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The East Asian Memory of the Comfort Women: The Effect of Regional Media Discourse on Japanese National Memory

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Bachelor Thesis

**The East Asian Memory of the Comfort Women: The Effect of
Regional Media Discourse on Japanese National Memory**

BAP: National Identity in East Asian International Relations

Research question:

What constitutes the regional memory of the Comfort Women in East Asia, and what is the effect of the regional memory on the Japanese national memory of the sex slaves?

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Introduction

Since the early 2000s, a new branch in memory research has emerged, known as cosmopolitan memory, which analyses memory at a global level (Levy & Sznaider, 2002). While the Holocaust has been extensively researched under this framework, the East Asian Comfort Women, a euphemism given to up to 200,000 women and girls who were coerced into sexual slavery by the Japanese military during the Second World War (WWII), have been largely neglected (Ushiyama, 2021, p. 1260).

This paper uses a regional memory framework to analyse what constitutes the memory of the Comfort Women in East Asia, and what the effect of this regional memory is on the Japanese national memory of the sex slaves. It argues that there can be no truly cosmopolitan memories in a world where local, national, and regional experiences still matter more (Wasserstrom, 2020).

Analysing the memory of the Comfort Women is important because women's experiences and history are often neglected in empirical research, and there are groups who seek to revise or erase the history of the WWII sex slaves (Ahn, 2008). The Comfort Women have become a controversy in East Asian relations which continue to affect regional relations to this day. It is crucial to include the Comfort Women in research to not forget the atrocities committed against them. This paper uses a mix of literature and discourse analysis to analyse and compare the regional and national memory in East Asia and Japan.

Historical background

The Comfort Women system in the Japanese Empire started as an attempt to limit wartime rape. Military brothels existed in Japan before 1937 but their presence increased rapidly after the Nanjing massacre and during WWII (Min, 2003, p. 940). During the war, women and girls from mainly Korea and China were coerced, lured under false pretences, or kidnapped off the streets, from their houses, schools, or internment camps in European colonies, and brought to 'comfort stations' on Japanese military bases in East Asia to serve as sex slaves. This massively increased rather than limited instances of wartime rape and abuse (pp. 940-941).

After Japan lost the war, the Comfort Women were neglected in treaties, war memorials, and politics for decades (Kimura, 2015, p. 810). They became yet another part of the Japanese 'history war' or textbook controversy, in which the Japanese government as well as right-

wing and conservative groups argued for historical revisionism in textbooks of several atrocities in Japan, including the Nanjing massacre (Yang, 2001, p. 62).

The main shift in Japanese remembrance came when the former South Korean Comfort Woman Kim Hak-Sun went public with her story in 1991, starting a chain reaction of victims sharing their testimonies. In 1993, the Japanese government apologised publicly and acknowledged the use of military coercion in the so-called Kono statement (Kimura, 2015, pp. 814-816). Since then, former prime minister Shinzo Abe has denied the element of military coercion on several instances and there has been debate within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) on whether the 1993 statement should be revised (Mizoguchi & Dudden, 2007, p. 1; Ushiyama, 2021, p. 1263). The controversy has been fuelled by several statues erected of the Comfort Women in various parts of the world, following a movement originating in South Korea, which the government of Japan has worked to counter (Kwon, 2019; Ushiyama, 2021).

Literature review

Memory and national identity

The processes of memory have been extensively researched, many scholars arguing that a key element of national memory is forgetting certain historical events and facts (Berenskoetter, 2014; Renan, 2019). Anderson (2006, pp. 187-206), focussing on how memory constitutes national identity, addresses this using the example of the American Civil War. He contends that certain elements of war can be selectively forgotten to construct one nation after the war ends. Anderson (2006, p. 199) bases this argument on Renan's 1882 article "What is a Nation" (2019). Renan argues that "the act of forgetting [...] historical error, is an essential factor in the creation of a nation" (p. 251). Berenskoetter (2014, pp. 270-272) similarly argues that memory is both creative and selective. He contends that war creates collective trauma, and that this trauma "not only 'breaks' ground but also provides opportunities for '(re)making' ground" (p. 272). Subotić (2016, p. 610) adds the element of ontological security. She uses the example of how Kosovo's declaration of independence harms Serbian ontological security, so the Serbian nation uses selective memory to change their narrative of history (p. 622). Additionally, Assman (2011) defines cultural memory as being institutionalised in national education, media, and traditions and highlights that historical memory is a deeply political issue. Common for these authors is that they are basing their arguments on the assumptions of collective memory. Halbwachs (1950) most famously

argued that memory is collective because individuals exist in social contexts, and national memory is but an extension of the concept and assumption of collective memory.

The Japanese national memory of the Comfort Women

In Japan, the national memory of the Comfort Women is characterised by several competing narratives, defined in different ways in the literature, which will be outlined in greater detail later. There is broad agreement among authors that the dominant discourse in the late 1990s and early 2000s in Japanese politics was neonationalist revisionist complemented by smaller right-wing and conservative sub-narratives (Nozaki, 2005; Seaton, 2006; Yamaguchi, 2018). Yang (2001) discusses the revisionism in detail, highlighting that “the publicity given to the Nanjing Massacre in Japan has contributed to the growing public awareness of issues of wartime atrocities” (p. 66), leading to trends of polarisation in Japan between those who seek to revise and those who seek to remember. A divide in the literature is apparent, with some scholars paying little to no attention to counternarratives and arguing that Japan is descending into revisionism similar to Holocaust denial (Hayashi, 2008; Mizoguchi & Dudden, 2007; Yamaguchi, 2018). On the other hand, some scholars apply a more hopeful attitude, focussing on the feminist movement within Japan which took root after the South Korean feminist uprising in the 1980s and 1990s (Kwon, 2019; Nozaki, 2005).

Memory across borders

Levy and Sznajder (2002) are the founders of the concept of cosmopolitan memory, which has inspired several studies (Ryan, 2014; Saito, 2020; Soh & Connolly, 2014). Scholars concerned with cosmopolitan memory stretch the concept of collective memory across borders, arguing that globalisation has led to collective memory at a global level. Soh and Connolly (2014, p. 383) argue that East Asian wars have transcended into cosmopolitan memories in several ways, and that specifically the evolution of the international human rights regime has contributed to this process. Ryan (2014, p. 511) applies the cosmopolitan memory theory to Ireland and Austria and concludes that one should not simply look at memory from a cosmopolitan perspective, because the reception of cosmopolitan memories is entirely dependent on national identities. Bihst (2013) adds that cosmopolitan memory has become utopianised, and that there is a lack of empirical research on its “limits, contestations and inequalities” (p. 14). While the theory of cosmopolitan memory is compelling, Wasserstrom (2020) argues that truly cosmopolitan or global perspectives do not exist because local, national, and regional realities still matter more. Most research on cosmopolitan memory ignores this, and while some authors write on transnational memory,

the conceptualisations of cosmopolitan and transnational memory are similar (Assmann, 2014, p. 546). No literature exists on theoretical alternatives, looking at memory at a regional level rather than global.

I have outlined three strands of literature here: 1. National and collective memory, 2. The Japanese memory of the Comfort Women, and 3. The development and limitations of cosmopolitan memory. While Soh and Connolly (2014) apply the cosmopolitan memory theory to East Asia, none have applied it to the Comfort Women case specifically. Similarly, no scholars have considered the regional differences which makes a truly global memory unlikely to exist. These gaps in the literature call for the development of a theoretical model on memory at a regional level, applying the case of the Comfort Women, and taking into account the effect of regional memory on national memory as suggested by Ryan (2014).

Theoretical and conceptual framework

Constructivism and the importance of discourse

As opposed to other approaches in political science, like realism and liberalism, constructivism emphasises the role of ideas and beliefs, such as norms, values, and identities (Adler, 2013, pp. 130-131). When analysing memory, constructivism emphasises that groups and individuals have agency and can thereby construct and shape reality around them, such as historical memory. The idea that the world is socially constructed and is therefore flexible and changing, aligns with the idea that several narratives can exist within national memory, and that although states matter, national identity and memory are affected by and mutually constituted with international ideas as well (pp. 112-130). By international, I refer to collective memory in more states than one. I rely on the constructivist theoretical assumption that collective memory formation is a discursive process and is concerned with collective self-formation through creation of a 'self' and 'other' (Hagström & Isaksson, 2019, p. 36). Constructivism emphasises discourse as crucial in international relations, highlighting that it affects how events and acts are perceived and addressed (Johnson, 2014).

Regional memory

Levy and Sznajder's (2002) theory on cosmopolitan memory deserves further attention. The theory explains how collective memory of traumatic events, such as war, transcends borders and can become global memories. Cosmopolitan memory is a process of 'internal globalisation', where events abroad become part of national experiences (p. 87). Levy and Sznajder (2002) define international media as the main transmitter of cosmopolitan memory

and highlight debates on morals and human rights as the main discursive elements. Their theory highlights that “the cosmopolitanizing of memory does not mean the end of national perspectives so much as their transformation into more complex entities where different social groups have different relations to globalization” (p. 92). Using the Holocaust as their case, they argue that cosmopolitan memory interacts with national memory to shape a recognition of the history of the ‘self’ and ‘other’.

When talking about regional memory in this paper, I refer to the process of internal globalisation as outlined by Levy and Sznajder (2002) where a memory can transcend national borders, transmitted through human rights discourse in the media. I substitute ‘cosmopolitan’ with ‘regional’ since I argue, in line with Wasserstrom (2020), Bihst (2013), and Furtado (2015) that memory cannot be truly global. Arguing for cosmopolitan memory formation is neglecting international power dynamics, cultural and political differences, as well as the colonial history that sets apart the global North and South and shape unique experiences of history depending on the country or region (Müller, 2020). While differences within regions exist as well, the memory of the Comfort Women has transcended national borders in several ways as outlined in Table 1. The transcendence is further fuelled by the fact that most of the sex slavery victims are from different countries in the East Asia region, making it likely that their shared trauma serves as a basis for a regional memory (Min, 2003). East Asia according to the World Population Review (2023) includes China, Japan, North and South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Mongolia, and Macao.

According to Ryan’s (2014) theory, cosmopolitan memory influences national memory, depending on national identities. She contends that “cosmopolitan memory does not entail the nullification of the specificities of the particular national memory conflict, but instead converges or diverges with its constituent elements” (p. 511). National memory, in this paper, refers to a creative and selective process which often requires the act of forgetting as outlined by Berenskoetter (2014, p. 271) and Ryan (2014, p. 502). It is never consistent as it is constructed by differing narratives, which can both conflict with and complement each other (Duara, 1996, pp. 135-139).

