

Workshop: Methodological approaches to narratives in extremist discourses.

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**Metapolitics, irony and  
normalization of extremist language patterns - exploring Japanese  
discourse with corpus-linguistic methods**

Tamara Fuchs M.A.

Chair of Japanese Studies

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## ***Project „The Normalization of Right-Wing Populist and New Right Discourses in Japan and Germany“ funded by the DFG (German Research Association)***

- The new right and the far right use a more subtle, metapolitical strategy to disseminate their ideas to the public.(Schutzbach 2019, Stahl, 2019)
- „Discursive Normalization“ (Link 1997; 2018) of new right, populist and far right ideas through reiteration and expanding discourse boundaries
  - (Re)framing of certain topics through the establishment of pejorative neologisms („Asyltourismus“/在日特権 („special rights for Zainichi-Koreans))
  - Ostracization of positively connoted or neutral terms („Fachkräfte“/ジェンダーフリー („gender-free))
  - Upgrading (“mainstreaming”) of concepts that are not (or no longer) at the center of political discourse, such as “Volk” (or 国民/日本人) or “Tradition” (伝統) (vgl. Fuchs & Middelhoff 2019; Stahl 2019)

**The aim of this project is to investigate the long-term effects of right-wing populist politics on everyday language and the political arena in Japan and Germany, with corpus-based critical discourse analysis**

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## ***Research Questions:***

- How and through which media outlets do right-wing populist/new-right discourses spread in a Japanese-German comparison?
- Can an effect of the "meta-political" discourse strategy consisting of introducing neologistic and ostracized terms into political discourse on everyday language and political discourse in the various (sub)publics be demonstrated?
- Are there discourse-strategic attempts to ideologically instrumentalize the respective other new-right and right-wing populist discourse moments in German and Japanese discourse?

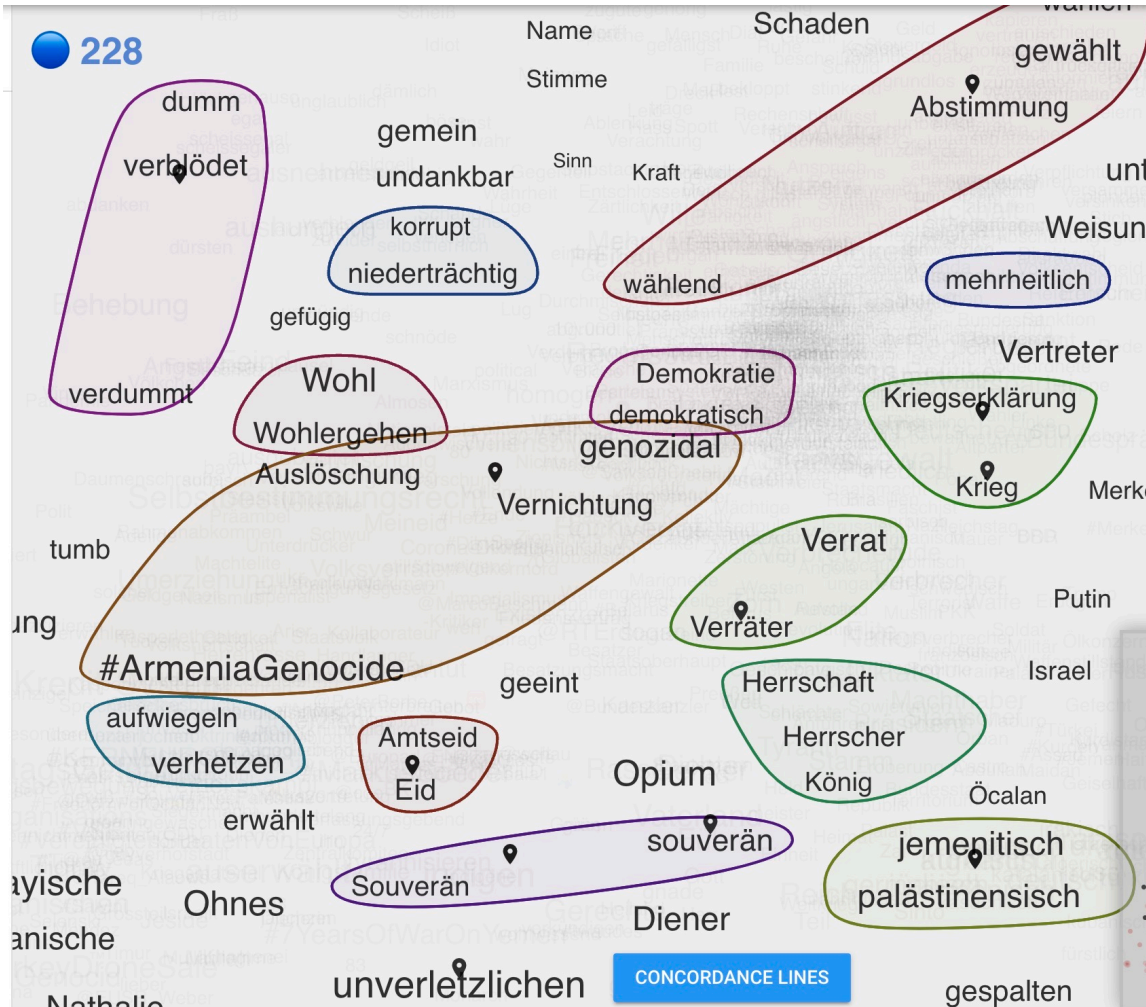
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## Corpora/data:

