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JAPANSKA

Do the Speeches of Japanese Female Politicians Feature Japanese Women's Language?

-Political Language from a Gender Perspective

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on so called Japanese women's language by analysing Japanese female politicians' language use in written speeches. Compared to the rest of the world there is a severe lack of female politicians in the Japanese Diet, and the reasons for this are complex. By analysing female politicians' speeches language patterns and norms can be made clear. Through understanding these patterns and norms there can be a deeper understanding of the reality that female politicians face in Japan, and by extension it could help the advancement of women in politics. This thesis will be a contribution to the field of language and gender studies by exploring if Japanese women's language is used in political speeches. First tables identifying different aspects of Japanese women's language were created. Six speeches from three prominent female politicians were then analysed with these tables. The theoretical frameworks used for analysing the speeches are the Dominance Approach, the Deficit Approach, and Robin Tolmach Lakoff's 3 Rules of Politeness. Shigeko Okamoto's counterproposals on how to interpret politeness and women as a group were also used in the analysis. The results show a limited usage of women's language in the analysed speeches, which might suggest that women's language is deficit; it does not contain the elements needed for women to be able to use it as a powerful speech style. This implies that the world of male dominated politics have forced female politicians to adopt the same type of speech as their male counterparts. The results also infer that camaraderie as a form of politeness is an important tool for female politicians.

Conventions

All Japanese romanizations are according to the Modified Hepburn Romanization System. Examples of this include *sūgaku*, 'mathematics', and *onēsan*, 'older sister'. There is an exception made for place names which have an established convention of writing, for example Kyoto.

Japanese names are written according to western convention with given name first and the family name following. For example, the Japanese name Inoue Miyako will according to this convention be written Miyako Inoue.

Certain Japanese words have been written in *italics* with a translation provided in English in 'single brackets'.

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1. Introduction

In present day Japan the political arena is still a highly male dominated area. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union female politicians comprise about 8.1%¹ of the Japanese Parliament which is quite low compared to the global average of 24.1%.²

My interest in the subject of female Japanese politicians began when I read about the Japanese female rights movement in the early 20th Century. At the beginning of the century Japanese women were not allowed to participate in political meetings or events; join political parties or vote. In 1922 women were finally granted the right to take part in political meetings, but it would take until after World War II in 1946 before women obtained the right to vote and run for office. Despite the fact that women make up a majority of the Japanese electorate, and there has always been a higher percentage of women voting in the national elections since 1969; female politicians are still grossly underrepresented in the Diet and Japanese Parliament.³

The issue of female representation in parliament is a serious one because there needs to be many different politicians invested in representing all parts of society in order to create a functioning democracy. The underrepresentation of women in parliament could have grave consequences such as women's interests not being adequately represented.⁴ Therefore I believe there is a need for more research regarding female politicians in order to create understanding and a climate which promotes the advancement of women in politics. This became the drive for my research.

So how did female politicians acquire their prominent positions? Did they accentuate their femininity and female role by using women's language characteristics, or did they perhaps adapt their speech to match their male counterparts? In the article ““The Madonna Boom”: Women in the Japanese Diet”, Iwai notes:

¹ Inter-Parliamentary Union, Women in National Parliaments, 1 September 2013, viewed on 10 October 2013, <<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>>.

² Inter-Parliamentary Union, Women in National Parliaments, 1 September 2013, viewed on 9 October 2013, <<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>>.

³ K Iwanaga, *Women in Japanese Politics: A Comparative Perspective*, Stockholm University Center for Pacific Asia Studies, Stockholm, 1998.

⁴ Iwanaga, pp. 30-31.

The word "politician" in Japan carries with it a masculine image with overtones of lying, greed, and the abuse of power—all qualities that would seem to have nothing to do with the image evoked by the word "woman."⁵

Therefore one can wonder if the image of the traditional male politician steered female politicians towards creating a different image for themselves, or were the rules already stacked against them? In postwar Japan politicians are expected to be married with children. This is especially true for female politicians, but with the added burden of being the primary caretakers of their household.⁶ The image of the good housewife became a leading norm for female politicians to emulate. Because of this norm I began to wonder if it perhaps manifested itself in their way of expressing themselves as well, since women's language is often thought of as a sign of good upbringing and manners; things expected of a "good" woman.

It would certainly not be peculiar if so was the case. During my stay in Japan 2012-2013 I became acutely aware of the fact that there was one area of language which had not been discussed in my language education before coming to Japan: the issue of gendered language. I was perplexed when I and my female friends were told things such as: "That expression sounds a little too rough for a woman to use, maybe you should use this expression instead?"; "You speak in such a manly way!", and so on. Since we were studying Japanese it complicated things further when we had to add the additional filter of thinking of what would be reasonable for a female speaker of Japanese to say. I became very interested in Japanese women's language and what actually constituted Japanese women's language. When I actually delved into the subject it was not as clear cut as I had initially perceived it to be. This in conjunction with my interest for female politicians led me to studying political language from a gender perspective.

1.2. Previous Research

There have been many noteworthy similar studies on this subject in the US and also in Scandinavia even though the method and scope has been different. I have drawn many ideas, theories and framework from authors like Robin Tolmach Lakoff⁷ and Deborah Cameron.⁸

⁵ T Iwai, "'The Madonna Boom': Women in the Japanese Diet", *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 19, No. 1 (winter, 1993), p. 104.

⁶ Iwai, p. 110.

⁷ R Tolmach Lakoff, *Language and Woman's Place: Text and Commentaries*, Oxford University Press, Inc., New York, 2004.

⁸ D Cameron, *Feminism & Linguistic Theory (2nd Ed.)*, Macmillan Press Ltd, Hampshire, 1992.

They have been accredited by researchers like Ann-Catrine Edlund, Eva Erson, Karin Milles⁹ to have coined, created the framework and started a debate discussing feminist language studies.

During the 1980s Kerstin Thelander aimed to present a picture of how the politicians themselves viewed the language of politics and how they had acquired that type of language.¹⁰ Thelander's study explores if there is a language barrier for women in pursuit of public positions; if women had to attune to pre-existing language rules, or if they were able to assert their own language. Even though Thelander's study was in regard to Swedish politicians I found the study highly relevant to my own research since it deals with Swedish female politicians entering the highly male dominated field of Swedish politics.

Adding to this in 2001 Kirsten Gomard and Anne Krogstad attempted to combine Nordic researcher's works on gender and TV-debates in order to make sense of gender and political language.¹¹ The focus was on TV-debates but the book still deals with the language differences between male and female politicians and how it can manifest itself; making it a highly relevant work.

Regarding Japanese women's language Miyako Inoue has delved deep into the origin of *teyo dawa kotoba*; one of the key features in today's perceived women's language. Her book provides valuable insight into the origins of Japanese women's language and also discusses and dismisses the notion of Japanese women's language being a pure language phenomenon passed down through centuries.¹²

Another highly relevant compilation of works has been *Japanese Language, Gender and Ideology*, which combines many different researchers' works in the field of the Japanese language from a gender perspective; such as Shigeko Okamoto's research on polite language, and Ayumi Miyazaki's research on Japanese junior high school girls' and boys' first-person pronoun use.¹³ All of which is highly relevant to my own inquiry.

Professor Orie Endo has explored the cultural history of Japanese women's language. Endo analyses the evidence of women's language all the way from ancient times until today's modern use. Her research provides a very clear and chronological overview of the perception

⁹ A Edlund, E Erson, K Milles, *Språk och Kön*, Norstedts Akademiska Förlag, 2007.

¹⁰ K Thelander, *Politikerspråk i könsperspektiv*, Liber Förlag, Malmö, 1986.

¹¹ *Instead of the ideal debate: doing politics and doing gender in Nordic political campaign discourse*, K Gomard & A Krogstad (eds), Aarhus University Press, Århus. 2001.

¹² M Inoue, *Vicious Language: Gender and Linguistic Modernity in Japan*. University of California Press, Ltd, London, 2006.

¹³ *Japanese Language, Gender, and Ideology: cultural models and real people*, S Okamoto, J S. Shibamoto Smith (ed.), New York: Oxford University Press, Inc, 2004.

of a typical women's language existing or not throughout the ages. What can be clearly established is that there has certainly been very strong opinions throughout the ages outlining how women should act and speak in order to conform to the standard of a good woman and wife.¹⁴

There is also a thesis from Lund University by Elin Ekdahl which discusses the development of women's language in Japanese and explores the perception of women's language among today's native Japanese female speakers in the ages of 20-24. This provides valuable insight into the development of Japanese women's language and the perception of this language today among Japanese women.¹⁵

Japanese women's political language is a relatively unexplored field in the area of language from a gender perspective. Therefore my research will be a valuable addition to this field of study, since it adds insight into the use or non-use of Japanese women's language.

1.3. Specified Aim and Research Question

The aim of this study is to show if there are any Japanese women's language characteristics in selected speeches by established Japanese female politicians Takako Doi, Mizuho Fukushima, and Makiko Tanaka. The main questions to be dealt with in this study are:

- 1) Do the speeches of female politicians feature Japanese women's language characteristics?
 - a) If so, what type of women's language characteristics?
 - b) If not, what can account for the lack of women's language characteristics?

2. What is Women's Language?

2.1. The Problem of Definition

My biggest surprise when researching the subject of Japanese women's language was that I could not find any clear definition of what Japanese women's language should actually be, which is surprising when there exists a clear expectation of women to use such language. I had been told while in Japan that certain words and ways of speaking were un-feminine, but I

¹⁴ O Endo, *A Cultural History of Japanese Women's Language*. The Center for Japanese Studies, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. 2006.

¹⁵ E Ekdahl, *En revolterande generation? Kvinnospråkets utveckling i Japan*, Bachelors Thesis, Lund University, 2010.

could never get a complete picture for what it would actually mean to speak women's language. When I consulted books and previous research I also found surprisingly little evidence for a unified "typical" way in which women were expected to speak besides that they should be soft spoken and polite. The only actual specific rules I could find were for *yakuwarigo* 'Japanese role language' which is the speech style for women used in fictional contexts. This speech style is rarely used in real life situations. Even so it is a reality that in Japan there exists an idea of a 'typical way' which women speak which sets them apart from men; a reality which I encountered myself as an exchange student in Japan. How much of a "women's language" is there actually in Japan, and how much is it a perception that it exists?

Another thing which surprised me was that I had rarely heard anyone speak so called explicit women's language. According to Miyako Inoue there exists a notion in Japan that Japanese women's language is slowly dying out since women don't use it as often. It is held as an ideal from the past that many women today fail to uphold.¹⁶ Further on, she also claims that standard Japanese speech was created with the middle-class Tokyo male in mind.¹⁷ Therefore all other forms of speech can be treated as "other": deviations from that standard pattern. Women's language became one of these "others" when scholars attempted to index the Japanese language.

Since I could not find any suitable template for Japanese women's language I set out to create my own tables based on many different sources and research on the subject. These tables became part of a framework that I formulated myself, and how the tables were constructed is listed in 3.1. Constructed tables. In the field of language and gender research it has often been claimed that women use more standard linguistic forms and normatively correct grammar than men do. Their language use is also described as more polite, indirect and more cooperative. Lakoff¹⁸ is for example one of those who claim that this language trend exists. As with all generalizations there are exceptions, but the evidence for this trend cannot be easily dismissed since they relate to dominant gender norms and expectations in society. This may affect language practices and how we choose to interpret them.¹⁹ Politeness is also a very important and frequently cited factor of Japanese women's language. We can for

¹⁶ Inoue, p. 2.

