

Investigating Japanese government's perceptions of the postwar world as revealed in prime ministers' Diet addresses: focussing on East-West and North-South issues

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Abstract

This study applies content analysis to Japanese prime ministers' Diet addresses in order to examine the Japanese government's perception of the world after World War II. Since the end of the Cold War, many scholars have revealed more strategic and proactive aspects of Japanese foreign policy by investigating broader issues or longer time periods. Methodologically, these studies as well as conventional studies derive the character of Japanese foreign policy mainly from an examination of documentary sources or case studies, thus further empirical evidence can help these discussions. By investigating the long-term perception focussing on North-South issues as well as East-West issues, we show that there are aspects of Japanese foreign policy with an individual

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character. We conclude that this method provides empirical evidence and helps to construct a multidimensional perspective for characterizing Japanese foreign policy, and thus contributes to the recent lively discussions on this topic.

1 Introduction

This study applies content analysis to Japanese prime ministers' Diet addresses in order to examine the Japanese government's perception of the world after World War II, focussing on East-West and North-South issues. Some conventional views of Japanese foreign policy have emphasized its coping (Blaker, 1993), reactive (Calder, 1988) and immobile (Stockwin *et al.*, 1988) character. Japan was said to be a state unwilling to take risks or assert its interests in the world (Lincoln, 1992).

Since the end of the Cold War, many scholars have proposed alternative or more nuanced perspectives on Japanese foreign policy (Potter and Sudo, 2003) by investigating its long-term history (LaFeber, 1998; Pyle, 2007), throwing lights on cases that reveal its more strategic or proactive aspects (Green, 2001; Midford, 2002; Hughes, 2004), investigating economic issues (Amyx, 2002; Ono, 2002; Pekkanen *et al.*, 2007) and aid issues (Miyashita, 1999; Fukushima, 2000) in addition to security issues, and taking into account ideational factors or a constructivist point of view (Katzenstein, 1996; Lind, 2004; Oros, 2008). These studies have prompted heated discussions and re-examination of the character of Japanese foreign policy.

Methodologically, both these studies and conventional studies derive the character of Japanese foreign policy mainly from an examination of documentary sources or case studies. These methods are undoubtedly important in foreign policy analysis, but applying content analysis to identify a government's long-term perception of the world, which can be a good barometer of macroscopic transition in its international interaction (c.f., Watanabe, 1974; Jarvis, 1976; Hudson, 2005), provides additional empirical evidence that can help characterize the state's long-term foreign policy in a systematic manner.

Against this background, this study examines the Japanese government's perception of the world after World War II through content analysis of prime ministers' Diet addresses, focussing on North-South issues as well as East-West issues. As prime ministers' Diet addresses are important

material expressing their policies, attitudes and thoughts,¹ and have been delivered by prime ministers under similar conditions and at similar intervals over a long period of time (Watanabe, 1974), they provide a clear indication of the Japanese government's long-term perception of the world.² We decided to explore two macroscopic perceptions: the Japanese government's perception of East-West issues and its perception of North-South issues. The former reflects the ideological conflict between the US or capitalist bloc and Soviet or communist bloc, and is of key importance in analyzing Japanese foreign policy after World War II. The latter was selected because 'North-South' and 'East-West' are paired terminologies in Japanese and 'North-South' is therefore appropriate for comparative analysis with 'East-West'. Further, clarifying the government's perception of North-South issues helps clarify its perception of the developing world, and of aid and developmental issues, which are potentially important policy issues but not captured in an analysis of East-West perception. By investigating these two perceptions, this study tries to provide empirical evidence for better understanding the character of Japanese foreign policy from a macroscopic viewpoint. Our findings, added to those obtained case studies, can help further enrich the heated discussions that have taken place on the character of Japanese foreign policy. In addition, this study provides a simulation of how to write the history of Japanese foreign policy by taking a macroscopic viewpoint and focussing more on North-South issues, and serves as a guide for writing an alternative history of Japanese foreign policy not focussed on East-West issues, as scholars have recently called for (Irie, 1997; Inoue, 2005). Our paper is organized as follows. Previous content analysis studies are reviewed in Section 2, and we explain our research questions in detail in Section 3. After outlining our data and methods in Section 4, we discuss our results in Section 5. Finally, in Section 6, we make concluding remarks.