Japanese/German Parliament protocols, newspaper and X (former Twitter) corpora, years 2012-2014 & 2020-2022

## Methodology: Corpus-based critical discourse analysis (CCDA)

- combining elements of „close“ and „distant reading“ (Baker et al. 2008, Gillings et al., 2023) with the tool MMDA (Mixed Method Discourse Analysis) and CQPweb
- Determination of collocations (= words that occur conspicuously often together), backed up by a qualitative analysis
  - Collocations are manually combined into groups (visualisation) and interpreted in relation to discourse moments (interpretation/analysis)
  - Creation of „semantic maps“



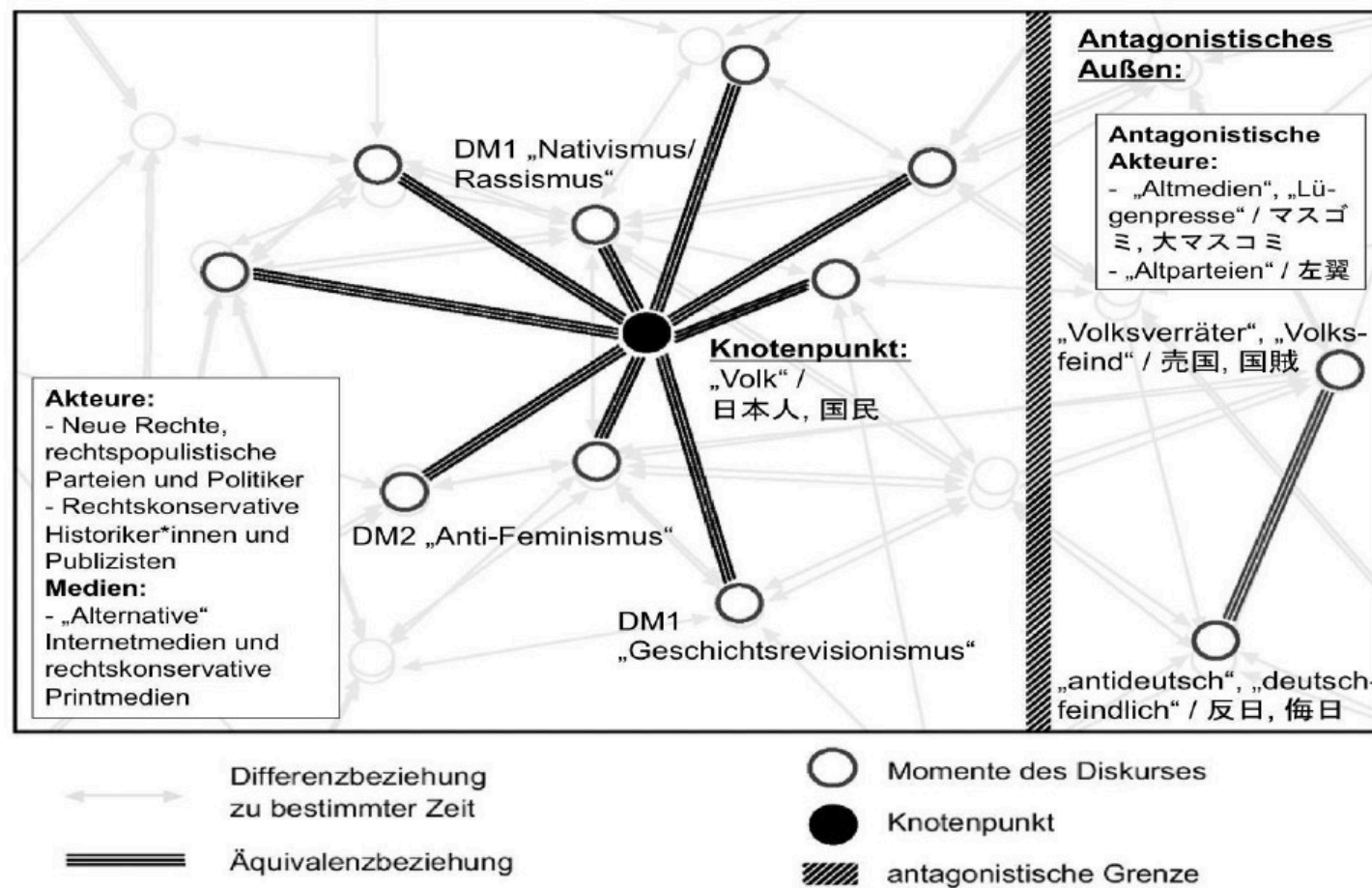
- Discourseme-grouping of collocates for the lemma „Volk“ for Twitter Corpus 2019-2022
  - Assignment to “Discourse Moments”
- Direct access to concordance lines
- Discourse Moments like „Nativism“, “Anti-Feminism“ or „Historical Revisionism“ are connected through this node
  - Alliance between Discourse Moments through the construction of an antagonistic exterior

