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THE GOVERNORS AND THE GOVERNMENT

A lexical analysis of national and local manifestos in Japan

Julia Olsson

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Handledare:	Yasuko Nagano-Madsen
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Abstract

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Aim: The aim of this study was to examine whether the linguistic characteristics in the local policy statements (知事の所信表明 *chijinoshoshinhyoumei*) reflect those of national manifesto (綱領 *kouryou*) characteristics.

Theory: The basic theory behind the present thesis is lexical analysis and text mining such as proposed by Hanks (2013), and vocabulary and script analysis in reference to Yamaguchi (2007).

Method: The corpus consisted of three national parties' manifestos and three governors' policy statements. Analysis was made using the internet-based software User local and Reading Tutor (Chuuta).

Results: The results showed a clear linguistic model for political language in Japanese. Though the content of the manifestos was indeed more concrete in the local ones, there were many similarities between the national and local manifestos, especially between the local manifestos and LDP. Okinawa who was supported by JCP in the election, also showed undeniable similarities in format.

Foreword

I must express my eternal gratitude to my adviser Yasuko Nagano-Madsen, without whom this thesis would not exist. From the beginning of the long process of choosing the subject to finishing the thesis she has been an immense support.

I would also like to thank my teachers Miyoko Onaka and Kanako Korenaga. Their help in finding source material (that I unfortunately didn't use in the end), was much appreciated, and it gave me the courage to focus on the chosen subject, even though the complexity of the subject was daunting at first.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The language use in politics has been studied both in Japan and abroad. Perhaps most typical studies are those that analyzed speeches by the presidents of USA (Wang 2010) and speeches by Japanese prime ministers (Moberg 2002, Nakamura 2004). However, there has also been a great deal of research done on written political texts such as manifestos (Jakobi 2011, Evans & Jeffries 2015). More recently, another dimension of language use, namely ‘easy Japanese’, has been receiving attention in accordance with the increasing number of foreigners in Japan (Kondo 2015, An 2015, Fukushi 2016, Takaki 2017). It has become important to spread information in easy Japanese both in the newspaper and even in the information spreading at communal level. This is a policy beneficial for native speakers as well, as important information becomes more approachable and easier to understand. Many studies have been conducted on how to write information for foreigners, particularly in the case of earthquakes. Some of these studies will be described in more detail in chapter 2.

My interest in the research on local politics in Japan began with *Local politics and national policies – multi-level conflicts in Japan and beyond* by Hijino (2017). The research describes local politics in Japan since the 1990’s, focusing on conflicts between national and local branches of government. In Hijino’s book he cites *Political opposition and local politics in Japan* by Steiner (1980) in which the development of local politics in Japan during the 1960-80’s is described and further analyzed.

Studies on language use in Japanese politics as well as studies on Japanese local politics is a developed field, but the problem is that there has not been much research done on language use in local politics in Japan. Thus, this is a comparative study of national and local political language.

The focus of this thesis is on local politics, but to know what is local it must first be specified what national is. It must be specified what the characteristics are of the national manifestos, in order to compare it to local politic policy statements. The central one is as expected more ideological and abstract, but even though toned down these values should be reflected in local policy statements.

1.2 Problem aim, research questions

Problem – Although there has been a number of studies on the linguistic characteristics in political speech and documents, those on the local political level are limited. The problem this thesis is based on is the lack of research conducted on language use in Japanese at local political level. Preliminary studies show a clear difference in the language use among the national level manifestos (綱領 *kouryou*), in which each political party's belief and guideline are defined. It is, however, unclear whether such differences are also present at local policy level, e.g. in the governors' statement directly after the election (知事の所信表明 *chijinoshoshinhyoumei*).

Aim- The aim of this study is to examine whether the linguistic characteristics in the governors' statements reflect those of national manifesto characteristics.

The research question is as follows:

How different or similar are the two groups – A (national level manifesto for three parties 自由民主党 *jiyuuminshutou* Liberal democratic party、公明党 *koumeitou* Komeito、日本共産党 *nihonkyousantou* Japan communist party) and B (知事所信表明 from three governors from Okinawa, Osaka, and Tokyo). This will be examined by six linguistic parameters as follows : script type (analyzing word type and kanji level), word level, characteristic words (divided into *kyuugai* words and frequent words), and key phrases.

2. Japanese political parties and previous studies

2.1 Political actors

In this chapter, brief descriptions about the major Japanese political parties and the chosen governors are provided.

2.1.1 National parties

The three parties dealt with in the present study were chosen on the basis of their long and stable history in the Japanese politics - they are the Liberal Democratic Party (自由民主党 *jiyuuminshutou*), Komeito (公明党 *koumeitou* Justice/Fairness Party), and the Japanese communist party (日本共産党 *nihonkyousantou*). As can be seen, they differ greatly in their political ideology and background.

Liberal Democratic Party of Japan (LDP) (<https://www.jimin.jp/>) is a center-right, right-wing party with an ideology of conservatism and Japanese nationalism. It is supported by the Shinto Association of Spiritual Leadership, the “Japanese Conference” and the Japanese Business Federation, which makes the party very strong influentially, and economically. Among the biggest political parties in

Japan, the LDP is a conservative party. This party also dominates in the number of prime ministers in Japan after the World War II. The party was formulated in 1955.

Komeito (<https://www.komei.or.jp/>) is a center-right conservative party, and it is supported by the Buddhist movement *Souka Gakkai* 創価学会. The name is unlike the other parties' not translated in international media, but it translates into "Justice/Fairness Party". The party was formulated in 1960

Japanese Communist Party (JCP) (<http://www.jcp.or.jp/>) is as the name suggests built on communist ideology. It is the oldest party in Japan, founded as early as 1922. They advocate for socialism, peace, democracy and a non-military society. They want out of the US-Japan alliance and want all US military bases in Japan to cease operations. They tend to focus on their past hardship which is evident by their chapter on party history on their own website.

