. RESEARCH METHODS

This thesis comparatively examined the nature of nationalist rhetoric in the media through quantitative and qualitative analysis. I retrieved articles using the non-case sensitive keyword “Senkaku” for Jiji and Yomiuri, whereas I used the keyword “Diaoyu” for Xinhua. All articles from the three sources were retrieved from the Nexis database using a title and content search covering the period between 1990 and 2013. To measure the trend in the intensity of nationalist rhetoric, I use the following methods.

Chapter IV details how I tallied the aggregate number of articles on the dispute by each year, which should reflect a general trend on the public or government interest on the topic. I also compared and contrasted the quantitative trends in the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute to other territorial disputes in Japan and China. Additionally, I used polling data from various sources to find out if a correlation existed between rising nationalism and increasing coverage in the island dispute. Finally, I examined the frequency of “Senkaku” and “Diaoyu” to determine if any trend in the intensity of nationalism existed in each source over the dispute. Chapter IV, Section D provides the evidence and reasoning for using this method for inquiry.

Chapter V discusses how I examined key events that drove media coverage of the territorial disputes. First, I analyzed the key events that drove the surge in media coverage of the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute. During qualitative analysis, I also identified the differences in media representation of the major events that affected the dispute from 1990–2013. Second, I compared and contrasted the events that drove most news coverage with other territorial disputes. Third, I employed critical discourse analysis to ask who benefits to support my conclusions from previous sections. Throughout the chapter, I provide social, political, and historical contexts to events and media reports. Specific qualitative criteria for determining the extent of state influence in the media are listed in Section B of Chapter V.

IV. QUANTITATIVE TRENDS IN THE DISPUTE

Through quantitatively examining the data on various territorial disputes, I argue that Japanese media is subject to more public influence, especially after 2010; on the other hand, Chinese media indicate a tight state control in their dispute coverage. First, I compared and contrasted the number of news articles on various disputes to establish the increase in nationalist rhetoric from 1990–2013. Second, I analyzed public poll data to conclude that the SDI dispute drove the deterioration of the Sino-Japanese relationship and argue that Japanese media is more susceptible to public opinion than Chinese media. Finally, I examined the frequency in usage of national names for the islands to further support the idea that Chinese media is mostly state-controlled while both the state and public influence Japanese media.

A. BACKGROUND ON OTHER TERRITORIAL DISPUTES

Both China and Japan have territorial disputes other than the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands. Japan has two other major territorial disputes with South Korea and Russia. Lack of clarity in the San Francisco Treaty of 1951, which spelled out post-war territorial arrangements for Japan, drives all three Japanese territorial disputes. China also has two major territorial disputes with India and other Asian countries. For China, the Nansha/Spratly islands dispute derives from historical claims much like the Senkaku/Diaoyu, while the border dispute with India stems from a lack of a clear line of control.

1. The Dokdo/Takeshima Islands Dispute

Both South Korea and Japan lay claim to a group of small islets in the Sea of Japan/East Sea, consisting of two main islets and numerous surrounding rocks. Like the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands, the area is a good fishing ground and may contain large deposits of natural gas. South Koreans call the two main islets Dokdo (previously Tokto or Tokdo, depending on romanization). Japanese call the islets Takeshima, and considers it as a part of Shimane prefecture. Internationally, they are known as Liancourt Rocks. The dispute lies in whether the islands were included in the San Francisco Treaty of 1951, which

forced Japan to return previously “Korean” territories before the annexation.⁹⁶ The treaty, as in the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute, does not specifically reference the island. South Korea currently has *de facto* control over the islands.

2. The Kuril Islands/Northern Territories Dispute

Both Russia and Japan claim sovereignty over four islands that lie between Hokkaido and Kamchatka. The San Francisco Treaty of 1951 forced Japan to relinquish the “Kuril islands.” Russians consider the four islands a part of the Kuril islands, a Russian territory, while the Japanese claim that the islands are distinct from the Kuril island chain. Thus, Japanese call the islands the “Northern Territories,” and the “four islands claim” became a core policy of the Liberal Democratic Party.⁹⁷ Russia currently has *de facto* control over the islands.

3. The Nansha/Spratly Islands Dispute

Brunei, China, Malaysia, Philippines, Taiwan, and Vietnam all claim sovereignty over a group of islands, rocks, and reefs in the South China Sea, known internationally as the Spratly islands. Brunei, Malaysia, Philippines, and Vietnam claim only a portion, while China and Taiwan lay claim to the entire group of islands and maritime features based on various justifications. The Chinese usually refer to the islands as the Nansha islands while “Spratly” is the English name; other countries have their own national names for the islands. As in other island disputes, the area is rich in both natural and mineral resources. All claimants have *de facto* control over some portion of the islands.⁹⁸

4. Sino-Indian Border Dispute

Unlike previously discussed disputes, the border dispute between China and India is land-based. China claims sovereignty over an area in the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh, identifying as a part of the Xinjiang region. While India has *de facto* control

⁹⁶ Kimie Hara, “50 Years from San Francisco: Re-examining the Peace Treaty and Japan’s Territorial Problems,” *Pacific Affairs* 74, no. 3 (Autumn, 2001): 368–75.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 363–68.

⁹⁸ “ICE Case Studies: Spratly Islands Dispute,” *American University*, last modified December, 1997, <http://www1.american.edu/projects/mandala/TED/ice/spratly.htm>.

over the region, the “ill-defined line of actual control (LAC)” allowed China to move troops into the region from 1986 to 1987.⁹⁹ In 1993, the two countries signed an agreement to prevent possible military conflicts. However, Chinese and Indian military forces had two stand-offs in 2013 and 2014 over the LAC, reviving the possibility of a military conflict over the border dispute.

B. QUANTITATIVE TRENDS IN COVERAGE

During World War II, Japan colonized South Korea and parts of China in efforts to expand its empire. Quantitative data on media coverage of various territorial disputes display uneven surges and higher overall coverage when the claimants were World War II adversaries. This sharing of historical experience, either as the colonizer or colonized, may be a major factor driving nationalist rhetoric in the SDI dispute.

Trends suggest that 2010 was the pivotal year for the SDI dispute. Both Chinese and Japanese media coverage significantly increase starting 2010. Additionally, poll data on Japanese and Chinese views of each other also support the idea that 2010 was the key year. In the next chapter, I used 2010 as the dividing line to examine how the amount of Japanese state influence in the media differs before and after 2010.

1. Tables, Figures, and Methods

Table 3 shows the number of articles each news outlet released on the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute each year. Table 4 shows the number of articles the Jiji and Yomiuri released on the Dokdo/Takeshima dispute and the Xinhua released on the Nansha/Spratlys dispute. Similarly, Table 5 lists the number of articles the Japanese media outlets released on the Kuril/Northern Territories dispute and the Xinhua released on the China/India border dispute. I highlighted significant jumps in coverage in yellow; I defined a “significant jump” as the year in which the number of articles increased by at least threefold from the previous year and a minimum threshold of twenty articles. The first condition isolates only the most significant drivers for the coverage. The second condition eliminates instances that have a significant increase due to a low number from

⁹⁹ “India-China Border Dispute,” *Global Security.org*, accessed December 22, 2014, http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/india-china_conflicts.htm.

the previous year. For example, without the second condition, a year with only three reports would be considered a significant year if the previous year only had one. I applied an exception to this rule only for 1992 in the Kuril Islands/Northern Territories (KNT) dispute because the number of coverage is uncharacteristically high compared to later years, although the change is more gradual than the SDI and DKI disputes. Figure 5 is a graphic representation of data from Table 3.

Table 3. Yearly Frequency of Articles on the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands Dispute (1990-2013)

	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13
Yomiuri	1	0	25	1	1	2	40	26	4	5	1	1	1	5	35	20	7	7	15	5	166	54	225	242
Jiji	4	0	16	0	0	3	55	41	5	11	9	1	1	8	18	4	11	6	11	7	159	67	682	642
Xinhua	3	2	1	0	0	0	49	15	3	3	3	0	0	12	36	34	12	4	12	12	236	32	715	337

* Years with sudden and significant jump in news coverage are highlighted

Table 4. Yearly Frequency of Articles on Takeshima/Dokdo (Yomiuri and Jiji) and Nansha/Spratlys (Xinhua) Disputes

	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13
Yomiuri	0	0	0	0	0	0	34	16	17	6	0	1	1	1	4	44	36	7	28	6	9	8	74	45
Jiji	0	0	0	0	0	0	59	34	33	14	1	5	4	0	4	55	55	10	20	7	12	49	202	90
Xinhua	11	13	24	13	24	8	6	6	4	22	11	2	1	2	10	2	2	3	3	24	4	18	71	50

Table 5. Kuril Islands/Northern Territories and China/India Border Dispute

	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13
Yomiuri	96	139	166	101	29	16	17	31	64	29	27	26	35	12	26	27	33	15	22	20	40	20	30	22
Jiji	41	41	45	15	9	13	17	21	34	13	14	25	20	0	4	8	15	5	6	5	17	25	14	9
Xinhua	10	22	12	15	7	1	13	5	12	21	17	10	25	20	18	61	35	25	23	52	55	41	37	57

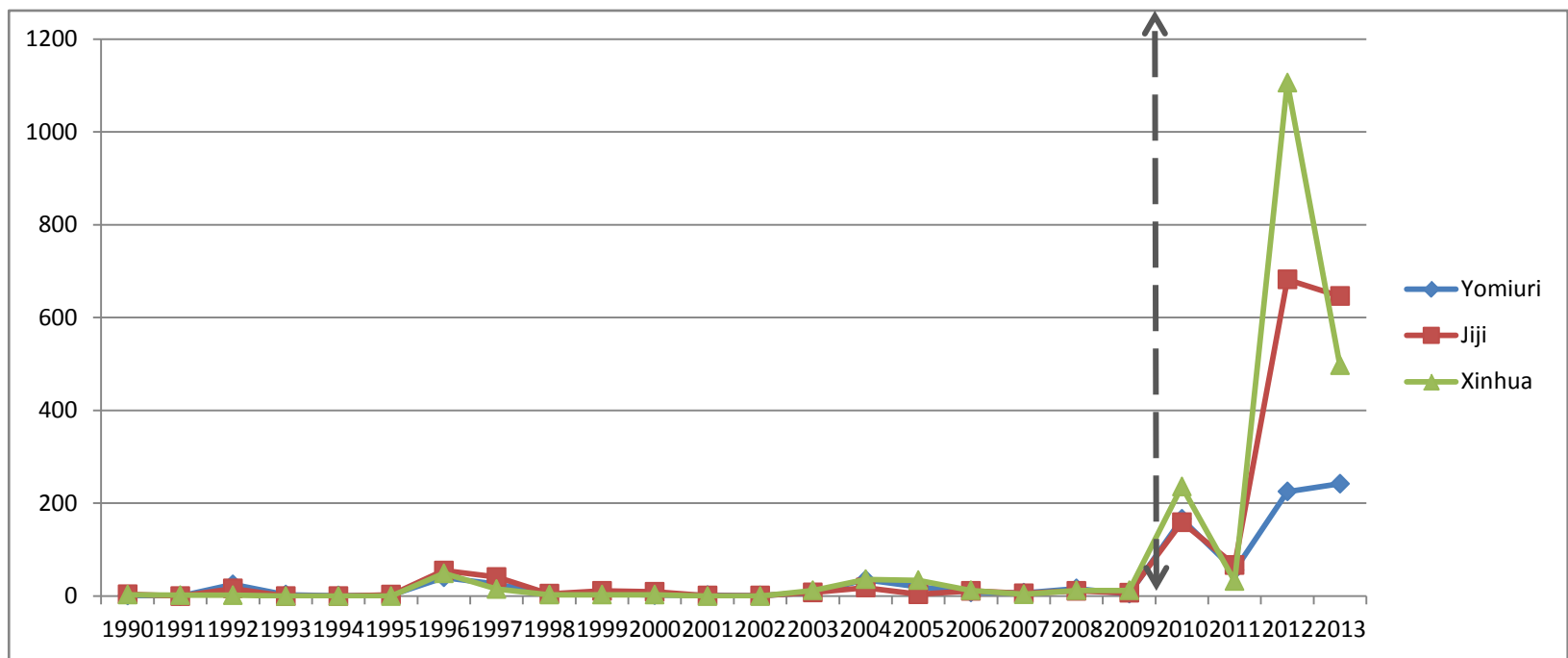


Figure 5. Yearly Frequency of Articles on the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands Dispute (1990-2013)

2. Comparative Quantitative Trends in the Japanese Coverage

The frequency of the articles from Japanese media outlets indicates that the identity of the other party in the dispute may drive media coverage in territorial disputes. A definite correlation exists between the Senkaku/Diaoyu and the Dokdo/Takeshima dispute, unlike the Kuril/Northern Territories dispute. Both the Jiji and Yomiuri had zero coverage on the Dokdo/Takeshima islands (DTI) dispute until a sudden spike in 1996, which is the same year the coverage on the SDI dispute increased significantly. Likewise, the year 2012 displays the biggest spike in coverage for both disputes. For both disputes, the fisheries pact was the main driver for the coverage in 1996. In contrast, the KNT dispute reflects smoother changes in coverage. Additionally, in a reverse trend to the other two maritime disputes, the KNT started with more coverage in the early 1990s and tapered off in the 2000s. Considering all factors common to both the SDI and DTI disputes, the relevant factor seems to be that South Korea and China were both Japanese colonies during World War II, unlike Russia. However, if the SDI and DTI dispute share similar characteristics, then what makes the SDI dispute coverage more intense than the DTI? The next chapter discusses variance in the level of public mobilizations between the SDI and DTI disputes as the cause for this difference in intensity.

Furthermore, Japanese media coverage can be largely divided into two periods based on the quantitative data: before 2010 and after 2010. Figure 5 shows a significant increase in media coverage in 2010, breaking into the hundreds for the first time in the 23-year period. Although the number of articles decreased below one hundred for both Yomiuri and Jiji in 2011, 2012 showed another significant surge. Additionally, for the first time, coverage sustained similar numbers and stayed above three digits for two years in a row in 2013. In the next chapter, I provide the context for the sudden change in Japanese media coverage by analyzing the events that drove the media coverage to conclude that a key event transformed the nature of the SDI dispute in 2010.

3. Comparative Quantitative Trends in the Chinese Coverage

As with the Japanese territorial disputes, the data indicates that the identity of the other claimant matters in coverage of the Chinese territorial disputes. Unlike the

Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute, the Nansha/Spratly dispute reflects much less coverage in Table 4. Even the 2012 coverage, which shows the highest coverage for the NSI dispute, is only about ten percent of the SDI coverage for the same year. The Sino-Indian border dispute produced more even coverage throughout the years, only peaking at 61 articles in 2005. Furthermore, later qualitative comparison of articles indicates that the Sino-Indian Border (SIB) dispute articles are more conciliatory in tone than other dyads. In contrast, the legacy of World War II and Japanese imperialism affected SDI coverage in Xinhua reports, suggesting that the identity of other claimant in the dispute drove the rapid increase in coverage.