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Link between DM Anti-Feminism and DM Nativism with the connector of „Volk“

- the defense of strongly traditional and hierarchical gender models is a vital element of völkisch and nationalist thinking (Schutzbach 2019)
- nationalism and the idea of a homogeneous „Volk“ are inherently linked to concepts of a traditional and "ideal" family in which a German father and mother reproduce the people (→ links as well with anti LGTBTIQ+ agenda)
- hierarchical gender norms: the self-sacrificing mother and that of the superior man





Graph based on Glasze (2013)



## **DM 1 Nativism and Racism:**

- Constructon of the existence of a supposedly ethnically homogeneous people threatened by an external danger

## **DM 2: Antifeminism / Anti-LGBTIQ+:**

- positions itself aggressively against the equality of women and the LGBTIQ+ community
- new feminist and LGBTIQ+ movement as a threat to the traditional family values and safety of the children

## **DM 3: Historical Revisionism**

- Reinterpretation of the historical representation and remembrance of war crimes committed by Japan and Germany during World War II

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**Hypothesis:** The right-wing populist and new-right-wing "meta-political" discourse strategy consists of introducing neologistic and ostracized terms into political discourse or devaluing the terms of political opponents in order to (re-)frame issues.

→ Research question: Can an effect of this strategy on everyday language and political discourse in the various (sub-)publics be proven?

**Analysis:** Analyze accompanying shift in the meaning and/or collocations of right-wing populist and new right-wing terms of the discourse moments (DM1, DM2, DM3)

## 反日 (han'nichi / „anti-Japanese“)

- The term „anti-Japanese“  
umbrellas a movement of anti-feminism, xenophobia, and nationalism, both online and in actual movements (Yamaguchi 2019)
- “a discursive marker to denounce political opponents from the left” (Schäfer 2022: 13)