2.1.2 The governors (知事, chiji)

Japanese Governors have the highest political position on the prefectural level and can be a part of a political party, but may also be politically unbound, with or without being supported by one or several acclaimed parties. areal and political importance. Tokyo and Osaka are the two biggest cities in Japan, and they represent Eastern and Western Japan respectively. Okinawa, which used to have its own kingdom, has a special status to the mainland Japan. Note that none of the three governors is affiliated to any specific political party, but they do have some connection to the parties through recommendations during the election, and all three are former members of LDP.

Govn. Yuriko Koike (<http://www.yuriko.or.jp/>) for Tokyo assumed office in 2016. She is a former prominent member of the LDP but left in 2017 to not only become the leader of regional party *Tomin first no kai* (Tokyoites first) but also to found Party of Hope, from which she resigned as leader after a disappointing election the same year. Before this she has been affiliated with Japan New Party, New Frontier Party, Liberal Party and New Conservative Party, earning the nickname 政界渡り鳥 *seikaiwataridori* political migrant bird. She is a nationalist conservative who promotes economical liberalism, and has created *Yurinomics* as a counterpart to Prime minister Abe's *Abenomics*. She is also an advocate for environmentalism. She was recommended as candidate for governor by some members of the LDP, but the party did not officially support her. She also maintains strong ties to Komeito, working

towards a fruitful collaboration. Some of the main challenges for the mandate are the hosting of the Olympics/Paralympics, and the relocation of Tsukiji market.

Govn. Ichiro Matsui (<http://www.gogo-ichiro.com/>) for Osaka assumed office in 2011. He is a former member of LDP and was a founding member of Japan restoration party on a national level, and Osaka restoration association on a regional level. In his gubernatorial election he defeated the thrice recommended (LDP, Komeito, JCP) Takako Kurihara. He is a Japanese nationalist who promotes neoconservatism and grassroots democracy, and want Osaka to receive certain governmental power. According to The Japan Times, the governor is already working on the proposal of “vice capital” together with the mayor of Osaka, Hirofumi Yoshimura, but how much support they have in the actual capital, is unclear. (Johnston, 2015)

Govn. Takeishi Onaga (www.pref.okinawa.lg.jp/site/chijiko/kohokoryu/kense/chiji/index.html) for Okinawa assumed office in 2014. In the election he defeated eight year veteran Hirokazu Nakaima, supported by both LDP and Komeito, largely due to Onaga’s strong opposition to the American military presence in Okinawa. He is also a former member of LDP but was in the election, and is currently, recommended by the JCP as he has started leaning towards more left-oriented policies. The governor is in strong opposition to the relocation of the US military base Futenma on Okinawan territory. Okinawa has a long and troubled history of being independent, then colonized by the Japanese, and in 1879 forcefully turned into one of the Japanese prefectures. At the end of WW2 Okinawa was occupied by the US, and even though the American occupation of Japan officially ended in 1952, only spanning a few years, the occupation of Okinawa didn’t, stretching on until the 1970’s. (Hoffman, 2012) Onaga has said on several occasions that the presence of American military in Okinawa is the biggest obstruction for economic development on the islands. (The Japan Times, 2017) In addition, accidents as well as crime connected to the base is a great disturbance of Okinawan peace. (The Japan Times, 2017)

2.2 Previous studies

In this section, some of the previous studies that may be related to the present study are summarized.

2.2.1 Analysis of prime minister’s speech

Nakamura (2004) did a comparative study on Japanese prime minister’s speeches, from 1955 to 1980, and a 1961 speech by JF Kennedy. Using discourse analysis

parameters she looked at key words and their context, positive/negative words, and the theme of Kennedy's speech, and applied the resulting model on the speeches by the Japanese prime ministers. The results show a gradual adoption of the American model, with speeches becoming less polite, using shorter more concise sentences.

Likewise, Moberg (2002) in her PhD thesis conducted an in depth rhetorical analysis of inauguration speeches by Japanese prime ministers from 1890 to 1996. The results of the study show that Japanese political leadership has undergone great changes in terms of how the leader relates to the people in public oratory. In the period between 1890 to postwar Japan, the speech style went from being elitist to be more reactive, and in more recent years more about showing personal competence. This indicates a growing importance of policy statements in Japanese politics, and thus it is fair to assume political rhetoric research in Japan is a subject on the rise.

2.2.2 Easy Japanese

Easy Japanese is a relatively new, but rapidly growing field of study within the Japanese language, and has been researched from many angles, for example information spreading (including political information) in the community for foreigners. According to easy Japanese usage guidelines published by Hirosaki University (2013), easy Japanese is a type of simplified Japanese used in texts targeting foreigners. Because of the heavy use of hiragana in these texts, it is mostly beneficial for foreigners with a native language that doesn't use kanji. Chinese students on the other hand usually prefer texts using kanji. However, a study by An (2015) argues that easy Japanese is a concept valuable to native speakers of Japanese as well. According to his paper easy Japanese is a useful tool in creating understanding between people from different geographical backgrounds, even within Japan itself, because of dialectal or cultural differences. Because of this, it is fair to assume that political texts, which many find difficult to comprehend, could benefit from being discussed in reference to easy Japanese as well. If a political actor is aware of their audience, and wishes them to understand, they should consider easy Japanese.

Konto (2015) compared the level of vocabularies between a standard newspaper and a newspaper re-written with 'easy Japanese'. Her main results were; in the easy Japanese version, difficult vocabularies (above N2) are reduced by 25%, she concludes that the Easy Japanese newspaper was written approximately at an intermediate level with reference to JLPT. NHK's guidelines for easy Japanese news says that it should be written with vocabularies for N2N3. Konto's study shows that

the most difficult vocabularies are professional vocabularies of foreign origin (both from Kango and gairaigo).