¹⁷ *ibid*, p. 90.

¹⁸ Tolmach Lakoff, p. 79.

¹⁹ S Okamoto. Ideology in Linguistic Practice and Analysis. In *Japanese Language, Gender, and Ideology: cultural models and real people*, S Okamoto, J S. Shibamoto Smith (ed.), 38-56. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc, 2004, p. 38.

example see in the use of honorifics that women were expected to use appropriate honorifics or *anata* ‘you’, but not use *kimi* which men were allowed to use.²⁰

In the spectrum of politeness there has also been a perception that Japanese women’s language entails avoiding certain word groups and verb forms in order to not sound too rough or demanding. This includes for example *kango*²¹, which are words of Chinese origin, avoiding the copula *da*²², which is the short form of *desu*, ‘be, is’, and the imperative form of verbs.²³ This is for the sake of politeness, and if these avoidances appear in the speeches they will be analysed accordingly with Lakoff’s 3 Rules of Politeness. (See 4.3)

2.2. Creating a Template for Women’s Language

When constructing templates, it is easy to start with a dictionary definition. This is the dictionary definition of *josei-go* ‘women’s language’ in one of the most widely circulated dictionaries *Daijirin*:

女性特有の言葉、あるいは表現。終助詞の「の」「よ」「わ」「かしら」、感動詞の「あら」「まあ」、接頭語の「お」、敬語の「ませ」「まし」などの類。古くは、宮中・斎宮・尼門跡・遊里などに特有の女性語があった。婦人語。

‘Typical female words or expressions. The ending particles *no*, *yo*, *wa*, *kashira*; the interjections *ara*, *mā*; the prefix *o-*; in honorific speech *mase*, *mashi*, among others. In ancient times; at the Imperial Court; Saikū; among Buddhist nuns; in the red light district, among others, there were special forms of women’s language. Women’s language.’

According to *Daijirin*²⁴

²⁰ R Washi. “Japanese Female Speech” and Language Policy in the World War II Era”. In *Japanese Language, Gender, and Ideology: cultural models and real people*, S Okamoto, J S. Shibamoto Smith (ed.), 76-91. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc, 2004. p. 79.

²¹ Inoue, p. 63.

²² N Hanaoka McGloin, ‘Feminine Wa and No: Why do Women Use Them?’. *The Journal of the Teachers Association of Japanese*, vol. 20, No.1 (April, 1986), pp. 7-27.

²³ Ekdahl, p. 11.

²⁴ A Matsumura, (ed.), *Daijirin*, Vol 21, Sanseido Books, Tokyo, 1992, p. 1207.

In accordance with the dictionary definition I have included the ending particles *no*, *yo*, *wa*, and *kashira* in my search tables. Miyako Inoue writes in the book *Vicarious Language* that women's language is a subject of scholarly inquiry with its own system of periodization and historical classification. This scholarship is not detached from the culturally salient practice of representing gender in the Japanese language. On the contrary the act of studying and defining Japanese women's language forms an integral part of this practice. Therefore sociolinguistic studies have in this quest frequently found gender differences in all linguistic levels of Japanese like speech acts, syntax, morphology, phonology, and discourse, both in the Japanese of the present and that of the past. Examples include special vocabulary; first person pronouns like *atakushi* and *atashi*; the final particles *wa*, *dawa*, *no yo*, and also the beautification prefix *o-*. These examples are said to be features of women's language which are only used by women. The reason for this is usually cited as being that these features sound "soft", "gentle", and "non-assertive" among others.²⁵

The first-person pronouns *atashi*, and *atakushi* will be included in their own table for first-person pronouns. In Inoue's description there were also the ending particles *dawa*, and *noyo* which I have added to my table of ending particles together with *no*, *yo*, *wa*, *kashira*, *teyo*. These make up a special category called *teyo dawa kotoba* which is a type of speech which are word endings typically said to make up stereotypical women's language. It began as a speech form among Japanese schoolgirls in the Meiji-era. At the time it was seen as an extremely vulgar form of expression and unsuitable for fine young women. With the rise of industrialism and consumerism it went through a normalization process where it became the standard language of commerce aimed towards women. By the 1930s it had become reassigned as genuine "feminine language".²⁶ In today's Japan the use of these word endings have gradually decreased and certain elements have also become part of *yakuwarigo* 'Japanese role language'.

The normalization process explains why the particles *no*, *yo*, *wa* and *kashira*, which are particles originally from *teyo dawa kotoba* were part of the *Daijirin* definition. The beautification prefix *o-* will be discussed further down in its own category. The interjections *ara* and *mā* were also cited in *Daijirin* as typical female expressions, so I created a special table of interjections.

²⁵ Inoue, p. 13-14.

²⁶ *ibid*, p. 70.

Since they appear in the dictionary description I have also created a separate table for *mase* and *mashi* which in honorific speech function as auxiliary verbs. *Goo Jisho*²⁷ lists *mase* as an auxiliary verb, the polite imperative form of *masu*. It also list *mashi*, but *mase* seems to be a more occurring form according to *Goo Jisho*. Nevertheless I include both forms in my tables.

The Japanese Ministry of Education released *Rēhō Yokō* 'Essentials of Etiquette' in April 1941 which was a textbook for secondary school. Section 5 was on the issue of 'language use' *kotobatsukai* and it specifically described gendered forms of the standard speech.

2. For the first person, *watakushi* 'I' should normally be used. In addressing a superior one may on occasion use one's surname or given name. Men may use *boku* 'I' when addressing a social equal, but not when addressing a superior.

3. For the second person, when addressing a superior one should use an honorific appropriate to rank. When addressing an equal one should normally use *anata* 'you'. Men may also use *kimi* 'you'.

Translation by Washi²⁸

Therefore according to the ministry of Education, *watakushi* was the proper form to use, while women were excluded from the use of *boku*. It is important to note that the creation of this textbook came in the wake of mounting criticism against female students in Tokyo who used the form *boku*. It was part of a conscious targeted attempt at language policy in an effort enforce gender roles and social relations by controlling language. Since the Ministry of Education stipulated *watakushi* as a proper form for women to use at all times, *boku* being not tolerated, I have included *watakushi* in my categories since it was an ideal at the time for 'women's language'; a part of using polite and humble expressions.²⁹

In the text *Japanese Junior High School Girls' and Boys' First-Person Pronoun Use and Their Social World* Ayumi Miyazaki cites a variety of first-person pronouns that exist within standard Japanese. Interesting enough there exists no deprecatory form of first-person pronoun for women that corresponds with the masculine *ore*.³⁰

²⁷ Goo Jisho, *mase*, viewed on 21 November 2013, <<http://dictionary.goo.ne.jp/leaf/jn2/208204/m0u/>>.

²⁸ Washi, p. 79.

²⁹ *ibid*, p. 79.

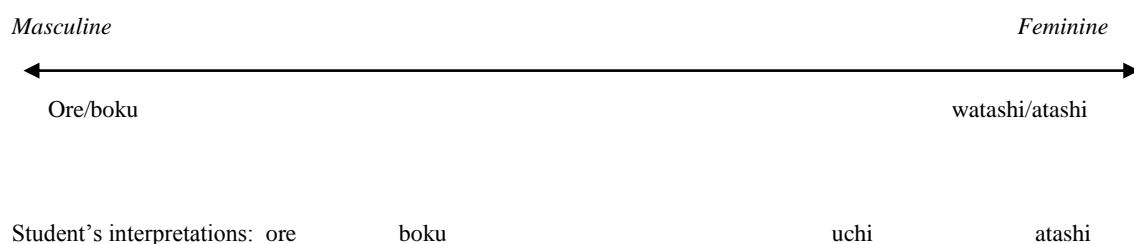
³⁰ A Miyazaki. *Japanese Junior High School Girls' and Boys' First-person Pronoun Use and Their Social World*. In *Japanese Language, Gender, and Ideology: cultural models and real people*, S Okamoto, J S. Shibamoto Smith (ed.), 256-274. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc, 2004, p. 257.

Table 14.1 Gender-marked first-person pronouns

	<i>Men's Speech</i>	<i>Women's Speech</i>
Formal	<i>watakushi</i> <i>watashi</i>	<i>watakushi</i> <i>atakushi</i>
Plain	<i>boku</i>	<i>watashi</i> <i>atashi</i>
Deprecatory	<i>ore</i>	

Ide, 1997, cited in Miyazaki³¹

Further on Miyazaki also created a chart based on the first-person pronoun use of students in a study Miyazaki held at a junior high school.³² At the top of the diagram there is a masculine/feminine continuum which compares the ideology of first-person gendered pronouns with that of Ide's table (14.1) and the first-person pronoun use of the students in the study.



(Miyazaki, 2004)

Since the first-person pronouns *watakushi*, *atakushi*, *watashi*, *atashi*, and *uchi* are consistently cited in the feminine category they are part of what is considered first-person pronouns available for women to use. I therefore created a table for them and included them in my study. In my parameters I have also included the plural form of *watashi*, which is *watashitachi*, ‘us’, and the highly formal use of *waga* ‘my, ours’ since it will be of interest to analyse in the context of honorific speech in conjunction with Lakoff’s 3 Rules of Politeness. (See 4.3)

³¹ S Ide, *Josego no Sekai (The World of Woman's Language)*, Meiji Ide, Tokyo, 1997, cited in Miyazaki. Japanese Junior High School Girls' and Boys' First-person Pronoun Use and Their Social World. In *Japanese Language, Gender, and Ideology: cultural models and real people*, S Okamoto, J S. Shibamoto Smith (ed.), 256-274. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc, 2004, p. 257.

³² Miyazaki, p. 261.

Honorifics in Japanese is an integral part of politeness something which has been cited an important part of women's language. Therefore I wanted to test what type of honorifics are used in the speeches. All from the highly polite *sama*, expected *san*, the *kun* which is for example used to address someone of lower status than the speaker, or if the honorifics were dropped entirely.

Inoue remarks that women are primarily addressed by their surname and the honorific *san* in the work-place by both men and women of all ranks, and that there is an expectation for them to do the same to both men and women: last name plus the honorific *san*. As a contrast it is for example common for males in the work-place to address each other by surnames only. Inoue also notes that if a woman would for example use the honorific *kun* towards a man it could be seen as impertinent. The asymmetrical exchange of *kun* could mark a sharp distance in status and age.³³

According to Shigeki Okamoto³⁴ Japanese honorific use is for the most part divided into two categories: *taisha keigo* 'addressee honorifics' and *sozai keigo* 'referent honorifics'. Addressee honorifics are used to show deference to the addressee, while reference honorifics are further divided into 3 categories; *sonkē-go* 'respectful words'; *kenjō-go* humble words, and *bika-go* 'beautification words'. *Sonkē-go* and *kenjō-go* are both used to show deference toward the person who is the subject of the utterance by elevating said person, their actions, or their belongings. Of particular interest is *bika-go* which is used to make the utterance sound more "elegant" and "refined". An example sentence might for example be:

<u>O</u> -yasai	mo <u>tabe</u> -te
vegetable	also eat

“(Please) eat the vegetables, too”.³⁵

³³ Inoue, p. 254.

³⁴ Okamoto, p. 39.

³⁵ *ibid*, p. 40.