1 Diet addresses are based on Article 72 of the Constitution: 'The prime minister, representing the Cabinet, submits bills, reports on general national affairs and foreign relations to the National Assembly and exercises control and supervision over various administrative branches'.

2 They can also reflect prime ministers' individual perceptions, but as these addresses are official material, as explained in footnote 1, and are drafted by bureaucrats as well as prime ministers themselves (Shinoda, 1994), the content of the addresses can be interpreted as reflecting the government's perception.

2 Content analysis

In this section, we review content analysis studies, focussing mainly on its methodological trends in the Japanese context. Content analysis can be defined as any research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within texts (Stone *et al.*, 1966). It was originally conducted manually, but recently, computer-based approaches have flourished (c.f., Popping, 2000), and the scope of content analysis has expanded to include the use of larger data sets and new methods (Neuendorf, 2001).

In Japanese, Inoguchi (1970), Mushakoji (1972), and Okabe (1971) examined the content of newspapers and other text genres. Watanabe (1974) examined Japanese government's perception of the world before and after World War II by counting the frequency of specific words in prime ministers' Diet addresses. These earlier studies were conducted manually.

A computer-based approach was introduced into the field relatively early on by Tanaka (1994b) who counted the frequency of important words in prime ministers' Diet addresses as basic data. Tanaka (1994a) counted several concepts based on the frequencies of several words focussing on foreign policy issues in prime ministers' Diet addresses. Tanaka (1999) also developed Content Analyzer, a Japanese automated content analysis system. These studies automatically counted specific Japanese words in texts, but used pattern matching for counting the words, thus the types of analyzed words had to be determined by researchers beforehand. These studies may have omitted some important concepts in the texts and also they did not measure the relative frequency of specific words precisely, as they were not able to measure the total number of tokens.

The recent development of a Japanese morphological analysis system has solved these problems, and enables us to extract all words in the texts in Japanese (e.g., Matsumoto *et al.*, 2003). This study is the first study to use Japanese morphological analysis system in the field of foreign policy analysis, thus one of our purposes is to test the effectiveness of this method in this field.

3 Research questions

This study examines the Japanese government's perception of the world after World War II, focussing on East-West and North-South issues.

In order to do so, we measure the interest and context of interest in these issues revealed in prime ministers' Diet addresses, and compare them to the development of world history and the interests of developed countries³ according to the standard division of eras in the history of Japanese foreign policy as summarized in Table 1 (Iokibe, 2006).⁴

First, we examine the interest in East-West issues. If the Japanese government's interest in East-West issues tracks the development of these issues in world politics, the results should be as follows:

- T1: high;
- T2: high;
- T3: low;
- T4: high;
- T5: low.

In T1 and T2, in the midst of the Cold War, and also in T4, in the New Cold War, the Japanese government should have had a strong interest in East-West issues as they were the central issues in world politics. As opposed to that, in T3, the Detente era, and T5, the post Cold War era, the Japanese government should have had a low level of interest in these issues.

Second, we examine the context of interest in East-West issues. If the context of the Japanese government's interest in East-West issues tracks the developing context of these issues, the results should be as follows:

- T1: conflict;
- T2: conflict;
- T3: –;
- T4: dialogue;
- T5: –.

3 We make this comparison because it enables us to understand the character of Japanese foreign policy more clearly. Comparing the Japanese government's perceptions with the perceptions of other states as revealed in the addresses of their leaders may provide more interesting findings, but as differences in language significantly affect the results, we need to further improve our method in order to make this kind of comparison. We will investigate this point in a further study.

4 We examine the Japanese government's perceptions of the world according to this division of eras because it corresponds well to the development of East-West and North-South issues in world politics and the interests of developed countries as we explain below. For another implication of using this division of eras, see footnote 16.

Table 1 The five eras in the history of Japanese foreign policy after World War II

	Name	Years	PM
T1	Cold War 1	1948–1960	Yoshida2-Kishi
T2	Cold War 2 ^a	1960–1972	Ikeda-Sato
T3	Detente	1972–1979	Tanaka-Ohira
T4	New Cold War	1980–1989	Suzuki-Uno
T5	Post Cold War	1989–2006	Kaifu-Koizumi

^aThis is also referred to as the economic prosperity era.