The media as a transmitter of regional memory

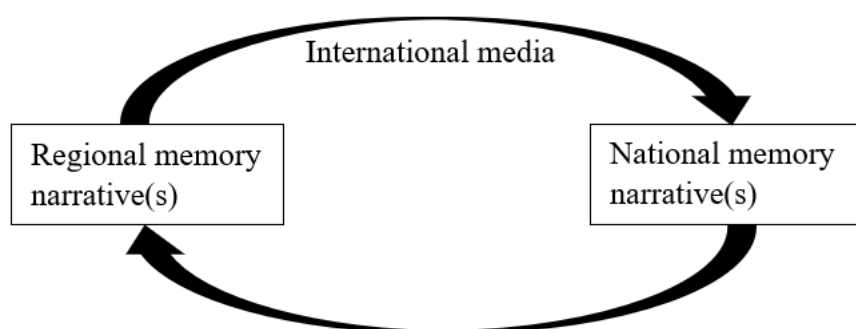
As emphasised by scholars on cosmopolitan memory, the media plays a key role in constructing and transmitting memory (Bihst, 2013; Kyriakidou, 2015; Levy & Sznajder, 2002). There is a “potential transformation of collective memory through global media in a

way that might expand the boundaries of imagined communities beyond the constrained boundaries of the nation to create more expansive global publics” (Kyriakidou, 2015, p. 93). Neiger, Meyers, and Zandberg (2011) link collective memory to the media. Given that every social group develops a memory of their past, and that these collective memories are mostly narrational, the media and collective memory are closely aligned. Both are constructive and selective, since they are both involved in shaping the reality of their audiences and selecting which perspectives are preserved and presented (p. 6). I conceptualise regional media as mass media, which is internet or television based, and is targeting and reachable by a regional audience (Bihst, 2013, pp. 13-17). What enables the regional-local dynamic of regional memory is “the shift from a nationally bound press to [regional] news media with the ability to produce [regional] media events” (p. 14).

Theoretical model for analysing the interaction of regional and national memory

As illustrated in Figure 1, the regional memory of a historical event influences the national narratives of the same event. Regional memory is transmitted through media stories, which are seen and read by local groups, who take them into account in their selective process when creating collective memories. The regional memory exists as a horizon for the national but does not replace it (Levy & Sznajder, 2002, p. 97). Additionally, Figure 1 illustrates the mutual constitution of national and regional memory. While the influence of regional memory on national memory is clear, it cannot be omitted that in this “second modernity” (p. 103) emerging from globalisation and increased interconnectedness, national memory also affects regional memory. In the Comfort Women case, Japan being the perpetrators of the sex slavery atrocity makes the Japanese state the only one with access to certain facts and data about the issue. Additionally, since Japan is part of the East Asia region, it is inevitable that they take part in the construction of the regional memory.

Figure 1. The interaction of regional and national memory



The analysis will be conducted applying the assumptions that Comfort Women have become a regional memory, regional memories are mainly constructed by human rights discourse, and regional memory affects national memory through the media. While the mutual constitution of regional and national memory was addressed, the focus of this paper is the effect of regional on national memory. Further research on the opposite link is encouraged.

The theoretical expectations lead to the hypothesis that the regional memory of the Comfort Women is dominated by progressive victim-focussed discourse, and that this discourse, communicated through regional media, affects the national memory in Japan by strengthening the progressive feminist narrative domestically.

Methodology

Approach and method of analysis

A question about memory can be approached in most detail using qualitative methods. As mentioned, constructivism emphasises the importance of discourse in the construction of historical memories. Therefore, a framework of discourse analysis (DA) is used to uncover the elements of regional memory. Rather than a Critical Discourse Analysis framework, which seeks to uncover and break down power relations and instances of injustice, based partly on Marxist theory, the framework for DA here is based on constructivist theory (Carvalho, 2008, p. 162). A constructivist approach to DA is concerned with collective self-formation processes created by discourse, defining a 'self' and 'other'. The constructivist DA framework follows a 'genealogical' approach as outlined by Johnson (2014), highlighting the following steps: "Identify codes, categories, themes and dominant discourses, identify the discursive strategies and techniques that are employed, look for absences and silences, and look for resistances and counter-discourses" (p. 126).

To determine the dominant Japanese national memory narratives, an analysis of the relevant literature which defines and analyses the Japanese national memory of the Comfort Women is conducted. This is to get the most accurate picture of the Japanese memory, as a language barrier prevents analysis of unbiased and accurate sources from non-official Japanese groups. The regional discourse in the media is compared to the national narratives within Japan to outline the link between the regional and national memory of the Comfort Women.

The time-period analysed is December 28th, 2015 to December 28th, 2016. On December 28th, 2015, Japan and South Korea completed an agreement about the Comfort Women, and the year that followed saw a vast increase in news articles published about Comfort Women in

the East Asia region (asianews.network). It is arguably a year in which the Comfort Women strengthened significantly as a regional memory, as many countries in East Asia and worldwide acknowledged the issue in activist and human rights organisations, in foreign relations policy between the parties involved, and by erecting statues and memorials (Pak, 2016). Table 1 provides an overview of the relevant events which strengthened the regional memory of the sex slaves in the time-period.

Table 1. Key events in the regional memory of Comfort Women in East Asia, December 28th 2015-2016

Date	Event	Significance for regional memory
December 28 th 2015	South Korea and Japan reach a deal about the Comfort Women, including Japan apologising and paying compensation (Ward & Lay, 2016).	The deal was criticised in East Asian media and by survivors for not going far enough.
May 28 th and July 1 st 2016	Comfort Women statues are installed in Sydney, Australia and San Francisco, USA respectively (Ushiyama, 2021).	East Asian media outlets have consistently used the installation of new statues worldwide to continue shining light on the case.
September 9 th 2016	The Japanese government formally protests the original Comfort Woman statue in front of the Japanese embassy in Seoul, calling for its removal (Hu, 2017).	This move is highly criticised by activists and in the media, comparing the instance to the otherwise progressive ‘statue removal movement’, Japan is called the only government trying to remove a statue of a victim.
October 5 th 2016	A Comfort Woman statue is erected in Berlin, Germany (Ushiyama, 2021).	East Asian media outlets have consistently used the installation of new statues worldwide to continue shining light on the issue.
December 28 th 2016	A Comfort Woman statue is erected in Busan, South Korea (“Japan”, 2017).	The statue became a symbol of the international protests against the 2015 deal completed the year prior.

Case and data selection

A 'typical case' theory-driven case selection strategy is applied. Japan and the Comfort Women is a typical case of a regional memory because of its similarities to the Holocaust, which has been extensively researched as a typical case when discussing cosmopolitan memory. The Comfort Women and the Holocaust are both war atrocities committed during the same period by Axis powers (Levy & Sznaider, 2002). The lack of focus on Comfort Women in cosmopolitan memory research might have several explanations. The atrocity was committed mainly against East Asian women, and women and non-Western issues in international relations are generally understudied (Puechguirbal, 2012). Researching East Asian women's issues, history, and memory is important, as it can uncover perspectives which have largely been neglected in transnational memory research.

Because international media is the main body and transmitter of regional memory, news articles are used as data. East Asian news agencies were chosen which have articles in English and a large international readership in the region. Since the Japanese narratives are outlined in a literature analysis below, all Japanese news agencies were excluded. Countries with English as an official state language were also excluded, since distinguishing between their articles targeting domestic and international audiences would be difficult. The three newspapers with the highest daily readership and international outreach were selected, who are all part of the Asia News Network, an organisation of major English language newspapers which "was formed to promote the coverage of Asian affairs through Asian journalists, for readers in Asia" (Rekhi, n.d).

First, *China Daily (CD)* who has a daily readership of more than 200,000 people in more than 150 countries and regions (China Daily, n.d). Second, *Korea Herald (KH)*, which has a daily readership of around 100,000 people in more than 80 countries (The Korea Herald, n.d). Last, *Taipei Times (TT)* which has more than 200,000 daily readers and a high readership in the region (Taipei Times, n.d). All articles between December 28th 2015 and December 28th 2016 about the Comfort Women which has the words 'Comfort Women', 'Comfort Woman', 'sex slaves', 'sex workers', 'prostitutes' or any other direct reference to the Comfort Women in the title were selected. Articles were excluded which were not in the format of a news article, articles from *China Daily Europe*, or any other sections of the news agencies that is produced in or targeting non-East Asian audiences. Lastly, 10 articles of the remaining selection were chosen at random from each news agency, leaving 30 articles to be analysed.

DA framework

As mentioned, the framework for constructivist DA in relation to the regional memory of the sex slaves is focussed on how a regional ‘self’ and ‘other’ is constructed based on certain dominant discourses and which counter-discourses, silences, and strategies exist. The coding framework presented in Table 2 is based on the arguments of Kwon (2019), Seo (2008), and Suzuki (2011). Kwon (2019) outlines the dominant national narratives on the Comfort Women in South Korea. She argues that the main debate is between Comfort Women survivors-focussed feminist discourse which re-emerged after the deal between Japan and South Korea in 2015 and a patriarchal nationalist counternarrative (pp. 6-10). In China, Seo (2008, pp. 381-389) argues that due to the authoritarian nature of the Chinese state, the discourse communicated regionally is more coherent, although it has changed over time. The discourse in China is one which focusses on national victimisation aligned with their ‘century of humiliation’ discourse (p. 374). They apply some feminist discursive devices in the Comfort Women case as a tool to strengthen the narrative of victimisation, and although this spreads feminist discourse in the media, it does not make the Chinese government feminist by any means. Suzuki (2011, pp. 226-230) argues that in Taiwan, although the issue is becoming increasingly overshadowed by identity politics, a survivors-focussed narrative is dominant complemented by state-victimisation discourse. No significant counternarrative has come to dominate politics in Taiwan.

To analyse the commonalities of a regional memory between the three nations, the coding framework below captures a victimisation narrative, which encompasses the survivor-focussed sub-narrative that applies both feminist and victimisation discourse. It also includes a state-centred sub-narrative which focusses on the institutional and political side of victimisation. It is possible that a more neutral perspective exists, distanced from both victims and politics, or one which frames only past Japan as an ‘other’, and current Japan as part of the ‘self’, working towards or having already redeemed itself, in line with the patriarchal nationalist discourse in South Korea.