The prefix *o-* in *o-yasai* is *bika-go* in the reference honorifics category. According to Okamoto “*bika-go* has been linked to stereotypical femininity.”³⁶ Therefore I have decided to create a category for the *bika-go* prefixes *o* and *go*. In the *bika-go* category there are also certain words that change form in order to be polite, but if they appear they would be more relevant to analyse on their own in accordance with Lakoff’s 3 Rules of Politeness.

3. Method

In this study the language used in political speeches will be analysed for evidence of women’s language. Primary data will be collected from three female politician’s selected speeches, and compared against women’s language criteria in the form of special tables which are created in the format listed under 3.1 Constructed Tables. The compiled data of six speeches (two from each politician) will then be analysed according to a qualitative study framework from a language and gender theoretical point of view. The approaches and rules utilized are explained further down in the Theory section under their own separate headings. Politeness is an important parameter to explore when analysing these speeches since it is something which is frequently brought up when discussing Japanese women’s language. Certain aspects of politeness for example honorifics, pronouns and *bika-go*, ‘beautification words’, are included and analysed in the tables sections. Other parts will be analysed according to Lakoff’s 3 Rules of Politeness.

Three distinguished female Japanese politicians have been selected, and were chosen for their successful record in politics. Makiko Tanaka served as the first female minister of Foreign Affairs 2001-2002 under the Liberal Democratic Party. Both Takako Doi and Mizuho Fukushima were head of the Social Democratic Party 1996-2003 and 2003-2013 respectively. Takako Doi became head of the Social Democratic Party (then Japan Socialist Party) in 1996, becoming the first woman in Japan to have become head of a party.

The speeches have been chosen in a way to aid cross-comparison. In the case of Takako Doi and Mizuho Fukushima, their may-day speeches among others were chosen, and in the case of Makiko Tanaka speeches from her days as Foreign Affairs minister were chosen. To choose women from opposing political parties was taken into consideration, but finding topics of similarity has proved difficult. It is likely a result of the low number of distinguished Japanese female politicians in history.

³⁶ Okamoto, p. 40.

3.1. Constructed Tables

The tables are constructed in accordance with each speech given a number, they are also identified by the speaker. TD standing for Takako Doi, MF for Mizuho Fukushima, and MT for Makiko Tanaka. The subject of enquiry in the tables are listed vertically while the speeches are organized horizontally.

The tables which generate data will be included in the results, while tables which do not produce any relevant data will be excluded. This will then be analysed in the analysis section which can be found under 6.2. Analysis.

Example table:

	Number of times they appear in each speech					
	Speech 1-TD	Speech 2-TD	Speech 3-MF	Speech 4-MF	Speech 5-MT	Speech 6-MT
Subject of inquiry:						

3.2. Limitations

This is a small study focusing on only six specific speeches and three politicians. From this perspective it can be argued that I have not proven with an overwhelming certainty that most female Japanese politicians construct their speeches in the way the results show. Since time is of the essence, and we are supposed to limit our scope in order to meet the time frame I made the decision to only focus on six specific speeches. I have judged this number sufficient for my specified aims and research question since I can take time to analyse every single speech thoroughly during the time frame given.

There are only two political parties which are represented in this study. The Liberal Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party. There are other parties with female politicians, but in order to limit this study's scope, politicians from two parties were chosen. The focus of this study is not the ideological content of the speeches, but the way they are constructed, which puts the issue of party representation second hand.

The speeches were created with different intended audiences and this affects the formality levels used in the speeches. Since the speeches will also be analysed from a politeness perspective this has been taken into consideration.

Watakushi, *atakushi*, and *watashi* can be written with the same kanji, therefore it is not possible to make a distinction between them in this study which analyses written speeches. I will account for this in my analysis.

4. Theory

In my theory framework I will examine my data against two approaches explained by Deborah Cameron in her book *Feminism & Linguistic Theory*, and Edlund, Erson, Milles in *Språk och Kön*. I chose the Dominance approach and the Deficit approach for my study because they explain well how language is used as an instrument of power. Language is a fundamental instrument in the world of politics. These two theories account for how the female language is used, or is not used in order for women to gain power. The Deficit approach claims that it is the difference in male and female language which creates inequality between the sexes, while the Dominance approach argues that it is in fact inequality that creates a difference in male and female language. This makes them highly suitable for my study, since I can examine and compare my data against both theories in order to answer my specified aim and research question. In addition to these two approaches Robin Tolmach Lakoff constructed in her book *Language and Woman's Place*, three specific rules to explain different types of politeness. Politeness is a frequently cited factor of women's language, and therefore this framework will also be used in order to add the dimension of politeness to my analysis. Finally Okamoto's Counterproposals has been included in order to add one more dimension to the analysis since it takes into account the dangers of generalizing women into one group with one expected way of speech.

4.1. The Dominance Approach

Deborah Cameron (1992) cites Lakoff's *Language and Woman's Place* as the start of two major directions in language and gender research. She distinguishes these as a Dominance and a Difference current. She further explains that the Dominance current further houses two ways of looking at cause and effect. These two ways are today classified as the Dominance approach and the Deficit approach.³⁷ The Dominance current argues that there is no inherent difference in quality between the languages of the sexes, but the social superiority of men makes it able for them to claim "men's language" as superior to that of women's language. Therefore women are forced to use the language of "males" in order to gain access to institutes of power, like for example higher academics and politics. It might also explain why women's language is frequently stereotyped as formal, more hypercorrect than that of men. Women have to speak that way, according to theory, in order to be recognized. Both the Dominance and the Deficit approach makes a point of that women's language is 'the other'. Without a "men's language" which is set as the standard the 'other', known as women's language would not be identified in the same way.

As an example of women's perceived subordinate role it has for example been proven that men more often interrupt women. Cameron cites studies by for example Zimmerman and West which show's that same-sex pairs interrupt each other rarely and share the conversational floor equally. While there is an asymmetry in mixed pairs where men interrupt women more often. This was also true for cases where women had a higher status, for example talks between a female doctor and a male patient. Cameron also cites a study done by Nicola Woods which shows that in a business setting gender was a greater predictor of whom would be interrupted by who, than status. Even though female bosses were interrupted less than female subordinates they were still more interrupted overall than men.³⁸

³⁷ Edlund, A., Erson E. & Milles, p. 50

³⁸ Cameron, p.71.

4.2. *The Deficit Approach*

Cameron and Edlund, Erson, Milles ascribe Lakoff to this current. According to Lakoff³⁹, girls are from an early age conditioned into using “women’s language” which prepares them for a subordinate place in our adult society. If they fail to use this form of language they are criticized for being ‘un-feminine’. Since the language of women by its very nature evolved as to lack authority it is unfitting to use in situations where one might aspire to exercise authority. That is to say “women’s language” evolved into being *deficit*. Women are denied reach to the styles related to authority, and must either make the choice of “rejecting” women’s language, and by doing so, also risk losing their “femininity”, or “accept” their place in society as subordinate.

As an example, according to Lakoff women use:

- indirect requests
- hedges
- apologetic requests
- specialized vocabulary for things like home-making
- ‘empty’ adjectives
- euphemisms
- tag questions
- intensifiers

On the other hand they use less expletives, or less “offensive” expletives and speak overall less than men. Some of the claims, like women’s use of tag questions have been disproven. Cameron cites studies done by Dubois and Crouch, Janet Holmes and Cameron, McAlinden and O’leary which prove that men use more tag questions, or at least the same amount, as women.⁴⁰ This does still not disprove her theory of women’s language being *deficit* it is merely one way of looking at data and the function of tag questions.

³⁹ Tolmach Lakoff, p. 77-81.

⁴⁰ Cameron, p. 44.

4.3. Lakoff's 3 Rules of Politeness

- 1) Formality: keep aloof.
- 2) Deference: give options.
- 3) Camaraderie: show sympathy.

4.3.1. Formality: keep aloof.

This is the form of politeness most considered in for example etiquette books and occasions where formality is key. In language formality makes a difference between an informal 'you' and a formal 'you'. In this way there is distance created between the speaker and the addressee. A good example is legal and medical matters; by using formality there is a distance created between not only the speaker and addressee, but also the content of the utterance. In this way there can be an attempt to avoid emotional connotation. A doctor might for example use the term 'carcinoma' instead of the emotionally loaded term 'cancer' when dealing with a patient. In this way the speaker retains not only distance from the addressee but also superiority. Therefore formality is one of the corner stones of academic writing where scholars use a passive form of writing, avoid colloquialisms and use hypercorrect forms. These are all ways of creating distance between the speaker and the subject; creating an air of objectivity.

4.3.2. Deference: give options.

While rule 1 and rule 3 are mutually exclusive rule 2, deference, can work not only alone but also in relation with the other two rules. This rule works in a way as to create the option of making seem like the addressee has a say in the matter of what to do and how to behave. In combination with rule 1 this might suggest that the speaker's social status is superior to that of the addressee. Examples of deference in language is euphemisms, hesitancy in speech and action. Other examples are question intonation and tag questioning, but these must be done with the conviction that the speaker is not uncertain about the validity of their assertion. Hedges also work in a similar way since it leaves an option for the addressee on how serious they should interpret an utterance. Saying that someone is "kinda short" may be a polite way of saying that someone is short instead of a rude comment on the person's actual height. Euphemisms work in a similar way as rule 1, formality, in the sense that it creates an emotional distance to the subject of the utterance. In this way it is possible to speak of touchy

subjects while pretending to talk of something else. Euphemisms acknowledge that the subject is touchy, but it marks that the touchiness is not what's up for discussion. This enables for example gossip, since one may talk about touchy subjects. Using euphemisms keep the conversation from creating offense which it would do with higher likelihood if it was said explicitly. In this way euphemisms work with rule 2 since they allow the addressee to pretend that they are not hearing the actual utterance.

4.3.3. Camaraderie: show sympathy

Camaraderie is a form of politeness where the intent of the speaker is to establish to the addressee that the speaker likes and wants to be friendly with them. As with all the other rules the sentiment could be real, but the feelings could also be conventional. Since it is not possible to extend a warm hand and be friendly, while at the same time remain aloof, rule 1 and rule 3 are mutually exclusive. Colloquial language which was excluded from rule 1 is for example part of rule 3. Another example of camaraderie is the use of nick-names, first names and sometimes last names. There are also non-verbal gestures such as slapping someone on the back or hugging. While the first two rules operate from a place of inequality, a condition for rule 3 is egalitarianism, whether real or conventional.

4.4 Okamoto's Counterproposals

Okamoto⁴¹ makes a series of counterproposals against the assumptions created when viewing women as a homogenous group with a homogenous language use:

Assumption 1: Most women, if not all, share the same attributes (e.g., biologically determined traits, social inferiority, social roles, concerns about appearance) and therefore (should) use language in the same way.

Okamoto's counterproposal:

Counterproposal 1: Not all women (or men) share the same attributes: they are socially diverse with regard to age, role, status, and other factors; their conversational contexts also vary widely with regard to interlocutor, setting and so on. As a consequence, not all women (or men) may speak in the same way.

⁴¹ Okamoto, p. 48-49.

As for politeness, the issue of what is polite and not is also up for discussion.

Assumption 2: Certain linguistic expressions, such as honorifics and other formal or indirect expressions, are inherently polite.

Okamoto's second counterproposal:

Counterproposal 2: Certain Linguistic Expressions, such as honorifics and other formal or indirect expressions, are not inherently polite; their interpretations may vary among individuals as well as across contexts, depending on the (ideologically based) criterion used for evaluating them in specific contexts.

These counterproposals will be considered in the analysis and discussion.