In T1 and T2, in the Cold War, East-West issues were colored by the conflict between the two poles, and the Japanese government should have perceived these issues in the context of conflict. As opposed to that, as the final stage of the Cold War is included in T4, East-West issues in this period were colored by dialogue and conciliation between the two poles as well as conflict, and the Japanese government should have perceived these issues in the context of dialogue as well as conflict.

Third, we examine the interest in North-South issues. If the Japanese government's interest in North-South issues traces the developing interest in North-South issues in world politics, the results should be as follows:⁵

- T1: –;
- T2: low;
- T3: high;
- T4: low;
- T5: low.

North-South issues first appeared in T2 (Franks, 1960), thus the Japanese government should have started to become interested in them in this era. In T3, the Detente era, they became hot issues globally, and the Japanese government should have had a strong interest in them. In T4, as East-West tension increased again, its interest should differ, and this low level of interest should have continued in T5.

5 These trends also reflect the description of general diplomatic history in postwar Japan (Iokibe, 2006), though specialists in North-South issues may expect other trends in these issues. On the implications of this point, see footnote 16.

Fourth, we examine the context of the interest in North-South issues. The context of North-South issues should have been differed between developed countries and developing countries. In this study, we compare it to the interests of developed countries, as such comparison will help us to discuss the character of Japanese foreign policy as a donor country. The context of North-South issues in developed countries should reflect the rationale of foreign policy on North-South issues or aid issues, and this rationale can be divided into one of two types regarding the relation between Northern and Southern states as either 'charitable' or 'mutual'. By a 'charitable' relation, we refer to the idea that the relation between the North and South should be such that the Northern states should develop, invest, and provide technological transfers to the Southern states, and by a 'mutual' relation, we refer to the idea that the relation between the North and South should be interdependent and interconnected, with an emphasis on dialogue or equal partnership. If the context of the Japanese government's interest in North-South issues tracks the developing context of these issues in developed countries, the results should be as follows:

- T1: –;
- T2: charitable;
- T3: charitable;
- T4: mutual;
- T5: mutual.

In T2 and T3, the rationale underlying global aid should have been charitable. In T2, aid policy was guided by modernization theory (c.f., Rostow, 1960), which prioritized economic growth and application of modern scientific and technical knowledge as the route to prosperity in the underdeveloped world (Elliott, 2006, p. 15). In T3, an important rationale underlying aid policy in Northern states was the basic human needs approach, which emphasized the allocation of aid to cover basic human needs (Cypher and Dietz, 2004; Nishigaki *et al.*, 2003; Shimomura *et al.*, 2001). In these eras, developed countries should have regarded the relation between the Northern and Southern states as charitable, and, reflecting this trend, the Japanese government in T2 and T3 should have perceived North-South relations as charitable. After T4, however, the trend should have changed from charitable to mutual. In T4, along with the development of structural adjustment

programs, more frequent policy dialogue and communication between North and South was recognized as important (Nishigaki *et al.*, 2003; Shimomura *et al.*, 2001), and this tendency continued in T5. In these eras, developed countries should have recognized the relation between North and South states as mutual, and reflecting this trend, the Japanese government should have perceived North-South relations as mutual one after T4.

By investigating the interest and context of interest in North-South issues as well as East-West issues, we examine whether the Japanese government's perception of world was consistent with the development of the world history or the interests of developed countries. This provides empirical evidence that can contribute to the recent heated discussion of the character of Japanese foreign policy. Also, it will be a kind of simulation of how to write a history of Japanese foreign policy by taking a macroscopic viewpoint and focussing more on issues other than security issues.

4 Data and methods

4.1 Data

The data we used in this study consist of 150 Diet addresses covering 28 tenures in office of 27 Japanese prime ministers⁶ from 1945 to 2006.⁷ We downloaded the addresses from the online database *Sekai to Nihon (The World and Japan)*.⁸ We applied morphological analysis to the addresses using ChaSen, a Japanese morphological analysis system (Matsumoto *et al.*, 2003). We extracted nouns according to part-of-speech tags assigned by ChaSen. Table 2 shows the names, the initials, the date of assumption to office, the number of addresses, and the total and mean number of tokens for each prime minister.