Takaki (2017) did a study on the use of easy Japanese syllabus in a Japanese language class for foreign office workers in Japan. The class consisted of 200-300 hours and results showed that the students could understand and answer the examiner's questions, but had a very limited vocabulary.

3. Theories

3.1 Vocabulary and script analysis

Compared to Latin languages like English, Japanese is interesting to analyze linguistically because of the clear cut categories of the vocabularies. The framework for this study is largely based on Yamaguchi's (2007: p.40-71) study of Japanese vocabularies. In this book she explains that Japanese is a language built on three vocabulary categories, words native to Japan (*wago*), loan words from Chinese (*kango*), and lastly Western loanwords (*gairaigo*). Referencing Ono (1974) and Maynard (1998), Yamaguchi further elaborates that these types of vocabularies are used in different situations. Gairaigo is used frequently in some genres such as fashion, cooking, IT, sports, etc. Frequent use of kango makes the text more difficult. According to Yamaguchi; kango words are better suited to describe abstract words, because they are more dimensional than wago or gairaigo. (Yamaguchi, 2007) If we take this in consideration, a political manifesto, which often describes ideas and ideologies, should hypothetically use more kango words. In this study vocabularies will be classified into these three categories.

The manifestos will also be analyzed using the parameters of the Japanese writing system. Yamaguchi writes that Japanese script mainly consists of the three categories of *hiragana*, *katakana*, and, *kanji* which are used in relation to the above classification of vocabularies. Hiragana and katakana are syllabic writing systems, which when grouped together are called *kana*, where each symbol represents one monomoraic syllable. Hiragana is mainly used for particles and verb endings, but also in texts written for L2 learners of Japanese or children, as it is easier to read. Katakana on the other hand is used to write foreign loanwords, or gairaigo. Lastly, kanji derives from Chinese characters and function as content words, each kanji holding semantic content on its own. (Yamaguchi, 2007) In addition romaji, the alphabet model based on English letters is also used to write some words, sometimes in advertising, or in Japanese textbooks for foreigners. (Tamaoka, 2014)

3.2 Lexical analysis

For lexical analysis and text mining, Lexical analysis - norms and exploitations by Hanks (2013) are relevant. Lexical analysis is a wide-ranging empirical investigation of word use and meaning in language. It is a lexically based, corpus-driven theoretical approach that will help understand how words go together in collocational patterns and constructions to make meanings. In recent years, various corpora and digital texts became available, which made this approach possible. In a formal lexical analysis, it is usually accompanied by statistical analysis, but because the data size of the present study is not very big, the statistics part is omitted. This thesis uses Hanks research on the meaning of words in and out of their context, explained in chapter 3 “Do word meanings exist?” and his thoughts on the fundamental criteria of a lexical analysis discussed in chapter 11 “Meaning of philosophy of Language, and anthropology”.

4. Method and material

4.1 Corpus

The corpus consists of the political manifestos written by Liberal Democratic Party, Komeito, and Japanese communist party, and policy statements made by governors from Okinawa, Osaka, and Tokyo. The manifestos were accessed through the respective web pages of the authors. The national parties were chosen based on their long history in Japanese politics, and on their general popularity. The governors were chosen on the basis of whether they are supported by a national party, or not. Making them interesting in the sense of if they have similar lexical structure as the national party, or if they differ. The definition of manifesto used in this thesis is:

“A public declaration of policy and aims, especially one issued before an election by a political party or candidate.” (English Oxford Living Dictionaries)

A national manifesto (綱領) is the written statements by national parties, explaining their policies and ideologies, while local policy statements (知事の所信表明) is the written statements by local political actors such as governors, more often focused on local issues and therefore more concrete in their aim than national manifestos.

4.2 Reading tutor (<http://language.tiu.ac.jp/>)

Reading tutor (*Chuuta*) is a internet-based software that can analyze the level of lexicon, or the kanji of a text with reference to the Japanese Language Proficiency

Test. It can calculate how many words of different types (wago, kango, gairaigo, others, and outside) occur in the text and classify them into levels between N1-N5.

4.3 User local (<https://textmining.userlocal.jp/>)

User local is an internet-based software for text mining that may be used to study the frequency of words and the co-occurrence of words within a text. It is also possible to analyze two texts at once, comparing usage of characteristic words, positive-negative words, and also what words that occur in both texts, as opposed those that only occur in one. The results of User local is analyzed using two parameters; frequent words and the co-occurring of words. In the analysis of frequent words, User local also scores the words in order to show what words are most likely to be keywords.

4.4 Limitations

This thesis has a 8000 +-10% word limit, constructing the possibilities of research. It is also noteworthy that it is written from a westerners point of view, and the focus of the study is linguistics, rather than political theory.

5. Analysis

In this chapter, the results for vocabulary and kanji analysis are presented for the five analysis parameters.

5.1 Analysis parameter 1 - script type

This parameter analyzes the percentage of kanji, hiragana, and katakana as well as levels of kanji in accordance with the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT). Using JLPT it is possible to determine the level of difficulty within a text. The results are shown in percentage, and are divided in N1 (highest aka the most difficult) to N5 (lowest aka the easiest). There is also a category of *kyuugai*, which is units or words outside of the JLPT grading system. In other words, words not considered essential in order to speak Japanese.

5.1.1 National

Table 1 - Distribution of kanji, hiragana, and katakana as well as kanji levels for the cental manitestos.

	Kanji	Kyuu gai	N1	N2N3	N4	N5	Hiragana	Kataka na
LDP	50.2%	2.2%	25.8%	48.9%	14.8%	8.2%	9.1%	4.3%
Komeito	43.6%	0.8%	23.8%	50.8%	15.3%	9.3%	11.6%	7.0%
JCP	47.5%	0.1%	25.9%	50.7%	15.1%	8.2%	9.4%	7.3%

A small difference in the usage of kana was found between the three national manifestos. Komeito contains more kana than the other two parties, showing hiragana at 11.6% and katakana at 7.0% giving a total of 18.6%. LDP shows hiragana at 9.1% and katakana at 4.3% a total of 13.4%, and JCP has 9.4% hiragana and 7.3% katakana aka 16.7%.