5. Background

5.1 Political Context

The amount of women elected into Japanese parliament has historically always been low. In a table cited from ““The Madonna Boom”: Women in the Japanese Diet”, we can see that the number of female politicians has remained virtually the same in both the Upper and Lower House. When the Madonna Boom occurred in 1989 women had an upswing and comprised 17.46% of those elected.⁴² (The whole table can be found in the Appendix.) Even so there are very few women in Japanese cabinets. This is because of the very low proportion of women in the Diet. In order to gain a ministerial post, a seat in the national legislature, particularly in the Lower House, is almost mandatory.⁴³ Therefore women are more common in the Upper House, which is not as associated with power. This is because the Upper House does not wield as much power as the Lower House does.⁴⁴ Women are also virtually excluded from the highest positions of governor and major in regional and local governments.⁴⁵

Japanese parties play a crucial role when it comes to electing more women into public office. It has also been noted that women are elected more under the communist label compared to other parties in Japan, this could imply an ideological connection to the desire to

⁴² Iwai, p. 104.

⁴³ Iwanaga, p. 4.

⁴⁴ *ibid*, pp. 13-14.

⁴⁵ *ibid*, p.5.

see more women in office. To run in a campaign costs a lot of money, women, already being unfavoured economically meet a setback when it comes to financing a campaign. Most of the time they also don't receive the backing they need from their parties.⁴⁶ A common practice in political parties is choosing women to run for seats which they have no chance of winning. In that way the party can cut their losses and keep men in more favourable seats. The women figuratively become "sacrificial lambs".⁴⁷

There is a long road between conceding that there needs to be more female politicians in power and actually implementing it. In 1989 The Japanese Socialist Party was short of candidates, so they put up a large number of women in order to fill their ranks. This was quickly dubbed "The Madonna Boom", and a record of 22 Diet seats went to women. By many it was thought of as a reaction against the leading Liberal Democratic Party's perceived male-privileged politics. This form of politics caused recruit scandals, as well as indignation against a new consumption tax which hit hard against households and the primary caretakers of those households, mainly women. There was also the case of Prime Minister Uno being perceived as a womanizer which was one of many straws to break the camel's back.⁴⁸

Even so the women running for seats were made acutely aware of the fact that they were women. Some attest to explicitly stating that they did not want to capitalize on their gender, but when seeing the election pamphlet the party had gone against their wishes. Others were told to only wear skirts, never pants, regardless of the weather, and some were also made to wear ribbons in their hair. One woman stated that everyone suddenly had a say in how she wore her hair and what kind of make-up she put on.⁴⁹

In Japan, it is crucial for a politician to be married and have children, this image is even more important for female politicians. In order to be successful politicians they must first be perceived as good homemakers, wives and mothers. In traditional Japanese society women are the primary caretakers of their household.⁵⁰ This norm makes it extremely difficult for women to balance a political career at the same time. By keeping up the image of a good wife and mother are they legitimized by their voters to understand the voter's problems, but it is hard to be a good wife and mother when one's political duties require one to be away from one's family for weeks. This double standard does not exist for male politicians, which further limits women's involvement as full-fledged politicians.

⁴⁶ Iwanaga, p.20.

⁴⁷ *ibid*, p. 21.

⁴⁸ *ibid*, p. 32.

⁴⁹ Iwai, p. 108.

⁵⁰ *ibid*, p. 110.

Therefore it can be hard for a female politician to ascertain herself. The Liberal Democratic Party has for example been known for having former actresses, gold medalists, and singers serving in government, women far more known for their popularity and physical attractiveness than their actual political activity.⁵¹ To have women among the political ranks becomes not as useful if they are only treated as figureheads with little real political power. There is a difference between having women in politics in order to gain votes, and actually granting them equal amount of power and resources as their male counterparts.

5.2. Takako Doi

Takako Doi was born 1928. She attended Dōshisha University in Kyoto, where she also remained as a lecturer in constitutional law. In 1969 she was persuaded to stand as a candidate of the Japan Socialist Party in the House of Representatives elections in Kobe in the second constituency. In 1983 she was elected as vice-chair of the party, and during her years as chair the JSP won a big amount of seats in for example the Madonna Boom of 1989. This combined with the other opposition parties led to a majority of seats in the Upper House election against the leading Liberal Democratic Party. Cited as a result of poor local elections she stepped down as chair in 1991. In 1993 she accepted the speaker's chair in the lower house.⁵² She is Japan's first female party leader. She re-emerged as party leader for the Social Democratic party, formerly Japan Socialist party in 1996, and was in office until 2003 when she was succeeded by Mizuho Fukushima.

5.3. Mizuho Fukushima

Born 1955, she studied law at Tokyo University and graduated as a lawyer. 1998 running with the Social Democratic party she was elected into the Upper House. 2001 She assumed the role as chief secretary of the Social Democratic Party. She succeeded Takako Doi in 2003 as party leader of the Social Democratic Party and remained as party leader until 2013.⁵³

⁵¹ S Iwao, *The Japanese Woman: Traditional Image and Changing Reality*, The Free Press, New York, 1993, cited in K Iwanaga, *Women in Japanese Politics: A Comparative Perspective*, Stockholm University Center for Pacific Asia Studies, Stockholm, 1998, p.18.

⁵² Oxford Reference, *A Dictionary of Contemporary World History* (3 ed.), viewed on 12 December 2013, <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095725691?rskey=BkBeMR&result=3#>>

⁵³ Mizuho Fukushima's personal website, viewed on 12 December 2013, <<https://www.mizuhoto.org/profile/index.html>>.

5.4. Makiko Tanaka

Born 1944⁵⁴, she studied in the United States, then entered Waseda University where she studied School of Commerce. She graduated from Waseda University in 1968. 1993 she was elected as an independent from the third constituency of Niigata Prefecture. 1994 she became Director General for the Science and Technology Agency. She was elected a second time in Niigata Prefecture from the fifth constituency in 1996, and for the third time in 2000. In 2001 she became the first female Foreign Minister of Affairs of Japan under the Liberal Democratic Party.⁵⁵

6. Results

6.1. Data

To summarize the women's language ending particles *no*, *yo*, *wa*, *kashira*, *teyo*, *noyo*, *dawa* did not appear at all in the speeches. The same can be said for the interjections *ara* and *mā*; they were not present in the speeches.

Auxiliary Verbs:

	Number of times they appear in each speech					
	Speech 1-TD	Speech 2-TD	Speech 3-MF	Speech 4-MF	Speech 5-MT	Speech 6-MT
Auxiliary verb						
Mase-form	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mashi-form	0	0	*1	0	0	0

The auxiliary verb forms *mase* and *mashi* are not present in the speeches. There was one instance where *mashi* appeared, but according to the dictionary⁵⁶ the auxiliary verb *mashi* is used in conjunction with the honorific verbs *irassharu*. 'to come, to go, to be', *kudasaru*, 'to give', and *nasaru*, 'to do'. This time *mashi* only appeared as *shimashi*, so it can only be

⁵⁴ Encyclopedia Britannica, viewed on 12 December 2013, <<http://global.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/760162/Tanaka-Makiko>>.

⁵⁵ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, viewed on 12 December 2013, <<http://www.mofa.go.jp/about/hq/profile/tanaka.html>>.

⁵⁶ Goo Jisho, mase, viewed on 21 November 2013, <<http://dictionary.goo.ne.jp/leaf/jn2/208204/m0u/>>.

concluded that it was an error in the publication of the speech. The real form was supposed to be *shimashita*, the polite form of *suru*, ‘to do’.

First Person Pronouns:

	Number of times they appear in each speech					
	Speech 1-TD	Speech 2-TD	Speech 3-MF	Speech 4-MF	Speech 5-MT	Speech 6-MT
First Person Pronoun						
Watakushi	0	0	5	9	1	4
Atakushi	0	0	“-“	“-“	“-“	“-“
Watashi	0	0	“-“	“-“	“-“	“-“
Waga	0	0	0	0	6	7
Atashi	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uchi	0	0	0	0	0	0
Watashitachi	3	0	1	9	0	0

Among the first-person pronouns only *watashitachi*, *watakushi* and its related *atakushi*, *watashi*, and the highly formal *waga* appeared. *Waga* only appeared in Makiko Tanaka’s Speeches.

Since the kanji for *watakushi*, *atakushi* and *watashi* can be the same for all three pronouns, the meaning of “-“ is that the number above is the same for the two other pronouns situated below: 5, 9, 1, and 4.

Honorifics:

	Number of times they appear in each speech					
	Speech 1-TD	Speech 2-TD	Speech 3-MF	Speech 4-MF	Speech 5-MT	Speech 6-MT
Honorific						
San	2	6	5	20	0	0
Kun	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sama	0	0	0	0	2	1
Honorific dropped	0	0	3*	3*	0	0

The honorific *san* was the most commonly used honorific. Makiko Tanaka also used *sama* while Mizuho Fukushima had instances where she did not use honorifics together with *minna*, ‘everyone’. From the context it could be concluded that the drop in honorifics was mostly not related to the “audience” of the speech as a second person pronoun. Instead *minna* was used as a third person pronoun.

Beautification Prefix:

	Number of times they appear in each speech					
	Speech 1-TD	Speech 2-TD	Speech 3-MF	Speech 4-MF	Speech 5-MT	Speech 6-MT
Beautification Prefix						
O- as a prefix	1	0	3	5	0	1
Go- as a prefix	0	0	0	0	0	0

The prefix *go-* was not used at all, while the prefix *o-* was used moderately by all speakers.

Mainly in the expected forms like *o-rei*, ‘*thanks, expression of gratitude*’, where it is customary to use the prefix *o-*. Mizuho Fukushima used the prefix *o-* the most, for example in contexts like *o-chikara*, ‘*strength*’, and *o-kari*, ‘*loan*’. She was the only speaker with a higher use of *o-*.

6.2. Analysis

6.2.1. The Dominance Approach and the Deficit Approach

The ending particles did not appear at all in the speeches according to the data. This might support the theory of the dominance approach, since the absence of women's language ending particles could suggest a formal and more hypercorrect language use. In political speeches these ending particles could be viewed as "inferior" and unsuitable for the language of politics, and are therefore not used. There is an overhanging stereotype associated with *teyo dawa kotoba*; that it is a stereotypical language; so called Japanese role language; mainly for a stereotypical type of woman that is hyper feminine and high class. Therefore the stereotypical type of situations associated with this type of speech is mainly conversations associated with fine ladies and their type of living. Lakoff also discusses that there is an expectation of women's language to be shallow, only used for conversations that are not of great importance. To use women's language ending particles in politics, a stage where you need to make everything you say seem of utmost importance, might be detrimental to the cause. In this sense, the stereotype hampers women's language, which makes us able to argue that women's language is deficit. There is no proper ending particles in women's language that evolved to be used in politics and other instances of high language. Since there is no such part of women's language, women are not able to utilize women's language in these situations. Women's language is therefore deficit in this instance.

This could also be the reason for why the interjections *ara* and *mā* were not used; they do not sufficiently convey a feeling of grave importance and seriousness. The use of *ara* and *mā* could also conjure up the stereotype of the housewife talking about "unimportant matters", therefore not suitable for the matter of "grave" politics. In this sense it can also be argued that women's language is "deficit".

The Auxiliary verbs *mase* and *mashi* did not appear. By now we can see a trend; typical women's language markers are not appearing in the speeches. Why this is so is an interesting fact up for discussion.

