



HOKKAIDO UNIVERSITY

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学位論文題名

Imagining Japan in Moscow and Sakhalin, and Imagining Russia in Tokyo and Hokkaido:

Contrasting identities and images of Other in the center and periphery.

(モスクワ及びサハリンから見た日本と東京及び北海道から見たロシア：

中心と周辺地域における「他者」に対する日本及びロシアのアイデンティティとイメージの対比)

This thesis is a comparative analysis of newspaper articles that discusses two sets of images: images of Japan as seen in Russian federal and Sakhalin newspapers, and images of Russia as seen in Japanese national newspapers and *Hokkaidō Shimbun*. This research investigates imagery associated with Russia and Japan in printed media, as well as discourses on national identity in Russia and Japan. Russo-Japanese relations are approached from two angles: border studies through analysis of media in Hokkaido and Sakhalin, and the center-periphery paradigm through analysis of national and federal media.

Using an identity model based on the phenomenological concepts of Self and Other, as well as the notion of antagonism, this research analyzes national identity discourses and images of the antagonized Other-nation in the center and periphery on each side of the border. These images are discussed in a set of case studies based on the topics of newspaper reportage mentioning Other-nation in Russia and Japan. The main research questions answered in this study are: 1) How does close proximity to Other affect its representation in printed media? 2) Which topics dealing with Other appear in central and peripheral media, and what does the difference suggest?

In the analysis of printed media this thesis employs content analysis to reveal and discuss themes and images of Russia in Japanese newspapers and images of Japan in Russian newspapers in central (Moscow/Tokyo) and peripheral (Sakhalin/Hokkaido) regions. Both qualitative and quantitative types of analysis are used: the quantitative part of the analysis is constituted by longitudinal observations across a large number of news articles, while the qualitative aspect is employed in examining individual articles for relevance, discrepancies between manifest and latent meaning, and images and themes related to Other. The ultimate goal of this research is to clarify the important distinctions between views of national Self and Other in the center and periphery on both theoretical and empirical grounds via the case studies of Russia and Japan.

The case studies illustrate how topic selection, attitudes, representation of history, political views and other aspects of the perception of Other differ between the political center and the border area in Russia and Japan. The structure of the thesis is as follows:

The first chapter provides theoretical foundations of this thesis and methods of analysis. It defines the Self-Other dichotomy, introduces the term “antagonism” and sets research questions. It also explains the proximity of Hokkaido and Sakhalin on natural, cultural and historical levels, which makes these locations suitable for a center-periphery comparison of

Russian and Japanese media.

Chapter 2 focuses on international exchange events and activities that involve interaction between Russia and Japan. It discusses the current state of Russia–Japan exchange in business and education, as well as other forms of exchange such as sister city relations. The first case study in the chapter is dedicated to media portrayal of Russia and Japan during the G8 summit in 2006 (St. Petersburg) and 2008 (Toyako). The remainder of the sections discuss news coverage of exchange events between Russia and Japan on both national and local levels. A separate section is dedicated to business exchange, which analyzes the impact of the 2015 drift net fishing ban in Russia on Japanese national and Hokkaido local economy. This chapter makes use of fieldwork data assembled in Hokkaido and Sakhalin, where the author interviewed newspaper editors and members of organizations conducting Russia–Japan exchange.

Chapter 3 is a case study based on newspaper articles and academic literature dedicated to the dispute over the sovereignty of the Southern Kurils/Northern Territories. The chapter examines the history of the territorial dispute and analyzes reportage dedicated to or mentioning the dispute in Russian and Japanese national and local newspapers. A separate section is dedicated to exchange between Japan and the disputed islands. This section incorporates data obtained during fieldwork in Nemuro, where the author interviewed the editor of the local branch of *Hokkaidō Shimbun* and the head of the NIHORO center that organizes exchange with the islands through Nemuro.

Chapter 4 discusses themes associated with history and war memory in Russia and Japan. While still relying on data from newspapers, this chapter focuses on the analysis of individual articles and themes. It is split into five case studies dedicated to specific events or themes: 1) early contacts between Russia and Japan before the Shimoda treaty, 2) the legacy of the Russo-Japanese War in Russia and Japan and 3) World War 2 anniversary commemorations in Russia and Japan. Two other case studies focus on World War 2 related themes prominent in Japan: 4) history of the Karafuto prefecture and 5) Japanese Prisoners of War in the Soviet Union (known in Japan as the Siberian Internment).

The final chapter consists of two case studies related to imagery of Self and Other. The first case study is dedicated to historical inquiries into national identity in Russia and Japan as seen in the works of Russian and Japanese intellectuals of the 19th and 20th century. By analyzing the intellectual legacy of Slavophiles in Russia and members of the Kyoto School in Japan, parallels are made regarding narratives associated with national identity at different periods of time in Russia and Japan. The second case study discusses general imagery associated with Russia/Russians and Japan/Japanese, particularly stereotyped images as seen in Russian and Japanese media and popular culture, and compares them on national and regional levels.

The main conclusion of this thesis is that images of Self and Other, as well as the narratives involved in Self-identity construction, adapt to historical, cultural and political circumstances of the time and location where they continue to disseminate and evolve. Investigation of Self- and Other-related topics in national and regional newspapers has revealed multiple differences in the patterns of news coverage in Russia and Japan, as well as different approaches to Russo-Japanese interaction in Hokkaido and Sakhalin as opposed to Tokyo and Moscow. In national centers, Self- and Other-related imagery tends to be more abstract and rooted in discussions on politics and culture influenced by older stereotypes, whereas in border regions the imagery is affected by close proximity of Other and direct, “real” interactions across the border. This difference affects local identities, which are juxtaposed against more general national identities “broadcast” by Moscow and Tokyo. As can be seen from the analysis of news coverage, local views on history, the territorial dispute, Russo-Japanese exchange and images of Other in general are deeply affected by antagonistic relationships on national, regional and border levels.