As in Japan, Figure 5 shows a significant increase in media coverage of the SDI dispute in 2010. Compared to Japanese media, Xinhua reports dropped to much lower levels in 2011. Xinhua coverage again increased significantly in 2012, similar to Jiji and Yomiuri. However, like Xinhua's drop in coverage in 2011, Xinhua reports on the SDI dispute decreased to about 50 percent of 2012 compared to Japanese media, which maintained similar levels of coverage from the previous year.

4. Summary

The trends in coverage on the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute reveal a quantitative increase in media rhetoric over the years. An examination of Table 3 shows a significant jump in the number of reports in 1996, followed by larger increases in 2010 and 2012. At the lowest point, especially during the early 1990s and 2000s, each news outlet had zero reports on the islands; at the highest point in 2012, Yomiuri carried 225, Jiji 682, and Xinhua 715 reports. Overall, Table 3 shows quantitative increase in the rhetoric over the dispute; however, that may not necessarily reflect an increase in nationalist rhetoric.

A common driving factor for the surge in coverage suggests that nationalist rhetoric has increased along with rhetoric on the SDI dispute. Compared to other disputes, the SDI coverage is characterized by more uneven and higher increase in the number of articles. Analysis indicates that the identity of the other party in territorial disputes may be the driving factor in the quantitative differences in coverage. Both Japan and China share one common factor; both countries were actors in Japanese imperialism

during World War II. This common factor suggests that increased coverage may come from nationalist rhetoric. Furthermore, South Korea and Japan also share the unresolved historical issues like China and Japan, which would also explain more media coverage on the DTI than other Japanese or Chinese territorial disputes. Qualitative analysis in later chapters supports the assumption that quantitative increase in dispute coverage has been accompanied by corresponding surge in nationalist rhetoric.

Finally, significant changes in quantitative trends occur after 2010 for both Japanese and Chinese media. The number of articles broke into three digits for the first time in 2010. For Japan, media coverage sustained similar levels for consecutive two years for the first time in 2012 and 2013. For Xinhua, while media coverage declined by approximately 50 percent from 2012, the number of articles was 2013 was still the second highest during the 23-year period. In keeping with quantitatively significant changes after 2010, Chapter V discusses how Japanese state influence over the media significantly declines after 2010 through qualitative analysis.

C. POLLING DATA

The polling data on Sino-Japanese attitudes reveal progressively negative views of each other. The analysis of both poll data and news coverage implies that the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute is likely the biggest contributing factor in the steady deterioration of the Sino-Japan relationship. Additionally, existence of correlation, or lack thereof, between poll data and news coverage of the SDI dispute suggests more public influence in Japan after 2010 versus persistent state influence in China.

1. Tables and Methods

Table 6 lists the Japan Cabinet Office survey from 1990–2013 that asked approximately 2,000 Japanese their attitude toward China. Table 7 lists the Pew Research and China Daily Polls that asked Chinese their attitude toward Japan. Unlike the Japan Cabinet survey, only data from 2005 to 2013 is available. However, available data is sufficient to establish China’s increasingly negative view of the Japanese. The numbers reflect the percentage of respondents who answered that they hold an unfavorable view of the other country.

2. Comparative Trends in Polling Data: the Japanese Attitude toward China and South Korea

The polling data on the Japanese attitude toward China and South Korea suggests a correlation between the territory dispute and Japan's deteriorating view of its neighbors. Compared to 1990, the percentage of Japanese who view China unfavorably has almost doubled by 2012. The numbers indicate a gradual increase in unfavorable views of the Chinese before 2010. In stark contrast to previous years, 2010 shows an increase of 19.3 percent, the biggest increase in the 23-year period. Also unlike previous years, public opinion poll data correlates very closely with the media coverage of the SDI dispute after 2010. Similar to the trends in media coverage shown in Figure 5, poll data shows a significant increase in 2010, drops in 2011, surpasses 2010 levels in 2012, and then maintains similar levels from the previous year in 2013. Very high correlation between the public poll data and media coverage suggests increasing public influence on the media after 2010.

3. Comparative Trends in Polling Data: the Chinese Attitude toward Japan and India

The polling data on Chinese attitudes also reveal correlation between the SDI dispute and China's deteriorating view on Japan. Both Pew Research and the China Daily polls indicate that the Chinese view on Japan steadily worsened, reaching a high of over 90 percent in 2013. However, in contrast to Japan, change in public opinion in China reflects no correlation with the media coverage of the SDI dispute. As a result, the lack of public influence in Xinhua coverage suggests more state control in the media. On the other hand, the cause for the deterioration is clear; respondents in the China Daily survey chose the SDI dispute as the number one reason for the unfavorable view of Japan over other reasons such as Japan's lack of proper apology for World War II.¹⁰⁰ Pew Research poll also concurs that the island dispute is driving the tensions between two countries.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ "The 10th Japan-China Public Opinion Poll: Analysis Report of the Comparative Data," *The Genron NPO*, 6, September 9, 2014, <http://www.genron-npo.net/en/pp/archives/5153.html>.

¹⁰¹ Bruce Drake, "As Tensions Rise in Asia, a Look at how Japanese, South Koreans and Chinese View Each Other," December 2, 2013, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/12/02/as-tensions-rise-in-asia-a-look-at-how-japanese-south-koreans-and-chinese-view-each-other/>

4. Summary

It is difficult to ascertain if the dispute itself or increased news coverage of the dispute is the “direct” cause for deteriorating relationships and consequent escalation of rhetoric. However, without the events surrounding the dispute, there would have been no news coverage; therefore, the SDI dispute was an “underlying” cause for increasingly negative rhetoric for both countries.

While the dispute may drive public opinion, differences in poll results and media coverage imply less instrumental control in Japanese media and more in China. As reflected by the poll data, public opinion is directly correlated with increase in Japanese media coverage for the SDI disputes, especially after 2010. The correlation suggests that the public began to exert more influence on Japanese media after 2010. In contrast, Chinese opinion polls display steady deterioration and little correlation with media coverage, reflecting more state control of the media.

Table 6. Survey of Japanese Attitude toward China and South Korea (Unfavorable %)¹⁰²

	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
China	42.2	44.4	39.9	42.2	44.2	48.4	51.3	50.2	47.5	46.2	47.2

	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13
China	48.1	49.1	48.0	58.2	63.4	61.6	63.5	66.6	58.5	77.8	71.4	80.6	80.7

Table 7. Survey of Chinese Attitudes toward Japan (Unfavorable %)¹⁰³

	05	06	07	08	10	11	12	13
Pew	76.0	70.0	78.0	70.0	N/A	N/A	N/A	90.0
China Daily	62.9	56.9	36.5	40.6	65.2	65.9	64.5	90.1

¹⁰² “Public Opinion Survey on the Diplomacy,” *The Japan Cabinet Office*, trans. Chrystopher Kim, accessed December 23, 2014, <http://survey.gov-online.go.jp/index.html>.

¹⁰³ “Pew Global Attitudes Project,” *Pew Global Research*, accessed December 23, 2014, <http://www.pewglobal.org/question-search/>; “The 10th Japan-China Public Opinion Poll.”

D. THE USAGE OF NAMES AND TERMS IN THE DISPUTE

One way to gauge intensity of nationalist rhetoric in a territorial dispute is by measuring the frequency of national names for the territory. The power of the name is a repeated theme in many territorial disputes because names in one's native language imply ownership. For example, Liancourt Rocks, another chain of islands disputed by South Korea and Japan, has two other names, in addition to its French name. South Korea calls it Dokdo whereas Japan calls it Takeshima. The struggles over geographical names sometimes go beyond territorial disputes. For years, South Korea has been trying to force the international community to rename the Sea of Japan as the East Sea (as in East of South Korea). A news outlet generally acknowledges the existence of the dispute and each side's claim by mentioning the name given by each claimant. As a result, the usage of a disputed name tends to be a good indicator of objective coverage and nationalistic proclivities. The analysis indicates that Xinhua's media bias from the beginning due to state control whereas Jiji and Yomiuri reports reflect progressively increasing media bias with a sudden surge after 2012.

1. Tables, Graphs, and Methods

As with other territorial disputes, the usage of nationally preferred names in referring to the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands may reflect objectivity or lack thereof. For example, similar to the Dokdo/Takeshima issue, the Google Maps reflects all three national names (i.e., Senkaku/Diaoyu/ Diaoyutai) to maintain its objectivity. As a result, a news outlet acknowledges the existence of the dispute and each side's claim by mentioning the name given by each claimant. Conversely, the lack of mention of the other claimant's name typically means disregard for their position.

I counted the frequency of each term in years 1996, 1997, 2004, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013. For each year examined, all news outlets reported at least ten articles on the SDI dispute; I eliminated others to reduce the margin of error. Table 8 lists numbers for Jiji, Table 9 for The Daily Yomiuri, and Table 10 for Xinhua. Figure 6 shows the graphical representation of all the numbers.

Table 8. Frequency of Articles that Mention Each National Name in Jiji Press Ticker Service

Jiji	1996	1997	2004	2008	2010	2011	2012	2013
Senkaku # mentioned	126	74	14	14	220	86	1452	1223
Diaoyu # mentioned	20	18	8	8	136	53	504	217
Total # of Articles	55	41	11	11	163	67	682	646
Jiji Senkaku %	2.29	1.80	1.27	1.27	1.35	1.28	2.13	1.89
Jiji Diaoyu %	0.36	0.44	0.73	0.73	0.83	0.79	0.74	0.34

Table 9. Frequency of Articles that Mention Each National Name in The Daily Yomiuri

Yomiuri	1996	1997	2004	2008	2010	2011	2012	2013
Senkaku # mentioned	91	46	89	41	397	99	817	687
Diaoyu # mentioned	22	10	8	4	22	2	19	11
Total # of Articles	40	26	35	16	166	56	225	242
Yomiuri Senkaku %	2.28	1.77	2.54	2.56	2.39	1.77	3.63	2.84
Yomiuri Diaoyu %	0.55	0.38	0.23	0.25	0.13	0.04	0.08	0.05

Table 10. Frequency of Articles that Mention Each National Name in Xinhua General News Service

Xinhua	1996	1997	2004	2008	2010	2011	2012	2013
Senkaku # mentioned	2	0	0	0	7	8	60	13
Diaoyu # mentioned	164	40	142	47	916	145	5535	1567
Total # of Articles	49	15	36	12	236	32	1282	497
Xinhua Senkaku %	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.25	0.05	0.03
Xinhua Diaoyu %	3.35	2.67	3.94	3.92	3.88	4.53	4.32	3.15

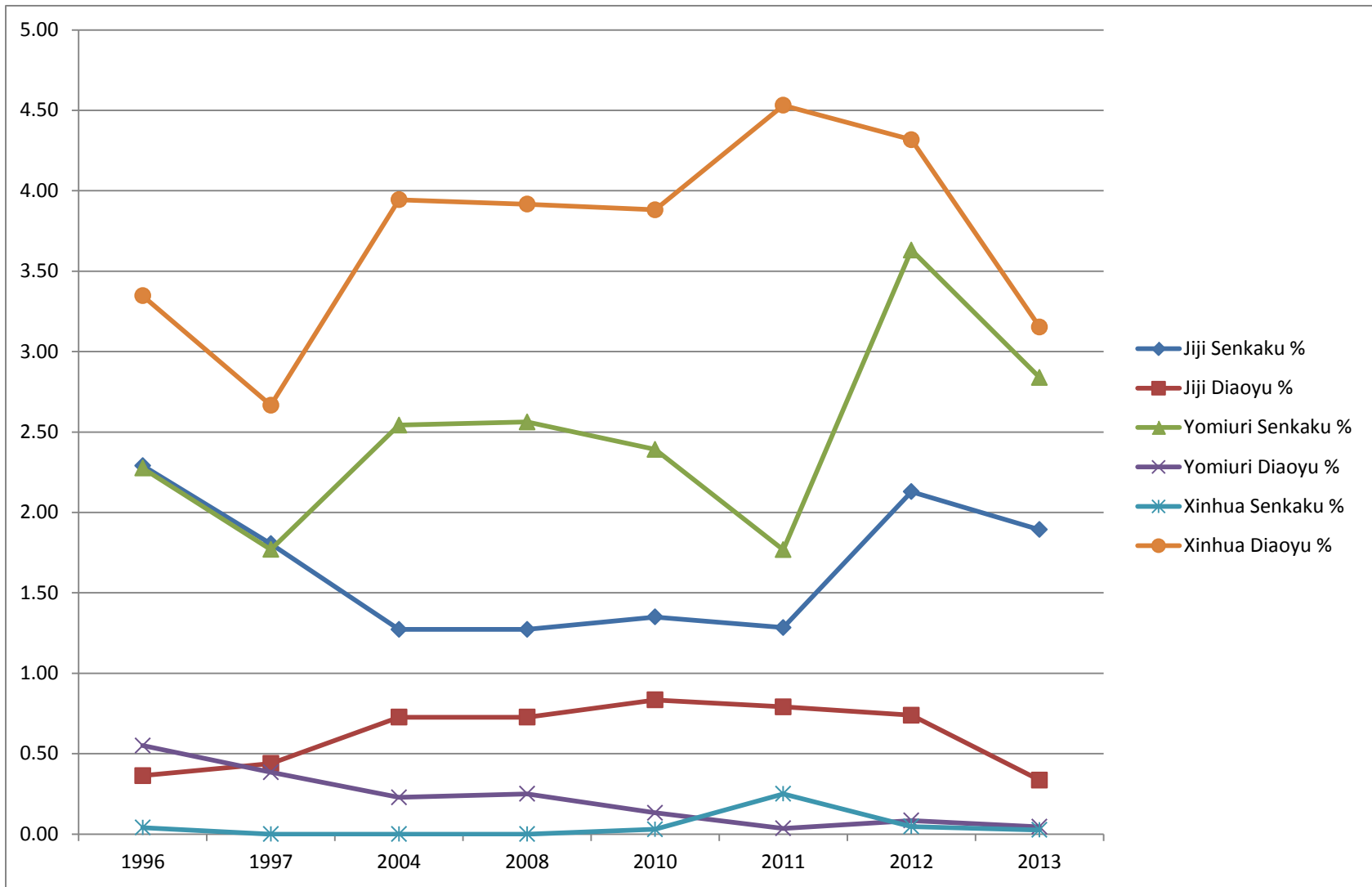


Figure 6. The Frequency of the National Name over the Number of Total Articles

2. Trends in Usage of National Names for the SDI Dispute

Although a causal relationship is difficult to establish, objective coverage should not be expected from Xinhua, which is a government mouthpiece in an authoritarian regime. Conversely, although compromised by strong government controls, democratic media in Japan should provide more apolitical coverage than China. Such journalistic expectations are reflected in initially more objective coverage in both Yomiuri and Jiji than Xinhua.