Table 2. DA framework

Narrative	Sub-narrative	'Self' and 'Other'	Discursive devices and strategies
Victimisation narrative	Survivors-focussed (VSFN)	<p>Self: The Comfort Women victims; all women; a current East Asia</p> <p>Other: The patriarchy; Japan as perpetrator; Japanese patriarchal/traditional structures</p>	<p>Victimisation; legal, political, and human rights discourse; war, violence, and pain metaphors; Comfort Women as symbol of larger struggle; emotional and graphic wording; closeness to victims; “sex slaves” “victims”, “survivors”; focus on their age and death; statues, protests, and global dimension of the issue; use of comparison, generalisation, and subtleness.</p>
	State-centred (VSCN)	<p>Self: The victim states (South Korea, China, others)</p> <p>Other: Japan; Japanese government</p>	<p>Victimisation; legal and political discourse; war and violence metaphors; technical and removed wording; distance from the victims; states, governments, and institutions in focus; Comfort Women one in many cases of colonial/war relationship; personification of states; Comfort Women as tool for political commentary; use of comparison and generalisation.</p>
Neutral technical narrative		<p>Self: An (attempted) neutral commentator</p> <p>Other: None</p>	<p>Technical and distanced wording; lack of pathos; analytic; lack of blame; not focussed on Japan or the victims; descriptive and removed.</p>
Temporal Japan differential narrative (TJDN)		<p>Self: East Asia, including contemporary Japan</p> <p>Other: Japan during and before WWII</p>	<p>Forward and current looking discourse; focus on progress and Japan’s change; apologies and payment of compensation; comparison of Japan to neighbour-states; focus on similarities rather than differences; Japan seen as having paid its debts; “prostitutes”, “sex workers”; distance from the victims, focus on temporal difference; positive metaphors; use of comparison.</p>

Literature analysis: Japanese national memory narratives

A careful combing of the relevant academic literature on Japanese memory of the sex slaves reveals several dominant and smaller counternarratives, present between December 2015 and 2016. Scholars focus mostly on what they agree is the dominant discourse in the Japanese government, right-wing politics, and several organisations and institutions (Ahn, 2008; Kim, 2014; Ushiyama, 2021). This narrative is called several names by different authors, and here I call it the neonationalist revisionist narrative. Most authors agree that the strongest counternarrative, dominant among scholars, in historical circles, as well as feminist activist groups and with left-wing politicians, is progressive and feminist (Kim, 2014; Nozaki, 2005; Yamaguchi, 2018). Smaller ones, such as conservative, liberal, and post-structuralist narratives also exist, but they can all be placed under the umbrellas of the two dominant ones.

Neonationalist revisionism

This narrative, which was complemented by the earlier controversies surrounding the Nanjing massacre, strengthened when the economic bubble burst in Japan in 1991, making nationalism attractive to many (Ueno, 2006, p. 2). According to several authors, neonationalist revisionist discourse has the following main components: 1. There is no reliable historical evidence to support neither that the Comfort Women were coerced, nor that the Japanese military was involved in facilitating the system (Ahn, 2008; Kim, 2014; Ushiyama, 2021; Yamaguchi, 2018), 2. Japan is not required to take any further responsibility than it already has. In other words, the issue is settled, and any further discussion, statues, memorials, or lawsuits are uncalled for (Nozaki, 2005; Tsukamoto, 2022; Ushiyama, 2021). 3. Japan should engage in ‘healthy nationalism’ and patriotism and stop masochistic and self-blaming discourse. ‘Japan-bashing’ in foreign media is unfair and should stop (Ueno, 2006; Ushiyama, 2021).

In 2007, the Action Conservative Movement (ACM) emerged, a network of far-right groups, bringing sexist, racist, and anti-elitist language to existing conservative discourse around the Comfort Women (Yamaguchi, 2018). This movement was somewhat successful, as it engaged in street-level activism using tactics like educative panel discussions to spread its message (p. 204). The ACM used women strategically, arguing that conservative women should take back the ‘true’ narrative of the case (p. 203). This is what prompted the Nadeshiko Action (NA) women’s movement, whose main mission was to end the ‘lie’ that the Comfort Women were sex slaves. NA is arguably the most mainstream and successful

group under the ACM (p. 203-205). The fake feminism argument was used by several far-right groups, arguing that Comfort Women were in fact sex workers at their own will, earning high incomes, and that women should have a right to choose a career in sex work (Ueno, 2006, p. 3). Additionally, far-right groups emphasised positivist and empiricist logic in historical debates, arguing that the only credible historical sources are government documents, not victim statements (Tsukamoto, 2022; Ushiyama, 2021).

The main divide within the neonationalist revisionist narrative is between 1, the conservatives who argue that there was some form of sex slavery system during WWII that Japan already apologised and paid due compensation for, and which settled the issue, and 2, the denialists who argue either that the Comfort Women were working voluntarily or that there were never any Comfort Women to begin with, and the issue has been fabricated to increase diplomatic tensions (Nozaki, 2005; Tsukamoto, 2022). Abe, and some of the more nationalist factions of the LDP belonged to the first category, however, after Abe's re-election in 2012, the Japanese government implemented increasingly nationalist policies and Abe was deemed "deeply involved in historical revisionism and anti-feminism" (Yamaguchi, 2018, p. 198). The neonationalist revisionist movement succeeded in convincing or at least confusing public audiences, and by May 2015, 34 municipalities had passed right-wing policies on the Comfort Women, and the term had been removed from most school textbooks (p. 206). In sum, this narrative was dominant in many aspects of society and politics between December 2015 and 2016.

Progressive feminism

A feminist counternarrative emerged in Japan along with the South Korean feminist movement in the 1980s and 1990s, fuelled by Japanese feminist journalist Matsui Yayori, who published an interview with a former Comfort Woman in 1984 (Nozaki, 2005, p. 2). Progressive feminist discourse had the following key components according to several scholars: 1. The Japanese state and military was involved in the coercion of women in WWII into sex-slavery and should be held legally accountable for this atrocity (Motoyama, 2018; Nozaki, 2005), 2. The Comfort Women issue is not yet settled, and Japan should do more to find a permanent resolution to the issue for the victims (Ushiyama, 2021, p. 1261), 3. The Comfort Women system is one in many colonial legacies of Japan which laid the basis to the exploitation of women following the war (Ahn, 2008; Chai, 1993).

Feminist activists argued that the victims' statements are as important historical sources as government documents and used panel discussions to educate the public, as seen in neonationalist groups as well (Nozaki, 2005). This narrative, heavily dominated by transnational human rights discourse, strengthened within left-wing groups during the early 2000s but failed to resonate with a majority of the public (Kim, 2014). However, as feminism strengthened as a global norm, so it slowly strengthened in Japan since Japanese feminism was influenced by an element of transnational female solidarity (Ushiyama, 2021). Feminists argue that being a woman transcends borders, and thus an attack on other East Asian women was also an attack on Japanese women (Chai, 1993; Kim, 2014). Organisations such as the Violence Against Women in War Network Japan (VAWWN) and the Asian Women's Fund emerged, with the VAWWN compiling a book to contest the work of the neonationalist organisations (Ahn, 2008; Ushiyama, 2021).

The main divide within this narrative is who is portrayed as the victim in the Comfort Women issue. Some focus on the survivors, while others see entire countries as victims. Some use the issue as a symbol of a larger struggle for women's rights, while some portray it as a stand-alone case (Ahn, 2008; Kim, 2014; Ushiyama, 2021). In sum, the feminist narrative dominated scholarly circles, and left-wing groups and politics, but was not as strong in the eyes of the public as neonationalist revisionism.

Regional memory in East Asia: Results and findings

Below are the results of the DA of the regional memory of the Comfort Women. The coherence between the newspapers analysed indicates that a regional memory of the Comfort Women does indeed exist. The three newspapers had a similar proportion of sentences within each narrative, with the victimisation narrative being by far the largest. *CD* and *TT* had around 60% of all sentences coded within victimisation discourse, and *KH* had around 80%. None of the articles showed any clear neutral perspective, with only 20 sentences out of 340 in total coded as such. A strong counternarrative was found in all newspapers, which sees Japan now as being willing to or having already solved the Comfort Women issue.

Victimisation survivors-focussed narrative (VSN)

In all three newspapers, the VSN was largest, in line with the expectation of the hypothesis. It had 133 coded sentences, most of them focussed on portraying either the scale and horror of the sex slavery system or the tragedy of how many of the survivors had already died or were in their 80s or 90s. *KH* was especially prominent here, using emotional and graphic

language in many sentences and metaphors for pain and death, like ‘slammed’ and ‘fight’: “This country killed us one more time. We were not informed at all about the deal. However old and powerless we are, we cannot just die like this” (Ok, 2015). Almost every article in the newspapers had at least a sentence highlighting how old the victims were, or how few of them were still alive. Common for more than half of the articles is the focus on the 2015 deal between South Korea and Japan, and in the VSFN, the deal is highly criticised as yet another way for Japan to avoid legal responsibility: “The deal was condemned by some of the women and South Korean activists, who took issue with Japan's refusal to accept formal legal responsibility” (“Protesters”, 2016). Many sentences like this use legal and political discourse, using words like ‘investigation’, ‘crime’, and ‘reparations’ to argue that the deal was not enough for the victims.

This narrative is generally close to the survivors, using personal statements, and naming the victims and their family members: “For the past 70 years, Liu Fenghai, 89, has had her sleep interrupted countless times by the same nightmare” (“Comfort”, 2016a). *CD* uses this strategy frequently, and sometimes even uses incorrect or unconfirmed numbers to emphasise their points, like claiming that there were 400,000 Comfort Women, when most historical sources say around 200,000 (“Comfort”, 2016a). Apart from exaggeration, sentences make use of subtleness or passive-aggressiveness when talking about Japan’s inability to fix the issue or encouraging the reader to do something to help, using phrases like ‘feeling guilty’ about others who had not showed support for the victims. It also uses comparison and generalisation discourse, comparing the sex slaves to other issues of forced labour or women’s rights.

Japan (personified), and the Japanese government are ‘others’, and there is a focus on creating an inclusive ‘self’ between the East Asian and global states that are on the side of the victims. The Comfort Women case is framed as human rights abuse and a war atrocity and the Comfort Women themselves as ‘sex slaves’ and ‘victims.’ Most articles describe the system as women who were “forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese military” (“Comfort”, 2016b), some specifying their nationalities and others saying merely ‘Asian women’, creating a broader ‘self’. *KH* has the most titles within this narrative, with ‘sex slaves’ mentioned in five out of ten titles, and a large focus within the articles on the protests surrounding the Comfort Women statue, creating an element of female solidarity.

Victimisation state-centred narrative (VSCN)

The VSCN has 99 coded sentences in the 30 articles. It is slightly smaller than the VSFN but compliments it by using a lot of the same discursive devices, such as generalisation, comparison, war and violence metaphors, and is focussed on victimisation and framing Japan as an ‘other.’ *TT* has the highest proportion of coded sentences here, focussing on the technical aspects of the deal between South Korea and Japan, and praising its own government for siding with the victims: “President Ma Ying-jeou (馬英九) yesterday said he hopes that justice can be served soon for Taiwan’s ‘comfort women’” (“Ma”, 2016). Creating distance from the victims is common for all sentences within this narrative, as it uses the Comfort Women mainly as a tool to make political commentary. The statements support the demand for apologies, compensation, and legal action in favour of the Comfort Women, however, the apologies are not framed as being owed to the victims, but instead they are owed to the victim states: “People of Asia and other victimized countries” (“China”, 2015).

The main discursive device used is the personification of states, contributing human attributes to states and governments, like “Japan apologised” or “Japan refused” (Hsu, 2015). This generalises and villainises Japan, making it sound like it has only one voice and perspective. The VSCN keeps a distance from the victims by refraining from using personal stories, emotional language, or graphic details when describing the sex slavery system. Often, the Comfort Women are described as an ‘issue’ rather than victims or survivors, disregarding them as a political quarrel rather than a war atrocity: “the office had [...] called for Japan to initiate immediate bilateral talks on the issue” (Chung, 2016). Several political metaphors are used to strengthen the narrative, like a game metaphor, describing Japan as “shirking its national responsibility and playing word games in the deal” (Yunbi, 2015). Additionally, the Comfort Women are often used as an example of the colonial relationship between South Korea or China and Japan. These devices play together to create a strong ‘othering’ of Japan, the Japanese government, and late prime minister Abe. Often, the ‘self’ is one victim state, usually South Korea, China, or Taiwan, but sometimes the ‘self’ is identified as the broader region: “China, the Republic of Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines and other countries and regions -- have been working together to nominate documentation on the issue” (“Japan’s”, 2016).