Since speeches are quite formal in their nature the first-person pronouns *watakushi*, *atakushi*, *watashi* appeared the most in the speeches, the plural form *watashitachi* was also used. This supports the dominance approach in the sense that women are expected to use the same type of pronouns in formal speech as that of men in order to stand on an equal footing with them. Why are not the usual female pronouns used? One reason could be that in accordance with the dominance approach, they are not "good enough" to use in formal

occasions in accordance with men's dominance in Japanese society. It could also be argued that the mandated female pronouns evolved into being deficit, since their use was mandated and enforced by policy. Here we can see evidence of both the dominance and deficit approach depending on interpretation of the data.

In accordance with regular Japanese polite speech the absolutely most used honorific was *san*. Tanaka in her formal speeches even used *sama*. *San* is an expected form used by both sexes, which also could be evidence in support of the dominance approach.

As for the beautification prefix *o-* and *go-*, the prefix *go-* was not used at all, while the prefix *o-* was mostly used in accordance with conventional predictable uses of *o-*, such as *okane*, 'money' and *orei*, 'thanking, expression of gratitude.' There is one small exception in the case of Mizuho Fukushima. She uses *o-* at a higher rate than the other politicians. Here we see the one exception to the trend of women's language markers not being used. In the realm of politeness, Mizuho Fukushima's use of *o-* can be seen as being polite, something very important for women's language. This is also cited as a feature in favor of the dominance approach. The view that women use *o-* more than men in order to be polite can be interpreted as a language use that favors the dominance approach, since it promotes that women should speak more polite and formal.

In total we can conclude that Japanese women's language was mostly not used. What could account for this?

In fact, it could be an error in thinking to believe that all women should speak and act a certain way just because they are women. The act of categorizing women's language perpetuates an assumption that women share the same traits and are all similar. Gender is only one factor and it would for example be erroneous to expect that a young lesbian woman in Tokyo speaks the same way as a middle aged heterosexual woman in the countryside. The expectation that women should speak the same way ignores that women also belong to different social groups, age brackets and locations, with different personal backgrounds and circumstances.⁵⁷

With this in mind, it could provide an explanation as to why we did not see any expected women's language. Just because there exists a notion of a women's language in Japan, it does not mean that all women identify with women's language.

⁵⁷ Okamoto, p. 48.

6.2.2 Lakoff's 3 Rules of Politeness

Takako Doi

Takako Doi did not use any singular first person pronouns in her speeches. Japanese is not a subject based language, so it is possible for her to speak without naming herself. Why did she choose this approach? It could be argued that this could also be a way to mark formality, since it is also commonly used by for example scholars. As a contrast, instead of using a singular first-pronoun Doi uses the plural first-person pronoun *watashitachi*, which is using the rule camaraderie. By using *watashitachi* Doi can create a more intimate tone; she can create the idea that she is part of the audience which is a very effective political tool during a rally speech. The Mayday speeches are usually speeches which are used to energize the addresses and rally them towards a common political goal, therefore Doi often uses requests in the polite *mashou* form. This could be argued as a use of camaraderie, since it implies that everyone, together with her, should work together for their common goals.

An effective use of deference, to give options, and also in a sense, camaraderie, is often shown by both Doi and Fukushima. This could be associated with their political affiliations and the speeches chosen. As an example Doi makes use of rethorical questions in order to engage the audience.

In general Doi makes very well use of camaraderie. In the traditional view of women's politeness this could be classified as evidence of not using women's language. We have established that Okamoto makes a counterproposal to the traditional view of what constitutes politeness⁵⁸, and if we take her counterproposal into account, we could also view this fact as Doi attuning to the level of politeness required for her particular social situations. Is this because of women's language or because of the social expectation that mandates politicians to be polite towards their supporters and voters? Since politeness in women's language is often standardized as formality, camaraderie can be interpreted as evidence against this trend.

Mizuho Fukushima

In regards to Lakoff's 3 Rules of Politeness Mizuho Fukushima is a very interesting case. A big part of Japanese speech formality is using the right amount of distance, therefore the first rule is often used, formality: keep aloof. The right use of honorifics, *san*; correct use of the beautification prefix *o-*; use of polite expressions and honorific speech. This all creates a sense of distance between the speaker and the addresses and is most often used in the

⁵⁸ Okamoto, p. 48-49.

speeches I have sampled. On the other hand in the 3rd speech, one of Fukushima's speeches, there is a small drop in politeness from her side. I would interpret it as Fukushima utilizing camaraderie: show sympathy. For example she drops the polite standard *desu* from *okashii* 'strange'. This creates a more intimate tone with her addressees since she shows her emotions and involvement in her political causes. She also shares experiences with her addressees which shows that she has seen their plights. In this ways she shows her sympathy.

Fukushima's use of *nande*, 'why', as an interjection also breaks formality. She is utilizing camaraderie since interjections are used to show emotion. The use of *nande* in this case is used to express anger at the current state of Japan. Camaraderie is an extremely important tool for politicians, but as we established in the case of Doi, this might clash against the stereotypical view of women's language being formal and hyper-correct.

Also Fukushima, similar to Doi, frequently uses rhetorical questions towards her addressees, making it seem like they have an option of answering. This utilizes deference, give options, since the answer is pre-understood; she only wants one type of answer. By using deference the utterances are softened, therefore language is not too imposing. She makes sure that the audience are involved with their own opinions and that it is not only Fukushima imposing her views. This is seen as a feature of women's language politeness, since one should avoid being too imposing, one should give options.

Fukushima does use expressions like *mattaku dame desu*, 'totally useless' and similar strong expressions, which are uncharacteristic of women's language, they do not leave much room for interpretation like deference does. It does show emotion as in camaraderie. Since deference can be used in conjunction with camaraderie, this evidence suggests that Fukushima, like Doi, makes most use of camaraderie in her speeches, which is uncharacteristic of traditional women's language politeness.

Makiko Tanaka

Tanaka's speeches are mostly very formal and ceremonial. It is probably a reflection of her role as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Her capacity as a representative of the state requires her to speak in highly formal and ceremonial settings. Only her speeches feature first-person pronouns like *waga* in the sense of *wagakuni* 'our country', which is an extremely formal plural first-person pronoun. When her position is taken into account it seems fairly natural to use *wagakuni* since she often spoke in international settings as a representative of her country. She is also the only one of the three speakers who use *sama* as a honorific. She is an extremely effective user of the first rule; Formality. In contrast to the other two speakers she

uses honorific speech such as humble language: *orimasu*, 'to be'; *itadakimasu*, 'to receive'; *mairimasu*, 'to come'. Fukushima made use of very explicit experiences in order to show sympathy towards her addressees, while Tanaka's language paints a broader picture of her subject matter. By using formality the subject distance is furthered, and complicated emotional connotation that can taint the utterance is avoided. Tanaka is a representative of her country, and by using formality she marks that she is there as a representative and not only her own person. Therefore formality is key.

Tanaka also interacts with the addressees in the sense of rethorical questions *deshouka*, 'don't you agree?', 'it seems', 'I think' which is using deference, giving options. Notable though, is that she adheres to the first rule of formality and does not drop down to the rule of camaraderie. Deference is used in conjunction with formality. Okamoto reasons that Japanese women's use of polite language is a behavioral norm for the Japanese language, while the use of honorifics is not only linked to gender, but also class, essentially making politeness an important indicator for women of a good upbringing and education. The link between polite speech and status is a behavioral norm which has permeated Japanese society for centuries.⁵⁹ Tanaka is an extremely proficient user of formality and deference, which marks her as a sophisticated and well-educated woman. It is difficult to distinguish what language use depends on her role as a woman and her role as a minister. Her politeness is after all also an adaptation to the highly formal settings that surround her.

Among the three female politicians Tanaka makes most use of formality, while the other two made use of camaraderie. She is the only one among the three with language use that exhibits evidence of the traditional view of women's language politeness.

7. Discussion and Conclusion

7.1. Discussion

In this thesis the occurrence of women's language in female Japanese politicians' speeches has been investigated, but the act of defining women's language opens up different ways of interpreting the evidence found in the speeches.

What is in fact Japanese women's language and why is it expected for women to identify themselves with this language? As we could see in the speeches: no typical women's

⁵⁹ Okamoto, p. 43.

language markers appeared overall. Why would the speakers consciously or unconsciously not use women's language? Okamoto argued with her counterproposals that the division of language speakers according to their genders supports and perpetuates a stereotypical gender dichotomy. Therefore some parts of the so called "women's language" might only apply to a certain type of women while being totally alien to others. It might be an error in thinking to believe that women's language in its role of being women's language should apply and appeal to all women. This could also be an explanation as to why no evidence, barring certain politeness, of women's language was found in the speeches. The speakers maybe simply do not identify with the attributes ascribed to women's language. Gender is after all only one factor that makes up a person's identity.

In the drive for identifying, creating and protecting a genuine women's language these nuances have been lost among language policy makers of the last century. Women's language was created as a bench mark; an ideal to which women were measured and judged. This ideal was of a soft, non-assertive, high class well educated woman. It is a farce to expect that all women should conform and fit into this narrow ideal. It totally erases many different ways for women to construct their self-identity, and among all it becomes a tool for prosecuting women who do not fit into the traditional gender norms and expectations of Japan. In this sense it can be argued that the women's language actively created by language policy-makers is gravely deficit and deeply problematic, since it actively limits and cuts off women from more "powerful" speech styles. It did not evolve naturally as a language used by women.

Another factor to evaluate is the interpretation of politeness since women's language is often viewed as polite. Camaraderie is an extremely important tool for politicians, since it brings them closer to their supporters. This might go against the stereotypical view of women's language being formal and hyper-correct in order to enhance politeness. The formal and hyper-correct form of politeness is more often linked to formality and deference of Lakoff's 3 Rules of Politeness. Is it that easy though to classify this evidence as something which does not apply to women's language? What is politeness and is it inherent in its politeness that it has to be distant when it comes to women's language? Okamoto presented that Japanese women's use of polite language is a behavioral norm for the Japanese language; a behavioral norm which has permeated Japanese society for centuries. There are though different forms of politeness, and it can be argued that the view of women's language type of politeness does not encompass all types of politeness. Politeness is a matter of evaluations of social conduct and is heavily dependent on norms and views of the speaker and the addressee. Rule 1: Formality might be polite in one situation, while actually being rude in another. The

same can be said for rule 3: Camaraderie. Imagine Takako Doi only using formality while holding a May Day speech, it would probably not work so well to distance oneself from the addressees and could even be seen as rude. What makes this relevant to the evidence found in the speeches? It makes us able to argue that the view of women's language having to be formal and hyper-correct, does not necessarily promote politeness, since politeness is not inherent in formality. It all depends on interpretation. With this it can be argued that the expectation of women's language to be inherently formal and hyper-correct in order to be polite is one more way in which the language becomes deficit, since it denies access to camaraderie as a way to be polite.

From this it could be argued that Japanese women's language is deficit, while the expectations of politeness in women's language also displays evidence that supports the dominance approach in the Japanese language.

7.2. Conclusion

In this thesis it has been made clear that the selected speeches did not contain the women's language characteristics selected in the method such as: ending particles, interjections, and auxiliary verb-forms. *Bika-go*, 'beautification words', only appeared in their conventional expected forms, except in the case of Fukushima. Regarding pronouns, the standard forms of *watashi*, *watakushi*, *atakushi* were used. On the other hand there is no telling if the female form *atakushi* was used since it can be written with the same kanji as *watakushi* and *watashi*. This also makes it impossible to determine the formality level used between *watakushi* and *watashi*. When using honorifics *san* was the most frequent honorific primarily used by Doi and Fukushima, while *sama* also was used by Tanaka. Sometimes the honorifics were also dropped. *Watakushi* has been marked as a pronoun which women should use, so in the capacity of politeness it is expected of women to use honorifics such as *san* and *sama*. None of these practices are evidence though of typical women's language characteristics.