Analysis of Figure 6 indicates several trends. First, differences exist in the media coverage between the two countries. Xinhua's use of the Japanese name "Senkaku" stays proportionately close to zero over the years. On the contrary, Yomiuri mentions "Diaoyu" in over half of its articles in 1996. Jiji starts lower at 36 percent in 1996, but changes significantly in the 2000s to stay consistently over 70 percent from 2002 to 2012.

However, different degrees of objectivity exist in democratic media based on its audience and the presence of editorials. Xinhua, as a state news agency for China, has no prerogative to abide by any journalist ethics for apolitical coverage. Yomiuri's initially objective coverage indicates a steady negative trend after 1996, and its usage of "Diaoyu" drops to 5 percent by 2013, rivaling Xinhua's 3 percent. As a daily newspaper carrying multiple editorials, Yomiuri better reflects the change in popular opinion than a newswire service. In contrast, Jiji maintains more objectivity by consistently staying above 70 percent in the 2000s. Unlike Yomiuri, Jiji sells its news to 140 publications; as a wire service, Jiji essentially lacks editorials and abides by a higher standard for apolitical coverage. However, this does not mean that national bias has no effect on the media, as demonstrated steadily decreasing objectivity in Jiji reports over the years.

Finally, Yomiuri and Jiji's deterioration of objectivity seems delayed in relation to the number of articles (Figure 5) and public opinion poll (Table 6). Yomiuri's use of "Diaoyu" drops meaningfully in 2010 and decreases to a lowest level in 2011. In contrast, Jiji's use of "Diaoyu" does not decrease significantly until 2013. This pattern implies that changing public consensus on the SDI dispute may take time to filter into journalistic consensus.

3. Summary

The frequency in usage of national names implies steadily increasing nationalist rhetoric in Japanese media. For China, Xinhua's usage of "Senkaku" stayed close to zero over the years. For Yomiuri, steady decrease in usage of "Diaoyu" suggests increasing nationalist rhetoric while Jiji maintains higher ratio. However, by 2013, Jiji displays a sharp decrease in the ratio of "Diaoyu" usage while surging in the ratio of "Senkaku" usage, indicating that increasingly nationalistic public opinion may have affected the abrupt change.

The data supports conclusions from Chapter II that the Chinese media is mostly state-controlled, while the Japanese media reflects a higher level of public influence. The usage of "Senkaku" in Xinhua reports consistently stayed low, whereas the usage of "Diaoyu" in Jiji and Yomiuri were comparatively higher at least in the beginning. In Japan, Jiji consistently stayed more objective than Yomiuri; journalistic differences may be cause for this variance in framing. Additionally, steadily decreasing usage of "Diaoyu" for Yomiuri, which contains the editorials, closely mimics Japanese opinion polls in Section C. On the other hand, the overall pattern in Japanese media's use of national names doesn't match the trends in overall media coverage and public opinion poll. However, analysis suggests that public influence on media may be delayed based on journalistic ethics. For China, a lack of correlation with public opinion polls suggests that Xinhua is mostly state-controlled. This conclusion is supported by secondary evidence in Chapter II and a similar lack of correlation between frequency of articles and opinion polls.

E. OVERALL TRENDS

Quantitative analysis of trends in the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute supports the media models as described in Chapter II. All data indicate that increase in the dispute coverage was accompanied by a surge in nationalistic rhetoric. While the media in both countries display increased nationalist rhetoric over time, a lack of correlation between public opinion and the media coverage imply that Chinese media has been mostly under state-control. As Figure 4 in Chapter II illustrates, the flow of public opinion to the state is

weakest in China. In contrast, a high correlation between public opinion and the Japanese media coverage after 2010 indicates increasing public influence vis-à-vis China. This suggests that the contested area of nationalism between the state and public, as depicted in Figure 2 in Chapter I, is larger in Japan than China due to more liberal media. However, actual level of state influence on Japanese media is difficult to tease out in quantitative analysis. In the next chapter, I conduct a qualitative analysis of article contents and events that drove media coverage to establish the increasing public influence in Japanese media, especially after 2010.

V. QUALITATIVE TRENDS IN THE DISPUTE

As I have established in Chapter IV, the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute has caused deterioration in how each country views the other and increased nationalist rhetoric in the media. The question becomes, to what extent did each country use the SDI dispute instrumentally, if at all? If China and Japan instrumentally used the SDI dispute to fan the flames of nationalist rhetoric, what were their purposes? Through the contextual analysis of these events, I argue that both Japan and China used the dispute to gain domestic support while attempting to limit negative consequences, albeit with different levels of success.

A. TABLES AND METHODS

Tables 11 and 12 list the historical events that drove most of the coverage on the SDI dispute for Japanese and Chinese media respectively. I define a “main event” as an historical event that drove the most media coverage on the territorial dispute for a particular year. Tables 13 and 15 show main events for media coverage on other Japanese territorial disputes for the years in which significant surges occur as highlighted in Chapter IV. Similarly, Tables 14 and 16 show the main events for media coverage on other Chinese territorial dispute for the years in which a significant surge occurs. Tables 11-16 are presented at the end of this chapter.

To determine the extent and purpose of states’ instrumental control in the media, I first examined the historical events that caused the most news coverage on the dispute from 1990–2013. I then compared and contrasted those events with events from other territorial disputes. As previously noted in Chapter III, news articles do not exist independently; they are driven by actual events, official statements, political environment, and social pressures. By examining the main events for the coverage, one may be able determine the amount of instrumental control. The examination of both the number of articles and their contents suggests different types of events drove the coverage on each territory dispute.

B. CRITERIA FOR DETERMINING THE EXTENT OF STATE INFLUENCE IN THE MEDIA

Using critical discourse analysis framework, I identified the extent of state influence in the media by providing social, historical, and political contexts. More specifically, I used following three criteria to distinguish state influence from the public. First, repeated use of predetermined phrases using the state-provided official positions and propaganda would reflect state influence in the media. In this case, state influence would be considered even stronger if state sanctioned phrases are used in exclusion of any dissenting views or positions. Second, government actions using the dispute to bolster legitimacy or domestic support would also indicate state influence since the media is used as the instrument to publicize the event. For example, using political declarations regarding to the dispute to bolster domestic legitimacy or obtain support prior to elections would fall under this category. Third, the state's attempt to restrict information or manage the media discourse over the dispute would also reflect state influence in the media since restrictions serve state interests. On the other hand, the state may fail to manage the media discourse over the dispute, and the discourse may turn against state interests. In that case, that failure may imply waning state influence and increasing public influence in the media.

C. QUALITATIVE TRENDS IN JAPANESE MEDIA

Table 11 lists the main events for the Japanese coverage for each year. For years with significant spikes in coverage, as highlighted in Chapter IV, public-driven events were the main events in 1992, 1996, 2004, 2010, and 2012. However, each significant public-driven event was followed by Tokyo's attempt to mitigate the consequences. The state's attempt to control the damage in each incident suggests that the Japanese government has felt that it has to manage nationalist rhetoric over the dispute. As a result, although the Japanese government managed public-driven events carefully before 2010, it began to cede influence to the public in the 2010s. By 2012, increasingly influential public opinion on the SDI dispute has begun to affect journalistic and political consensus.

1. 1992: The Japanese Emperor's Visit to China

a. 1992—Major Events:

- February 25: China passes a law to define its sovereignty to include Diaoyu/Senkaku islands including Xisha and Nansha islands
- April 5: Jiang Zemin's visit to Japan; 20th anniversary of Japan-China normalization
- October 23: First visit ever by a Japanese Emperor to China

b. 1992—Analysis:

The main events for Japanese media coverage in 1992 only indirectly involved the dispute, while the Yomiuri editorials provided support for the state's position. Fifteen Yomiuri and nine Jiji reports dealt with the Japanese Emperor's visit to China for the first time in history. A domestic political spat arose in Japan over the visit, as right-wing politicians within the LDP argued that the emperor's visit might be politicized by Chinese demands for a wartime apology, reparations, or sovereignty over the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands. As reflected by more coverage in Yomiuri than Jiji, this was mostly an argument driven by right-wing conservatives. Tokyo tried to guide the discourse, and officially announced the state support for the visit. In an editorial titled "Let Emperor Reach Out to China," Yomiuri officially toed the government line, just a few weeks before Tokyo made a final decision to proceed with the visit.

Other reports called for peaceful resolutions, perhaps reflecting the country's reconciliatory mood due to pending emperor's visit and the 20th anniversary of Sino-Japan normalization. According to eight reports (four each) from Yomiuri and Jiji, China passed a law on February 25 to claim sovereignty over the Diaoyu/Senkaku islands in the East China Sea. Japanese coverage of the Chinese sovereignty law was rather calm and collected. The strongest phrase seems to be Jiji's portrayal of Beijing's law as "defiance" of Japan's claim to the islands.¹⁰⁴ Yomiuri reflected objective coverage by stating that the U.S. had issued a statement of non-interference in 1971 in response to right-wing politician Ishihara's assertion that the U.S. supported Japanese sovereignty over the

¹⁰⁴ "LDP OKs Emperor's Visit to China," *Jiji Press Ticker Service*, August 10, 1992.

islands. An editorial in Yomiuri stated that “Japan must seek peaceful settlement of the controversy.”¹⁰⁵ Both Jiji and Yomiuri consistently adopted a theme of restraint in the articles and editorials.

c. 1992—Summary:

The Emperor’s visit only relates marginally to the SDI dispute, while the coverage lacks the nationalist tone that later comes to define the rhetoric. Furthermore, the Yomiuri, a center-right newspaper, toed the government line in its editorials, eschewing the right-wing nationalist objections over the visit.

2. 1996: Construction of a Lighthouse by a Right-Wing Organization

a. 1996—Major Events:

- February 7: Japan established a 200 mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) that includes the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands
- July 14: Japanese right-wing activists repair “make-shift” lighthouse; they ask for official recognition of the lighthouse in September; Japanese central government denies the request in October
- July 29: Hashimoto becomes the first Japan Prime Minister to visit the Yasukuni shrine since 1985
- September 15: Massive protests in China against Japan’s claim to the islands
- September 26: Hong Kong activist, David Chan Yuk-Cheung, drowns while trying to swim to the islands when blocked by Japanese Coast Guard (JCG)
- September 30: Japan’s Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) adopts sovereignty over Diaoyu/Senkaku and Dokdo/Takeshima as a campaign platform

b. 1996—Analysis:

In 1996, both news outlets continued to reflect their differences in coverage from 1992, with Jiji staying more objective while Yomiuri’s coverage indicating more state

¹⁰⁵ “The Implication of Jiang’s Visit,” *The Daily Yomiuri*, April 5, 1992.

control on the media. Prior to July, Japanese media coverage was mostly state-driven. Jiji's articles largely dealt with the establishment of the EEZ; likewise, Yomiuri released 13 articles chiefly on EEZ and the fisheries around the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands. After July, both Jiji and Yomiuri's articles are devoted largely to Chinese criticisms of the lighthouse, Hashimoto's Yasukuni visit, and the LDP campaign platform. Interestingly, Yomiuri carried no articles on the death of a Hong Kong activist in September; conversely, Jiji had several reports on the incident, saying that the group was heading to the island to destroy the lighthouse and place a Chinese flag. Total lack of coverage on the Chinese activist's death in Yomiuri may reflect the state's attempt to mitigate a potential international issue.

Overall, both news outlets continued their coverage calling for peaceful solutions; however, Yomiuri's coverage suggests the beginning of rising nationalist rhetoric. Jiji continued its objective coverage, quoting both Japanese and Chinese officials on the issue and offering no editorials. Yomiuri's editorial also showed both sides, including a quote from the Chinese Foreign Ministry.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, multiple articles questioned the United States' stance in the territorial dispute, reflecting Tokyo's needs for U.S. military assurance. Rhetoric was still somewhat restrained in Japanese media; both officials and editorials called for solving the issue "in a calm manner,"¹⁰⁷ and said "the government should do whatever it can to prevent the controversy from escalating."¹⁰⁸ However, Yomiuri's articles started to criticize Tokyo's lack of response over Chinese actions as mirrored by articles "Time to Stop Waltzing around Territorial Issues" and "Japan Silent amid China Protest over Senkaku."¹⁰⁹

In July 1996, the Japanese right-wing activists landed on the islands to make repairs to the lighthouse and asked the Maritime Safety Agency to officially recognize the facility. China demanded the Japanese government demolish the lighthouse.

¹⁰⁶ "Japan Silent amid China Protest over Senkaku," *The Daily Yomiuri*, September 21, 1996.

¹⁰⁷ "Japan Vows to Resume China-bound Yen Loans," *Jiji Press Ticker Service*, November 23, 1996.

¹⁰⁸ "Editorial: React Calmly on Senkaku Dispute," *The Daily Yomiuri*, July 18, 1996.

¹⁰⁹ Tatou Takahama, "Time to Stop Waltzing around Territorial Issues," *The Daily Yomiuri*, October 9, 1996; "Japan Silent amid China Protest over Senkaku."

However, while assuring Beijing that they would not officially recognize the lighthouse, Tokyo refused to tear down the facility to avoid looking weak both domestically and internationally.¹¹⁰ This theme of the Japanese central government attempting to mitigate international consequences from public-driven events while maintaining domestic support would repeat in later years.

c. 1996—Summary:

While both news outlets continued their call for peaceful solutions overall, Yomiuri's articles and editorials start to display signs of rising nationalist rhetoric. Furthermore, Tokyo's refusal to officially recognize or tear down the lighthouse reflects its delicate balancing act to minimize the damage to bilateral relations while maintaining domestic support. In addition, the total lack of coverage on the Chinese activist's death in Yomiuri may indicate state influence to avoid international incident.