demarcating the antagonistic outside to „the people“

# Collocations of 反日 on Twitter – (preliminary insight)

## Corpora data

Twitter 2020-22: 491,315,054 words

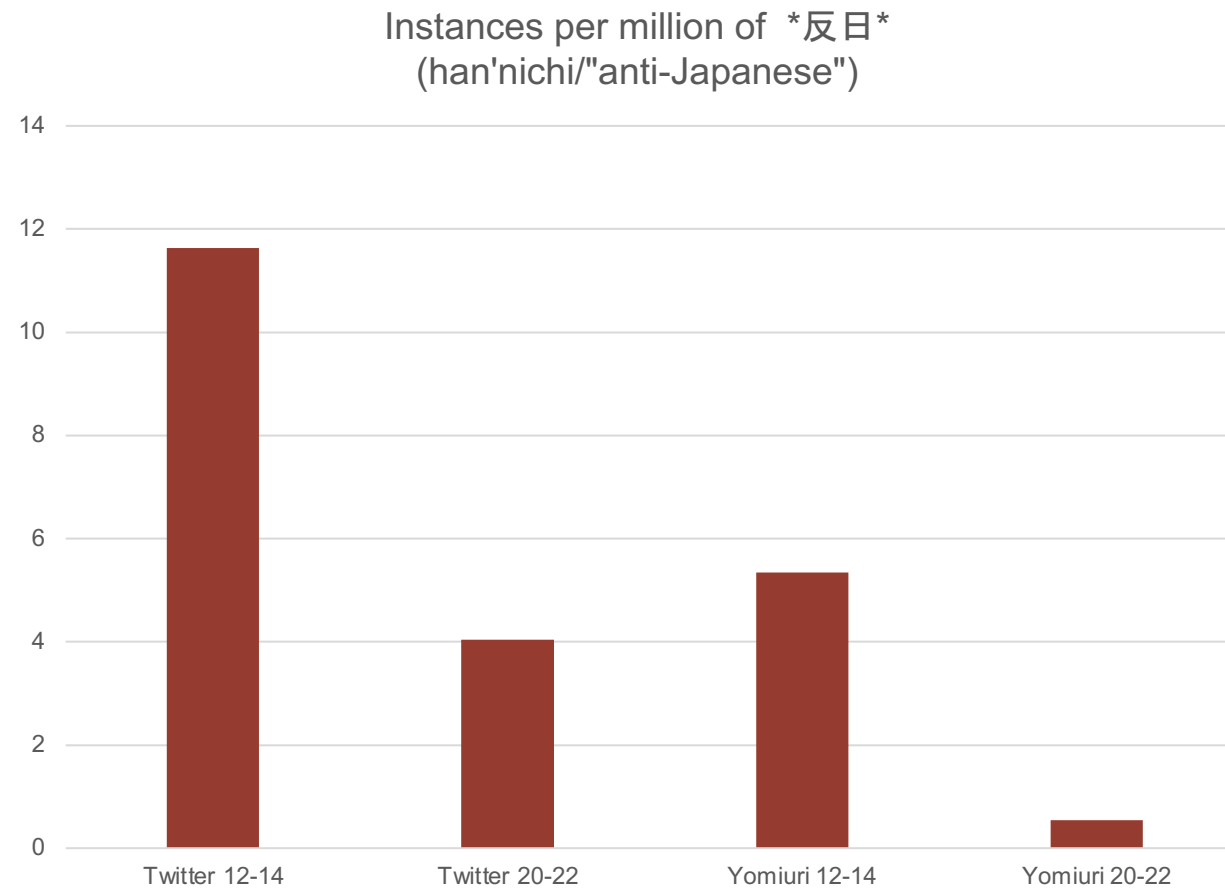
Twitter 2012-2014: 214,387,412

Collocations: 5 word span l/r, log-ratio with log-likelihood at least 18.51576

- The prevalence of Korea- and China-related terms
- Slightly stronger anti-leftism shift in 20-22, slightly stronger focus on China/Korea in 12-14
- Neologisms such as "masugomi" (trashmedia) were already present from 2012

## First 20 keywords

Twitter/X 2020-22		Twitter/X 2012-214	
Japanese Original	English	Japanese Original	English
種族主義	"Tribalism" (book title)	#反韓	#Anti-Korea
	#Rasengoreraï* (Joke of Japanese comedy duo, Tweets in combination with #han'nichi)	#特亜	#Special Asia* (derogative)
#ラッスンゴレライ		#売国	#Treason
#バヨク	#Leftists (slang)	安倍バッシング	Abe bashing
#ネトウヨ	#Netouyo (net right-winger)	#在日	#Zainichi
反日メディア	Anti-Japanese media	親韓	Pro-Korea
反日教育	Anti-Japanese Education	破壊工作	Sabotage
結束	Unity/tying	親中	Pro-China
特亜	Special Asia* (derogative)	#嫌韓	#Hate towards Korea
親日	Pro-Japan	#保守	#Conservative
売国	Treason	愛国無罪	Patriotic innocence (Patriotism is innocent)
媚中	Love for China	#竹島	#Takeshima
反米	Anti-American	特定アジア	Special Asia
売国奴	Traitor	暴徒化	Riot-ization
組織票	Organized vote	中国系	China-affiliated
嫌韓	Hate towards Korea	売国政党	Traitorous political party
バヨク	Leftist (slang)	#尖閣	#Senkaku
極左	Far Left	極左	Far-left
反日	Anti-Japanese	親日派	Pro-Japan
サヨク	Leftist (slang)	#愛国	#Patriotic
文在寅	Moon Jae-in		