Temporal Japan differential narrative (TJDN)

A narrative which includes current Japan in the East Asian ‘self’ is well grounded in the media as well, with 88 coded sentences. While none of the articles had codes only within the

TJDN, some, especially within the *TT*, had a significant proportion. The main characteristic of this discourse is a Japan-positive tone, describing the Comfort Women as an issue of the past, which has been or is being solved by a willing Japan today. This is displayed in forward-looking discourse, using words like ‘will’ and ‘hope’ about Japan to describe a positive future regarding the issue: “HOPE: Taiwan contacted Japanese officials the day after Tokyo decided to pay reparations to South Korean comfort women, seeking a similar solution” (Hsu, 2016). It focusses on the positive outcomes of the 2015 deal, describing it with metaphors like ‘landmark’ or ‘breakthrough’ and makes little or no mentions of the victims. The focus is on governments and diplomacy, and a ‘self’ is created including Japan using phrases like ‘both sides’, ‘each other’, and ‘bilateral relations.’

A divide exists within this narrative, one side differentiating between past and present Japan, acknowledging the Comfort Women as being sex slaves, and another side using revisionist discourse, implying that the Comfort Women were sex workers rather than slaves: “[...] work at front-line brothels” (“One”, 2016), “Taiwanese comfort women who were drafted [...]” (Lu & Chung, 2016). By using discourse like this, the articles make it unclear whether there was ever really anything Japan had to apologise or pay compensation for. This view only appears in very few sentences within the articles. However, where it does appear, it is similar to the way the Comfort Women are described within the neonationalist revisionist Japanese narrative.

The effect of regional memory on national memory in Japan

As expected, victimisation discourse is dominant in the regional memory of the Comfort Women, through the VSFN and complementary VSCN. In the literature analysis, key discursive components of the progressive feminist narrative in Japan were identified, and the victimisation narrative in the regional media applied several of the same discursive devices, suggesting that regional memory influences national memory and has likely contributed to the strength of the feminist movement in Japan. In both regional victimisation discourse and domestic feminist discourse in Japan, the Japanese military are identified as the perpetrators of the sex slavery war atrocity, and Japan is urged to do more to apologise and take legal responsibility for the issue. In *KH* especially, feminist discourse is used directly, which serves to influence and strengthen the similar movement in Japan, as both the feminist movement in South Korea and Japan are engaged in multiple countries and base their operations on transnational female solidarity (Kwon, 2019, p. 22). Given that the Japanese feminist

movement around the Comfort Women emerged at the same time as in South Korea, it is likely that the regional media, constructing a regional memory, has been supporting this movement in Japan throughout the years, and given the similarities in discourse from December 2015 to December 2016, this too is the case in the time-period in focus. Additionally, human rights discourse, the use of personal statements from the victims, and the ‘othering’ of the Japanese government is prominent in the victimisation narrative in regional media as well as feminist discourse within Japan. These discursive similarities make it likely that Japanese feminists are inspired by regional victimisation discourse.

However, as mentioned, a strong counternarrative in the regional memory of the Comfort Women was also found, which views contemporary and past Japan differently. The TJDN, although without going anywhere as far as the neonationalist revisionists within Japan, uses certain discursive elements which complements the dominant Japanese narrative. The main device connecting them is their use of language which implies that the Comfort Women were sex workers, not slaves, using phrases like ‘sexual servitude’ or that they were ‘drafted’ rather than kidnapped. While the TJDN argues that Japan is willing to or have already settled the Comfort Women issue, the neonationalist revisionists argue that the issue has been definitively settled or that there was never any issue to settle at all. The narratives somewhat overlap, and thereby the TJDN is likely transmitting discourse which affects Japanese national memory by strengthening already dominant neonationalist revisionism within Japan. However, since they have discursive elements which do not overlap, the TJDN influences domestic Japanese discourse less than the victimisation narrative.

Theoretical implications

While the findings support the hypothesis that regional memory affects national memory in Japan through a victimisation narrative, this paper also found a strong counternarrative in East Asian regional media, which somewhat overlaps with neonationalist revisionist discourse in Japan. While it is likely that this discourse in regional media influences the revisionist movement within Japan, theories on Japanese memory argue that Japanese historical revisionism was caused mainly by domestic factors. These include the resurgence of conservatism with the creation of the LDP in 1955, the idea that Japan should engage in healthy nationalism and stop the self-blaming narrative of the post-war years, and the similar previous revisionist discourse around the Nanjing massacre, which continued through the 1980s and 1990s alongside the debate on the Comfort Women (Yang, 2001, pp. 56-57).

According to these theories, neonationalist revisionism is attributable mainly to domestic factors, rather than regional memory. This highlights the mutual constitution of the two as outlined in Figure 1, since the strength of the TJDN in regional media is likely influenced by national discourse in Japan. Since Japan is part of the East Asia region, they partake in constructing the regional memory, just like regional memory influences national narratives within Japan. The element of mutual constitution is highlighted in Levy and Sznaider's (2002) model of cosmopolitan memory: "It is no longer the dichotomy but the mutual constitution of particular [local] and universal [global] conceptions that determine the ways in which the Holocaust can be remembered" (p. 92). Further research is encouraged on how neonationalist revisionist discourse in Japan affects the regional memory of WWII atrocities.

The findings in this paper provide support for theories by scholars such as Wasserstrom (2020) and Furtado (2015) that criticises the idea of cosmopolitan memory. These scholars argue that there can be no such thing as a truly global memory. The East Asian region shares history, languages, and cultural elements which are crucial to its development of collective historical memories. These elements set East Asia apart and the consistency in narratives across internationally targeted media from China, South Korea, and Taiwan provides support for the argument that regional memory is an effective way of analysing collective memory formation. While national memory still matters, regional experiences of traumatic events serve as a basis for moral and human-rights focussed debates across borders, transmitted through international media, which constitutes regional memories (Kyriakidou, 2015, p. 94).

Limitations

While this paper provides support for the theories of regional memory formation and the mutual constitution of national and regional memory, it faces several limitations which must be addressed. First, a language barrier prevented analysis of primary sources from Japan which would provide accurate accounts of national memory. If primary sources in English had been used it would have led to a strong selection bias, given that sources from particularly the neonationalist revisionist narrative are almost all in Japanese. Further research which conducts comparative DA of primary sources in Japanese as well as regional media sources is encouraged. This could uncover further detail on discursive similarities and differences and provide strong evidence for or against the mutual constitution of national and regional memory.

Second, since a certain number of articles would need to be analysed from each newspaper to verify consistent narratives, time constraints permitted only analysis of three newspapers in three distinct countries. Had time allowed, an analysis including newspapers from more countries and territories in East Asia such as Hong Kong, Macau, and Mongolia or several newspapers in each country, would have provided an even broader and more detailed picture of the East Asian regional memory of the Comfort Women. Further research is encouraged which includes more countries and newspapers.

Lastly, all three newspapers chosen carry biases. *CD* is a state-owned media outlet, and therefore it lacks editorial independence and is expected to follow the instructions of the Chinese Communist Party (Stone & Binyan, 1994). This makes it a great English language source for the views that the party-state wants foreigners to receive but makes its articles less relevant for the opinions of the Chinese public. *KH* is independently owned and thus has full editorial independence. However, besides targeting foreigners due to its language, it is known to have a centre-right political affiliation, emphasising market-oriented policy, business-related news, and has shown support for conservative political candidates in the past (Youm, 1994). While that does not make it a bad source for the opinions of a broad range of the people, it is important to keep in mind. *TT* similarly has editorial independence from the state but is owned by the Liberty Times Group, which is known to support the Taiwanese Democratic Progressive Party. It has also taken a stance in support of Taiwanese independence from China, and these biases are important to keep in mind as well (Brindle, 2016, p. 7). Although these limitations of the newspapers create data-biases, this is unavoidable when analysing media sources.

Conclusion

In conclusion, what constitutes the regional memory of the Comfort Women in East Asia between December 28th 2015 and 2016 is a dominant victimisation narrative, as based on two sub-narratives that focus on the Comfort Women survivors and the victim-states respectively. A strong counternarrative was found as well, which focusses on the temporal differences between past and present Japan and includes current Japan in the East Asian 'self'.

In Japan, the dominant discourse is neonationalist revisionist countered by a progressive feminist narrative. The effect of the regional memory on the national memory in Japan is measured in the similarities in discourse between the complimentary narratives regionally and nationally. As predicted by the hypothesis, the regional victimisation narrative shares

discursive elements with the Japanese feminist narrative, making it likely that national memory is affected by regional memory in this regard. Similarly, the TJDN and the neonationalist revisionist narrative share a limited discursive overlap, meaning that they influence each other less than the more progressive narratives do, in line with the theoretical expectations.

I argue that a regional memory framework is an effective way of analysing transnational memory, since local, national, and regional experiences are still influential in our world today. Further research is encouraged which analyses regional memories in other world regions using different cases, and further inclusion of the Comfort Women in empirical research is similarly encouraged. Analysing the memory of the Comfort Women is important since historical revisionism is on the rise in East Asia. Remembering war atrocities is crucial to make sure we keep learning from the past.