3. 2004: Japan Arrests/Detains Chinese Activists who Land on the Islands

a. 2004—Major Events:

- March 1: Chinese NGO, Federation of Chinese Non-governmental Organizations for Defending Sovereignty over the Diaoyu islands, sets up training camp to teach skills for landing on the disputed islands
- March 17: Same Chinese NGO establishes first civilian sea-route to the islands
- March 24: Seven Chinese activists from the NGO land on Senkaku/Diaoyu; arrested by the JCG; later released

b. 2004—Analysis:

In 2004, Yomiuri increased its nationalist rhetoric while Jiji continued to stay mostly objective. The landing and the arrest of seven Chinese activists in March was the biggest event in 2004. Eight of 18 Jiji reports and 12 of 35 Yomiuri reports are related to the landing. Jiji continued to maintain more objective coverage, describing the Yasukuni shrine as “a controversial Shinto shrine...that honors executed Class-A criminals among

¹¹⁰ “Editorial: React Calmly on Senkaku Dispute,” *The Daily Yomiuri*, September 26, 1996.

the Japanese war dead” and explaining Chinese reasons for the landing.¹¹¹ Unlike 1996 editorials that mostly advocate for calm and diplomatic solutions, Yomiuri now called for a hardline approach. Many Yomiuri editorials have changed into nationalist pieces with titles such as “Senkaku Islands Clearly Japanese Territory;” furthermore, it called for “firmer” government action because the islands “inherently belong to Japan.”¹¹² Considering the Japanese penchant for euphemism, this was a substantial change from the tone in 1996. Multiple editorials urged Tokyo to take a “stance” against the Chinese security threat.¹¹³ The illegality of the Chinese landing was a common refrain in Yomiuri reports, as indicated by 35 instances of the term “illegal” versus only three appearances in Jiji reports. Additionally, both Jiji and Yomiuri only contained one report on the release of the Chinese activists. Considering the number of reports (18 in total) on the topic before the release, the lack of reports suggests a state control over the media to avoid domestic controversy.

The Japanese government continued its attempt to manage both domestic support and negative consequences over the dispute. In March, the Diet adopted a resolution on the SDI calling for stronger stance almost 10 years after the similar motion on the KNT in 1995. The reluctance of Tokyo to adopt a resolution until 2004 suggests its awareness of consequences on bilateral relations. Conversely, the resolution also implies an increasing nationalistic political environment. In 2000, the LDP adopted a “new independent constitution” and added claims to both the SDI and DTI in its campaign platform.¹¹⁴ Later in 2005, Tokyo finally ceded to the Japanese Youth Federation, who built the lighthouse, and officially took over the facility despite concerns about provoking

¹¹¹ “Japan Deports Chinese Activists that Landed on Disputed Island,” *Jiji Press Ticker Service*, March 26, 2004.

¹¹² “Editorial: Senkaku Islands Clearly Japanese Territory,” *The Daily Yomiuri*, March 25, 2004.

¹¹³ Yoshio Okubo, “Political Pulse; Time Govt Stood up to China over EEZ Oil, Gas Reserves,” *The Daily Yomiuri*, July 10, 2004.

¹¹⁴ “LDP Draft Election Platform Highlights Constitution Revision,” *Kyodo News International*, May 23, 2000, <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/LDP+draft+election+platform+highlights+Constitution+revision.-a062372046>.

China.¹¹⁵ This dichotomy of using the SDI dispute to maintain public support while attempting to limit damage to bilateral relations is a theme repeated from 1992. Further confirming Tokyo's desire to mitigate negative consequences from public-driven events, the state government leased the SDI from private owners in 2002 to prevent right-wing activists from landing on the islands, which had prompted multiple protests from China.¹¹⁶ Finally, the Japanese government released seven Chinese activists without indictment to minimize further diplomatic squabbles despite concerns of looking weak to the domestic audience.

c. 2004—Summary:

By 2004, domestic pressure has increased nationalist rhetoric and drove events that aggravated the dispute. Yomiuri's coverage suggests increased nationalist rhetoric while Jiji, as a newswire service, maintained more objective coverage. Nationalist domestic pressure was growing and beginning to change public consensus, forcing Tokyo to take over the lighthouse and adopt the territory disputes as a campaign platform. However, the state was still attempting to limit negative consequences by delaying the issues as much as it can, while leasing the islands to prevent further civilians landing and avoid further diplomatic incidents.

4. 2010: Trawler Incident and the Video Leak—The Year of Change

a. 2010—Major Events:

- September 7: Chinese trawler captain arrested for ramming the JCG ship
- September 25: Chinese captain released without indictment
- September: China suspends shipment of rare earth metals to Japan and other countries

¹¹⁵ Richard Drifte, "The Japan-China Confrontation over the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands—between "Shelving" and "Dispute Escalation," *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 12, no. 30 (2014), <http://www.japanfocus.org/-Reinhard-Drifte/4154>.

¹¹⁶ Drifte, "The Japan-China Confrontation."

- November: JCG officer shares video of the trawler incident on Internet; fallout – the officer resigns, JCG commandant takes pay cut, two ministers censured over the leak

b. 2010—Analysis:

As in previous years, Jiji maintained more objective coverage while Yomiuri further intensified nationalist rhetoric. In 2010, the arrest of a Chinese trawler captain after he rammed a JCG ship was the biggest story for both countries. Reflecting the significance of the event, 162 of 163 Jiji wires, 168 of 173 Yomiuri articles, and 325 of 331 Xinhua reports on Senkaku/Diaoyu occurred after the incident in September. Additionally, both Jiji and Yomiuri chose the incident as the number one story of 2010. As before, Jiji continued its objective coverage, giving voice to both Chinese and Japanese claims on the islands. Any inflammatory words were attributed to officials; however, rhetoric by officials in both countries displayed further intensification. Japanese Foreign Minister Maehara called Chinese reaction to the trawler incident as “extremely hysterical” in a Jiji report.¹¹⁷ Perhaps reflecting a media bias to de-emphasize controversial Japanese official remarks, this report was missing from Yomiuri. Furthermore, the term “illegal” was used 29 times by Jiji, and 41 times by Yomiuri. Jiji’s usage of the term was mostly in direct quotes, indicating more objective coverage; Yomiuri mostly used “illegal” to describe the ramming of the ship. In a more than two-fold increase from 2004, Yomiuri’s editorials on the dispute surged from 12 to 30. Additionally, Yomiuri escalated the rhetoric in legitimizing pieces such as “Chinese Fishing Boat Captain’s Arrest Reasonable” to inflammatory titles like “Depend on China at Your Peril” and “Kan Must Take Firm Line on Chinese Aggression.”

Tokyo continued to toe the fine line between maintaining both domestic support and Sino-Japan relations; however, public influence on the dispute had grown beyond the state’s control. Initially, the District Public Prosecutor’s Office strongly pushed for indictment, calling it “a serious crime.”¹¹⁸ However, in a complete turnaround, the

¹¹⁷ “Hong Kong Paper Terms Japan Maehara Troublemaker,” *Jiji Press Ticker Service*, October 30, 2010.

¹¹⁸ “Captain’s Release Seen as Linked to China’s Arrest of 4 Japanese,” *The Daily Yomiuri*, September 26, 2010.

Foreign Minister and Chief Cabinet Secretary supposedly took an extralegal measure to release the captain. Upon the release, the public deluged the Prime Minister's Office with calls in protest.¹¹⁹ In a bigger scandal, Tokyo attempted to avoid the public release of video footage of the trawler collision. However, a JCG officer leaked the video online, which a ruling DPJ lawmaker called "terrorism designed to topple the cabinet."¹²⁰ In 2011, reflecting Tokyo's decreasing control and the public's increasing influence, many regional DPJ leaders voiced frustrations and some even left the party over the trawler scandal.¹²¹ Along with corruption and other issues, the mismanagement of the trawler incident was a major cause for the DPJ loss or even failure to field candidates in local 2011 elections.¹²²

In another display of growing public influence, Yomiuri reports portrayed Japan Prime Minister Naoto Kan's cabinet as capitulating to Chinese retaliatory pressures when the trawler captain was released without indictment. This characterization contrasts with Yomiuri reports in 2004, which were generally supportive of the release of seven Chinese activists. With headlines like "Government Leaders Flinch at China Intimidation," Yomiuri published 38 reports regarding the trawler captain's release without indictment.¹²³ Likewise, Jiji released 22 reports on the captain's release. This also contrasts with 2004, which only had one report each on the release of Chinese activists. These changes in media reports suggest that increasing public attention to the dispute has grown beyond Tokyo's control over the media.

c. 2010—Summary:

Media coverage in 2010 indicates that Jiji continued to maintain more objective coverage while Yomiuri sustained further increase in nationalist rhetoric. The Japanese

¹¹⁹ "Government Leaders Flinch at China Intimidation," *The Daily Yomiuri*, September 26, 2010.

¹²⁰ "DPJ Exec Calls Senkaku Video Leak Terrorism," *Jiji Press Ticker Service*, November 5, 2010.

¹²¹ "DPJ Regional Chapters Angry; Candidates Reject Party Support, Members Leave amid Confusion," *The Daily Yomiuri*, January 15, 2011.

¹²² "Editorial; DPJ Should Learn Lessons from Its Election Losses," *The Daily Yomiuri*, April 26, 2011.

¹²³ "Government Leaders Flinch at China Intimidation."

government also continued its attempts to maintain public support while limiting fallout from the SDI dispute by withholding the collision video from the public. However, Tokyo's failed attempt to manage public opinion over the SDI dispute partially contributed to the ruling party's election loss because nationalist influence had grown beyond the state's control.

Unlike previous years, public influence began to overwhelm the state's ability to manage the media and public consensus to mitigate the negative consequences from the SDI dispute. As Shusuke Murai and Takeshi Suzuki note, the video leak in 2010 "represented a very important turning point in the controversy as for the first time there was a genuine intersection of online patriotic nationalism and Japanese public opinion."¹²⁴ In effect, the SDI dispute has provided opportunities for right-wing activists' views to enter the political and media mainstream. Finally, reflecting a growing public influence on the dispute, media reports have grown more critical of the government for its perceived weak response to the dispute.

5. 2012: Tokyo Governor Attempts to Purchase the Islands

a. 2012—Major Events:

- March: Japan indicts the Chinese trawler captain from 2010 incident *in absentia*
- April: Tokyo Governor Ishihara states Tokyo city government will purchase the islands from private owners
- September 5: Japanese national government decides to buy the islands to keep them away from Ishihara, an extreme right-wing politician
- September – November: Both sides cancel multiple events for the 40th anniversary of Sino-Japan diplomatic normalization

¹²⁴ Takeshi Suzuki and Shusuke Murai, "Japanese Social Media and Senkaku Controversy," in *The Dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands*, 184.

b. 2012—Analysis:

Nationalist rhetoric continued to surge in Yomiuri reports. The Japanese government's purchase of three of the islands was the biggest story of 2012.¹²⁵ Indicating the importance of the purchase, 489 of 682 Jiji wires and 142 of 231 Yomiuri reports occurred after the September 5 decision to purchase the islands. Yomiuri again indicates an overall surge in nationalist rhetoric by running 68 editorials, an increase from 30 in 2010. Yomiuri ran hawkish editorials such as "No Need to Pander to China over Senkaku Islands" and "China Making Waves Again with Senkaku Islands Incursion," mixed with some objective articles like "Cool Heads Indispensable for Territorial Diplomacy." Many editorials also called for boosting the defense budget and JCG capabilities to defend the islands.

Unlike previous years, Jiji reports also indicate an increase in nationalist rhetoric. A significant drop in usage of the term "Diaoyu" in 2012, as shown in Figure 6, reflects a change in Jiji's objective coverage. State officials had always referred to the islands by its Japanese name, the "Senkaku." Since there was no change in official use of the term, Jiji's sudden change in 2012 is probably not due to state influence. More likely, even a newswire service like Jiji was forced to cater to the overwhelming nationalist sentiment of the public. Prime Minister Naoto Kan's popular support fell to 25%, partly due to mishandling of the trawler incident in 2010.¹²⁶ The public's wide-spread discontent over the trawler scandal implies that political and journalistic consensus had begun to change.¹²⁷ Representative of five separate articles, Jiji explained that "China and Taiwan began claiming their sovereignty over the islands after an academic survey in 1968 pointed out the possible existence of oil deposits under the seabed around the island chain," suggesting the illegitimacy of China's claim.¹²⁸ In keeping with the overall decline in Jiji's objective coverage were three reports titled: "Exclusive: China's 1950

¹²⁵ "Japan Govt Agrees to Buy Senkaku Islands for 2.05 B. Yen," *Jiji Press Ticker Service*, September 5, 2012.

¹²⁶ "Kan Cabinet Support Falls to Record 25%," *The Daily Yomiuri*, December 7, 2010.

¹²⁷ "Editorial: 2010 Marked by Public Discontent with Govt," *The Daily Yomiuri*, December 25, 2010; "Political Pulse: Kan's Security Ignorance Leads to Distrust," *The Daily Yomiuri*, April 26, 2010.

¹²⁸ "Japan Arrests 14 Foreigners over Senkaku Landing," *Jiji Press Ticker Service*, August 16, 2012.

Paper Shows Senkaku Isles as Part of Japan;” “Japan’s Claim over Senkaku Islands Strong: 1971 CIA Report;” and “U.S. Confirmed Japan’s ‘Residual’ Senkaku Sovereignty in 1971.” These reports were legitimizing pieces for Japan that contain no counter claims from the Chinese perspective. Finally, Jiji emphasized public support for nationalist objectives by reporting on a poll of the Japanese public that showed 58.8 percent support for Ishihara’s purchase of the islands.¹²⁹ Finally, the usage of the term “illegal” continued, with both China and Japan claiming the other side as illegal in their sovereignty claim. However, unlike previous years, Jiji’s reporting starts to indicate more bias, directly characterizing Chinese activists landing on the islands as illegal in its reports.

The main event for the most coverage on the dispute in 2012 is another example of a public-driven event that forced the state to intervene to minimize negative consequences. In April, Tokyo governor Shintaro Ishihara, a well-known right-wing politician, announced a decision to purchase three of the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands from the private owners using a combination of city funds and private donations.¹³⁰ The state government, in an attempt to avoid the islands falling into Ishihara’s hands, purchased the islands themselves in September. As a result, although the island purchase was driven by a city government official and ended with a state intervention, the event was nationalist-driven and not state-sanctioned.

Both historical events and coverage imply further expansion of public influence and decline in state influence on the media since 2010 due to changing public consensus. After the trawler collision video leak in 2010 and subsequent election loss, Japanese politicians were forced to stick to nationalist rhetoric. For example, the state’s decision in March to indict the captain *in absentia* suggests growing nationalist pressure on the dispute. In another example of growing nationalist influence on territorial disputes,

¹²⁹ “58.8 Pct Supportive of Senkaku Buyout: Jiji Poll,” *Jiji Press Ticker Service*, May 17, 2012.