LDP and JCP show the same result of N5 kanji (lowest) with 8.2%, but Komeito uses slightly more with 9.3%. N1 kanji (highest) percentage are for LDP and JCP 25.8% and 25.9% respectively, but for Komeito it is only 23.8%. Altogether, it can be summarized that Komeito uses slightly more kana, and lower level kanji, which makes the text easier to read.

5.1.2 Local

Table 2 - Distribution of kanji, hiragana, and katakana as well as kanji levels for the local manifestos.

	Kanji	Kyuugai	N1	N2N3	N4	N5	Hiragana	Katakana
Tokyo	33.5%	0.3%	17.6%	54.5%	17.6%	10.0%	17.9%	11.2%
Osaka	38.6%	1.8%	20.9%	48.0%	20.0%	9.4%	13.5%	10.1%
JCP	38.6%	1.8%	19.5%	50.0%	18.9%	9.7%	15.0%	11.6%

Kana usage is at it's highest in Tokyo's manifesto with a combination of 17.9% hiragana and 11.2% katakana. Second is Okinawa at 15.0% hiragana and 11.6% katakana, and lastly Osaka with 13.5% hiragana and 10.1% katakana. Tokyo has the lowest percentage of kanji usage nationally and overall with 33.5% (compared to Osaka with 38.6% and Okinawa with 38.6%), and the highest score on hiragana with 17.9%. Tokyo also has the highest N2N3 score with 54.5%, while Okinawa has 50.0% and Osaka 48.0%, but the lowest score on N1 (highest) kanji with 17.6%. Osaka has the highest score of N1 level kanji with 20.9%, while Okinawa has 19.5%.

Furthermore, Osaka has the highest score on general kanji usage within the local manifestos, and the highest on N1.N4 kanji, but the lowest on N5 kanji, hiragana and katakana. Tokyo has a noteworthy low amount of kyuugai kanji with 0.3% compared to Osaka and Okinawa who both have 1.8%. Okinawa generally show middle ground results, only taking the lead with its katakana percentage of 11.6%.

5.2 Analysis parameter 2 - word level

This parameter analyzes the JLPT-level of the words used in the texts.

5.2.1 National

Table 1 - LDP

Table 2 - Komeito

Table 3 - JCP

単語レベル: ★★★★★ 難しい								単語レベル: ★★★★★ 難しい								単語レベル: ★★★★★ 難しい							
総数	語彙総数	級外	N1	N2N3	N4	N5	その他	総数	語彙総数	級外	N1	N2N3	N4	N5	その他	総数	語彙総数	級外	N1	N2N3	N4	N5	その他
2491	2137	214	239	546	204	934	354	2480	2131	221	180	545	203	982	349	2507	2223	224	185	602	197	1015	284
116.6%	100.0%	10.0%	11.2%	25.5%	9.5%	43.7%	16.6%	116.4%	100.0%	10.4%	8.4%	25.6%	9.5%	46.1%	16.4%	112.3%	100.0%	10.1%	8.3%	27.1%	8.9%	45.7%	12.8%
(702)	(684)	(151)	(139)	(221)	(62)	(111)	(18)	(608)	(596)	(154)	(108)	(195)	(52)	(87)	(12)	(609)	(602)	(144)	(114)	(206)	(51)	(87)	(7)
102.6%	100.0%	22.8%	20.3%	32.3%	9.1%	16.2%	2.6%	102.0%	100.0%	25.8%	18.1%	32.7%	8.7%	14.6%	2.0%	101.2%	100.0%	23.0%	18.9%	34.2%	8.5%	14.5%	1.2%

Kyuugai words i.e. words that are not considered basic, have the highest percentage with Komeito (table 2) at 25.8% compared to LDP (table 1) with 22.1%. N1 level words have 20.3% in LDP but only 18.1% and 18.9% in Komeito and JCP (table 3) respectively. N2N3 level words got the highest score in JCP with 34.2%, although generally the three texts show that the highest percentage is N2N3 level words. On N4 level words the texts show similar results with LDP showing the highest percentage at 9.1%, and JCP at 8.5%. LDP displays the most amount of N5 level words with 16.2% compared to Komeito and JCP's 14.6% and 14.5% respectively.

In conclusion, LDP has the highest word level score on N1.N4.N5 words. It has the lowest word level score on kyuugai and N2N3. Komeito shows the highest score on kyuugai words, and lowest on N1 words. JCP holds the highest score on N2N3 words, and the lowest on N4.N5 words. Non of the three parties can be classified as Easy Japanese.

All three text have a large percentage of kyuugai words which are analyzed further in parameter 3.

5.2.2 Local

Table 4 - Tokyo

Table 5 - Osaka

Table 6 - Okinawa

単語レベル: ★★★★★ 難しい								単語レベル: ★★★★★ 難しい								単語レベル: ★★★★★ 難しい							
総数	語彙総数	級外	N1	N2N3	N4	N5	その他	総数	語彙総数	級外	N1	N2N3	N4	N5	その他	総数	語彙総数	級外	N1	N2N3	N4	N5	その他
1479	1286	161	84	231	118	692	193	2183	1864	299	174	357	166	868	319	1580	1354	210	97	258	152	637	226
115.0%	100.0%	12.5%	6.5%	18.0%	9.2%	53.0%	15.0%	117.1%	100.0%	16.0%	9.3%	19.2%	8.9%	46.6%	17.1%	118.7%	100.0%	15.9%	7.2%	19.1%	11.2%	47.0%	16.7%
(447)	(436)	(85)	(54)	(142)	(51)	(104)	(11)	(654)	(635)	(180)	(99)	(184)	(59)	(113)	(19)	(519)	(502)	(135)	(61)	(159)	(54)	(93)	(17)
102.5%	100.0%	19.5%	12.4%	32.6%	11.7%	23.9%	2.5%	103.0%	100.0%	28.3%	15.6%	29.0%	9.3%	17.8%	3.0%	103.4%	100.0%	26.9%	12.2%	31.7%	10.8%	18.5%	3.4%