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Appendix A: DA coding

Codes:

VSFN: SF

VSCN: SC

Neutral narrator: NN

TJDN: TJ

Source	Word/sentence/paragraph	Code	Discursive devise
"Comfort women" in Shanxi hold out for apology (China Daily, 2016)	For the past 70 years, Liu Fenghai, 89, has had her sleep interrupted countless times by the same nightmare	SF	Victimization, use of personal story, "countless" = exaggeration
	Japanese soldiers with sabers on their backs hunting me like an animal	SF	Victimization, personal story, hunting and dehumanization metaphore, simile = hunting me 'like' an animal
	The tragedy is that this is no dream	SF	Victimization, emotional wording, element of surprise = what should be a dream is reality
	her limp, lifeless body left for dead	SF	Victimization, emotional words, focus on pain, death and violence, closeness to victim
	summon what was left of her energy and crawled back home	SF	Victimization, personal story, crawled = exaggeration, home = she had been removed from home
	"Comfort women," were women and girls forced into sex slavery by the Japanese	SF	Victimization, does not mention nationality of victims, 'the Japanese' = does not specify military, "sex slavery"
	those still alive today are still waiting for an official apology from Japan	SF	Victimization, focus on age and death, they are 'still waiting' = it has been too long, Japan should apologize more than they have
	The clock , however, is ticking	SF	Clock metaphor for old age and death
	they are still plagued by disturbing flashbacks of the sexual abuse, beatings and physical torture they endured	SF	Victimization, closeness to victims, emotional and graphic wording, illness metaphor = plagued
	raped by two Japanese soldiers in her own home	SF	Victimization, graphic wording, the scandal of being in her own home
	She was kept tied up and raped day and night	SF	Victimization, graphic wording
	Hao was left infertile due to her ordeal	SF	Victimization, closeness to the victim, infertile = taking her humanity/motherhood from her
	were murdered , others committed suicide	SF	Victimization, graphic wording
	Some 400,000 women in Asia were forced to serve as comfort women during WWII	SF	400,000 = exaggeration (non-confirmed number presented as fact, experts say 200,000), focus on Asian solidarity)

	nearly half of whom were Chinese	SC	Focus on national victimhood, nearly half = exaggeration (non-confirmed, the vast majority is said to be Korean, both North and South)
	The Supreme Court in Japan threw out the lawsuit in 2007	SC	Focus on institutions and states, threw out = trash metaphor
	The three groups of comfort women who tried to sue the Japanese government all passed away without receiving an apology or compensation	SF	Victimization, focus on individuals and groups, focus on death and age
“Comfort Women” oppose deal, (China Daily, 2015)	former wartime sex slaves	SF	“sex-slaves”
	landmark deal with Japan (x2)	TJ	Landmark = positive connotation, Japan is making deals to make up for the past
	WWII army brothels	TJ	Brothels = sounds like regular prostitution, other words could describe their living situation more accurately
	Six civic groups slam the agreement as 'humiliating'	SC	Slam = violence metaphor condescending wording, focus on deal, distance from victims
	Japan offered a "heartfelt apology"	SF	Quotation marks imply apology was not actually heartfelt
	Former South Korean "comfort women" watch a news report	SF	Watch = change of tense = closeness to victims – they are watching it with journalist
	hugely emotional issue in the South and a source of long-running distrust that has marred relations with Japan for decades	SC	Personification of states
	Officials of both nations hailed the deal as a major breakthrough	TJ	Japan included in ‘self’, major breakthrough = positive
	Tokyo's refusal to take formal legal responsibility	SC	Personification of state, distance from victims, legal discourse
	the one-billion-won payment was aimed at "restoring the women's dignity" but was not an official compensation	SC	Legal discourse
	South Korean President Park Geun-hye called for "understanding by the public and the victims" about the deal	NN	Neutral middle ground, not focussed on Japan or victims, mediating
	a step which will be key to securing the approval of the nation	NN	Technical wording, distanced from victims, mediating, key = neutral metaphor
	nothing but a diplomatic collusion that betrayed such wishes of the victims	SF	Diplomatic collusion = critique of both governments, betrayed = treason metaphor
	systematically forced to provide sex to Japanese soldiers	SF	Forced = sex slavery
	China to 'wait and see' if Japan sincere	SC/TJ	Personification of states, potentially Japan has redeemed itself, insecurity/unsure

	Japan's history of militarism and aggression had brought deep suffering to China	SC	Personification of states, distance from victims, emotional wording, Japan's history = could imply past but also continuation, COMFORT WOMEN as symbol of larger pattern
	take concrete actions to win the trust of its Asian neighbors and the international community	SC	Japan is an 'other' globally, Japan is not to be trusted, COMFORT WOMEN as symbol of larger pattern
	if its words and actions are consistent from start to finish, we will wait and see	SC/TJ	Personification of states, potentially Japan has redeemed itself, insecurity/unsure
Abe, Park hold phone talks over Comfort Women deals, (China Daily, 2015)	Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and South Korean President Park Geun-hye on Monday held telephone talks after the two countries' foreign ministers reached an agreement earlier in the day in Seoul	NN	Neutral middle ground, not focussed on Japan or victims, no adjective in front of 'agreement'
	he expressed apology and remorse to the South Koreans who once served as "comfort women,"	TJ	Apology and remorse = Abe feels these feelings
	200,000 women forcibly recruited by then Japanese Imperial army to work as sex slavers	SF	"force", "sex slaves", no nationality specified
	the Japanese government acknowledges the involvement of the military in the issue and feels responsibility therefore	TJ	Clear expression of change, Japan now 'feels' responsibility
	set up a new fund financed around 1 billion yen (about \$8.30 million) by Tokyo to support the victims	TJ	Japan is supporting the victims = Japan and the victims together rather than opposed
	Both countries also agreed that they will refrain from accusing each other on the issue in the international opportunity	TJ	Japan has been most accused – this should stop
	the agreement could serve as an opportunity to help develop bilateral relations in a stable and more future-oriented manner	TJ	Forward looking, serve = positive metaphor, stable = positive wording
	historical issues not only including the "comfort women" issue, but also the forced labor issue.	SC	Issue = distance from victims, comparison with other atrocity, COMFORT WOMEN one in many
	The agreement came at a time when Abe is eyeing to improve his cabinet's support rate ahead of an upper house election in next summer and when Washington pressed Tokyo to mend ties with Seoul so as to enhance US alliance with the two countries	SC	Abe is insincere = has ulterior motives, eyeing = opportunity seeking
	the Abe's administration formed since late 2012 tried to review and revise the world-recognized Kono Statement and is reluctant to acknowledge the Japanese	SC	Legal and political discourse, distance from victims, reluctant = might have made this deal, but probably insincerely

	government's responsibilities over the issue		
	Abe neither directly mentioned the comfort women issue nor admitted Japan was the culprit of the wartime atrocity	SC	Issue = distance from victims, focus on flaws in speech, neither, nor = negative simile
	Abe and Park agreed during their first meeting on Nov. 2 to accelerate their negotiations for addressing the issue	NN	Concluding statement is neutral and forward-looking, hopeful, non-shaming
China urges Japan to deal with historical issues responsibly after 'comfort women' agreement, (China Daily, 2015)	Japan's wartime sexual slavery	SF	"sex-slaves"
	calling on Japan to deal with historical issues in a responsible way	SC	Personification of states, removed from victims, China put in superior position, responsible = implies that China deals with issues responsibly
	expressed apology and remorse from the heart for all the people suffering hard-to-cure wounds and many pains physically and psychologically	TJ	Apology and remorse from the heart = Abe is sincere, suffering and pains = emotional language, focus on apology, current-looking
	the forced recruitment of "comfort women" is a serious crime against humanity committed by Japanese militarism	SF	Legal and human rights discourse, distance from victims, focus on global aspect of crime, Japan clearly the perpetrator
	on people of Asia and other victimized countries	SC	Victimization of countries, people of Asia = self, Japan = other
	China has always advanced that Japan should face squarely and reflect upon its historical aggression, and deal with related issues in a responsible way	SC	Personification of states, removed from victims, China put in superior position, responsible = implies that China deals with issues responsibly, always = exaggeration, face squarely = strength metaphor
	The agreement could be seen as progress in Seoul-Tokyo relations	SC/3	Could be = unsure/insecure agreement
	It marked the first time that the Japanese government "officially" expressed its responsibility for the war crime	SC	Legal discourse, removed from victims, the first time = untrue (the Kono statement was an official statement and although they now express responsibility, it is not legal responsibility)
	China hopes that the melioration of ROK-Japan ties "will be conducive to the stability and development of the region"	TJ	China hopes = personification of states, the region = including Japan a 'self', forward-looking

Japan offers \$8m compensation to Korean victims of comfort women (China Daily, 2015)	South Korean Foreign Minister Yun Byung-se (R) shakes hands with Japanese Foreign Minister Fumio Kishida (L) before their meeting at foreign ministry on Dec 28, 2015	TJ	Shakes hands = Korea and Japan both part of 'self', equality between nations, distance from victims, focus on countries and cooperation
	Japan on Monday agreed to offer one billion yen (\$8.3 million) in reparations to the victims	TJ	Japan is supporting the victims = Japan and the victims together rather than opposed
	forced to work as comfort women by Japan	SF	Only use of "comfort women" and not "sex-slaves" in China Daily articles in this context, "forced"
	landmark agreement	TJ	Landmark = positive connotation, Japan is making deals to make up for the past
	military brothels	TJ	Brothels = sounds like regular prostitution, other words could describe their living situation more accurately
	The Japanese government feels "deep responsibility" over the comfort women issue and will contribute to a fund to help the women	TJ	"women", deep responsibility = sincere emotion, help = they are willing to do more, focus on apology
	Shinzo Abe who "expresses apology and remorse from the heart for all the people suffering hard-to-cure wounds " physically and psychologically	TJ	Apology and remorse from the heart = Abe is sincere, suffering and pains = emotional language, focus on apology, current-looking
	The phrase of "apology and remorse from the heart" has been used by Abe in the past	SC	Abe merely copied from an old statement = is he insincere?
	the Japanese government strongly feels responsibility " for the comfort women issue from the perspective that the honor and dignity of many women were deeply scarred "under the involvement of" the Imperial Japanese Army	TJ	Concluding statement = Japan-positive, emotional language, focus on apology, focus on responsibility
Japan, S. Korea reach deal on 'comfort women' (Yunbi, 2015)	reached a deal on Monday to solve the thorny issue	TJ	Solve = final/settled, thorny = metaphor for annoying/painful, issue = distance from victims, focus on deal, diplomatic discourse
	forced into sexual slavery	SF	"forced", "sex-slaves"
	Agreement includes apology by Japanese PM and a 1 billion yen fund for victims	TJ	Focus on apology and compensation, 1 billion yen = very high number, sounds higher than in dollars, distanced and technical language
	A South Korean woman whose family members were killed by Japanese forces	SF	Victimization, closeness to individual, Japan 'othering', Japanese forces were murderers

	The results were announced after the South Korean and Japanese foreign ministers held talks on the issue in Seoul	NN	Neutral commentator, equality between nations
	establish a foundation for the purpose of providing support for the former comfort women	TJ	Providing support = Japan is willing to do more
	Funding will be "contributed by the government of Japan as a one-time contribution through its budget	NN	Merely stating facts of compensation payment
	Japan will contribute about 1 billion yen	TJ	1 billion yen = very high number, sounds higher than in dollars, focus on compensation
	Seoul considers the deal "final and irreversible" as long as Japan faithfully follows through with its promises	SC	Japan faithfully follows through = doubt, focus on the agreement, personification of states
	his most sincere apologies and remorse to all the women who underwent immeasurable and painful experiences and suffered incurable physical and psychological wounds as comfort women	TJ	Emotional language, focus on apology, apology and remorse = Abe is sincere
	Asian women forced into sexual slavery by Japan	SF	Asian women as 'self', Japan as 'other', "force", "sex-slaves"
	one of the South Korean victims, said she was dissatisfied with the agreement	SF	Closeness to victims, "victims"
	only 46 are still alive	SF	Focus on age and death of victims
	serious crime against humanity committed by Japanese militarists	SC	Legal and human rights discourse, distance from victims, focus on global aspect of crime, Japan clearly the perpetrator
	Japan should face up to history squarely, reflect on its historical aggression and deal with related issues in a responsible way	SC	Personification of states, removed from victims, responsible = Japan has been irresponsible, face squarely = strength metaphor
	Japan is shirking its national responsibility and playing word games again in the deal	SC	Focus on deal and states, game metaphor = it is a political game to Japan, again = continuity
	The foundation should be set up by Japan, rather than South Korea	SC	Should = normative role of media, Japan and Korea contrasted
	closer relationship between Japan and South Korea	TJ	Closer relationship = Korea and Japan taken together as 'self'
	there should be no discrimination of other victimized Asian nations regarding such human rights issues	SC	"victimized Asian nations", human rights discourse
Japan's attempt to hamper UNESCO listing of 'Comfort Women' set to backfire	Japanese government's poor efforts to resolve "comfort women" issue	SC	Focus on Japan's poor effort, issue = removed from victims, focus on government