4.2 Indices

We measured prime ministers' perceptions according to their interest in specific concepts, as reflected in references to specific words, and the

6 Yoshida was elected prime minister twice. We treated these as different tenures.

7 The texts of the speeches are written down by secretaries in shorthand.

8 www.ioc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~worldjpn/index.html.

Table 2 Basic data on Japanese prime ministers and their Diet addresses

Name	Initial	Date	Address	Tokens	
				Total	Mean
HIGASHIKUNINOMIYA Naruhiko	HN	8/1945	1	5,779	5779.0
SHIDEHARA Kijuro	SK	10/1945	1	2,981	2981.0
YOSHIDA Shigeru	YS1	5/1946	3	5,426	1808.7
KATAYAMA Tetsu	KTe	5/1947	2	9,072	4536.0
ASHIDA Hitoshi	AH	3/1948	1	3,506	3506.0
YOSHIDA Shigeru	YS2	10/1948	16	26,685	1667.8
HATOYAMA Ichiro	HI	12/1954	5	8,318	1663.6
ISHIBASHI Tanzan	IT	12/1956	1	2,665	2665.0
KISHI Nobusuke	KN	2/1957	9	18,089	2009.9
IKEDA Hayato	IH	12/1960	11	35,220	3201.8
SATO Eisaku	SE	11/1964	21	56,731	2701.5
TANAKA Kakuei	TK	6/1972	4	15,097	3774.3
MIKI Takeo	MiT	12/1974	5	18,222	3644.4
FUKUDA Takeo	FT	12/1976	5	17,030	3406.0
OHIRA Masayoshi	OM	12/1978	4	15,629	3907.3
SUZUKI Zenko	SZ	6/1980	4	13,878	3469.5
NAKASONE Yasuhiro	NY	11/1982	10	47,422	4742.2
TAKESHITA Noboru	TN	11/1987	4	18,448	4612.0
UNO Sosuke	US	6/1989	1	3,669	3669.0
KAIFU Toshiki	KTo	8/1989	5	23,541	4708.2
MIYAZAWA Kiichi	MK	11/1991	4	19,110	4777.5
HOSOKAWA Morihiro	HM	8/1993	3	14,609	4869.7
HATA Tsutomu	HT	4/1994	1	4,185	4185.0
MURAYAMA Tomiichi	MuT	6/1994	4	20,454	5113.5
HASHIMOTO Ryutaro	HR	1/1996	5	26,809	5361.8
OBUCHI Keizo	OK	6/1998	5	20,702	4140.4
MORI Yoshiro	MY	4/2000	4	20,149	5037.3
KOIZUMI Junichiro	KJ	4/2001	11	46,996	4272.4

context of this interest, as reflected in references to the co-occurrent words of analyzed words.

Relative frequency to total number of nouns. The index we used for measuring prime ministers' interest in specific concepts is the relative

frequency of specific words in relation to the total number of nouns defined as follows:

$$RF_{i,j} = \frac{f_{i,j}}{\sum f_{i,j}}$$

where $f_{i,j}$ describes the frequency of i th noun in j th sample. As the relative frequency in relation to the total number of nouns provides a more meaningful interpretation for our purposes than the relative frequency in relation to the total number of tokens, as the former reflects relative interest among different concepts (Suzuki and Kageura, 2007), we used the former index to measure the prime ministers' level of interest. The $RF_{i,j}$ of 'Tozai (East-West)' and 'Nanboku (North-South)' were measured after the extraction of these words.⁹

Conceptual indices. The indices we used for measuring the context of interest are as follows:

$$T_{i,j} = \sum RFCO(CON)_{i,j} - \sum RFCO(DIA)_{i,j},$$

$$D_{i,j} = \sum RFCO(MUT)_{i,j} - \sum RFCO(CHA)_{i,j},$$

where $T_{i,j}$ represents the 'temperature', the degree to which the context can be classified as a conflict or dialogue and $D_{i,j}$ represents the degree of direction (mutual or charitable). $RFCO(x)_{i,j}$ represents the relative frequency of the i th co-occurrent words of analyzed words to the total number of nouns in the j th sample.¹⁰ A high $T_{i,j}$ value indicates that a specific interest is in the context of conflict, a low $T_{i,j}$ indicates a context of dialogue, high $D_{i,j}$ indicates a context of mutual relations, and low $D_{i,j}$ indicates a context of charitable relations.