Kyuugai words have the highest percentage in Osaka's manifesto (table 5) at 28.3% compared to Tokyo (table 4) with 19.5%. N1 level words have 15.6% in Osaka's but only 12.4% and 12.2% in Tokyo's and Okinawa's (table 6) respectively. N2N3 level words got the highest score in Tokyo with 32.6%, although generally all texts show the highest score of N2N3 level words. On N4 level words Tokyo displays the lowest score with 9.3%, while Osaka show 10.8% and Tokyo show the highest score with 11.7%. Tokyo displays the most amount of N5 level words with 23.9% compared to Osaka and Okinawa's 17.8% and 18.5% respectively.

In conclusion, Tokyo has the highest score locally on N2N3 words, and the highest score overall N4.N5 words. It also shows the lowest score overall on kyuugai words. Osaka displays the highest score overall on kyuugai words, and N1 words, but

the lowest score on N2N3.N4.N5 words, thus it is arguably a more difficult text than Tokyo's. Okinawa has the lowest score on N1 words, but still displays a high score on kyuugai words as well as N2N3.N4 words. Non of the three qualify for Easy Japanese criteria.

5.3 Analysis parameter 3 - kyuugai words

This parameter analyzes the words shown as outside of the JLPT spectrum according to Reading Tutor. The list of kyuugai words reveals that they are not necessarily difficult words but rather that they are genre-specific (here politics) words such as 戦後 *sengo* 'after the war' and 行財政 *gyouzaisei* 'administrative finance'. Other examples are わが国 *wagakuni* 'our country', 日本国 *nihonkoku* 'nation of Japan' and 人権 *jinken* 'human rights', that are shared commonly among the national parties. Furthermore, many important words appear under the category kyuugai words; some words are exclusively used by the respective parties to show their ideology, and some words are used by the governors to indicate their current political issues in each region.

5.3.1 National

As expected from a conservative-liberal party like LDP, some notable kyuugai words include 天皇陛下 *tennouheika* 'the emperor of Japan', リベラリズム *riberarizumu* 'liberalism', and 祖国 *sokoku* 'motherland'.

Komeito has words that point to its roots in Buddhism such as 人間らしい *ningenrashii* 'humane', 中道 *chuudou* 'middle ground', and ボーダーレス *boodaaresu* 'border-less'.

JCP has kyuugai words that speak of their former hardships as a communist party, like 闘争 *tousou* 'struggle', 裏切り *uragiri* 'betrayal', and 暴圧 *bouatsu* 'violence', and many words related to WW2 like 被爆 *hibaku* 'exposure to radiation', and 対米 *taibei* as a part of 対米従属的な *taibeijuuzokutekina* 'US-dependent'.

5.3.2 Local

Kyuugai words in Tokyo's manifesto include, 築地 *Tsukiji* and 豊洲 *Toyosu*, both place names and points to the fact that the governor currently is trying to move the Tokyo central market. It also includes パラリンピック *pararimpikku* 'paralympics', which is to be held in Tokyo 2020. In short, two big challenges for the governor to handle.

As for Osaka, words that are related to earthquakes such as 東日本大震災 *higashinihondaishinsai* ‘East Japan great earthquake disaster’, and 南海トラフ *nankaitorafu* ‘Nankai Trough’. After the historical earthquake of March 2011, a discussion arose about moving some governmental power to Osaka from Tokyo, so to decrease vulnerability in the future, and the governor speaks of this, being an advocate for Osaka becoming a “second capital” of Japan.

Okinawa uses place names such as 辺野古 *Henoko*, and 普天間 *Futenma* which are USA military bases, and refers to the much discussed subject of whether Okinawa should be forced to host American military bases or not.

5.4 Analysis parameter 4 - word frequency

This parameter analyzes the top ten frequent nouns in the texts. User Local, the software used in the analysis, also scores the frequent words. The words that are most likely to function as a keyword are scored highly.

5.4.1 National

The table below displays the ten most frequently used nouns in the national manifestos. It is assumed that keywords are best presented as nouns.

Table 1 Top ten most frequent words for each party.

	LDP	Komeito	JCP
1	国民 <i>kokumin</i> citizen	われわれ <i>wareware</i> we	日本 <i>nihon</i> Japan
2	日本 <i>nihon</i> Japan	人類 <i>jinrui</i> mankind	国民 <i>kokumin</i> citizen
3	自由 <i>jiyuu</i> freedom	生活 <i>seikatsu</i> lifestyle	世界 <i>sekai</i> the world
4	政治 <i>seiji</i> politics	わが国 <i>wagakuni</i> our nation	アメリカ <i>amerika</i> USA
5	世界 <i>sekai</i> the world	社会 <i>shakai</i> society	社会主義 <i>shakaishugi</i> socialism
6	確立 <i>kakuritsu</i> establishment	世界 <i>sekai</i> the world	平和 <i>heiwa</i> peace
7	自立 <i>jiritsu</i> independent	地球 <i>chikyuu</i> the earth	社会 <i>shakai</i> society
8	改革 <i>kaikaku</i> reform	国家 <i>kokka</i> motherland	発展 <i>hatten</i> development
9	私たち <i>watashitachi</i> we	生命 <i>seimei</i> life	経済 <i>keizai</i> economy
10	平和 <i>heiwa</i> peace	住民 <i>shumin</i> residents	支配 <i>shihai</i> control

LDP’s most frequent words include citizen, Japan, and freedom, which goes well with the party’s conservative liberal ideology. Worth mentioning are also words that

appear lower on the list, but received a high score like 民主主義 *minshushugi* ‘democracy’ etc. These results show that LDP discusses peace, freedom, and democracy in Japan.