(China Daily, 2016)			
	China, the Republic of Korea, Indonesia, the Philippines and other countries and regions -- have been working together to nominate documentation	SC	The mentioned states = 'self', Japan = 'other'
	sexually abused women and girls	SF	"sexually abused" = broadening COMFORT WOMEN issue to a current issue, women and girls = victims
	put pressure on the Japanese government to solve the 'ianfu issue ' which persists up till now	SC	Issue = distance from victims, pressure = Japan is not doing it by themselves, focus on continuity of issue
	help people everywhere realize another form of cruelty by the Japanese militarists during World War II	SC	Cruelty = Japan was the villain, emotional language, it is however, in the past
	Tokyo pledged to pay 1 billion yen (about 9.8 million U.S. dollars) from its state funds to launch a new foundation	TJ	Japan is supporting the victims, focus on compensation, not mentioned that foundation was actually launched by Korea, 1 billion yen = very high number, 9.8 million US dollars = inaccurate information (it is 8.3 million US dollars)
	sexual servitude for Japanese military brothels	TJ	Servitude = service (not slavery), brothels = makes it sound like sex work
	wartime sex slavery	SF	"Sex slavery"
	the two countries" will refrain from accusing or criticizing each other in the international community	TJ	Japan has been most accused – this should stop, international community = which Japan is part of, personification of states
	The agreement has been denounced by South Korean sex slavery victims	SF	Closeness to victims, "victims", "sex slaves"
	call for sincere apology and compensation for the wartime atrocities	SF	Apology was insincere, legal discourse, atrocity = focus on scale of system, victimization
	The agreement threatens to suppress subsequent historical research	SC	Threaten = violence metaphor, suppress = oppression metaphor
	this issue would pass around to the next generations in Japan to solve because their government refuses to be transparent about the historical and political facts within their own country	SC	Statement has a passive-aggressive or subtle tone = the government is incapable of solving the issue, issue = distance from victims
	the Japanese government does to hamper the registration process to the UNESCO will only show their stupidity and weakness	SC	Focus on institutions, distance from the victims, stupidity and weakness = very personal wording
	ianfu crime which has been around for 71 years	SC	Legal discourse, focus on time and non-resolving of issue
	Asian women were forced into sexual slavery	SF	Asian women as 'self', Japan as 'other', "force", "sex-slaves"
	over 19,500 survivors	SF	Focus on number of survivors

	(UNESCO), preserves the world's most important documents	SC	Focus on institutions, the COMFORT WOMEN documents are among the world's most important
Protesters clash with police as 'Comfort Women' foundation launched (China Daily, 2016)	South Korean protesters clashed with police	SC	Clashed = destruction metaphor
	women forced to work in Japanese wartime brothels	SF/TJ	Forced = slavery, work and brothels = sexwork
	symbolizes the abuses of Japan's 1910-45 colonial rule over the Korean Peninsula	SC	Japan and Korea contrasted, COMFORT WOMEN merely symbol of larger colonial struggle, victimization of Korea
	Tokyo offered an apology and one billion yen (\$8.5 million) to open the foundation	TJ	Personification of state, focus on apology and compensation, 1 billion = very high number
	dwindling number of comfort women who are still alive	SF	Focus on age and death of COMFORT WOMEN, "Comfort Women"
	deal was condemned by some of the women and South Korean activists, who took issue with Japan's refusal to accept formal legal responsibility	SF	Legal discourse, Japan as 'other', refusal = repeated word
	You can't silence the victims with money!	SF	Silence = deal is a political strategy, "victims"
	This is not what the comfort women want	SF	
	were forcibly removed by police	SF	Victims are strong, they are willing to fight for the issue
	Listen to the voices of the victims!	SF	"victims", opposite of neonationalists
	opposition to the deal with Tokyo was limited to a vocal minority	TJ	Vocal minority = most victims support deal
	Some victims I met expressed gratitude for reaching the deal while they are alive	TJ	Victims are 'grateful' to Japan, opposite use of time – they are still alive, not dying, focus on deal
	many of them supported the foundation	TJ	
	we shouldn't let these controversies put out this small light of hope that we managed to find	TJ	There is hope for Japan's stance on issue, shouldn't = normative role of media, personal account of victim
	Her comments did little to mollify the protesters, one of whom threw liquid pepper spray in Kim's face as she left the venue, forcing her to go to hospital for treatment to her eyes	TJ	Graphic wording, examples of violence, protesters portrayed as perpetrators
	forced to work in Japanese military brothels	SF/TJ	Forced = slavery, work and brothels = sexwork, repeated sentence

S. Korea urges Japan to stop distorting history on 'Comfort Women' (China Daily, 2016)	South Korea on Tuesday urged Japan to stop distorting a historical fact on "comfort women,"	SC	Personification of states, Japan and Korea contrasted with Korea as morally superior, distance from victims, distorting = lying
	sexual servitude for Japanese military brothels	TJ	Servitude = service (not slavery), brothels = makes it sound like sex work
	forcible recruitment of "comfort women" is an undeniable historical fact that the international community has already confirmed definitely	SC	Japan not part of international community, undeniable fact/confirmed definitely = Japanese revisionists are completely wrong
	His claim drew strong criticism from neighboring countries	SC	Personification of states, Japan as 'other'
	Korean people suffered from numerous atrocities, including forced labor for Japanese munitions factories and sexual slavery under the 1910-45 Japanese colonial rule	SC	COMFORT WOMEN merely symbol of larger colonial struggle, victimization of Korea, numerous = sounds like a very large number
	but Japan has denied the forcible recruitment of Korean women into sexual slavery	SC	States and governments in focus, personification, denied = Japan has gone from refusing legal responsibility to outright denial
	Urged the Japanese government to refrain from words and deeds that could impair the spirit of the December agreement	SC	Focus on deal, distance from victims, political discourse
	calling for concerted efforts to restore the honor of dignity of the "comfort women" victims and heal their scars	SF	Restore honor and dignity = use Japan's own line against them (playing with perspectives), heal their scars = pain and wound metaphor, victimization, direct contrast of Japan and victims
Wartime 'Comfort Women' refuse payment (China Daily, 2016)	wartime sex slavery victims	SF	"sex slavery"
	refused to receive reparations from the Japanese government, calling the Seoul-Tokyo agreement on the war crime a "nullification."	SC	Focus on deal, crime = legal discourse, refused = victims are strong and fighting, nullification = number metaphor
	South Korean President Park Geun-hye on Wednesday urged Japan to play its role in implementing the bilateral agreement	SC	From Korean perspective, personification of states, urged = repeated word, normative
	victims in their late 80s and early 90s	SF	Focus on age and death of victims, "victims"

	call for Japan's sincere apology and proper compensation for the war crime	SC	War crime = legal discourse, focus on states, sincere = it was insincere
	About 800 supporters and advocates for the victims also participated in the rally	SF	Support for victims often mentioned, support for Japan's decisions never mentioned
	"girl statue" that stands in front of Japanese Embassy in Seoul	SF	Focus on statues
	a teenage girl forcibly conscripted and raped by Japanese soldiers	SF	Victimization, focus on victims, raped = graphic language, focus on age of victims
	they strongly oppose the Seoul-Tokyo agreement reached in December	SC	Strongly = emphasis
	Forcibly recruited to serve in Japan's military brothels	TJ	Serve = service (not slavery), brothels = makes it sound like sex work
	offer \$8.3 million to help South Korea set up an assistance fund for the victims	TJ	Current and forward-looking, focus on compensation
	Shinzo Abe delivered his message of apology and remorse "from his heart"	TJ	Apology and remorse from the heart = Abe is sincere, focus on apology, current-looking
	sex slavery	SF	
	promised to refrain from criticizing Japan in the international society	TJ	Japan is part of international society, Japan has been most accused – this should stop, personification of states
	she will take part in another foundation, which local civic groups are preparing to set up for the comfort women victims separately from the Japan-funded foundation	SC	Another/separately = money from Japan are guilty money which should not be accepted
	Seoul-Tokyo agreement as "nullification"	SC	nullification = repeated word
	Japan's legal responsibility and legal compensation for the war crime	SC	Legal discourse
	all the negotiations have a limitation in reality	TJ	All = exaggeration/emphasis, in reality = victims do not understand this reality
	timely urgency of the issue given that only 46 victims with an average age of 89 are alive	TJ	Timely urgency = people must accept deal since victims are passing away
Ban blasted for sex slavery deal support (Shin, 2016)	uproar over the compromise with Japan	SC	Strong feeling in wording, compromise = the deal was not final, only a compromise
	U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon has added fuel to the fire by expressing his support	SC	UN secretary general 'othered' as he supports this deal (which benefits Japan, not victims), fire metaphor
	it was "undesirable" for the two nations to maintain strained relations	SC	Focus on nations, removed from victims, quotation marks imply irony – how can we talk of undesirable, when it was a war crime
	users have been churning out criticism against the Park administration, chiefly for its failure to consult the victims beforehand	SC	Difference between government and victims (as opposed to CD), Park deserves criticism and makes failures, Korean government 'othered' along with Japan

	users slammed the U.N. chief and former South Korean foreign minister for closing his eyes to the aged victims	SC	Slammed = violence metaphor, UN chief + SK foreign minister 'othered', closing his eyes = metaphor for ignoring
	some had relayed tearful reproaches to senior diplomats who belatedly visited them	SF	Tearful = emotional language, victims vs senior diplomats, victimization
	I wonder if Ban had watched the video in which the old woman pours out an emotional cry at her shelter last Tuesday	SF	Ban vs victims, victimization, emotional language, focus on age of victims, shelter = she is homeless (due to COMFORT WOMEN system?)
	Ban should not have praised the compromise given his political record	SC	Political discourse, should = normative role of media, compromise = the deal benefitted Japan
	Ban had risen to his status thanks partly to his engagement in historical disputes between Korea and Japan	SC	Direct critique of Ban, subtly hinting that he does not deserve to be in his spot at UN, political discourse, removed from victims
	very disappointing if you consume your honor and image as the first-ever Korean U.N. secretary-general to take sides with some domestic political power, which will greatly damage the people's pride and the victims' dignity	SC	Very disappointing = emphasis, consume = eating (metaphor) his honor and image, greatly = emphasis, political discourse, direct critique of Ban
	went too far during the phone call with Park by saying that 'history will highly value her courageous decision,' — imagine if he can say the same thing in front of the old women	SC	Focus on official statement, "went too far", focus on age of victims, passive aggressive nod to Ban
	calling for a retraction of the deal and safeguarding the statue of a girl installed in front of the Japanese Embassy to represent the comfort women, which Tokyo wants moved	SF	Focus on statues, focus on activists and protests, Japan 'othered', first mention of Japan as main villain
	The event is scheduled to take place at noon in Seoul, Washington, New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, New Jersey, Toronto, Berlin, Vienna and other areas. A similar protest was already held in Paris last Friday and expected to spread to Munich and other cities in Europe, North America and Asia	SC	Listing countries participating in protests for COMFORT WOMEN (self) and against Japan (other)
'Comfort Women' statues magnet for Koreans (Hwang, 2016)	Korean young women forced to work as Japanese military sex slaves	SF	Focus on age, "forced", "sex slaves", Korean girls vs Japanese military = victimization, unequal power dynamic
	The bronze sculptures are exhibited at memorial parks, museums and on the streets of Korea, the U.S. and Canada	SF	Focus on statues, focus on global scale of issue