The process of selecting the words for $RFCO(x)_{i,j}$ was as follows. First, all types of nouns that appeared in the same sentence as analyzed

9 In order to examine 'East-West' and 'North-South' as representing East-West and North-South issues, we omitted those representing other meanings manually.

10 We included negative usages of these contextual words as well as positive usages because the appearance of these words can reflect prime ministers' interest in these concepts even if they appear in a negative context.

words (East-West and North-South) were extracted.¹¹ Secondly, the basic weighting indices $TFIDF_{i,j}$ of these words were measured. $TFIDF_{i,j}$ is defined as follows:

$$TFIDF_{i,j} = f_{i,j} \left(\log \frac{N}{df(i)} + 1 \right),$$

where $f_{i,j}$ is the frequency of i th word in the j th sample, N the total number of documents (150) and $df(i)$ the number of documents containing i th word. This index weights specific words higher and general words lower, and enables us to extract important words. Of 100 words with high $TFIDF_{i,j}$ values, we manually selected words representing four concepts; conflict, dialogue, mutual or charitable.¹² The words for the former two indices were selected from 100 words appearing in the same sentence as 'East-West', and those for the latter two indices were selected from 100 words appearing in the same sentence as 'North-South'. The actual words selected in accordance with the four conceptual indices were as follows:

$RFCO(CON)_{i,j}$: those representing conflict; 'Tairitsu (conflict)', 'Kincho (tension)'.

$RFCO(DIA)_{i,j}$: those representing dialogue; 'Taiwa (dialogue)', 'Hanashiai (dialogue)', 'Kosho (negotiation)'.

$RFCO(MUT)_{i,j}$: those representing mutual relations; 'Sogo (mutuality)', 'Rentai (solidarity)', 'Taiwa (dialogue)', 'Kyochō (cooperation)', 'Kyoryoku (cooperation)'.¹³

$RFCO(CHA)_{i,j}$: those representing charitable relations; 'Enjo (aid)', 'Shien (support)', 'Kaihatsu (development)'.¹⁴

11 We selected co-occurrent words in the same sentence, which is the most standard window in extracting co-occurrent words in information retrieval (Hisamitsu *et al.*, 2000; Matsuo and Ishizuka, 2002).

12 The author selected these words instead of using coders because we did not intend the four concepts to be a reflection of neutral usage of Japanese in general. The process using $TFIDF_{i,j}$ is an attempt to reduce the arbitrariness of the selection process.

13 'Izon (Dependency)' appeared in the same sentences of 'North-South', but is not included in $RFCO(MUT)_{i,j}$ because all the uses of 'Izon' formed a part of 'Sogo-Izon (Mutual Dependency)'. To avoid double counting, we excluded 'Izon' from $RFCO(MUT)_{i,j}$.

14 We included 'Kyoryoku (cooperation)' in $RFCO(MUT)_{i,j}$ and 'Enjo (aid)' in $RFCO(CHA)_{i,j}$ because a previous study indicates that 'Enjo' has a connotation of the stronger or the

Table 3 Descriptive statistics on the $RF_{i,j}$ of East-West (%)

	T1 1948–1960	T2 1960–1972	T3 1972–1980	T4 1980–1989	T5 1989–2006	All
Max	6.17	1.90	2.56	4.48	1.32	6.17
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mean	0.62	0.51	0.21	0.90	0.21	0.43
Median	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.73	0.00	0.00
s.d.	1.29	0.67	0.62	1.07	0.39	0.85
c.v.	2.09	1.32	2.94	1.19	1.86	1.96

Table 4 The p -values of combinations of the $RF_{i,j}$ of East-West

	T1	T2	T3	T4
T2	1.00	–	–	–
T3	1.00	0.52	–	–
T4	0.25	0.84	0.01*	–
T5	1.00	0.58	1.00	≤ 0.01*

*Significant ($p < 0.05$).