Women's language has also been internationally stereotyped as formal and hypercorrect in line with the dominance approach, but when the speeches were compared to Lakoff's 3 Rules of Politeness, rule 1, formality, was quite often broken in favour of rule 3, camaraderie. Hypercorrect language was toned down in favour of language that expressed emotions and sympathies. Tanaka adhered to formality, but two of three politicians used camaraderie as one of their main forms of politeness. Why was the stereotypical view of women's politeness so often broken?

In politics a politician's career depends very much on his or her supporters. Politicians need to connect with their supporters, and create an intimate tone and atmosphere in which the supporters feel involved. This implies a certain level or at least a tone of egalitarianism since politicians need to establish a feeling of "us" as a group with their supporters. The only form of politeness which has egalitarianism as a pre-requisite is camaraderie, which explains why camaraderie becomes an indispensable tool for politicians; no voter wants to vote for a politician who feels aloof, uncaring and out of touch with the voter's concerns and problems. This is totally in line with Shigeko Okamoto's counterproposals on politeness. Being formal is not necessarily being polite depending on the context and audience.

By establishing this closeness with their supporters, politicians can make sure to gain their votes. Since both Doi and Fukushima are politicians it would then seem fairly natural for them to use camaraderie often.

So why did we not find any strong evidence of camaraderie in Tanaka's speeches? It is maybe simply an evaluation of the audience present. Camaraderie is not needed in Tanaka's speeches since the audience is not her supporters. It is official gatherings where she speaks in the role of Japan's Foreign Affairs Minister in front of an audience who demands a totally different form of respect and politeness than her supporters: formality.

Basically the fundamental difference in the politeness types used between Doi, Fukushima and Tanaka could very much hinge on their target audiences. We might even hypothesize that Tanaka also uses camaraderie in her rally speeches when she needs to use egalitarianism in order to establish closeness with her supporters. Even if we could hypothesize that Tanaka might use camaraderie depending on her target audience, it would be interesting to ask the question as to what extent Tanaka would use this politeness form, since she comes from a different ideological background than Doi and Fukushima do.

In summary, typical Japanese women's language speech characteristics were not explicitly found in the selected speeches, so what can account for the lack of women's language characteristics? In accordance with the dominance approach there are certain expectations on language use in the scene of politics. This is most easily observed in the case of Makiko Tanaka in her capacity as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In highly formal settings there is a need to adhere to certain expectations of formality in order to properly fit into the world of politics. Where do these expectations arise from? Who sets the rules? Since the world of politics is dominated by men it is easy to draw the conclusion that the expectations are perhaps created from a male-centered point of view, further enforcing the Dominance Approach. As Miyako Inoue observed, standard Japanese was created with the middle-class

Tokyo male in mind, which caused women's language to become one of the "other" languages. This is very strong evidence for the dominance approach.

Since women's language is treated as an "other" it has also evolved differently. It has become stereotyped as a language for one type of women, therefore it can also be argued that the typical women's language cited in dictionaries and the like is deficit. It has never evolved as to involve expressions and forms which as a tool can accurately convey the reality of women. In fact, the language might be so deficit in its stereotype that women even choose not to use it since it does not represent the diversity of women properly. Just because it is women's language does not mean that it was a language created by women to be used by women. As we can see throughout history, women's language was rather created in a conscious effort by language policy makers in an effort to limit the range of expressions available to women. In an effort to keep women from using "vulgar" language, readily available for men, they were penalized against a standard consciously created as "women's language". Since what is perceived today as typical women's language is not something which was created "naturally" among women for women like *teyo dawa kotoba* might have been in its origins; it is not hard to imagine that Japanese women's language is deficit and lacks the forms and expressions which otherwise evolve naturally.

7.3. Suggestions for Further Research

An interesting aspect to explore is to enquire if there is any difference in the political language used between Japanese female politicians of different political parties and ideological backgrounds. From the analysis we could gather that camaraderie was often utilized by members of the Social Democratic Party, therefore political parties with more focus on egalitarianism might for example suggest more extensive use of camaraderie in order to be polite. Conservative language users might perhaps use more formal language use. In this study 2 parties were examined, so it would be of interest to expand the scope to include more women from a range of political parties.

Another area of interest would be a cross-comparison between female and male politicians' language use. Since we have established that female politicians do not use women's language, we could hypothesize that their language use is similar to that of their male counterparts. The dominance and deficit approach supports this theory since it suggests that women have to give up their deficit women's language and use the language which the dominant gender makes use of, perhaps with more formal flairs.

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9. Appendix

9.1. Tables

9.1.1. Electoral Trends for Female Candidates

Table 1
Electoral Trends for Female Candidates

Lower House				
Election No. & Year	No. of Women Candidates	Women % of Total	No. Elected	Women % of Total Elected
23 1947	85	5.35	15	3.22
24 1949	44	3.23	12	2.58
25 1952	26	2.09	9	1.93
26 1953	22	2.14	9	1.93
27 1955	23	2.26	8	1.71
28 1958	19	2.00	11	2.36
29 1960	21	2.23	7	1.50
30 1963	18	1.96	7	1.50
31 1967	15	1.63	7	1.44
32 1969	21	2.22	8	1.65
33 1972	20	2.23	7	1.42
34 1976	25	2.78	6	1.17
35 1979	23	2.58	11	2.15
36 1980	28	3.35	9	1.76
37 1983	28	3.30	8	1.57
38 1986	35	4.18	7	1.38
39 1990	66	6.93	12	2.34
Upper House				
1 1947	19	3.29	10	8.00
2 1950	24	4.26	5	4.00
3 1953	28	6.26	10	8.00
4 1956	17	4.99	5	4.00
5 1959	18	5.45	8	6.40
6 1962	15	4.57	8	6.40
7 1965	13	3.92	9	7.20
8 1968	11	3.61	5	4.00
9 1971	15	4.92	8	6.35
10 1974	18	5.16	8	6.35
11 1977	36	11.25	8	6.35
12 1980	18	6.32	9	7.14
13 1983	55	12.79	10	7.94
14 1986	82	16.21	10	7.94
15 1989	146	21.79	22	17.46

9.2 Speeches

9.2.1. Takako Doi Speech 1

働らく仲間の皆さんへ

第68回メーデーアピール

全国の働く仲間の皆さん、社会民主党は第68回メーデーを皆さんとともにお祝いし、心から激励と連帯のあいさつを送ります。

21世紀に向け、どのような社会を目指すのか、私たちは今、大きな岐路にさしかかっています。私たちの目前には、地球環境の保全や人権擁護、飢餓や貧困の追放、南北格差の解消など、世界の人々が手を取り合って取り組まなければならない課題が山積しています。また、経済のグローバル化が進む中で、労働基本権や公正労働基準の確立、さまざまな差別の撤廃などは世界の労働者に共通する課題であり、働く人々の国境を超えた連帯が今ほど重要なときはありません。

戦後50年余、私たちは、日本国憲法のもとで、「平和で公平、公正な社会」、「ゆとりある豊かな生活」の実現に懸命に努力してきました。しかし一方では、政・官・業の癒着による官僚政治や金権、腐敗が進み、経済の停滞や少子高齢化社会の到来など、早急に解決を迫られる重要な課題に直面しています。今後とも、憲法をしっかりと踏まえながら、必要な改革には大胆に取り組む必要があります。行財政改革や規制緩和が大きな課題となっていますが、透明で開かれた政治、働く人々の雇用と権利の確保、そして、女性や高齢者、子どもたちなど社会的に弱い立場にある人々が、安心して暮らせる共生社会の実現こそが、改革の方向でなければなりません。

社会民主党は、沖縄問題や財政構造改革、医療改革、介護保険、民法改正や男女雇用平等法の制定など当面する重要課題について、党の方針を鮮明にしながら全力を挙げて取り組みます。大きな激動と変革の時代にある今こそ、働く人々を最大の基盤とし、「自由、公正、連帯」を基本価値とする社会民主主義が、ますますその輝きを増しています。

社会民主党は、働く人々や市民との絆をしっかりと結び、
憲法を守り、社会民主主義の旗を高く掲げて、すべての人々が平和で安心して暮ら
せる政治と社会の実現に全刀を挙げる決意です。

ともに頑張りましょう。

1997年5月 1 日

社会民主党党首

土井たか子

9.2.2. Takako Doi Speech 2

党員みなさん、支持者の皆さん、ボランティアの皆さん最後の1週間を全力で闘
いぬこう!!

社民党 党首

土井たか子

第18回参議院議員選挙は最終盤を迎えました。雇用や社会的弱者に配慮した景気
対策、政治倫理の確立、新ガイドライン関連法案の危険性と平和憲法の重要性、1
5の女性政策など社民党の訴えは確実に浸透しています。全国遊説では、多くの
方々が真剣かつ熱心に聞いてくださり、社民党への期待と確かな手応えを感じてい
ます。

党員・支持者・ボランティアの皆さん。

最後の1週間、この有権者の期待を確実な投票行動に結びつけ、勝利への道をきり
拓きましょう。

社民党への期待は、一昨年の総選挙とは比較にならないほど上向き、運動の輪も広
がっています。女性候補者の比率は社民党が一番高く、「女性と政治 ネットワー

ク」を中心とする女性の力が大きく発揮されています。比例区候補者を擁立した私鉄、日教組、自治労をはじめ、多くの労働組合、働く人々が社民党を支援し闘っています。

国民を代表する多士多彩な顔ぶれの比例区候補者は、名簿1位の福島瑞穂候補を先頭に、全国各地で、新鮮でユニークな政策を訴えています。

皆さん。社民党はあと一步のところまで追いつけています。

最後の1週間、この勢いに拍車をかけ、支持層を確実に固め、都市部の無党派層や女性に更なる支持を拡大し、必ず大きな成果を实らせましょう。

「比例区はやっぱり社民党」の一大運動を展開しましょう。

選挙区、比例区で勝ちぬき、自民党の単独過半数を阻止しましょう。

党員・支持者・ボランティアの皆さん！ 最後まで全力で闘いぬきましょう。

9.2.3. Mizuho Fukushima Speech 3

2009年4月29日

福島みずほ挨拶（要旨）

働く仲間の皆さん、こんにちは。第80回メーデー、本当におめでとうございます。80回メーデーは、怒りのメーデーです。反転攻勢のメーデーです。政治を変えるメーデーです。派遣切り、採用内定の取り消し、リストラ、働く人たちがこんなにぼろぼろにされたときがあったのでしょうか。非正規雇用、そして正社員、民間、公務員、男性も女性も、そしてこれだけではありません。みんなが本当にずたずたにされる、本日のメーデーのスローガン、働くものの使い捨てを許さない、そのために社民党も粉骨砕身、全力を挙げることをまず、皆さんにお誓いいたします。こんな状況下で、これを乗り切るには、団結しかありません。社民党、私もいろんな現場に行きました。京浜ホテルの仲間が今日来てくれていますが、私は、連日激励にホ