¹³⁰ Ishihara has made some controversial statements that reveal his political proclivity. In 1990, he stated that the Nanjing Massacre was a fiction. In 2010, he claimed that the Korean government requested to become a Japanese colony and it was actually a good decision for Korea. “Many in the Ruling Party are Korean Descendants,” *Tokyo Shimbun*, trans. Chrystopher Kim, April 18, 2014, <http://megalodon.jp/2010-0418-1750-39/www.tokyo-np.co.jp/s/article/2010041890070655.html>; Kenneth G. Henshall, *A History of Japan: From Stone Age to Superpower* (New York: Palgrave, 1999).

Ryuichi Doi, a member of the DPJ and the Diet, was forced to resign after controversy over his support to end the Japanese claim to the DTI in 2014.¹³¹ Finally, a weak central government saw five different prime ministers from 2007–2012 who were in a desperate need of domestic support. The increased need for domestic support and growing public pressure on the dispute severely limited possible state options in the media, while increasing public influence.

c. 2012—Summary:

Nationalist rhetoric continued to grow in 2012 in Yomiuri articles and editorials; however, unlike before, this rhetoric was now affecting the bias in Jiji newswire reports. As I argued in the previous chapter, journalistic norms may have delayed the speed at which changing public consensus affected Jiji’s objectivity. Furthermore, Ishihara’s decision to purchase the islands ended in state intervention to minimize the damage to Sino-Japan relations. However, growing public influence and the increased need for domestic support have limited political dissension on the dispute, restricting state influence in the media.

6. Main Events for the Other Japanese Territorial Disputes

State-driven events dominated coverage on other Japanese territorial disputes. Tables 13 and 15 list the main events for significant coverage on the Dokdo/Takeshima (DTI) dispute and the Kuril/Northern Territories (KNT) dispute respectively. Other than one public-driven event that drove approximately half of the coverage for the DTI dispute in 2005, all other main events were state-led events. Unlike the SDI dispute, both KNT and DTI media coverages distinctively lacked any mention of civil groups attempting to land on the islands; likewise, a Google search on Japanese activists landing on DTI returned no results. Danger of landing on territories controlled by foreign countries may have deterred the activists. Regardless of the cause, a lack of such public-driven events likely explains significantly less coverage in both the DTI and KNT disputes than the SDI.

¹³¹ “Senior DPJ Lawmaker Gives Up Diet Post over Takeshima Flap,” *Jiji Press Ticker Service*, March 10, 2014.

a. 1996, 2005, 2008, and 2012—Main Events for Surges in the DTI Coverage

Deeper analysis of the main events for spikes in coverage of the Kuril/Northern Territories and Dokdo/Takeshima disputes again reveal the Japanese government's attempts to gain support for its policies. For the DTI, the Tokyo-led main events that drove coverage were the Japanese declaration of EEZ in 1996 and Japan's attempt to take the dispute to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in 2012. Other state-led events had external origins, like South Korean President Lee Myung-bak's visit to the DTI in 2012. The textbook controversies in 2008 and 2011 were also supported by the state. Finally, similar to the SDI dispute, the DTI coverage was marked by South Korea's conflation of historical issues from World War II, such as the text book controversies, with the territorial dispute.

b. 2011—the LDP Politicians Attempt to Visit the DTI

In 2011, state-supported LDP lawmakers attempted to visit the DTI, but Seoul turned them away at the airport. At that time, the DPJ held power and the LDP needed to bolster domestic support for its bid to return to power. As Kan cabinet's disastrous handling of the trawler collision incident in 2010 and subsequent DPJ defeat at the 2011 local elections exemplifies, territorial disputes started to exert strong domestic political pressures. As the 2014 Ryuichi Doi resignation over the DTI dispute indicates, any dissension with the nationalist line on the territorial disputes became political *hara-kiri* (suicide). Consequently, the DPJ-led government had no choice but to officially support the LDP lawmakers' visit. However, like other state-level actions taken in the SDI dispute, the DPJ-led government attempted to ameliorate the fallout from the attempted visit by handing over five Korean royal records taken by Japan during the war.¹³²

c. Other Japanese Territorial Disputes—Summary

Unlike the SDI dispute, other Japanese territorial disputes were marked by significantly less coverage. The DTI displays more coverage than the KNT, because

¹³² "Japan to Hand Over Some Historical Korean Books Wed.," *Jiji Press Ticker Service*, October 18, 2011.

relatively more public-driven events drove the dispute. Relative lack of public-driven events means that state-driven events dominated the news coverage. As the 2011 LDP lawmakers' attempted visit to the DTI suggests, Japanese politicians have used the dispute instrumentally to gain domestic support when it benefits them. However, like the SDI dispute, the central government was concerned with negative international consequences from the dispute. In sum, like the SDI dispute, Tokyo has attempted to influence the media to gain support for the KNT and DTI disputes.

7. Qualitative Trends in Japanese Media—Conclusion

Analysis of qualitative trends in Japanese media suggest three phenomena: increased nationalist rhetoric in the media, growing public influence in the media since 2010, and the state's attempt to both instrumentally use and manage the dispute. An examination of years with surges in media coverage indicates that nationalist rhetoric started to slowly intensify in Yomiuri reports starting 1996. On the other hand, Jiji, with its lack of editorials, started to reflect an abrupt surge in nationalist rhetoric starting in 2012. One may argue that word choices used in Jiji and Yomiuri reflect a firmer stance in the SDI dispute rather than increasingly strident nationalist rhetoric. However, as Takeshi Suzuki and Shusuke Murai explain,

What is noteworthy is that the confrontation of nationalism has escalated the real conservative swing of the Japanese public in the territorial confrontation. That is, facing external threats such as the Senkaku dispute, the demand for a strong regime has gradually grown among the Japanese public.¹³³

Therefore, public demand for stronger response to a perceived threat to territorial sovereignty has “enabled the views of radical online conservatives to enter the political mainstream.”¹³⁴ While the demand for a firmer response may seem mild and non-nationalist to outsiders, such a change in rhetoric marks a significant departure from previous discourse in Japanese political and media mainstream.

¹³³ Takeshi Suzuki and Shusuke Murai, “Japanese Social Media and Senkaku,” 145.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 185.

The abrupt increase in nationalist rhetoric since 2010 reflects rapidly growing public influence in the media compared with earlier years in which state-level issues like fishery rights tended to dominate the coverage. In effect, the overlapping area of nationalism between the state and public, as illustrated in Figure 2 in Chapter I, has grown larger and more competitive since Kan cabinet's failure to manage the trawler incident in 2010. At the same time, as discussed in previous sections, increasing public influence has begun to transform journalistic and political consensus. In sum, examination of major events indicates the state's instrumental use of the dispute while trying to limit the negative effects. While politicians used the dispute to gain domestic support when politically expedient, Tokyo also intervened to reduce the damage to international relations from such events. This is a key factor in answering the question of "who benefits?" later in this chapter.

D. QUALITATIVE TRENDS IN CHINESE MEDIA

Public-driven events drove most coverage for Senkaku/Diaoyu coverage in Xinhua reports. Table 12 lists the main events that drove Chinese coverage for each year for the dispute. Interestingly, public-driven events drove most coverage in the Xinhua reports except in 2007, 2009, and 2013. In addition, for Xinhua, all significant increases in coverage came from public-driven events. However, considering that Xinhua is the mouthpiece of the CCP, uneven surges in the SDI dispute coverage was probably the state's attempt to instrumentally bolster nationalism over the dispute. Furthermore, evidence suggests that Beijing allowed some controversial public mobilizations to occur despite negative consequences on Sino-Japanese relationship. Such tacit approval of public-driven activism parallels China's use of nationalism and the media to gain domestic support, while keeping everything under CCP control. The following qualitative analysis bears out that assumption.

1. 1992: The Japanese Emperor's Visit to China

a. 1992—Major Events:

- February 25: China passes a law to define its sovereignty to include Diaoyu/Senkaku islands including Xisha and Nansha islands

- April 5: Jiang Zemin’s visit to Japan; 20th anniversary of Japan-China normalization
- October 23: First visit ever by a Japanese Emperor to China

b. 1992—Analysis:

Xinhua’s lack of coverage, despite the historical significance of the visits and passage of the sovereignty law, is a remarkable reflection of state control over the media. Xinhua’s only substantive coverage quoted Jiang Zemin, just prior to his visit to Japan, that “Diaoyu islands have been China’s territory since the ancient times” and nothing on the law or the imperial visit.¹³⁵ China started to make its irredentist claim to the islands clear by the usage of phrase “the ancient times”; Xinhua has used the same phrase in almost one in four articles about the SDI dispute (486 times in 2,073 articles) from 1990–2013.

c. 1992—Summary:

As I have illustrated in Figure 4 in Chapter II, Xinhua’s complete lack of coverage on historically significant events reflect stronger state control over the media than Japan. Xinhua’s repeated usage of predetermined phrases like “the ancient times” also indicates overt state control.

2. 1996: Construction of a Lighthouse by a Right-Wing Organization

a. 1996—Major Events:

- February 7: Japan established a 200 mile Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) that includes the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands
- July 14: Japanese right-wing activists repair “make-shift” lighthouse; they ask for official recognition of the lighthouse in September; Japanese central government denies the request in October
- July 29: Hashimoto becomes the first Japan Prime Minister to visit the Yasukuni shrine since 1985

¹³⁵ “Diaoyu Islands are China’s Territory: Jian Zemin,” *Xinhua General News Service*, April 2, 1992.

- September 15: Massive protests in China against Japan’s claim to the islands
- September 26: Hong Kong activist, David Chan Yuk-Cheung, drowns while trying to swim to the islands when blocked by Japanese Coast Guard (JCG)
- September 30: Japan’s Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) adopts sovereignty over Diaoyu/Senkaku and Dokdo/Takeshima as a campaign platform

b. 1996—Analysis:

More so than Japanese media, Xinhua reports reflect intensive nationalist rhetoric clearly from the beginning. Xinhua had zero articles on the islands from April 1993–June 1996. Beginning with an article protesting the lighthouse on July 18, 1996, Xinhua released a torrent of 50 articles criticizing all the controversial events listed in the timeline. Overall, Xinhua coverage displays a clear bias, lacking any direct quotes from Japanese officials. Furthermore, the entire group of 1996 events made number five in Xinhua’s “Top Ten World News Events in 1996.”¹³⁶ In this yearly wrap-up, Xinhua conflated the lighthouse event, the Yasukuni visit, the LDP campaign, the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute, the Japanese white-washing of World War II, and increased Japan-U.S. security cooperation. This tendency to fuse different issues into one is a theme that echoes in countless news reports and editorials; for China, everything relates back to World War II. Further invoking World War II imagery of Japanese invasion, Xinhua portrayed the drowned Hong Kong activist as the “Diaoyu islands defender,” and specifically mentioned his name, unlike Japanese reports.¹³⁷

Xinhua’s coverage also reflects more overt instrumental control. In 1996, Xinhua released several background pieces to explain the legitimacy of the Chinese claim to the islands. Since then, Xinhua has regularly released these background pieces, which are part-historical-lessons, part-propaganda, and part-news-reports. Notably, Xinhua mentioned that Japanese right-wing activists erected war memorial structures on the

¹³⁶ “Top Ten World News Events in 1996,” *Xinhua General News Service*, December 24, 1996.

¹³⁷ “HK People Pay Tribute to Diaoyu Islands Defender,” *Xinhua General News Service*, September 30, 1996.

islands, which is not mentioned in Japanese reports. Furthermore, Xinhua repeatedly characterized Japanese actions as “deliberate...provocations,” which “aroused the indignation of the Chinese people.”¹³⁸

c. 1996—Summary:

Xinhua reports indicate a clear state control with repeated canned phrases and legitimizing editorials. Furthermore, Xinhua’s tendency to conflate events suggests a stronger bias and more intensive nationalist rhetoric in comparison to Japanese reports for the same year.

3. 2004: Japan Arrests/Detains Chinese Activists who Land on the Islands

a. 2004—Major Events:

- March 1: A Chinese NGO, Federation of Chinese Non-governmental Organizations for Defending Sovereignty over the Diaoyu islands, sets up training camp to teach skills for landing on the disputed islands
- March 17: Same Chinese NGO establishes first civilian sea-route to the islands
- March 24: Seven Chinese activists from the NGO land on Senkaku/Diaoyu; arrested by the JCG; later released

b. 2004—Analysis:

Like 1996, Xinhua continued to reflect a high level of state control and nationalist rhetoric in its reports. Many Xinhua reports discussed the Chinese landing, arrest/detainment, and subsequent release. Interestingly, Xinhua mirrored Yomiuri’s tone on illegality, mentioning the word “illegal” 21 times. However, the articles referred to the illegality of the detainment, not of the landing, as in Japanese reports. Specific use of the term “illegal” reflects nationalistic bias. Xinhua articles also retained the theme from 1996 by continuing to use words “provocation,” “ancient times,” “time immemorial,” and

¹³⁸ Wen Ming, “Patriotism is Blameless—to Mr. James Lilley,” *Xinhua General News Service*, November 5, 1996; “China Makes Serious Representations to Japan over Diaoyu Islands,” *Xinhua General News Service*, November 11, 1996.

“indignation.” Xinhua continued to conflate the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute with other issues; “Yasukuni shrine” appeared nine times in relation to the islands.

Like Chinese media coverage, public-driven events initiated by Chinese activists occurred under the CCP’s careful watch. In 2004, Xinhua reported on the Chinese activists’ attempt to land on the islands several weeks before the event. Xinhua report suggests the CCP awareness and allowance for the activists’ landing on the islands, further solidifying Beijing’s instrumental use of nationalism and nationalist rhetoric in the media.

c. 2004—Summary:

Continuing from previous years, the CCP maintained overt control over Xinhua. As before, predetermined official phrases and terms indicate a nationalistic bias and strong state control in the reports regarding the SDI dispute. Furthermore, Beijing’s implicit approval for the activists’ landing on the islands, which caused additional controversy, further supports the assumption that the CCP is using the dispute for instrumental purposes.