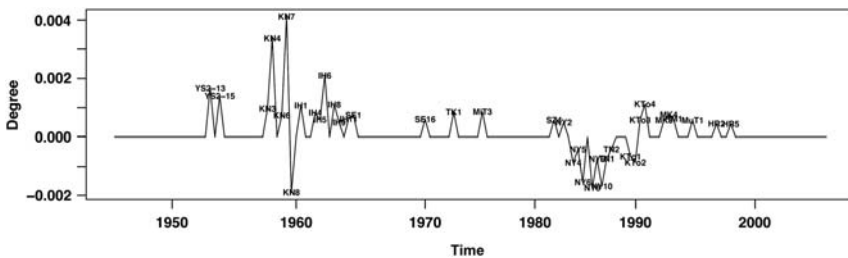


Figure 2 The transition of the $T_{i,j}$.

War era. Conversely, in the Detente era and post Cold War era, the Japanese government had a low interest in East-West issues. From these results, we conclude that the Japanese government's perception of East-West issues has corresponded to the development of East-West issues in world politics, as they have perceived them to be important when the tension between the two poles was high and vice versa.

Figure 2 shows the transition of the $T_{i,j}$. Table 5 shows the maximum, minimum, median, standard deviations (s.d.), and coefficient covariance (c.v.) of the $T_{i,j}$ in the five eras. As the results of the

Table 5 The T_{ij} in the five eras

	T1 1948–1960	T2 1960–1972	T3 1972–1980	T4 1980–1989	T5 1989–2006	All
Max	4.12	2.09	0.85	0.57	1.12	4.12
Min	-1.89	0.00	0.00	-1.73	-0.87	-1.89
Mean	0.33	0.25	0.09	-0.37	0.08	0.11
Median	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
s.d.	1.07	0.48	0.27	0.68	0.33	0.65
c.v.	3.22	1.91	2.91	-1.83	3.90	5.85

Table 6 The p -values of combinations of the T_{ij}

	T1	T2	T3	T4
T2	1.00	–	–	–
T3	1.00	1.00	–	–
T4	0.04*	0.01*	0.11	–
T5	1.00	0.94	1.00	0.03*

*Significant ($p < 0.05$).

Kruskal-Wallis test reported a significant difference between mean values in the five eras ($\chi^2 = 16.59$, $p \ll 0.01$), the significances of combinations were tested. Table 6 shows the results of the Wilcoxon rank sum test with a Holm adjustment between combinations of mean values in the five eras.

In T1 and T2, the T_{ij} indicates positive values, meaning that the Japanese government's interest in East-West issues was in the context of conflict. In T4, the T_{ij} indicates a negative value, meaning that the Japanese government's interest in East-West issues was in the context of dialogue in the New Cold War era. In T3, the Detente era and T5, the post Cold War era, as prime ministers had a low level of interest in East-West issues, the absolute values of the T_{ij} were low and did not matter. From these results, we conclude that the Japanese government's perception of East-West issues has corresponded to the development of these issues in world politics, as they have perceived East-West issues in the context of conflict when the tension between the two poles were high, and in the context of dialogue when they tried to conciliate with each other.

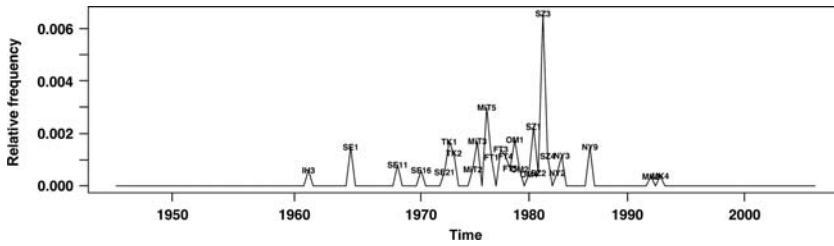


Figure 3 The transition of the $RF_{i,j}$ of North-South.

The expected and actual interest, and the context of the interest in East-West issues can be summarized as follows:

- T1: high \rightarrow high, conflict \rightarrow conflict;
- T2: high \rightarrow high, conflict \rightarrow conflict;
- T3: low \rightarrow low;
- T4: high \rightarrow high, dialogue \rightarrow dialogue;
- T5: low \rightarrow low.