Komeito speaks of humankind, our nation, lifestyle, and the Earth. The words further down in frequency but with the highest score include 生存 *seizon* ‘existence’, 庶民 *shomin* ‘common people’, and others.

JCP’s most frequent words include USA, socialism, peace and economy. High score words are 資本主義 *shihonshugi* ‘capitalism’ and 民主主義 *minshushugi* ‘democracy’. Worth noting is that JCP has the word Japan in the name, and this will have affected the results.

Hypothesizing on the characteristics of the manifestos LDP has a core of liberalism, Komeito humanitarian liberalism, and JCP communistic globalism. It is interesting to note that words like 日本、国民 as number 1 and 2 for LDP and JCP, but not for Komeito. Instead, Komeito has words like 人類、地球 which do not appear in the other two parties. All the three parties have 世界 in top 10.

5.4.2 Local

The table below shows the ten most frequent words for the local manifestos.

Table 2. Top ten most frequent words for each governor.

	Tokyo	Osaka	Okinawa
1	都民 <i>tomin</i> Tokyo residents	大阪 <i>oosaka</i> Osaka	沖縄 <i>okinawa</i> Okinawa
2	都政 <i>tosei</i> the Tokyo metropolitan area	施策 <i>shisaku</i> policy	県民 <i>kenmin</i> prefectural residents
3	皆さま <i>minasama</i> ladies and gentlemen	府民 <i>fumin</i> Osaka/Kyoto citizens	取り組む <i>torikumu</i> to tackle
4	改革 <i>kaikaku</i> reform	推進 <i>suishin</i> drive	平和 <i>heiwa</i> peace
5	都議会 <i>togikai</i> city council	実現 <i>jitsugen</i> realization	経済 <i>keizai</i> economy
6	移転 <i>iten</i> relocation	首都 <i>shuto</i> capital	一つ <i>hitotsu</i> one
7	問題 <i>mondai</i> problem	皆さま <i>minasama</i> ladies and gentlemen	皆さま <i>minasama</i> ladies and gentlemen
8	東京 <i>tookyoo</i> Tokyo	都市 <i>toshi</i> Osaka/Kyoto city	施策 <i>shisaku</i> policy

9	知事 <i>chiji</i> governor	新た <i>arata</i> new	基地 <i>kichi</i> military base
10	安全性 <i>anzensei</i> safety	機能 <i>kinou</i> function	社会 <i>shakai</i> society

The frequent words of the local manifestos are more focused on local issues.

As is clear from the frequency rating, the Tokyo manifesto speaks to the people of Tokyo-to (都民), about Tokyo issues, and Tokyo council. They all contain word 都 to (=Tokyo-to) Other words such as ‘reform’ is also a common political word.

The most frequently used words share a similarity in that words like ‘Osaka’, people in Osaka-fu (府民) are frequently used.

The governor of Okinawa, same as Tokyo and Osaka, most frequently uses the word Okinawa and people in Okinawa-ken (県民) Okinawa speaks of peace and economy, and most importantly military bases.

5.5 Analysis parameter 5 - key phrases (combination of keywords)

Key phrases are studied by using the single text analysis function of User Local, in which the co-occurrence of words are shown.

5.5.1 National

In the LDP manifesto the word 国民 *kokumin* ‘citizen’ appears 40 times, by far the most frequent word, and the co-occurrence show that it is connected to many words such as 日本 *nihon* ‘Japan’ (appears 22 times), and 自由 *jiyuu* ‘freedom’ (appears 18 times). 日本 is further connected to 政治 *seiji* ‘politics’ and 目指す *mezasu* ‘to aim at’, and 自由 to 社会主義 *shakaishugi* ‘socialism’, 民主主義 *minshushugi* ‘democracy’, and 平和 *heiwa* ‘peace’. Except for 目指す, 国民 is connected directly to all the above mentioned words. The LDP manifesto is built around 国民, putting 日本 and 自由 in the center. These results may be interpreted as LDP also promoting socialism, but as can be seen from the example sentence below, this is not the case.

- (1) 我が党は、「反共産・社会主義、反独裁・統制的統治」と「日本らしい日本の確立」—の2つを目的とし、「政治は国民のもの」との原点に立ち立党された。

Standing on the basic principle that "Politics belongs to the people" our party aims for two points, "anti communist/socialism, anti-dicticism and controlled governance" and "establishing a Japanese-like Japan".

In Komeito's manifesto the most frequently occurring word is われわれ *wareware* 'we'(16 times), which is connected to many other frequently appearing words like 世界 *sekai* 'the world', 社会 *shakai* 'society', 生活 *seikatsu* 'lifestyle' and 人類 *jinrui* 'humanity'. 人類(appearing 15 times) is connected to 地球 *chikyuu* 'the Earth', 生存 *seizon* 'existence' and 生命 *seimei* 'life'. The word 人間らしい *ningenrashii* 'humane', which might be Komeito's most characteristic word, is shown to co-occur in a triangle with 政治 and 生きる *ikiru* 'to live'. So, Komeito's manifesto emphasizes 'we and our society and our life' on one hand and 'human, earth, existence, life) on the other hand. It shows a strong focus on the very fundamental nature of humanity and life, as well as the citizen as a living human being rather than focusing on any political ideologies. Also the idea goes beyond Japan, US, etc. In these respects, Komeito manifesto shows a clear difference from other two parties. Instead of words such as '民主主義、社会主義、共産主義', Komeito uses the word 人間主義.

(2) 〈生命・生活・生存〉を柱とするわれわれの人間主義こそ、この要請にこたえ得るものと確信します。

We are convinced that using our humanist principle of <life, lifestyle, existence> as foundation, can respond to this demand.