4. 2010: Trawler Incident and the Video Leak

a. 2010—Major Events:

- September 7: Chinese trawler captain arrested for ramming the JCG ship
- September 25: Chinese captain released without indictment
- September: China suspends shipment of rare earth metals to Japan and other countries
- November: JCG officer shares video of the trawler incident on Internet; fallout – the officer resigns, JCG commandant takes pay cut, two ministers censured over the leak

b. 2010—Analysis:

Similar to Japanese media, Xinhua reflects a distinct surge in its nationalist rhetoric in 2010 compared to previous years, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Like Japan, the arrest of the Chinese trawler captain after he rammed the JCG ship was the

biggest story in China; 325 of 331 Xinhua reports on Senkaku/Diaoyu occurred after the incident in September. Escalating the tension, China threatened the use of “strong countermeasures” 25 times in Xinhua reports while denying that suspension of rare earth metal sales was retaliatory. Unlike before, the term “Yasukuni shrine” only appeared once in Xinhua reports for 2010 because Prime Minister Kan banned the entire cabinet from visiting the shrine. However, the island dispute was still conflated with unresolved historical issues from World War II, as demonstrated in multiple pieces such as “China Focus: Chinese Mark Japanese Invasion with Protests while Sirens Wail.” Finally, Chinese irredentist claims increased significantly, as most reports now contained the mandatory line “since ancient times.” Again reflecting overt state control, Xinhua used the term “illegal” 353 times this year to characterize the arrest/detainment of the captain.

c. 2010—Summary:

Compared to previous years, the year 2010 displays substantial intensification of nationalist rhetoric in Xinhua reports in both quantitative and qualitative terms. The reports continued to conflate the World War II issues with the dispute, while displaying almost 20-fold increase in number of articles. There was also no apparent change in the level of state control in Xinhua, as exhibited by continued use of multiple canned phrases.

5. 2012: Tokyo Governor Attempts to Purchase the Islands

a. 2012—Major Events:

- April: Tokyo Governor Ishihara states Tokyo city government will purchase the islands from private owners
- September 5: Japanese national government decides to buy the islands to keep them away from Ishihara, an extreme right-wing politician
- September – November: Both sides cancel multiple events for the 40th anniversary of Sino-Japan diplomatic normalization

b. 2012—Analysis:

In 2012, Xinhua coverage suggests further increase on nationalist rhetoric from 2010. As in Japan, Tokyo’s purchase three of the islands was the biggest story of 2012

for Xinhua; over 1,061 of 1,282 Xinhua reports occurred after September 5. Proportionate to Jiji's sudden decline in objective reporting in 2012, Xinhua significantly ratcheted up its rhetoric. The island purchase made the list in "Yearender: Xinhua's Top 10 World News Events in 2012." In its year-end report, Xinhua stated that "the island buying farce...alerted the international community to the rise of Japanese right-wing hardliners."¹³⁹ Furthermore, Xinhua significantly increased the number of its "legitimacy" articles that cite supposed experts on the legitimacy of the Chinese claim. The term "white paper" appeared 182 times in 2012.¹⁴⁰ Additionally, Xinhua's nationalist rhetoric and conflation of the dispute with World War II issues continued as evidenced by references to the Yasukuni shrine 70 times in its reports. Xinhua also ran multiple articles on negative economic impacts of the dispute, but only for Japan.

As in previous years, Xinhua reports continue to reflect state control, rather than public influence. Soon after the decision by the Japanese government to purchase the islands, Xinhua started including Senkaku/Diaoyu in its daily weather forecast for 20 major Chinese cities and regions. Xinhua reports also adhered to use of canned phrases such as "ancient times," "time immemorial," and "indignation." The word "indignation" showed up 55 times in 2012, reflecting Beijing's instrumental use of the media to drive Chinese nationalism.

c. 2012—Summary:

Xinhua reports indicate further increase in its nationalist rhetoric from previous years. Xinhua's use of predetermined phrases again reveals continuing state control on the media. Finally, conflation of World War II experience with the dispute in the media suggests that the CCP is instrumentally using the dispute to promote nationalism in the media.

¹³⁹ "Yearender: Xinhua's Top 10 World News Events in 2012," *Xinhua General News Service*, December 29, 2012

¹⁴⁰ The CCP released a white paper titled "Diaoyu Dao, an Inherent Territory of China" in September 2012. Xinhua released the full white paper in 2012, divided in several parts.

6. Main Events for Other Chinese Territorial Disputes

Analysis of the main events for other territorial disputes suggests firm state control over the media as indicated in Xinhua reports on the SDI dispute. Tables 14 and 16 list the main events for news coverage in the Nansha/Spratly islands (NSI) dispute and Sino-Indian border dispute respectively. All the main events in Tables 14 and 16 were state-driven; likewise, Xinhua kept the coverage of Vietnamese and Philippine civil demonstrations to only one report on each event unlike the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute coverage. Stark differences in the coverage between the SDI and other dyads suggest that the CCP was instrumentally using Xinhua to specifically control nationalism in regards to the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute. Finally, reports for both the NSI and SIB distinctively lacked a conflation of historical events that marked the nationalist rhetoric in the SDI dispute.

7. Qualitative Trends in Chinese Media—Conclusion

Analysis of qualitative trends in Chinese media reveals two phenomena: increased nationalist rhetoric in the media and a high level of the state's instrumental control over both the public and media. Susan L. Shirk observes that Chinese propaganda officials are so powerful, that they can enforce rules even on their superiors; being “the most ideologically conservative elements in the CCP,” propaganda “cartel” has taken a tough line on Japan.¹⁴¹ In line with Shirk's explanation, an examination of years with surges in media coverage implies that, unlike Japan, a low level of biased nationalist rhetoric existed in Xinhua reports from the beginning in 1992. In addition, through the years, nationalist rhetoric continued to intensify both quantitatively and qualitatively.

As discussed in Chapter II, due to stronger state control, Chinese media is more resistant to public influence than Japan. The use of canned phrases and release of official white papers through Xinhua supports the high level of state control over the media. Zhan Zhang sums up the Chinese legacy media coverage on the SDI dispute by stating that “the Chinese legacy media stories that faithfully speak for the Chinese government are

¹⁴¹ Susan L. Shirk, *China: Fragile Superpower* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 42.

unambiguous and consistent in making the point that China will not back down in this situation and that history, law, and justice all favor their side in the dispute.”¹⁴² As a result, the area of competition for nationalism between the state and public, as depicted in Figure 2 in Chapter II, is much smaller in China than Japan. Like the media, evidence also suggests that the CCP instrumentally manages public-driven events to cause controversies over the SDI dispute.

¹⁴² Zhan Zhang, “Fanning the Flames of Public Rage,” in *The Dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands*, 108.

Table 11. Historical Events that Drove Coverage on the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands (Japanese Media)

Year	Historical Event
1990	Taiwanese athletes land on the islands
1991	none
1992	The Japanese Emperor's visit to China
1993	A Japanese fishing boat attacked by an unidentified ship
1994	Taiwanese airplanes enter the airspace around the islands without prior notice
1995	1) The Chinese resource survey of islands 2) Chinese jets approaches the area around islands
1996	1) Construction of a lighthouse by a Japanese right-wing organization 2) Fisheries Pact around the islands
1997	1) The Japanese politicians and others land on the islands; in response, Hong Kong and Taiwanese protesters also attempt to land on the islands 2) Fisheries Pact around the islands
1998	Hong Kong and Taiwanese protesters also attempt to land on the islands
1999	1) Fisheries Pact around the islands 2) Chinese ships enter the area around the islands
2000	Fisheries Pact around the islands
2001	1) Ishihara's remark on the islands 2) The Chinese conduct military drill inside Japan's declared EEZ
2002	The former Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui's remark that the islands belong to Japan and Taiwanese protest
2003	The Japanese government takes lease on three of five islands
2004	Japan arrests/detains Chinese activists who landed on the islands
2005	Anti-Japanese protests in China
2006	Joint resources development project around the islands
2007	Chinese survey ship enters the area around the islands
2008	1) Taiwanese and Chinese ships enter the area around the islands 2) Taiwan's improving relations with China with the President Ma's election and possible consequences for Japan-Taiwan relations
2009	Japanese Prime Minister Aso reiterates the claim on the islands
2010	Japan arrests/detains Chinese trawler for ramming the Japanese Coast Guard (JCG) ship; A JCG officer leaks the video of the trawler incident
2011	Chinese and Taiwanese ships spotted inside Japan's declared EEZ
2012	Tokyo Governor Ishihara announces intention to purchase three of the islands; The Japanese state government decides to buy the islands instead
2013	1) Chinese declaration of Air Defense Zone 2) Chinese ships enter waters around the islands

Table 12. Historical Events that Drove Coverage on the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands (Chinese Media)

Year	Historical Event
1990	Installation of a lighthouse by a Japanese right-wing group
1991	None
1992	None (no mention of the visit by the Japanese Emperor)
1993	None
1994	None
1995	None
1996	1) Construction of a makeshift lighthouse by a Japanese right-wing organization 2) No mention of fisheries pact negotiations; rest are sovereignty claims after right-wing groups land on the islands
1997	Japanese parliamentary member lands on the islands
1998	None
1999	Japanese right-wing youth league members land on the islands
2000	Japanese right-wing youth league members land on the islands again and establishes a shrine
2001	None
2002	None
2003	1) The Japanese government leases three of the islands from private owners 2) Japanese right-wing youth league members land on the islands again 3) Chinese activists “defend” Chinese territory by landing on the islands
2004	Japanese warships/planes “attack” Chinese fishing boats carrying activists
2005	Anti-Japanese protests
2006	Japanese textbook revision to include the islands as Japanese territory
2007	Chinese ship conducts “normal” research survey of the islands
2008	A Taiwanese fishing boat collides with a Japanese coast guard vessel
2009	Japanese Prime Minister Aso reiterates the claim on the islands
2010	Japan arrests/detains Chinese trawler for ramming the Japanese Coast Guard (JCG) ship
2011	1) Trawler collision incident from 2010 2) Japanese textbook revision controversy
2012	1) Tokyo Governor Ishihara announces intention to purchase three of the islands; the Japanese state government decides to buy the islands instead
2013	1) Chinese declaration of Air Defense Zone 2) Chinese ships “patrol” the islands

Table 13. Significant Historical Events that Drove Coverage on the Dokdo/Takeshima Dispute (Japanese Media)

Year	Historical Event
1996	1) Japan attempt to set up 200-mile exclusive economic zone (includes fishery rights) 2) South Korea builds a breakwater on the island
2005	1) A Japanese prefecture announces “Takeshima Day” 2) Japanese textbook controversy
2008	Japanese Education Ministry issues a “teaching manual” on the island
2011	1) The LDP lawmakers attempt to visit the island in personal capacity 2) Korean politicians visit the island
2012	1) Korean President Lee Myung-bak visits the island 2) Japan attempts to take the dispute to the international court

Table 14. Significant Historical Events that Drove Coverage on the Nansha/Spratly’s Islands Dispute (Chinese Media)

Year	Historical Event
1999	Philippine defense minister suggests solving the dispute through an international conference led by the United States
2009	Philippine government passes a legislation that codifies their jurisdiction over the islands
2012	1) China’s insistence on the United States’ non-interference on the dispute 2) Vietnamese government passes a legislation that codifies their jurisdiction over the islands 3) ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) summit and China’s insistence on bilateral solutions

Table 15. A Significant Historical Event that Drove Coverage on the Kuril/Northern Territories (Japanese Media)

Year	Historical Event
1992	1) Russo-Japan Peace Treaty 2) Yeltsin plans to lease the islands

Table 16. Significant Historical Events that Drove Coverage on the Sino-Indian Territory Dispute (Chinese Media)

Year	Historical Event
2005	Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao’s official visit to India

E. WHO BENEFITS?

Other than historical, political, and social contexts, critical discourse analysis also uses the question “who benefits” with respect to particular media framing to answer the question of who influences the media: the state or public. As discussed in Chapter III, determining who placed restrictions or expectations on media reports, and for what reasons, helps us to assess the level of state and public influence in the media.

1. Who Benefits in China over Increased Nationalist Rhetoric in Media?

As discussed in Chapter I, the CCP has been promoting nationalism as the ideology to shore up its legitimacy as communist ideology lost its power with the advent of capitalism. As Shirk explains, “the Communist Party’s post-Tiananmen effort to rebuild its legitimacy through the patriotic education campaign is largely responsible for the increase in anti-foreign nationalism among today’s youths.”¹⁴³ The CCP clearly stands to benefit from increased nationalist rhetoric over the SDI dispute. However, the public-driven events that drove most of the Chinese coverage, as shown in Table 12, suggest that more public influence may exist in the media. Despite this first impression, a closer analysis indicates Beijing’s management of the media to support its political objectives.

After the construction of a lighthouse by a Japanese nationalist group in 1996, the CCP allowed domestic mobilizations against Japan for several weeks before stepping in to control the demonstrations. Later in 2005, when public-driven anti-Japanese protests occurred state-wide, Beijing approved and even “choreographed” the protests.¹⁴⁴ As Krista Wiegand notes, while non-state actors instigate anti-Japan public mobilizations, the Chinese government uses the territorial dispute to gain domestic support and obtain regime legitimacy. However, Beijing is also unwilling to allow anti-Japan protests to continue too long, fearing loss of control over the movement and damages to bilateral economic relations.¹⁴⁵ Similarly, public-driven event coverage in Xinhua likely reflects the CCP’s willingness to allow and yet control anti-Japan nationalism sentiments. While

¹⁴³ Shirk, *Fragile Superpower*, 258.

¹⁴⁴ Wiegand, *Territorial Disputes*, 111–112.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 111.

public influence may be shown in Chinese media, such framing is only at the behest of the CCP and lasts as only long as it benefits Beijing.

2. Who Benefits in Japan over Increased Nationalist Rhetoric in Media?

As in China, Japanese politicians also use the territorial disputes for their own political ends. The LDP first adopted the territorial disputes as election platform in 1996.¹⁴⁶ As a result, the LDP was able to dominate the 1996 election to build a single-party cabinet partly due to its nationalist platform.¹⁴⁷ Other examples include the attempted visit by the LDP politicians to the DTI in 2011, discussed in Section C. The current prime minister, Shinzo Abe, is also not above using the dispute for his ends. Just before the General Election in December of 2012, Abe demanded the ruling DPJ government station *komuin* (civil servants) on the SDI, without specifying if civil servant meant SDF members or other civil servants. In addition, for many years, the LDP has been trying to amend Japan's pacifist constitution, which prohibits a standing military force. Abe may be fanning the SDI dispute to strengthen the SDF and rewrite the post-war constitution. As Min Gyo Koo explains, the former LDP Prime Minister Shinichiro Koizumi supported the popular movement to take back the KNT and DKI while pushing hard for constitutional revision.¹⁴⁸ However, as suggested by diplomatic overtures in 2014 to China and Japan, Abe also has tried to amend the bilateral relations before too much damage is done.¹⁴⁹ In another example of Abe's attempt to mend relations with both China and South Korea, Abe has not visited the Yasukuni Shrine since December

¹⁴⁶ John Chan, "Japan-South Korea Tension Heightens over Disputed Islets," *World Socialist website*, August 4, 2008, <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2008/08/koja-a04.html>.

¹⁴⁷ Min Gyo Koo, *Island Disputes and Maritime Regime Building in East Asia: Between a Rock and a Hard Place* (Dordrecht; New York: Springer, 2009), 88.

¹⁴⁸ Koo, *Island Disputes*, 95.