The findings show that the Japanese government's long-term perception of East-West issues has corresponded to the developments in world history. This could imply that the systematic factors in world politics have affected the treatment of East-West or security issues in Japanese foreign policy, and they could have led Japanese government's perception so that it followed the development of world history, rather than reflecting an individual perception. Also, it suggests that Japanese government could have had a similar perception of these issues to other developed countries.¹⁵

5.2 North-South issues

Figure 3 shows the transitions of the $RF_{i,j}$ of North-South. Table 7 shows the maximum, minimum, mean, median, standard deviation (s.d.), and coefficient covariances (c.v.) of $RF_{i,j}$ to North-South in the five eras. As the results of the Kruskal-Wallis test demonstrated a significant difference between mean values in the five eras ($\chi^2 = 47.28$, $p \ll 0.01$), the significances of combinations were tested.

¹⁵ In order to confirm this point, we need to compare the results obtained here with the perceptions revealed in other leaders' addresses. As mentioned in footnote 3, we will examine this point in a further study.

Table 7 Descriptive statistics on the $RF_{i,j}$ of North-South (%)

	T1 1948–1960	T2 1960–1972	T3 1972–1980	T4 1980–1989	T5 1989–2006	All
Max	0.00	1.49	2.97	6.57	0.38	6.57
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mean	0.00	0.13	0.85	0.71	0.02	0.22
Median	0.00	0.00	0.65	0.00	0.00	0.00
s.d.	0.00	0.33	0.84	1.56	0.08	0.71
c.v.	–	2.62	0.98	2.18	4.53	3.16

Table 8 The p -values of combinations of the $RF_{i,j}$ of North-South

	T1	T2	T3	T4
T2	0.12	–	–	–
T3	$\ll 0.01^*$	$\ll 0.01^*$	–	–
T4	$\ll 0.01^*$	0.27	0.29	–
T5	0.29	0.29	$\ll 0.01^*$	$\ll 0.01^*$

*Significant ($p < 0.05$).

Table 8 describes the results of the Wilcoxon rank sum test with a Holm adjustment between combinations of mean values in the five eras. The $RF_{i,j}$ shows the highest value in T3, and significantly higher than in T1, T2, or T5. In T4, it continues to show a high value, and compared with T3, no significant difference is observed. The results demonstrate that the Japanese government had a strong interest in North-South issues in T4, the New Cold War era, as well as in T3, the Detente era, and that they had no interest in North-South issues in T1, and little interest in T2 and T5. From these results, we conclude that the Japanese government's perception of North-South issues contradicted the development of North-South issues on the world stage, contrary to what we expected in Section 3, as they showed strong interest in them in the New Cold War era as well.

Figure 4 shows the transitions of the $D_{i,j}$. Table 9 shows the maximum, minimum, mean, median, standard deviations (s.d.), and coefficient covariance (c.v.) of the $D_{i,j}$ in the five eras. As the results of

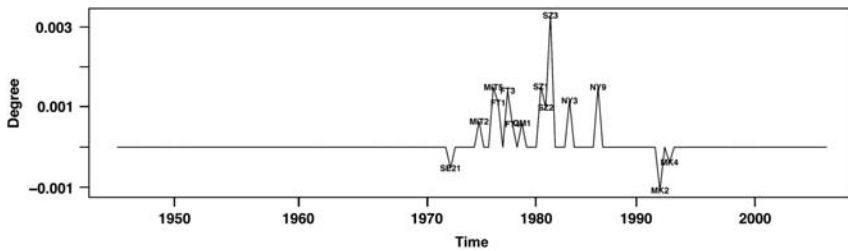


Figure 4 The transition of the $D_{i,j}$.

Table 9 The $D_{i,j}$ in the five eras

	T1 1948–1960	T2 1960–1972	T3 1972–1980	T4 1980–1989	T5 1989–2006	All
Max	0.00	0.00	1.49	3.29	0.00	3.29
Min	0.00	-0.52	0.00	0.00	-1.08	-1.08
Mean	0.00	-0.02	0.32	0.44	-0.03	0.03
Median	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
s.d.	0.00	0.09	0.52	0.88	0.18	0.41
c.v.	-	-5.66	1.62	1.98	-5.05	5.00

Table 10 The p -value of combinations of the $D_{i,j}$

	T1	T2	T3	T4
T2	1.00	-	-	-
T3	0.01*	0.01*	-	-
T4	0.02*	0.02*	1.00	-
T5	0.91	1.00	$\ll 0.01^*$	0.01*

*Significant ($p < 0.05$).

the Kruskal-Wallis test showed a significant difference between mean values in the five eras ($\chi^2 = 31.36$, $p \ll 0.01$), the significances of combinations were tested. Table 10 describes the results of the Wilcoxon rank sum test with a Holm adjustment between combinations of mean values of the $D_{i,j}$ in the five eras.