As for JCP the most frequent words is 日本 (54 times) that is connected to the other six most frequent words; 国民 (44 times), 世界(41 times), アメリカ *amerika* USA (33 times), 社会主義 (33 times), 平和 (31 times) and 社会 (29 times). Although the word frequency of JCP shows some similarities to that of LDP, there is difference as well. While the word 国民 is in the center for LDP, it is 日本 that is in the center. This however is probably because of the inclusion of 日本 in the party name. In the JCP's manifesto, the country name America also appears frequently. Based on this it is fair to say that JCP's manifesto demonstrates their political belief in terms of the country and with a strong core of ideology.

(3) 日本共産党は、アメリカの覇権主義的な世界支配を許さず、平和の国際秩序を築き、核兵器も軍事同盟もない世界を実現するための国際的連帯を、世界に広げるために力をつくす。

The Communist Party of Japan will make efforts to spread international solidarity to create a world that doesn't permit the dominance of American hegemony, but instead builds international peace, in the absence of nuclear weapons and military alliances.

5.5.2 Local

In the Tokyo manifesto the most frequent word used is 都民 *tomin* 'Tokyo residents' (17 times) and it is connected to 改革 *kaikaku* 'reform' and 利益 *rieki* 'profit'. It also co-occurs with the second most frequent word 都政 *tosei* 'the Tokyo metropolitan area' (15 times), which is connected to 実現 *jitsugen* 'realization', 進める *susumeru* 'to move forward', and 東京 *Tokyo*.

- (4) 私の目指す東京大改革とは、都政を透明化し、情報を公開し、都民とともに進める都政を実現することです。

My major goal is to make Tokyo Metropolitan Government transparent, make the city government transparent, disclose information, and advance with the citizens.

Osaka's most frequent word is as stated above, 大阪 *Osaka* (26 times). Osaka is connected to among others, 施策 *shisaku* 'policy', 推進 *suishin* 'driving force', 実現 and 首都 *shuto* 'capital'. 首都 is in turn connected to 東京 *Tokyo*, 整備 *seibi* 'maintenance', and the most frequent adjective ふさわしい *fusawashii* 'appropriate', which all in turn connect to 機能 *kinou* 'function'.

- (5) 東日本大震災を契機に、首都機能のバックアップの必要性が高まっていますが、未だに十分な対応がなされているとは言えません。

With the occurrence of the East Japan great earthquake disaster, the necessity of a back up for capital functions is becoming more evident, but it can not be said that adequate response is being made.

Lastly Okinawa's most frequent noun is as before mentioned 沖縄 *Okinawa* (15 times). However, in parameter 4 only nouns were analyzed as key words, and it is noteworthy that the most frequent word in Okinawa's manifesto is actually まいる *mairu* (20 times), the humble verb substituting 行く *iku* 'to go' or 来る *kuru* 'to come'. まいる is connected to among others, 女性 *josei* 'women', こども *kodomo* 'children', and 基地 *kichi* 'military base'. 基地 in turn connects to 平和 *heiwa* 'peace' and 負担 *futan* 'burden'. 沖縄 co-occurs with 県民 *kenmin* 'prefecture citizen' which in turn connects to 理解 *rikai* 'understanding' and 経済 *keizai* 'economy', which also is connected directly to 沖縄.

- (6) このような基本認識のもと、私は、日米両政府に対し、過重な基地負担の軽減、日米地位協定の抜本的な見直しを求めるとともに、騒音問題や米軍人軍属による犯罪など米軍基地から派生する諸問題の解決に取り組んでまいります。

Under such basic understanding, I request that the Japanese and U.S. government reduce the excessive burden of the base, drastically review the Japan-US territory agreement, and solve the problem of noise and crime by US military personnel, and other problems derived from the base.

6. Discussion

6.1 Linguistic parameters

The most prominent linguistic difference when comparing the national and local manifestos is the usage of kanji in general, which was detected in the first parameter ‘script type’, and also the usage of kyuugai kanji. This may be interpreted as the governor’s aiming to appeal more to the larger public than the national manifestos. The local manifestos are on a significantly lower level of JLPT. Written Japanese is usually considered more difficult than spoken Japanese and the local manifestos were meant to be spoken even though it is documented and published. Although, according to the results of the second parameter ‘word level’, a JLPT word percentage pattern of most to least with N2N3-kyuugai-N5-N1-N4 was detected throughout all of the texts.

The third parameter ‘kyuugai words’ gave important information in characterizing each political party as well as each region. The words were exclusive to the party or the region in question, and since they aren’t common words they were interesting to analyze. For the national parties we can identify their ideologies and values like リベラリズム *riberarizumu* ‘liberalism’ (LDP), and 人間らしい *ningenrashii* ‘humane’ (Komeito), or in the case of JCP, their history 闘争 *tousou* ‘struggle’, 裏切り *uragiri* ‘betrayal’. For the governors the words are undeniably about the challenges for their mandate; パラリンピック *pararimpikku* ‘paralympics’ (Tokyo, on the 2020 olympics), 東日本大震災 *higashinihondaishinsai* ‘East Japan great earthquake disaster’ (Govn. Matsui uses this as argument for his policies), 普天間 *Futenma* (Okinawa on the military bases).

The fourth parameter ‘words frequency’ showed characteristics of the manifestos and a great similarities are found here across parties and regions. Much like the national manifestos, where there is a pattern of 国民 *kokumin* ‘citizen’, 国政 *kokusei* ‘national politics’ and 日本国 *nihonkoku* ‘the nation of Japan’ it also appears in the

local texts in the form of 都民 *tomin* ‘Tokyo citizen’/府民 *fumin* ‘Osaka citizen’/県民 *kenmin* ‘prefectural citizen’, 都政 *tosei* ‘Tokyo politics’/府政 *fusei* ‘Osaka politics’/県政 *kensei* ‘prefectural politics’, and 東京 *Tokyo*/大阪 *Osaka*/沖縄 *Okinawa*.