	“Statue of a Girl of Peace”	SF	Focus on statues, “Peace” vs war, statement holds female power, strong forward-looking
	the seated statue in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul	SF	Focus on statues, casual mention of the Japanese embassy
	The protests began in the 1990s demanding a sincere apology and compensation for the surviving victims of military slavery from Japan, and still continue today	SF	Focus on protest, demanding = strong, sincere = Abe is insincere, legal discourse, “slavery”, Past and present equalised
	Kim said he learned about the issue in 1991 when one of the victims, Kim Hak-soon , revealed their ordeals during the war for the first time	SF	Naming of victim, “victims”, ordeal = big/chaotic issue
	The artists said they felt guilty for not doing anything to help resolve the issue	SF	Felt guilty = Subtle call for the reader to help solve the issue, issue = distance from victims
	Even then, there was pressure from the Japanese government, which demand ed that the memorial stone not be erected	SF	Focus on statues, villainization of Japan
	A sense of rage came over us	SF	Rage = emotional wording
	The initial image the artists had in mind was of an old woman in her 80s -- the current age of the victims	SF	Focus on age and death of the victims, “victims”
	The aged victims were young girls when they were abducted by Japanese soldiers	SF	Focus on age and death of the victims, “victims”
	The short, roughly cut hair represents that young Korean girls had their hair cut forcibly by Japanese soldiers . The tightly clenched fists symbolize their strong will to fight against the Japanese government for a sincere apology . The bird on the left shoulder is a link between the victims who passed away and those who are still alive. The empty chair next to the statue is a place for the deceased victims	SF	Focus on statue, “forcibly”, villainization of Japanese soldiers, fight = metaphor for being strong, sincere = apology was insincere, focus on age and death of victims
	collaborated with many people, citizens and students and made the different versions to best represent their wishes to help the victims	SF	Victims need help = victimization
	Money for the sculptures was raised through crowdfunding to cover materials, shipping and others costs	NN	Technical and removed language, focus on description
	The artists recently launched a new project, making smaller versions of the existing sculptures with more affordable materials	NN	Description of their art without naming the sculpture
	They were outraged to see the deal between the Korean and Japanese governments made to settle to issue	SC	Emotional language, focus on deal

	includes Japan's payment of \$8.3 million into a fund for surviving victims reportedly on condition of removing the statue across the Japanese Embassy in Seoul	SC	Reportedly = unconfirmed fact (this was in fact not the case), condition = deal is political, not sincere
	The deal, however, was met with disappointment and outrage by the 44 surviving victims	SF	"victims", emotional language
	At the exhibition, a 50-centimeter tall statue is on display	NN	Focus on details of the art, not what the statue symbolises
	My wish is that the surviving victims receive sincere apology from Japan and that our work contribute to help recover their honor	SF	"victims", sincere = apology was insincere, honor = Japan stole the honor of victims
	In subzero temperature, the statue was wrapped in a cape, wearing a knit hat, scarf and socks	SF	Personification of statue = statue is a symbol of real people, appealing to pathos
	wartime sex slavery is not resolved and asks us not to forget them (victims of wartime sex slavery)	SF	"sex slavery", not x2 = focus on negatives
'Comfort Women' statues erected in China (Korea Herald, 2016)	the first monument in China to honor the victims of Japan's wartime sexual slavery	SF	Focus on statues, mention of Japan, "sexual slavery"
	the hundreds of thousands of women who were forced into sexual slavery for Japanese troops during World War II	SF	"sexual slavery", "forced", focus on the very large number of women
	but some of them were also brought from China, Taiwan and other nations	SC	Othering of Japan by grouping many other nations together
	The statues are of a Korean and Chinese girl sitting side by side in their traditional attires	SF	Korea and China put as equals, focus on statues
	The same monument was built inside a park in Seoul last October	NN	Sentence technical and descriptive
[From the scene] student sit-in shields 'Comfort Women' statue (Korea Herald, 2016)	On Wednesday morning about 10 students in their 20s woke up to another morning in the biting cold, checking on the "comfort woman" statue next to them	SF	Focus on statue and protest, biting cold = the students are strong and passionate about this
	sit-in day and night to guard the life-size bronze statue symbolizing victims sexually enslaved by Japan during World War II	SF	"sexually enslaved", day and night = they are strong and passionate, focus on protest and statue

	It is really cold to spend the night here. We use sleeping bags and put several disposable heat packs inside	SF	Focus on protest, personal story from protester to awake empathy
	Japan has pressured South Korea to remove the statue as part of the Dec. 28 settlement	SC	Personification of states, Japan villainized
	Seoul promised not to raise the issue again in international forums and consult with civic groups to relocate the statue if Tokyo fulfills its commitments	SC	Focus on deal, if = based on context there is doubt about whether Japan will fulfil commitments, removed from victims
	Undeterred by the subzero temperatures , the students who spent the night on the pavement exchanged jokes and laughter	SF	Focus on protest, undeterred = they are strong and passionate, jokes and laughter = the protest framed as positive
	at least 30 to 40 people come and offer such things as energy drinks, warm food, heat packs and blankets every day to display their support	SF	Focus on protest, 30 to 40 = many
	But what we really need is not food or tents . We want the politicians to pass a bill invalidating the deal	SF	Food or tent contrasted with actual law – lawmakers are not doing enough, legal and political discourse
	But I came because I would forever feel ashamed if I did nothing to properly solve the issue	SF	Forever = exaggeration, feel ashamed if I did nothing = subtle nod that the public is doing nothing
	I am angrier at my government (than at Japanese authorities) . Shouldn't the government take the side of the victims?	SC	Korea and Japan contrasted – Korea is worse because the government is not doing what it should, question statement = emphasis on obviousness of answer
	“What can one say other than ‘sorry?’ Our generation should have solved the issue, but we are passing the burden onto the next generation. I feel bad.”	SC	Appeal to pathos of reader
	vowing not to take the money from the Japanese government unless it admits to its state-led war crimes and offers legal compensation	SC	Legal discourse
	Japan's ruling party lawmakers wrote a resolution to urge the Korean government to take down the statue as soon as possible	SC	Political discourse, Japan villainized
	as an estimated 1,000 people flocked to the narrow street across from the Japanese Embassy to participate in the 1,215th demonstration	SF	Focus on protest, numbers = emphasis on size and length, 1,215 = ridiculously high number because it has been going on ridiculously long
	an 88-year-old former comfort woman, slammed President Park Geun-hye for ignoring the victims' voices	SF	Focus on age of victims, personal voice of victim, slammed = violence metaphor
	She is selling us out to Japan . She should be kicked out of Korea	SC	Selling out = metaphor (they are goods to be sold), kicked out of Korea = very harsh statement

	Imagine serving 40 to 50 men a day. One would rather wish to die. It is not a comfort station. It is a place of execution	SF	Victimization, personal statement from victim, very graphic language, comfort station = execution camp
	If we voluntarily went to Japan to earn money, why would we now demand an apology and compensation like this?	SF	Direct comment to neonationalist revisionists, focus on apology and compensation, quote from victim, question to make answer obvious
[Graphic News] Not forgetting sex slavery victims (Korea Herald, 2016)	sexual slavery	SF	“Sexual slavery”
	Ban met with 89-year-old Kil Won-ok at the U.N. headquarters	SF	Focus on age of victims, UN and victims part of ‘self’, UN agrees with victims (and not Japan)
	landmark agreement	TJ	Landmark = positive connotation
	deal that is highly contested by the surviving victims and their support groups for lacking the “legal” apology demanded by them as well as for bypassing consultation with them	SF	“victims”, focus on apology, legal discourse, they were not consulted
	Ban told Kil that what he welcomed was the efforts of the two countries to resolve the issue , not the content of the agreement	TJ	Solving the issue more important than what solution is, focus on deal and organisations
	called for the U.N. to launch an investigation into the wartime crime	SC	Legal and political discourse, focus on organisations
	Their average age is 89.4	SF	Focus on age of victims
Korea, Japan strike deal on ‘Comfort Women’ (Korea Herald, 2015)	South Korea and Japan reached a landmark deal to resolve the issue	TJ	Landmark = positive connotation, Japan is making deals to make up for the past, issue = distance from victims, resolve = deal solved issue
	which centered on Japan's admission of responsibility for the wartime crime and plans to pay reparations to the victims	TJ	Focus on deal, Japan admitted responsibility, Japan will pay reparations (no mention that they are not taking legal responsibility)
	from this perspective, the Japanese government acutely feels responsible	TJ	Focus on deal, Japan feels responsible, acutely = they recognise urgency of issue
One more victim of Japan’s wartime sex slavery dies (Korea Herald, 2016)	Another South Korean woman who was forced into sexual slavery for Japanese soldiers during World War II has died	SF	Focus on death of victims, “another” = so many victims have died with no resolution
	died Monday at the age of 90	SF	Focus on age and death of victims