In T4, the $D_{i,j}$ shows a high value as we expected, but the $D_{i,j}$ also shows a high values in T3, meaning that the Japanese government's interests in North-South issues was in the context of mutual relations.

In T1, T2, and T5, prime ministers had less or no interest in North-South issues, the absolute values of the $D_{i,j}$ were low, and did not matter. From these results, we conclude that the Japanese government's perception of North-South issues contradicted the trends in the rationale for aid in these eras and the developing context of North-South issues in developed countries, contrary to what we expected in Section 3, as their interest was in the context of mutual relations in T3 as well as in T4.

The expected and actual interest, and the context of interest in North-South issues are summarized as follows.

- T1: $- \rightarrow -$;
 T2: low \rightarrow low, charitable $\rightarrow -$;
 T3: high \rightarrow high, charitable \rightarrow mutual;
 T4: low \rightarrow high, mutual \rightarrow mutual;
 T5: low \rightarrow low, mutual $\rightarrow -$.

The results contradict what we expected in relation with North-South issues in two ways. In T4 as well as in T3, the Japanese government perceived North-South issues as important, and in T3 as well as in T4, the Japanese government perceived North-South issues in the context of mutual relations.¹⁶

Our findings demonstrate that the Japanese government may have had a more individual perception of North-South issues; they consistently perceived North-South issues as important, and they consistently perceived North-South relations as mutual. Contrary to our expectation in relation to North-South issues, some have emphasized the importance of aid issues in Japanese foreign policy and argued that interdependence was a key concept in Japanese aid policy (Yasutomo, 1986; Fukushima, 2000), and that the Japanese government continuously emphasized the

16 The division of eras may not seem well suited for characterising the Japanese government's perception of North-South issues as revealed in prime ministers' Diet addresses. This has important implications in itself, as this popular division of eras has been used for standard basis for describing the diplomatic history of postwar Japan in general, even though it is best suited for describing a narrower subject, namely East-West issues in postwar Japan. The fact that the division of eras is not in fact very suitable for characterising perceptions of North-South issues could mean that historians who have used this division of eras ended up emphasizing East-West issues more than North-South issues in their descriptions even if they did not intend to do so, and suggests that if we wish to write an alternative history not focussed on East-West issues, we must first create a new division of eras.

self-effort of, and mutual relations with the Southern states (Watanabe, 2005). The findings of this study provide support for these arguments. They also imply that if we focus greater attention on the Japanese government's long-term perception of North-South issues, Japanese foreign policy can be characterized as having an individual character. Along with the many studies that have proposed alternative or more nuanced perspectives than the reactive models (Potter and Sudo, 2003), we emphasize the importance of examining broader issues from macroscopic viewpoints when analyzing the character of Japanese foreign policy, as well as providing empirical evidence for such analysis.

6 Conclusion

This study applied content analysis to Japanese prime ministers' Diet addresses in order to examine the Japanese government's perception of the world after World War II, focussing on East-West and North-South issues. The results we obtained on North-South issues may come as no great surprise to specialists in that area, but even so, our findings still have important implications.

What this study has shown is the simple fact that a multidimensional perspective and empirical evidence seen from broader issues from macroscopic viewpoints enable us to characterize Japanese foreign policy more precisely. Our method, complimented with case studies, helps to construct this multidimensional perspective and obtain empirical evidence of broader issues. It can help enrich the recent lively discussions on the character of Japanese foreign policy, and also serves as a guide for writing an alternative history of Japanese foreign policy not focussed on East-West issues, which scholars have recently called for.

In further studies, we will investigate the Japanese government's perception of other international issues, and try to clarify the overall character of Japanese foreign policy after World War II while comparing these perceptions to those revealed in other leaders' addresses by refining and improving our method.

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