The fifth parameter ‘key phrases’ showed how the key words were connected to each other. The conservative and nationalistic nature of LDP connected words like 自由 *jiyuu* ‘freedom’ and 民主主義 *minshushugi* ‘democracy’. the Buddhism based humanitarian Komeito connected 人間らしい *ningenrashii* ‘humane’ with 政治 *seiji* ‘politics’. And like the expected JCP with its’ strong ideology connected its most frequent word 日本 *nihon* ‘Japan’ with アメリカ *amerika* ‘the USA’ and 社会主義 *shakaishugi* ‘socialism’. In Tokyo’s results it was evident that the governor is focused on her own area with exclusively words concerning Tokyo. Osaka’s results are similar but frequently connects to 東京 *Tokyo* and 首都 *shuto* ‘capital’, because of the key element of pushing Osaka as ‘vice capital’. Finally Okinawa connected 基地 *kichi* ‘military base’ and 負担 *futan* ‘burden’.

6.2 Governors - types

In addition to being similar to the national party manifestos, it seems the governor's manifestos share some similarities with the speeches of the prime ministers. Prime ministers' speeches usually contain keywords from their time in office (Nakamura 2004, Moberg 2002), and likewise, the governor's speech contains many keywords of the current issues. These seem however more concrete and in detail than those by prime minister.

As Tokyo has the arguably easiest linguistic structure with high kana percentage and high N2N3 scores on kanji and words, it is the most approachable of the manifestos. The governor discusses challenges for her mandate such as the move of the Tsukiji market and the hosting of the paralympics. One of her ten most frequent words is 安全性 *anzensei* safety. The content of the manifesto focused on Tokyo. As for the comparison to the national manifestos the content is most similar to that of LDP, focusing on safety, and not discussing issues bigger than the hands-on obstacles of the mandate. It does however seem to fit even better in with governor Koike’s personal nick-name, lacking ideology.

Osaka has the highest amount of kanji, and also highest percentage of N1 kanji in comparison with its local counterparts, coupled with the low percentage of N5 kanji and kana. It also showed high percentage of kyuugai words and N1 words, which indicates that it is a difficult text, although still easier than the national manifestos. The keywords were identified as words related to natural disasters and the goal of making Osaka vice capital of Japan. Which, as mentioned earlier, the governor is already working on with the mayor of Osaka, Hirofumi Yoshimura. (Johnston, 2015)

Lastly Okinawa has the lowest score on N1 words, but still displays a high score on kyuugai words as well as N2N3.N4 words. The keywords are place names such as Futenma, the name of the military base, and Henoko, the probable place of the move, and 基地 *kichi* ‘military base’. Okinawa also has the darkest, heaviest of the local texts, speaking of their past hardships. The word 負担 *futan* ‘burden’ implies that it is burdensome for Okinawa to host the military base, which is also regularly detectable in the daily news. For example, according to an article from the Japan Times, the general public in Okinawa was outraged when a window from a helicopter fell down onto the grounds of an Elementary school. (The Japan Times, 2017)

As is evident by the results of analysis in this thesis there is a great divide between the national parties ideologically, as is with the governor’s political principles. The governor of Tokyo would feel quite similar to LDP in type, as would Osaka, because though their immediate policies differ, the thought behind it is the same. In an article in the Japan Times, Party of Hope (the party of Govn. Koike) and Nippon Isshin (the party of Govn. Matsui), hold the same views as LDP and Komeito on most issues. (Johnston, 2017)

According to Hijino (2017) the act of opposing the center is a strategy that in recent years is becoming more and more lucrative. Even though Okinawa has faced cuts in the governmental budget, governor Onaga is as popular as ever. Governor Matsui has taken a similar approach, hiding his LDP spirit behind words of opposition, has managed to ensnare many voters who are unhappy with the regime. Governor Koike has simply chosen to present her politics as the middle ground. (Euronews, 2017)

7. Conclusion

This thesis points to a clear political language model that stretches from national manifestos to local policy statements. When a political actor is addressing the public

certain rules seem to apply. The JLPT level was shown to be fairly universal, leaning towards more difficult Japanese in the national manifestos, and none of the manifestos being suitable for the “easy Japanese” criteria. LDP and Tokyo share certain similarities in ideology, as does JCP and Okinawa. An interesting point is the different level of focus on ideology. JCP and Okinawa are both very clear on their history of hardships and the -isms they believe in, while Tokyo and Osaka are much more focused on the plan for the future, in Tokyos case, the Olympics.

The governor of Tokyo, who wasn’t officially supported by any party, but has a background in LDP, seems to be aiming towards a familiar type of politics. She doesn’t promote great change, but rather advocates for safety and stability. Her political migrant bird persona shows through, painting a picture of someone of less ideological standpoint, and more of doing things the way they’ve been done before.

The governor of Osaka, who was in fact the opposition to the candidate supported by all three national parties, does not differ greatly from the conservative liberalism we have seen before. His policies may differ as evident by his Osaka first mindset, but his ways of getting there seem to go hand in hand with already existing formulas. The choice he made to leave LDP seems to be mainly because of the party’s lack of interest in his hometown.

The governor of Okinawa was supported by JCP in his election and it shows. There seems to be many shared values, and there is a clear similarity in how they speak of their former struggle. Even though governor Onaga, as well as the other two, is a former member of LDP, this doesn’t show in the parameters of this analysis. The limitations of this thesis are much too narrow to discuss this further, but it may be interesting for future research.

Considering all these governors’ backgrounds, and the many ways in which they concur, it seems that in Japanese local politics, it is less about voting for a certain ideology, and more about voting for your preferred flavor of LDP.

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