## „Goldstück“ Original meaning:

**Duden:** gold coin considered as a means of payment ("als Zahlungsmittel geltende Goldmünze")  
(<https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/Goldstueck>)

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## Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm:

**„a person worth more than gold“**("ein mensch werter denn goldesstücke")

**„also known colloquially as a joking term of endearment“** ("umgangssprachlich auch als scherzhaftes kosewort")  
(Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm. Lfg. 6 (1952), Bd. IV,I,V (1958), Sp. 854, Z. 73.)  
<https://www.dwds.de/wb/dwb/goldst%C3%BCck>



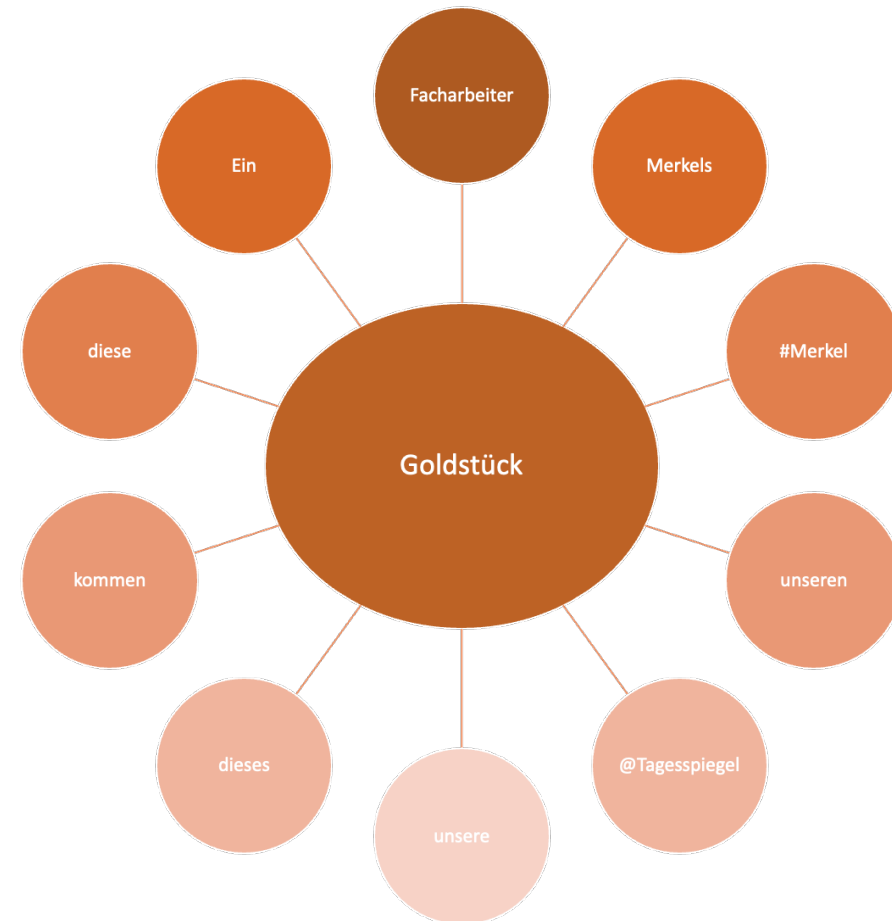
## Collocations (log-ratio) for „\*Goldstück\*“