テルに行き、泊まりました。まじめに一生懸命にはたらいでも黒字でも全員解雇される。これが起きているのが日本の現実です。

雇用促進住宅は廃止決定されているから入れない、そういう政府に対し、若い仲間たちと一緒に雇用促進住宅を開放せよと声を上げて取り組み、みんなで成果を挙げてきました。社民党は大分キャノンの門前に行き交渉をしまし。初めて企業が派遣切りに遭った若者たちに2億円、お金を払う、そのことの和解が成立いたしました。働くものは負けてはいません。働くものの団結でがんばっています。そのような成果をこれからも皆さんと全力であげていきたいと思っています。

派遣村に連日行きました。そこで出会った人たちは政府の、自公政権の労働法制の規制緩和のまさに、犠牲者だと私は実感しました。自殺をはかった人たちにも会ってきました。労働法制を規制緩和して労働者の生活を破壊し、セーフティネットをずたずたにしてきた自公政権を許すわけには行かない、私はそう思いますが、皆さん、どうでしょうか。労働法制の改正こそ、国会がやるべきことです。

その、まず突破口として**社民党は労働者派遣法の抜本改正、これをやっていきたいと思っています。**自公政権が出しているのは、30日以下の日雇い派遣を禁止する、そんな何の役にも立たない中身でしかありません。この点については、社民党は、登録型派遣については専門職に限定する、との立場で法案を出したいと思っています。今日、亀井久興幹事長がいらっしゃいますが、これは国民新党と共に、やってきました。現在、民主党と協議中です。（関連：福島みずほのどきどき日記＞**派遣法の抜本改正について一社民党の要綱発表** 別ウィンドウが開きます）

もともと、民主党は60日以下の日雇い派遣を禁止する、そういう案を持っていました。社民党は何度か、民主党の菅・雇用対策本部長と私、福島みずほで交渉し、協議の大詰めを迎えております。何とか、民主党を説得したい、そう思っています。社民党の案は、連合が提案している案とほぼ同じです。ここにいらっしゃる皆さんのお力をお借りして派遣法の抜本改正案を国会に提出し、何とか成立したいと社民党は考えています。それから、今後、長時間労働の規制、パートの規制、均等

法の規制、有期契約者の規制、働く人たちのために法律を作り直していく、そういうことを政治の場面で全力でやって生きたいと思っています。

今、まさに政治を変える番です。自公政権は働くものの立場に立つことはできません。

ならば、自公政権を倒し、私たち、働くもののための新しい政治を作っていこうではありませんか。新自由主義から社会民主主義へ、ぎすぎすした社会から温かい社会へ。排除して切り捨てていく社会から、共生連帯の社会へ、まさに切り替えていく立場でやってきました。

来るべき衆議院選挙で社民党は、**保坂展人**衆院議員、そしてここ東京ブロックでは日野自動車で派遣労働者として働き、派遣労移動者として現場で組合を作り、2006年、ガテン系連帯を作ってきた池田一慶（**池田一慶ホームページ※別ウィンドウが開きます**）さんを擁立し、派遣・非正規雇用、雇用の問題を全力をかけてがんばっていこうと考えています。

東海ブロックには、パートの当事者として戦ってきた女性を比例区に擁立していきます（**坂喜代子ホームページ※別ウィンドウが開きます**）。**社民党は、雇用の問題を最重要課題として戦っていきます。**

政治改革、これも必要です。社民党は第2次政治改革をすべきである、と考えています。新しい政治は、新しい政治改革をすべきです。国会議員の世襲禁止、天下りの禁止、企業団体献金の禁止、この3点セットを国政大掃除プログラムとして実現してまいります。最後に、憲法平和の問題です。自公政権が、憲法審査会を動かして憲法改正へと動き出しました。生活の安定は平和があってこそです。今は、憲法改正をやっている場合ではない、と私は思います。今まさに国民の重要課題に政治は向き合って、変える場面だと思います。社民党は、平和、そして働く仲間のため、労働者の見方として全力を挙げていきます。非正規雇用も正社員も女性も男性も、民間も公務員も、ハンディキャップがある人もない人も、若い人も高齢者もパートも契約社員も、今こそみんなが力をあわせて、政治を変

え、法律を変えるべき時です。共にがんばっていきましょう。社民党をどうかよろしく願いいたします。

9.2.4. Mizuho Fukushima Speech 4

2009年5月3日

福島みずほスピーチ（要旨）

皆さんこんにちは。今日は、大好きな日本国憲法の 62 回目の誕生日です。ここにいらっしゃる皆さん、そして多くの国民の皆さんと日本国 憲法をお祝いしたいと思います。そして今日の集会が、国会の中、政治の場面で憲法改正をやろうとしているそういう動きを食い止める大きな一歩となる集会と なるよう心から思います。みんなでがんばっていきましょう。私は日本という国が大好きです。世界に誇るべき日本国憲法があるからです。この日本国憲法を皆 で使って世界のために貢献したいと思います。今日お集まりの皆さん、私たち一人一人の動きで大きな動きを作っていきましょう。

今日は3点話します。まず、始めになんと言っても平和の問題です。

平和の問題の第1番目に、ソマリアへの自衛隊派兵に強い抗議と、私たちはやはり許さないということを申し上げたいと思います。国会でも 質問しました。なぜ、立法を無くしてやるんだと。麻生総理の答弁は、応急措置的に自衛隊を出すと。その後、海賊新法を作るという答弁でした。本当になめられていると思い、頭にきました。自衛隊は応急措置的に出す、そんな存在でいいのでしょうか。また、麻生総理が4月4日本会議場で、国益を脅かす死活的問題 と答弁しました。国益という言葉が出てきました。アフガン問題、イラク特措法、テロ特措法で出てこなかった、国益という言葉が大手を振って出てきました。でも、私は思います。日本人の保護、日本人のために、日本の製品のために、日本のもののために自衛隊を派兵する、これは戦前に行なった侵略戦争といったい どこが違うのでしょうか。（拍手）。世界中には日本の物、人、企業、船、あらゆるものが溢れ返っています。それが危険だ

ということで自衛隊が出て行くことになれば、どんな海にもどんな地域にも、場合によってはどんな陸にも自衛隊が出て行くことになってしまいます。

実際に、海賊新法はソマリア沖に範囲を限っていません。つまり、いつでもどこでもドラえもののドアではないけれど、どこでもドアを使って、自衛隊が世界中に出て行く、そのことの大きな第一歩と今回の自衛隊派兵はなるのではないかと、大きな危惧を感じています。戦後最大の憲法違反の自衛隊の派兵です。海賊新法がこれから参議院で審議されます。どんな観点からも許すわけにはいきません。国会の事前承認ありません。私は、必ずしも国会の事前承認無くして自衛隊を出せる、という2005年に発表された自民党新憲法草案の先取りだと思います。その先には、自衛隊派兵恒久法案が地続きで提案されると思います。だからこそ、ここにいらっしゃる皆さん、そして国民の皆さん、海賊新法を許さない、そのためにもっともっと大きな運動を一緒に作っていきましょうではありませんか。（拍手）。勿論、民主党の修正案でも全くだめです。社民党は国会の中で頑張ります。応援して下さい。

2つめ、武器と軍縮の話をしてします。国会で民主党議員が武器輸出禁止三原則を緩めるべきだと質問して、私は落合恵子さんではないですが、「怒髪天を突く」というそんな思いになりました。戦後の日本は良いものがたくさんあります。海外で武力行使をしなかったこと。そして、日本製の武器が世界中の子どもたちを殺したりはしなかったということ。これを堂々と日本国憲法のもとで武器輸出3原則を緩和すべきだという質問が出てきたことに大変危惧を感じています。危険です。

そして、核軍縮についてひと言申し上げます。アメリカのオバマ大統領がプラハで核軍縮について演説しました。アメリカは核超大国です。その大統領が核軍縮を初めて言ったことは大きいと思います。社民党はオバマ大統領のアフガン政策・テロとの戦いには断固反対です。でも、この核軍縮については、社民党は先頭に立って、もっといえば、日本も先頭に立ってやるべきだと思っています。（拍手）。オバマ大統領は核兵器を落とした国として日本の広島、長崎の名前を挙げました。日本は核兵器を落とされた国としてもっと先頭に立つべきだと思います。（拍手）。国会の中にも、核軍縮などいろんな議員連盟があります。これは、それこそ超党派で、国内で大きな運動を作っていきたい。社民党は唯一、脱原子力の政党です。核

廃絶といった場合に、核兵器廃絶とプルトニウムの問題という2つを無くしていくために全力を挙げていきます。（拍手）。

3つめに、米軍再編の問題です。グアム移転協定と言われていますが、私は、米軍再編・強化協定だと思います。横須賀港が原子力空母母港化になり、米軍はなんと、メンテナンスを含め修理をしている、という大問題。東京に原発をとということが、実は現実化しました。あの、ジュゴンの住む綺麗な沖縄の辺野古沖に米軍のために基地を作っていく、そのことを政府は着々と進めようとしています。でも、皆さんどうでしょうか。来年7月、名古屋で生物多様会議が日本政府の主催で開かれます。でも、皆さん、ジュゴンが住む沖縄の海をつぶす日本政府に生物多様性の国際会議を開く資格があると思いますか。（会場から、「ない」の声）（拍手）。ないでしょうね。私は日本政府は、生物多様性というのであれば、この辺野古の沖の海上基地建設や米軍再編を本当にやめるべきだと思います。一緒に頑張りましょう。（拍手）。

平和の問題4番目です。国会で、憲法審査会をこの5月3日より前に動かすために自民党は頑張りました。私たち野党は頑張って、そんなの許さないと、国会の中で大きな攻防戦になりました。社民党は、今日出席している保坂展人衆院議員が議院運営委員会で頑張ってくれました。国民投票法があの、安倍内閣で成立し、私たちは国会でそれを動かさないというために、頑張っています。しかし、規則を作り委員会を動かしていく、そんな動きが国会の中で強まっています。もう、衆議院選挙目前、なんで、こんな憲法審査会を動かして憲法改正案作りを始めなければならないのでしょうか。私たちは国会の中で、憲法審査会を動かさない、このために他党にも働きかけ全力を挙げていきます。（拍手）。

そして皆さん、（パンフレットをかざしながら）これは「平成22（2010）年5月18日から、憲法改正国民投票が施行されます。ご存知ですか」、というパンフレットです。お兄ちゃんが国民投票をしている図が載っています。政府は去年の予算でこの国民投票を呼びかけるチラシを500万部全国に配りました。熊本では町内会で回覧板が回ったという話を聞きました。これを総務省は、税金で500万部配りました。そして、今年の予算、46.9億円、この国民投票のための金がかか

っています。システム費のために自治体にお金をおろし、今年の本予算で 300 万部リーフレット作ると総務省は計画をしています。合計 800 万部、でも、うちの親などがこれをみると、あ、来年は国民投票があるんだと思ってしまいかねないような中身です。裁判員制度に、国民投票もあるのだと思ってしまうような中身です。でも、貴重な税金を使って国民をだますようなリーフレットを作るのは許されないと思いますが、皆さんどうですか。（拍手）。私たちの税金を使って国民をだますようなリーフレットを 800 万部も配るな、と本当に怒っています。（そうだ、拍手）。総務省と交渉して、憲法の発議がなければこんな無駄じゃないかと、いいました。ここにおられる国民の皆さんに申し上げます。こういうお金の使い方は許さない。そして、こんなリーフレットが無駄になるように、どんなことがあっても国会の中で憲法改正発議が行なわれないよう一緒に頑張っていこうではありませんか。（拍手）。