¹⁴⁹ Japan made great diplomatic efforts to meet with Xi Jinping during the Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in November, 2014. Abe has made similar efforts to mend ties with South Korea. Jonathan Kaiman, "Japan's Abe and China's Xi Hold Ice-breaking Meeting as APEC starts," *Guardian*, November 10, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/10/xi-jinping-shinzo-abe-ice-breaking-meeting-apec-starts>; Michiyo Nakamoto, "Abe Moves to Ease South Korean Tensions," *Financial Times*, January 4, 2013, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/b062065e-564e-11e2-aaaa-00144feab49a.html#axzz3NMynqtoO>.

2013.¹⁵⁰ Similar to China, Japanese politicians use the dispute instrumentally when it suits their purpose to obtain domestic support, especially during elections, and attempt to manage the negative international consequences before the dispute spirals out of control.

However, in contrast with Xinhua, public influence is growing in Japanese media especially after 2010. In the early 1990s, state-level issues like the fisheries pact tended to dominate Japanese coverage of the dispute. Later, a series of public-driven events started to take over the coverage. As discussed in previous sections, Japanese government failed to manage the public outcry after the trawler incident and subsequent collision video leak in 2010. In 2012, Tokyo failed again to manage the nationalist movement to privately purchase the islands, forcing the state to purchase the islands itself. The Ryuichi Doi resignation over the DTI flap and public uproar over perceived weak response by the Kan cabinet over trawler incident indicate that political and public consensus has fundamentally changed over the territorial disputes. The rapid decline in how the Japanese view China since 2010 also support the idea of changing public consensus. Finally, the abrupt surge in the number of articles in 2010 and subsequent trends in 2012 and 2013 that sustain very high numbers in coverage imply that changing public consensus has begun to outstrip the state's ability to manage the SDI dispute in the media.

As implied by Tokyo's attempts to minimize negative international consequences after each public-driven event, a high level of nationalist rhetoric in Japanese media does not benefit the state. Rather, in the SDI case, a high level of nationalist rhetoric benefits a small portion of the public, which profits from increased controversy over the dispute. Right-wing organizations and activists not only initially drove the controversy over the dispute, but forced the state to intensify its own rhetoric by transforming public consensus on the dispute and increasing political pressure on the state government. While Tokyo benefits from a moderate level of nationalist rhetoric that bolsters domestic support, right-wing activists benefit more from a high level of nationalist rhetoric, which allows their alternative views to enter public discourse and become more mainstream.

¹⁵⁰ Loveday Wright, "Fraught with Controversy-Japan's Yasukuni Shrine," *Deutsche Welle*, December 18, 2014, <http://www.dw.de/fraught-with-controversy-japans-yasukuni-shrine/a-17860468>.

F. OVERALL TRENDS

Qualitative analysis of the dispute coverage reflects increasing nationalist rhetoric in both China and Japan, albeit at different paces. Both Jiji and Yomiuri reports started with almost no nationalist rhetoric in the early 1990s. However, Yomiuri quickly ratcheted up its rhetoric starting 1996 while Jiji displays an abrupt surge starting in 2012. Jiji's qualitative increase in media bias in 2012 correlated with Jiji's sudden decline in use of the alternative national name in 2012 as reflected in Figure 6. In China, nationalist rhetoric existed from the early 1990s, which progressively increased through the years. Qualitative examination of the dispute rhetoric implies increasing vitriol in both countries' media that dovetails with the quantitative increase in nationalist rhetoric as discussed in the last chapter.

Furthermore, a close inspection of events and reports illustrate both Japan and China's use of the dispute for instrumental purposes while attempting to limit negative consequences resulting from the dispute. Japanese politicians tend to use the dispute to seek legitimacy and further their political aims, especially before election. At the same time, the Japanese state government, in all instances examined here, intervened to limit the damage to bilateral relations. Similarly, China also used the dispute to shore up its legitimacy; however, unlike Japan, timing is not related to elections since China lacks state-level elections. Additionally, the CCP's strict control over both events and the media regarding the dispute reflect state's allowance of controversies and nationalist tendencies over the dispute. In contrast with Japan, China, as an authoritarian regime, maintains much better control over public mobilizations and the media to prevent challenges to its regime. Beijing's continued use of canned phrases and legitimizing pieces reflect the CCP's tight control over the media over the entire 23-year period examined in this thesis.

Unlike China, relatively more liberal media has led to public influence in Japanese media overtaking Tokyo's capacity to manage the SDI dispute after 2010. The scandal over the trawler video leak exemplifies the right-wing activists' success at transforming the national discourse on the SDI dispute. At the same time, increasing public influence over the SDI dispute has begun to change the journalistic and political

consensus in Japan. As a result, Tokyo's options for managing the dispute have become severely limited since 2010.

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VI. CONCLUSION

In J.K. Rowling's popular *Harry Potter* series of novels, Lord Voldemort, also known as He-Who-Must-Not-Be-Named, cannot be killed unless Harry Potter destroys the seven horcruxes that contain Lord Voldemort's soul. After Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's visit to the Yasukuni shrine in December of 2013, top diplomats from Japan and China invoked He-Who-Must-Not-Be-Named in their verbal tirades, reaching new heights in creative name-calling. Liu Xiaoming, China's ambassador to Britain, cast Japanese militarism as the Voldemort of Japan and the Yasukuni shrine as a horcrux. Keiichi Hayashi, Japan's ambassador to Britain, responded to Xiaoming by calling China the Voldemort of Asia, because China has caused an arms race and escalated regional tensions.¹⁵¹

The Voldemort incident is only one of the many acerbic verbal spats that have acutely intensified since the 2010 trawler collision thrust the SDI dispute into the media spotlight in both China and Japan. Through comparative media analysis of the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute, I have traced the rise of nationalist discourse in the media and possible causes for the crumbling bilateral relations from 1990–2013. In this chapter, I list the findings, examine the implications, and answer the research question on the extent of state influence over the media in regards to the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute.

A. FINDINGS

First, I list the main findings from quantitative and qualitative analysis of events and media coverage regarding the Senkaku/Diaoyu dispute from 1990–2013.

1. Rising Nationalist Rhetoric in Media

The poll data and secondary evidence broadly support the conclusion that the SDI dispute contributed to deterioration of Sino-Japan relations and a rise in nationalistic rhetoric. The analysis reveals rising nationalist rhetoric on the SDI dispute in both

¹⁵¹ "Latest China-Japan Spat: Who's Voldemort?," *New York Times*, January 9, 2014, <http://sinosphere.blogs.nytimes.com/2014/01/09/latest-china-japan-spat-whos-voldemort/>.

Chinese and Japanese media from 1990–2013. With a strong conservative bias within the Chinese propaganda department, Xinhua started with some level of nationalist rhetoric from the beginning whereas Japanese media progressively started to gain nationalist bias after 1996. The SDI dispute is especially marked by sudden surges in coverage more so than other disputes.

Both quantitative and qualitative biases indicate especially high intensification in both countries' media after 2010. In 2012 and 2013, the number of articles sustained three digit levels for two years in a row. By 2013, qualitative comparison suggests relatively more bias in Xinhua, followed by Yomiuri, then Jiji. Finally, the public opinion poll data reflects progressively deteriorating views of each other in both Japan and China. Japanese poll data reflects a direct correlation between public opinion and media coverage of the SDI dispute. While Chinese poll data does not display a similar correlation due to higher state control, the Chinese citizens directly singles out the SDI dispute as the biggest cause for the negative views of the Japanese in the poll.

2. Identity of the States in Territorial Disputes

Quantitative analysis reveals that the identity of the state is a factor that affects the level of nationalist rhetoric in territorial disputes, suggesting that unresolved historical issues may transform into a high level of nationalist rhetoric in the media. Examination of state actors in the SDI and DTI disputes, namely China, Japan, and South Korea, reveals that they all share one common factor. They were all states involved in Japanese imperialism during World War II. According to M. Taylor Fravel, Beijing has settled 17 of its 23 territorial disputes since 1949, often with substantial compromises.¹⁵² In frontier areas such as the Sino-Indian Border dispute, China offered compromises for all 16 disputes and succeeded in 14. In the Nansha/Spratly dispute, Beijing has signed a maritime code of conduct with other ASEAN nations in 2002; furthermore, China has also held limited bilateral talks emphasizing escalation control.¹⁵³ China has been

¹⁵² M. Taylor Fravel, "Regime Insecurity and International Cooperation: Explaining China's Compromises in Territorial Disputes," *International Security*, 30, no. 2 (Fall, 2005): 46.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 62.

involved in multiple territorial disputes; however, the SDI is the only dispute in which China has shown no serious interest in offering a substantive compromise to the other party to date. This implies that the SDI dispute is somehow different from others. In addition, SDI and DTI dispute media coverage shares the pattern of abrupt spikes in coverage whereas other dispute coverages indicate more gradual changes. Furthermore, Japanese media coverage of the DTI dispute displays conflation of unresolved World War II issues by South Koreans similar to the SDI dispute. This finding suggests that unresolved historical issues drive the tendency in discourse to conflate World War II issues with the territorial disputes that transform into a high level of nationalist rhetoric in the media.

3. Similarity and Difference in the Instrumental Use of the Dispute

Both China and Japan use the SDI dispute to bolster domestic support while attempting to keep nationalist rhetoric under control. As reflected by the LDP's adoption of three Japanese territorial disputes in its campaign platform, Japanese politicians do not hesitate to use the dispute instrumentally to gain domestic support. However, as I have argued in Chapter V, the Japanese state government has always tried to minimize and manage the negative international consequences from the disputes. Similarly, the CCP has allowed and managed the public mobilizations in regards to the SDI dispute in order to bolster legitimacy for the regime. As the owner of the "Diaoyu Islands Noodle Shop" in Beijing observed in an AFP news article, "'Diaoyu Islands belong to China' was a phrase engraved deeply on our minds when we were young kids."¹⁵⁴ The most salient way China is different from Japan is that, with a lack of state-level elections, the CCP uses the dispute to broadly bolster party legitimacy. Beijing is largely responsible for encouraging the growth of popular nationalism to replace communist ideals and "bind people to the Party."¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ "Noodles Spice Up China-Japan Tensions," *L'Agence France-Presse*, January 27, 2015, <http://news.yahoo.com/noodles-spice-china-japan-tensions-200002102.html>.

¹⁵⁵ Shirk, *Fragile Superpower*, 62–63.

4. Who Benefits from Rising Nationalist Rhetoric

Both China and Japanese politicians benefit from increasing nationalist rhetoric by bolstering their legitimacy; however, Tokyo and Beijing also know that they have to carefully manage this nationalist rhetoric. As an authoritarian regime, Beijing had the option to prevent the anti-Japan demonstrations if it wanted to, but chose not to intervene until the CCP felt the demonstration was getting out of control. With the loss of communism as a binding ideology, the CCP needs nationalism as the new ideology to shore up its legitimacy. As a result, Beijing allows and sometimes even encourages expressions of nationalism in response to the SDI dispute as long as things stay within state control. As Shirk explains, the CCP's highest priority is political stability.¹⁵⁶ The CCP's management of nationalism is calculated to provide political stability through boosting state legitimacy while maintaining control. As Zhao notes,

When the Union to Protect the Diaoyu islands rallied ethnic Chinese from all over the world to protest Japanese group that had erected the lighthouse, pragmatic leaders in Beijing urged party organizations to contain mass demonstrations that might hurt political stability and economic growth.¹⁵⁷

As discussed in Chapter V, the Japanese politicians benefit from a moderate level of nationalist rhetoric to gain domestic support during elections. At the same time, Tokyo benefits less from a high level of nationalist rhetoric as it may cause negative international consequences and limits political options regarding the dispute. Consequently, as displayed by Tokyo's attempts to minimize the negative consequences from the SDI dispute, the Japanese central government endeavors to manage rising nationalist rhetoric like China. However, as I have argued, Tokyo has increasingly lost its ability to manage the nationalist discourse, particularly after 2010 due to more liberal media than China. As a result, a very high level of nationalist rhetoric in Japanese media after 2010 rather benefits the right-wing activists who instigated some of the controversies by building the lighthouse, visiting the islands multiple times, and attempting to purchase the islands.

¹⁵⁶ Shirk, *Fragile Superpower*, 39.

¹⁵⁷ Zhao, *Nation-state by Construction*, 274.

5. Extent of the State Control versus Public Influence over Media

Examination of the media coverage and secondary evidence suggest that Beijing maintains tight control over Xinhua while Tokyo's influence over the media is much less especially after 2010. Repeated use of canned phrases in Xinhua reports over a 23-year period and the presence of state propaganda that directly support the CCP positions suggest a rigorous state control over Xinhua. In addition, a lack of correlation between the public opinion poll data and media coverage suggests that the Chinese public has little influence on the media. In China, the media is an instrumental tool to promote state nationalism and manage popular nationalism, control of which mostly flows one way from the state to the public.

In contrast, a high level of correlation between poll data and Japanese media coverage of the dispute suggests that the Japanese public has more influence in the media than China. While Japanese media mostly toed the state line in the early 1990s, later coverage began to strongly criticize Tokyo's perceived incompetence over the dispute, especially in 2010. As discussed in the previous section, public activists benefit more from very high levels of nationalist rhetoric exhibited after 2010 in the Japanese media. These factors support my argument that increasing nationalist rhetoric in Japanese media after 2010 reflects a higher level of public influence than the state's instrumental influence.

B. IMPLICATIONS

In this section, I discuss possible implications that can be drawn from the overall findings discussed in the previous section.

1. Rising Nationalism in China and Japan

The increase in nationalist rhetoric in the media has been accompanied by a rise in nationalism in China and Japan. One cannot automatically assume that the increase in nationalist rhetoric in the media inevitably correlates with a rise in nationalism itself. However, given that rising rhetoric in Japanese media after 2010 is a reflection of increasing public influence, inductive reasoning suggests that in this case increasing

nationalism is causing the corresponding increase in rhetoric. At the same time, as I have argued in Chapters II and III, the public influence on the media is weak in China. Therefore, the same reasoning process used for Japan cannot be used to conclude that increasing nationalism is causing the rising rhetoric. However, as discussed in Chapter I, Chinese popular nationalism is firmly linked with anti-Japanese sentiments. A very high level of negative sentiment toward the Japanese in the 2013 poll data and frequent anti-Japan demonstrations support the assumption that there is a definite increase in nationalist sentiments. However, unlike in Japan, the rise in popular nationalism in China is likely not directly correlated with increasing rhetoric in the media as Xinhua is mostly under state control.