German Twitter Corpus (2020-2022), 175,467,892 words

German Twitter Corpus (2012-2014), 31,812,383 words

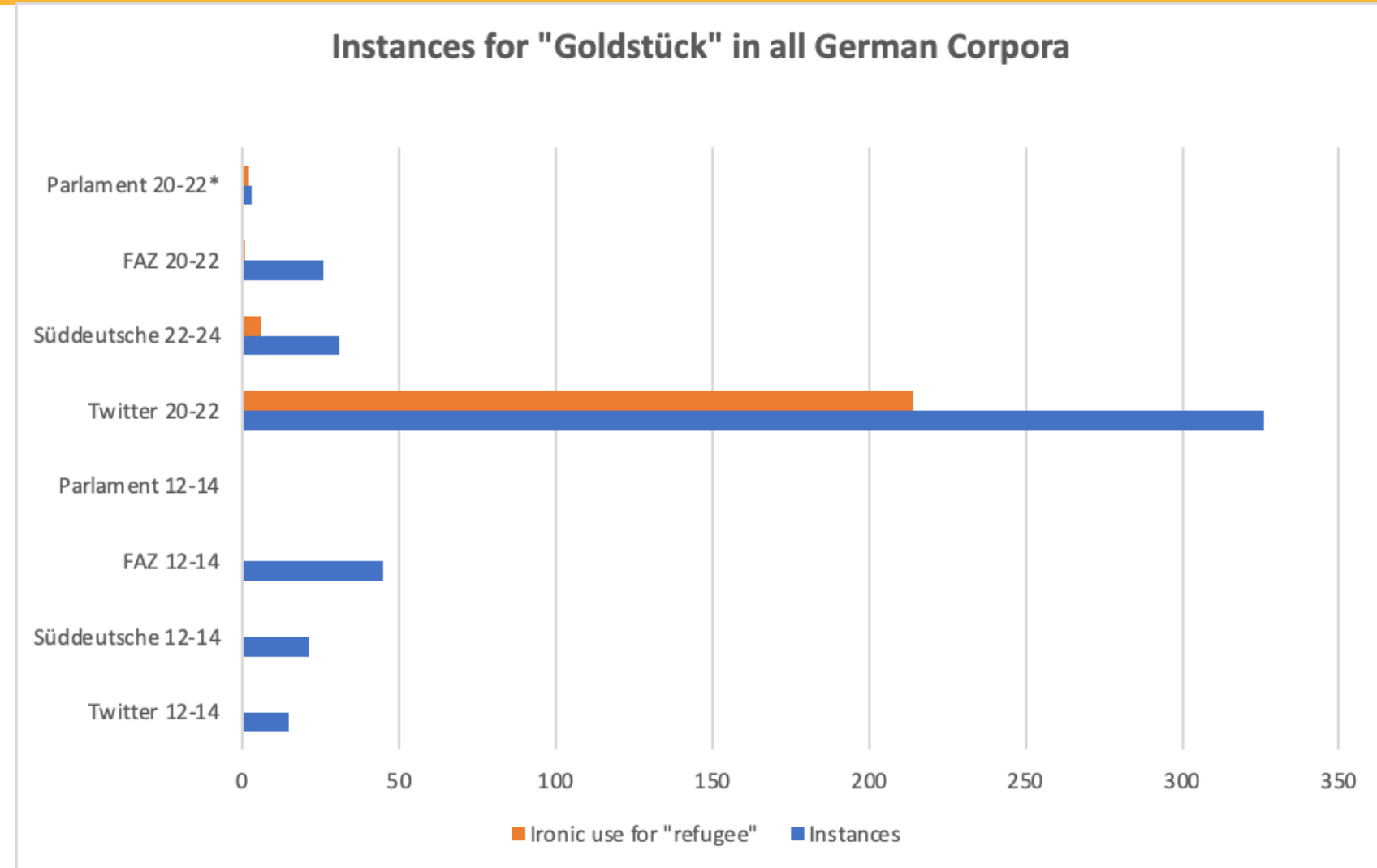
window span 5 l/r , log-ratio with log-likelihood at least 18.51576

- 2012-14 only 15 matches, all matches used in the original meaning, 324 matches in 2020-22
- Collocations 20-22: Use of irony for „Facharbeiter“ (skilled worker), which has been connotated positively before, now being used as a sneer to mock the asylum policy of the Merkel era → „Merkels Goldstücke“
- Change of connotation, taking up the already existing latent irony of the term and transforming this irony into a sneering metaphor for criminal refugees



## Increase of ironic usage „Goldstück“ as defamation

- In all 12-14 corpora the term was used in its original connotation
- Drastic increase in the ironic use for „criminal refugee“ on Twitter
- SZ publishes articles explaining the new connotation, FAZ very little
- 3 uses in parliament, two from the AfD in it's ironic form



- Frameshifts help "writers/speakers to oscillate in-between and on the verge of civil and uncivil norms" (Krzyzanowski 2020: 441)
- Previous socially unacceptable discriminatory rhetoric becomes socially accepted by waving them into „acceptable argumentation frames“ such as topics of public security, health etc. (cf. Krzyzanowski 2020: 441)
- Purpose of irony as a communication tool for connection (繋がり) in the inner circle (Kitada 2008: 210)
- Through this symbolism the users connect with each other and form a connective sociality (繋がり of 社会性) (Kitada 2008)

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## Challenges:

- Manual annotation work is still required to ensure the correct interpretation.
- Question of measurement of normalization processes
- Non-sufficient keyword lists / possible update of discourse moments needed in regard to the „new“ anti-feminism

## Outlook:

- 2024: Stay abroad in Japan to gather better keyword lists
- Gather the missing data, start full analysis

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# Thank you!