2 点目は、基本的人権の問題です。ここ日比谷公園は年末年始の派遣村に日参しました。ここで出会った人たちは、私は労働法制の規制緩和、派遣法の規制緩和をやってきた犠牲者だと痛感しました。国会でやっていることがこんな形で表れている、そう思いました。憲法 25 条はすべて国民は健康で文化的な生活を営む権利を有すると規定しています。そのことが生活の底が抜けそうな人たちを政治が大量に作り、生存権、それがまさに今、私たちが実現しなければならない、そんな状況になりました。この今まさに生存権を守れ、生きさせろ、生きる、このことを大事に、皆さんたちと憲法 25 条を守る闘いを国会の内外で果敢にやっっていこうと思います。（拍手）。

排除型社会ではなく、共生や連帯の社会へ。みなさん、世界で見ると、社会保障を充実させている国ほど、厳罰化に進んでいないという現状があります。自己責任だ、お前のせいだ、という社会ほど、厳罰化になっている、そういう状況があります。刑務所が満杯となっている。先程、落合さんが草薙さんのことを話しました。やっぱりこの社会おかしくなっている。そう思っています。私も酔っ払って吐いて人に迷惑をかけることがあるかもしれない。（笑い）。それはよくないと思います。しかし、逮捕をするような問題なのではないでしょうか。私は死刑をばんばん強行してきた、鳩山大臣が最低の人間だというのは許せないと思いますが、皆さんどう

ですか。(拍手)。政治こそが責任を果たさなくてはいけなくて、裸になった人に最低の人間だというのはおかしい。いま、ビラを配って有罪判決、あるいは「日の丸・君が代」で学校現場で頑張ったら懲戒処分、そのことが精神的自由権を本当に脅かしています。基本的人権は、生存権も大事、でも精神的自由権も含めてそういう権利がこの社会で保障される、そのために頑張り合いたいと思います。(拍手)。

最後に、やっぱり政治を変えようということです。

新しい政権は新しい政治改革が必要です。3つ。国政における世襲の禁止。(拍手)。企業・団体献金の禁止。(拍手)。天下りの禁止。(拍手)。この3つをやらなければなりません。(拍手)。2世、3世議員が跳梁跋扈(ちょうりょうばっこ)し、公共事業をゆがめて軍需産業からお金をもらい、天下りをしてその業界をやっていく、迎撃ミサイルだって軍事演習みたいにやるじゃないですか。国会の中で、淡々と迎撃ミサイルのことを質問しても騒然となってしまう、それが今の国会の状況です。

私はこの3つの政治改革、政治大掃除作戦をやって今の国会を一掃したい。一緒に頑張っていきましょう。皆さん、いよいよ衆議院選挙がやってまいります。私は、日本国憲法に公然と挑戦し続ける自公政権を許すわけにはいきません。(拍手)。日本国憲法のもとで、日本国憲法を脅かし、侵害し、そして日本国憲法を亡き者にしようとし、いまだ日本国憲法を変えようという野望を捨てない、公然とやっている自公政権を何としても許すわけにはいきません。(拍手)。1票で政治を変えましょう。

日本国憲法の前文は、政府の行為によってふたたび戦争の惨禍が起きないようにすることを決意し、主権が国民に存することを宣言し、この憲法を確定すると規定しています。主権者は国民です。政治がひどいものであれば主権者はその政治を変えられる。主権者である国民はしっかりしなさいと日本国憲法は私たちを励ましています。私たちがまさに政治を変える番です。(拍手)。

憲法が大事だと思う私たちにとって重要な局面を迎えました。憲法審査会を動かさない、国会で憲法改正案作りをさせない、自衛隊を派兵さ

せない、そして政治の力によって、主権者であるみんなの力で日本国憲法を輝かせていくそのためのまさに正念場がやってきました。皆さんとともに、国民の皆さんとともに、もっと欲張って、全世界の人たちと共に、日本国憲法を輝かせる、その戦いとともに頑張っていきたいと思っています。ともに頑張りましょう。

9.2.5. Makiko Tanaka Speech 5

ユネスコ加盟 50 周年記念式典における外務大臣式辞

平成13年7月2日

本日ここに、皇太子殿下並びに皇太子妃殿下の御臨席を賜りますと共に、松浦事務局長をはじめとして多数のユネスコ関係者の皆様方、さらには駐日各国大使及び国際機関の代表の皆様方の御出席を頂き、かくも盛大にユネスコ加盟50周年式典が開催できましたことにつきまして、共催者の一人として深く感謝申し上げます。

国際連合への加盟に先立つこと5年、1951年のユネスコ加盟は、戦後のわが国が国際社会に復帰していく上で、極めて意義深く重要な出来事でありました。このわが国のユネスコ加盟への道を切り開いたのが、世界に先駆けて始まった日本のユネスコ民間運動であったということに深い感慨を覚えます。ユネスコの平和理念が、終戦直後の焦土にあった人々の心に強く響き、平和な国家と明るい社会の建設に向けて新たな第一歩を踏み出した国民に大きな希望と勇気を与えてくれました。

わが国はこの50年間、「教育、科学及び文化を通じて諸国民の間の協力を促進することにより、平和及び安全に貢献する」というユネスコの目的を実現するべく、政府、民間ともにユネスコ活動に積極的に取り組んで参りました。ユネスコの世界遺産は、わが国を含め世界的に良く知られておりますが、わが国がユネスコに設置した信託基金による有形・無形の文化遺産の保存活動は、今やユネスコ

の中心的な事業の一つになっております。更に、昨年、わが国は新たに「人的資源開発信託基金」をユネスコに設立し、ユネスコが行う開発途上国の「人造り」の為の事業を支援しております。

ユネスコ憲章の中で、平和を達成するためには政府の協力だけでなく、市民の誠実な支持が必要であると謳われております。長い歴史を持つわが国のユネスコ民間運動も国内外で活発に繰り広げられており、特に発展途上国の識字活動を支援する「世界寺子屋運動」はユネスコの高い評価を得て、今や世界に通用する言葉になりました。

わが国のユネスコ加盟から半世紀が経過し、ユネスコを取り巻く環境は大きく変化してきました。冷戦の終焉とともに、20世紀後半より民族や文化の違いに起因する対立や紛争が頻発し、民族、宗教、伝統、思想といった広い意味での文化の違いが国際政治の重要な要因となっています。「相互の風習と生活を知らないことは、人類の歴史を通じて世界の諸人民の間に疑惑と不信をおこした共通の原因であった」というユネスコ憲章の一節の重みを、今あらためて感じております。本年は、「文明間の対話」国連年にあたります。私は、21世紀において人類が取り組むべき課題は、文化や風習の違いを受け入れた上での平和的共存であり、その実現のためには、異文化への寛容の精神を養うことが基本になると考えております。教育、科学、文化を通じて人の心に平和の砦を築くことを使命としているユネスコの力が今まさに求められているときではないでしょうか。

現在、ユネスコでは松浦事務局長がユネスコ改革に精力的に取り組んでおられます。加速化するグローバリゼーションと地球規模の諸問題に直面する21世紀において、ユネスコの果たすべき役割はますます重要になっております。わが国は、ユネスコ関係団体との連携を一層強化しつつ、松浦事務局長のリーダーシップの下に展開するユネスコの諸活動に、今後とも積極的に協力していく所存であります。

最後になりましたが、これまでユネスコ活動の発展に貢献された方々のご尽力と輝

かしい功績に心から敬意を表するとともに、21世紀におけるユネスコ及び関係団体の益々の発展を祈念致しまして式辞と致します。

9.1.6. Makiko Tanaka Speech 6

第 151 回国会参議院外交防衛委員会における田中外務大臣所信

平成 13 年 5 月 17 日

参議院外交防衛委員会の開催に当たり、外交に関する所信を申し述べさせていただきます。

外交の要諦は、言うまでもなく国益を守り、増進することです。私は、外務大臣として、我が国の安全と繁栄を確保し、国民の皆様の生命及び財産を守ることを最優先の課題として取り組んでまいります。その上で、我が国にとって重要な世界の安定と繁栄の確保のため、我が国が国際社会で占める地位にふさわしい役割を果たしてまいります。そのためにはできるだけ明確なメッセージを世界に向けて発信し、また確実な実行力を持って発信した内容を実現してまいります。

我が国の平和と繁栄を確保するため、日本外交の機軸となるのは、日米同盟関係にあります。二国間のみならず、地域、そして地球規模の様々な問題についての日米間の対話を通じた協力を拡大するとともに、日米安保体制が一層有効に機能するよう努め、日米同盟関係の強化を図ってまいります。また経済・貿易分野では、米国との対話を強化するための新たな方策を見出し、摩擦ではなく協調の精神に基づく日米経済関係を探求してまいります。さらに、沖縄県民の負担を軽減するため、普天間飛行場の移設・返還を始めとする SACO 最終報告の着実な実施に全力で取り組んでまいります。

我が国の隣国である中国及び韓国との間では、現在、教科書問題等、幾つかの問題があります。私は、このような問題が両国との良好な関係を阻害することとならないよう、これら問題の解決に全力を尽くす決意です。今月下旬には ASEM 外相会合

が北京において開催されます。国会のお許しが得られれば、同会合に出席し、この機会に中国及び韓国の外相と会談し、両国との関係強化を図りたいと思います。

私のロシアとの関わりの原点は、73年の日ソ首脳会談であり、これまでも大きな関心を払ってまいりました。ロシアとの間では、平和条約交渉、経済分野及び国際舞台における協力など、幅広い分野での関係の進展に努めます。このうち、平和条約交渉については、先般のイルクーツク首脳会談までに得られた成果をしっかりと引き継ぎ、北方四島の帰属の問題を解決して平和条約を締結するとの一貫した方針の下、交渉に取り組んでまいります。

日朝国交正常化交渉については、韓米両国と緊密に連携しつつ、北東アジアの平和と安定に資するような形で、第二次世界大戦後の正常でない日朝関係を正すよう粘り強く取り組んでまいります。また、こうした日朝間の対話の中で、北朝鮮との人道的問題及び安全保障上の問題の解決に向けて全力を傾けてまいります。

我が国は、国際社会の主要な一員として、種々のグローバルな課題に取り組み、地球上に住んでいる人々全体が前向きなエネルギーを出して幸せに暮らせる国際社会を築くため、努力していかねばなりません。そのためには、唯一の普遍的国際機関である国際連合の強化が必要であり、安保理改革を始めとする国連改革の実現に向け努力してまいります。また、経済面では、我が国が戦後一貫して裨益してきた多角的自由貿易体制を強化するために、WTO（世界貿易機関）における新ラウンドを11月のカタル閣僚会議において立ち上げるべく努力してまいります。さらに、地球環境問題については、2002年までの京都議定書の発効を目指して、全力を尽くしてまいります。その際、世界最大の二酸化炭素排出国である米国が京都議定書の発効に向けた交渉に建設的に参加するよう最大限努力します。

外交の分野では、この他にも様々な課題が山積しておりますが、長い目で見て解決すべきことはしっかりとした戦略を打ち立てて対応し、また処理に即応力を要する問題には、迅速かつ的確な対応ができるよう、日頃より危機管理能力の向上

に努めてまいります。そして服部委員長を始め、御臨席の委員各位の御指導と御鞭撻を賜りながら、国民の目線に立って全力で外交に取り組んでいく決意であることを申し上げ、私の所信とさせていただきます。