2. Type of Media Service is Relevant in More Liberal Media Bias

The type of media organization is more relevant in liberal media bias versus state-controlled media. As my findings imply, different degrees of objectivity exist in democratic media; Jiji, as a newswire service that lacks editorials, has maintained a lower level of media bias than Yomiuri over the years. In contrast, Xinhua has maintained a very high level of media bias despite being a wire service like Jiji. Additionally, like Yomiuri, Xinhua contains editorials; however, unlike Yomiuri and Jiji, Xinhua also directly releases government white papers and propaganda. Finally, the authoritarian state news agency of China and democratic media of Japan differ in their overall levels of media bias, as indicated by almost zero usage of “Senkaku” by Xinhua from the early 1990s. As a result, the type of media service is less relevant in state-controlled media while the type of media service correlates with the level of media bias in more liberal regimes.

3. Public Influence Can Modify Journalistic and Political Consensus

Changes in nationalist rhetoric in Japanese media and public influence after 2010 imply that the public can modify journalistic and political consensus through changing public discourse on the SDI dispute. The Kan cabinet’s disastrous handling of the trawler collision in 2010 indicates that Tokyo underestimated the public response over the incident. After the change in public consensus in 2010, Jiji’s steep decline in the use of

“Diaoyu” for the SDI in 2013 suggests a delayed change in journalistic consensus when referring to the islands. As the Ryuichi Doi resignation in 2014 over the DTI flap indicates, Japanese politicians can no longer safely dissent against the idea of absolute Japanese sovereignty with respect to the territorial disputes.¹⁵⁸

In the case of China, a high level of CCP control means that political and journalistic consensus supports the state. However, intensifying public interest over the SDI dispute means that the CCP has fewer options even when it wants to mend Sino-Japan relations. During the meeting with Shinzo Abe at the APEC (Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation) in November 2014, Xi Jinping showed a “cold shoulder” to Abe during a photo op because Xi knew that the picture was going to be shown around the world. According to the Duowei News, a US-based Chinese political news outlet, Xi wanted to display an aggressive image to both domestic and international audiences over the territorial dispute and World War II issues.¹⁵⁹ However, Xi was caught smiling with Abe later during the dinner banquet.¹⁶⁰ When a Japanese television program asked about Xi’s chilly response, Abe stated that “each country has their own respective circumstances [regarding the behavior of leaders].”¹⁶¹ As Shirk notes, “when today’s Chinese leaders make foreign policy, they have to keep in mind the reactions of the groups upon whom their political power depends—other leaders, the mass public, and the military.”¹⁶²

Furthermore, both China and Japan tweaked the joint statement on the SDI dispute that was announced prior to the APEC meeting, claiming diplomatic victory over

¹⁵⁸ Background on the Doi incident can be found in Section C in Chapter IV.

¹⁵⁹ Quoted in “Shaken, Not Stirred: Xi Had Intent with Awkward Abe Handshake,” *Want China Times*, November 12, 2014, <http://www.wantchinatimes.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?id=20141112000060&cid=1501>.

¹⁶⁰ “China’s President Xi and Japan PM Abe’s Awkward Handshake: What Experts Have to Say,” *The Strait Times*, November 10, 2014, <http://www.straitstimes.com/news/asia/east-asia/story/chinas-xi-and-japan-pm-abes-awkward-handshake-what-experts-have-say-201411>.

¹⁶¹ Brackets in original article. “Xi to Abe: Strangers Who Meet Twice Become Friends,” *The Daily Yomiuri*, November 13, 2014.

¹⁶² Shirk, *Fragile Superpower*, 77.

the other.¹⁶³ The events and circumstances surrounding the 2014 APEC summit support my hypothesis that political leaders in both Japan and China are limited by the public perception of the SDI dispute. Even in an authoritarian regime like China, evidence suggests that the public can influence consensus to change expected behavior in political situations. As a result, the Chinese public may be able to indirectly influence media consensus through changing political consensus.

4. Changing Consensus Can Constrain Dispute Management and Resolution Options

In both Japan and China, evidence suggests that changing consensus can constrain dispute management and resolution options. Through the priming effect, rising prominence of the SDI dispute results in a correspondingly increasing spotlight on the political leaders' actions on the dispute in both countries.¹⁶⁴ Changing Chinese political consensus discussed in the previous section dovetail with China's territorial dispute strategy discussed in Section A.2. Unlike other territorial disputes, China has offered no substantive compromises or confidence building measures on the SDI. While Xinhua reports continue to reflect the CCP's tight control over the media, there are signs that the SDI dispute is starting to grow beyond Beijing's control. As Chien-peng Chung observes:

The promotion of state-nationalism by the political elite to ward off pressure from countries and groups advocating humanitarian intervention, human rights, democracy, and globalization, has infused in those governments concerned being less able to control the terms of the debate...Greater political participation and nationalistic activism, led by students, fishermen or opposition politicians, may sharpen policy debates and force political leaders to increase their criticisms of neighbors and take provocative action on dispute claims, thus raising the regional tension in the process. The handling or mishandling of territorial issues may also

¹⁶³ Two countries released two versions of the statement. Japanese version stated that they had different "views" while the Chinese version stated that there were different "positions." In effect, Japanese government still denied that there is a dispute while Chinese claimed the victory by saying that the Japanese recognized that there is a dispute over the SDI for the first time. Yuka Hayashi, "Who Gave Ground, China, Japan Tweak Translations to Claim Victory," *Wall Street Journal*, November 9, 2014, <http://blogs.wsj.com/chinarealtime/2014/11/09/who-gave-ground-china-japan-tweak-translations-to-claim-victory/>.

¹⁶⁴ Priming effect was discussed in Chapter I, Section E.

become proxy for attacking the perceived incompetence or unfairness of government policies.¹⁶⁵

In Japan, Chung's argument is exemplified by the DPJ's 2011 election loss due partly to mishandling of the trawler incident. As changing journalistic and political consensus in Japan after 2010 indicates, despite Japan's democratic and pluralist society, rising nationalist sentiments may be sidelining moderate views and inhibiting rational dialogue. As a result, changing public and political consensus may limit available mitigation and resolution options over the SDI dispute.

5. More Liberal Media Creates a Bigger Area of Competition for Nationalism

The findings imply that more liberal media in Japan creates more competition between the state and popular nationalism than in China. As I have illustrated in Figure 1 of Chapter I, boundaries of the state and popular nationalism overlap and sometimes contest each other, resulting in constant modification and reinvention. While compromised, comparatively more media freedom than China has allowed growing public influence in Japanese media, which suggests that the area of competition between the state and public nationalisms is bigger in Japan. In contrast, more state-controlled media in China, with limited feed-back mechanism from the public, limits the size of interaction between the state and public nationalisms. Simply, state power limits the arena for public discourse on issues, otherwise known as the media, resulting in more of a one-way flow of nationalism from the state to the public in China. However, the online community has increasingly become an outlet for expressing popular nationalism in China. In analyzing the Chinese online postings regarding the SDI dispute, Miao Feng and Elaine J. Yuan observe that “with diversification of information access and fragmented online networks of association and conversations, online users construct and express the national self in increasingly diverse and complex ways.”¹⁶⁶ Even through the

¹⁶⁵ Chien-Peng Chung, *Domestic Politics, International Bargaining and China's Territorial Disputes* (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2012), 172–73.

¹⁶⁶ Miao Feng and Elaine J. Yuan, “Public Opinion on Weibo,” in *The Dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands*, 135.

stringent Internet censors, Chinese citizens are using the online forum to create a separate arena for popular nationalism to augment and sometimes contest state nationalism.

6. Fluidity of State and Popular Nationalisms

The public's ability to change consensus suggests that the state and public mutually influence nationalism in a reinforcing cycle. As discussed in Chapter I, Tokyo has continuously inculcated the state's view of nationalism instrumentally through various methods, such as the media and public education. However, quantitative analysis implies that the Japanese public was able to vastly influence journalistic and political consensus after 2010. Findings also suggest that the state and public augment and promote nationalism for their own purposes. This process of competition and mutual reinforcement has led to increasing levels of Japanese nationalism over the SDI dispute. Similarly, while the Chinese public was not able to directly influence legacy media consensus, it was able to somewhat affect political consensus. Progressively increasing nationalist rhetoric in both Chinese and Japanese media supports the model of state and public nationalisms continuously competing with and reinforcing each other as illustrated by Figure 1 in Chapter I.

C. FINAL THOUGHTS

According to Bernard C. Cohen, the media “may not be successful most of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.”¹⁶⁷ Intended or not, increasing media coverage on the SDI dispute has prescribed what the Japanese and Chinese public should be thinking about, increasing the priming effect for political leaders in both countries. In addition, as Hollihan argues, that “by emphasizing or deemphasizing certain aspects or dimensions of the issue, the media narratives create the context for understanding that issue.”¹⁶⁸ Media analysis implies the media's increasing emphasis on negative aspects, fanning the flame of nationalist rhetoric in both countries.

¹⁶⁷ Bernard C. Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), 13.

¹⁶⁸ Hollihan, “Introduction,” in *The Dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands*, 9.

My analysis suggests that both China and Japan had more instrumental control on the media in the early 1990s. Hollihan's book, which also examines the role of media in the SDI dispute, supports my findings of instrumental control on the media in the SDI dispute,

The governments of both China and Japan have nurtured public opinions among their citizens through textbooks, course content, public statements, and sanctioned media narratives that inflamed the public interest in these islands and diminished the likelihood that they can easily negotiate or compromise on the issue.¹⁶⁹

In Japan, Yomiuri and Jiji, even with its more liberal media, generally kept to the state government line in its coverage of the SDI dispute in the early 1990s. Xinhua, with its canned phrases, faithfully reported the CCP position on the SDI dispute in China for the period of 23 years examined in this study.

However, later media coverage on the SDI dispute during the 2010s indicates increasingly higher levels of nationalist rhetoric. In Japan, Yomiuri and Jiji reflect substantively more public influence than state control in the media after 2010. The Japanese right-wing activists produced a nationalist ideology that was deeply resistant to alternative views in reaction to the territorial dispute, which has started to change journalistic and political consensus.¹⁷⁰ As Hollihan states, "in Japan, on the other hand, these islands have been Japanese for more than a century and to sacrifice them now or even to negotiate over their future status is the equivalent of surrendering the power, hegemonic authority, and national pride of Japan in the face of Chinese aggression."¹⁷¹ In contrast, Xinhua still reflects a very high level of state control in China. As Zhan Zhang argues, "the Chinese government seemed to nourish and take advantage of these resentments by drawing on the public emotions to pressure Japan to surrender its claims,

¹⁶⁹ Hollihan, "Conclusions," in *The Dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands*, 250.

¹⁷⁰ Takeshi Suzuki and Shusuke Murai, "Japanese Social Media and Senkaku Controversy," in *The Dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands*, 193.

¹⁷¹ Hollihan, "Conclusions," in *The Dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands*, 250.

justify its own military expansion and patrols in the region, and express the legitimacy of its own sovereignty claims in an attempt to win support from other nations.”¹⁷²

However, many scholars fear that popular nationalism in regards to the SDI dispute is growing beyond state control, limiting political options for both Chinese and Japanese leaders. M. Taylor Fravel cites potential domestic punishment as one of the major reasons that is preventing both Japan and China from compromising on the SDI dispute.¹⁷³ Takeshi Suzuki and Shusuke Murai confirm Fravel’s concerns:

For many citizens of Japan, compromising the sovereignty rights over the disputed islands would signal that Japan was weak and willing to yield the postwar initiative in East Asia to its former subordinate state. For citizens in China, on the other hand, surrendering the disputed islands invokes the bitter memory of Japanese aggression during wartime. Thus, on an emotional level, the Senkaku islands function as the symbol of nationalism in both nations as they seek to maintain their pride as a leader of East Asia.¹⁷⁴

A longtime China watcher Shirk agrees:

The nationalist mobilization of the 1990s has boxed the CCP and its leaders into a corner. Once the authorities allow students to demonstrate outside the Japanese and American embassies, it is a struggle to restore order without the students turning on them...By shining the light of publicity on foreign policy, the media are making it harder and harder for decision makers not to treat foreign policy as domestic politics. China’s press is not yet entirely free, but it is market driven and pushing the limits of Party censorship, and the Internet amplifies its impact on public opinion...The seething public animosity between the two countries could goad politicians into moves that lead to a naval clash...in the East China Sea.¹⁷⁵

Finally, Zhao notes that, “Should nativism prevail over pragmatic nationalism and liberal nationalism, China’s foreign policy would turn in a confrontational direction. Chinese

¹⁷² Zhan Zhang, “Fanning the Flames of Public Rage,” in *The Dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands*, 105.

¹⁷³ M. Taylor Fravel, “Explaining Stability in the Senkaku (Diaoyu) Dispute,” ed. Gerald Curtis, Ryosei Kokubun, and Jisi Wang, *Getting the Triangle Straight: Managing China-Japan-US Relations*, (Tokyo; New York, NY: Japan Center for International Exchange, 2010), 158.

¹⁷⁴ Takeshi Suzuki and Shusuke Murai, “Japanese Legacy Media and Senkaku Controversy,” in *The Dispute over the Diaoyu/Senkaku Islands*, 145.

¹⁷⁵ Shirk, *Fragile Superpower*, 64–78; 264.

nationalism in this case could become irrational and aggressive.”¹⁷⁶ Increasingly bitter nationalist rhetoric in Xinhua seems to confirm Zhao’s fears that Chinese nationalism is turning “irrational and aggressive.” Japanese political leaders are similarly constrained by right-wing nationalist rhetoric that is changing the mainstream political discourse, inhibiting rational dialogue and moderate views on the SDI dispute.



Figure 7. Möbius Strip: State and popular nationalisms compete and reinforce each other in a cycle, much like a Möbius strip¹⁷⁷

What does this mean for policymakers? As this study has argued, the state and popular nationalism have a tendency to compete with each other while reinforcing the overall level of nationalism, much like a Möbius strip that never ends. Despite China and Japan’s efforts, many scholars concur that nationalism is difficult to control. The fall of the Naoto Kan cabinet exemplifies how nationalism can be destabilizing, especially in a democracy. China has been unusually tolerant of anti-Japanese demonstrations; however, Beijing should keep in mind that nationalism can quickly grow beyond state control. Extreme nationalism is a destabilizing force in both authoritarian and democratic regimes, as it prevents rational dialogue and alternative opinions. Future research may

¹⁷⁶ Zhao, *Nation-state by Construction*, 290.

¹⁷⁷ Möbius strip is a piece of paper created by cutting a piece of long paper, giving one end a half-twist, then joining the ends together. Resulting paper strip creates a never-ending, closed loop on its surface. “Möbius Strip,” *Wikipedia*, accessed February 6, 2015, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C3%B6bius_strip.

focus on the question of whether the state or public can channel nationalism to be a stabilizing force instead of a cause for instability.

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