	Her death drops the number of surviving victims to 45	SF	Focus on age and death of victims
	historians estimate more than 200,000 women, mostly Korean	SF	200,000 = very high number
	work at front-line brothels	TJ	Choice of words makes it sound like sex work
	South Korea and Japan reached a landmark accord on Dec. 28 to end their dispute with Tokyo's acknowledgment of responsibility, an apology from Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and Japan's offer of 1 billion yen (\$8.5 million) in reparations to the victims	TJ	Landmark = positive connotation, end their dispute = the agreement has that power, listing of great things Japan agreed to, no mention of conditions
	sex slaves	SF	"sex slaves"
	The deal sparked protests among some victims	TJ	Some implies not all, not even majority
U.N chief meets with Comfort Woman (Shin, 2016)	The United Nations Secretary-General met Friday with one of the less than 50 surviving victims	SF	UN identified as 'self' supporting the victims, focus on death of victims
	Japan's wartime military-run brothel system known as "comfort women."	TJ	Very vague way of describing sex slavery, brothel makes it sound like sex work
	Ban Ki-moon met with Gil Won-ok and Yoon Mee-Hyang, co-chair of the Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan	NN	Neutral descriptive sentence
	indirect apology from Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and a Japanese pledge to provide 1 billion yen (\$8 million) to a fund for the South Korean victims	SC	Focus on deal, indirect apology = apology has otherwise been described as heartfelt, 8 million (rather than 8.3 in most other articles)
	It is crucial that the voices of victims and survivors are heard	SF	Crucial = very important, focus on victims
	Only 46 of tens of thousands of Asian comfort women are still alive today, most of them in their late 80s and 90s	SF	Focus on age, deaths, and number of victims, Asian = self is Asia
U.N chief commends Park on Korea-Japan deal of wartime sexual slavery (Lee, 2016)	U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon said Friday South Korea's President Park Geun-hye had made a "courageous decision" to reach a landmark agreement with Japan on resolving the issue	TJ	Landmark = positive connotation, with Japan = Korea and Japan are 'self', courageous decision = quotation marks imply that the media outlet might not agree
	sexual slavery	SF	
	History will laud President Park Geun-hye's courageous decision based on her vision	TJ	Authority of Ban in UN makes statement stronger

	it is a relief that the two countries reached the agreement before the end of 2015, as it marked the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the bilateral diplomatic relations of Seoul and Tokyo	TJ	Relief = lets settle the issue already, mentions anniversary of diplomatic relations, but not of the COMFORT WOMEN issue, focus on relations rather than victims, very far removed
	centers on Japan's admission of responsibility for the wartime crime and plans to pay reparations to the victims	TJ	Crime = Japan did technically not admit legal responsibility, focus on deal, apology and reparations
	The deal included Japan offering reparations of 1 billion yen (\$8.3 million)	TJ	Focus on apology and compensation, 1 billion yen = very high number, technical language
	that more than 200,000 women	SF	200,000 = very high number, "women"
	work in front-line brothels	TJ	Choice of words makes it sound like sex work
	a former South Korean comfort woman died at age 96, reducing the number of surviving victims in the country to 46	SF	Focus on age and death of victims
	have accused the government of failing to obtain Japan's acknowledgment of legal responsibility and rashly reaching the deal without consulting them	SC	"victims", focus on deal, legal discourse, they were not consulted
Victims protest sex slavery deal (Ok, 2015)	condemn Seoul and Tokyo for sealing a deal over Japan's sexual enslavement of Korean women without consulting the victims or gaining their consent	SF	Focus on protest, condemn = negative wording, "sexual enslavement", mention of only the negatives of deal
	nearly 1,000 people jammed into a narrow downtown street to participate in the 1,211st weekly rally	SF	Focus on protest, focus on numbers = many people, long going issue
	nearly 24 years to demand Japan's acknowledgement of its responsibility for forcing up to 200,000 young Korean women into sex slavery and legal compensation	SF	Focus on numbers and years, "sex slavery", legal discourse
	far from what the victims and their rights groups have cried out for	SF	Focus on negatives of deal, "victims"
	88-year-old victim Lee Yong-soo shouted at the rally, shedding tears	SF	Victimization, focus on age of victims, emotional wording and appeal to pathos
	Japan still denies its wrongdoing	SF	Focus on Japan as perpetrator
	she cannot trust Korean authorities	SC	Japanese and Korean government both 'othered'
	This country killed us one more time. We were not informed at all about the deal. However old and powerless we are, we cannot just die like this	SF	Killed us = strong metaphor, focus on age and death of victims, emotional wording
	Out of 238 Korean victims who came forward, only 46 are still alive, with their average age at 89	SF	Focus on age and death of victims
	placards reading "Protect girls" and "Opposition to the relocation of the comfort women statue."	SF	All girls as victim, focus on statue, focus on protest

	I couldn't stop crying after hearing about the ridiculous deal	SF	Emotional wording, victimization, personal story of a victim
	The surprise deal	SC	
	Japan had refused to recognize the deal as legal compensation for past atrocities	SC	Focus on deal, legal discourse, personification of states
	I cannot blame Japanese people, but I think their government should make more efforts to make up for what they did in the past	TJ	Strong focus on difference of Japanese people now and in the past
	They put gloves, scarves and blankets next to the statue in a gesture to make it feel warm and less lonely	SF	Personification of statue, statue as strong living symbol
	has sparked fury from Tokyo, leading it to pressure Seoul to remove the statue	SC	Fury = Japan is very angry, villainization of Japan
	66 percent of South Koreans opposed the relocation of the statute, while 19 percent favored it	SF	Focus on statue, statistics makes it seem the public supports victims
	denouncing it as indulging Japan	SC	Japan a strong 'other'
	launch a global campaign to bring justice for the human rights abuses by Japan	SF	Focus on global aspect of issue, human rights discourse
'Comfort Woman' with a big heart remembered (Taipei Times, 2016)	Cheng Chen Tao (鄭陳桃) who died of pneumonia on Jan. 11 at the age of 93	SF	Focus on age and death of victims
	Yoko Shiba, a member of a Japanese advocacy group for "comfort women"	TJ	Mention of Japanese group supporting COMFORT WOMEN
	forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese military	SF	"forced" "sexual slavery"
	Cheng Chen would break down in tears whenever she recalled her war experiences, especially the time when her own family blamed her for her actions after returning to Taiwan, Shiba said	SF	Personal story and naming of victim, emotional wording, appeal to empathy, victimization
	Cheng Chen was grateful to those who helped her, including her Japanese friends	TJ	Mention of good Japanese people, including Japan in 'self'
'Comfort Woman' Cheng Chen Tao dies at age of 93 (Taipei Times, 2016)	one of Taiwan's few surviving "comfort women," died of pneumonia in a hospital in Pingtung County on Monday	SF	Few surviving = time is running out, focus on death of victims, closeness to victims
	Due to her ailing physical state, on Oct. 21 last year, Cheng Chen moved to the Southern Region Senior Citizens' Home in Pingtung City from her previous	NN	Very descriptive sentence, although it describes her as weak, it is due to age, not COMFORT WOMEN system

	residence in Linluo Township (麟洛), about 10km east of the city. She weighed only 23kg when she moved into the nursing home.		
	Cheng Chen had been hospitalized at the Ministry of Health and Welfare's Pingtung Hospital twice after her move to the nursing care facility	NN	Neutral, descriptive (however, humanizing of a victim)
	Cheng Chen married twice and is survived by an adopted daughter and an adopted son	NN	Neutral, descriptive (however, humanizing of a victim)
	were forced into sexual slavery	SF	"forced", "sexual slavery"
	She and three other former comfort women sued the Japanese government for an apology and compensation in 1999	SC	Legal discourse, Japan deserves to be sued, they never received an apology or compensation
	President Ma Ying-jeou (馬英九) expressed his sorrow about Cheng Chen's death and regret she did not receive a formal apology from the Japanese government	SC	Self = president, other = Japanese government
	it leaves only three Taiwanese survivors after her passing	SF	Focus on age and death of victims
	Chen said Ma would attend a memorial service for Cheng Chen next week	SC	Ma is with the victims
	Of the three surviving comfort women, two are 92 years old and the third is 87	SF	Focus on age and death of victims
Japanese diplomat to convey Comfort Women demands (Chung, 2016)	Taiwanese women being forced into Japanese military camps as comfort women	SF	No mention of sex slavery, but still mention of force, no "brothels"
	demanding that Japan make official apologies on the issue, offer reparations for the women who were involved, restore the honor of the women by producing an official declaration and allocate funds to care for the women	SC	Legal discourse, listing of demands for Taiwanese COMFORT WOMEN, honor = Japan stole the honor of COMFORT WOMEN
	Japan and South Korea reached a landmark agreement on the issue	TJ	Landmark = positive connotation, issue = distance from victims
	Japan agreed to pay South Korea US\$8.3 million to provide care for the women and tendered an apology	TJ	Focus on positives of the deal
	the office had also relayed the demands to its Japanese counterparts and called for Japan to initiate immediate bilateral talks on the issue	SC	Political discourse, focus on lack of diplomatic talks, issue = distance from victims

	Taiwan has appointed Lin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Bruce Linghu (令狐榮達) and Association of East Asian Relations (AEAR) Secretary-General Chang Jen-joe (張仁久) to head the negotiations	NN	Neutral and descriptive
	Taiwan's government promising that it would press Japan for a speedy response on the issue	SC	Focus on governments, personification of states, government to be part of 'self' and be good
Japan agrees to 'Comfort Women' talks: Minister (Hsu, 2015)	Taiwan and Japan have agreed to begin negotiations over the issue of Taiwanese "comfort women," adding that he is confident the talks could yield positive outcomes	TJ	Taiwan and Japan are 'self', confidence in talks = Japan is now better
	Taipei and Tokyo have established a communication platform	TJ	Taiwan and Japan are 'self', focus on diplomatic communication, distance from victims
	Discussions are to be conducted between Representative to Japan Shen Ssu-tsun (沈斯淳) and Interchange Association Japan President Tadashi Imai in Tokyo, and between Association of East Asian Relations Secretary-General Chang Jen-joe (張仁久) and the Interchange Association Japan's Taipei Office Secretary-General Takashi Hamada in Taipei	NN	Descriptive
	he believes positive progresses would be made during the talks	TJ	Forward-looking, focus on progress and diplomacy
	landmark deal reached between Japan and South Korea in Seoul, according to which Japan agreed to apologize and give about ¥1 billion (US\$8.3 million) to a foundation	TJ	Landmark = positive connotation, listing of positive elements of the deal
	demand that the treatment also be extended to Taiwanese affected by the issue — about 2,000 people	SC	Focus on deal, mention of amount of victims, demand = has not happened yet
	its stance has been consistent and unchanged: that Japan apologize and compensate Taiwanese women forced to work as wartime sex slaves	SC	Concluding pro-government statement – the government has always fought for the victims
Groups demand justice for Taiwanese comfort women (Shan, 2015)	the Japanese government should also apologize and compensate Taiwanese women	SF	Focus on apology and compensation (not given), should = normative role of media

	landmark agreement	TJ	Landmark = positive connotation
	other countries that are handling the same issue are likely to seek similar reparations from Japan as well	SC	Handling the issue = distance from victims, sounds like reparations go to countries not victims
	it is a long process filled with frustrations and failures	SC	Not to Japan which has caused this, emotional and negative emphasis
	hoped that the Japanese government would offer the group an official apology and compensation while they are still alive	SF	Focus on apology and compensation, “the group” (of victims), focus on age and death of victims
	there were about 2,000 Taiwanese women forced to become comfort women	SF	No sex slaves, “comfort women”, focus on numbers
	Four of those 58 are still alive, and have an average age of 91	SF	Focus on age and death of victims
	the compensation that Japan had agreed to pay to the South Korean former comfort women exceeded expectations	TJ	Exceeded expectations = makes compensation sound very high (despite not being accepted by victims)
	Both sides apparently made some compromises to reach a settlement	TJ	Grouping Japan and Korea together as ‘self’, very distanced from victims
	The agreement is indeed “ progress, ” and the culmination of a series of actions undertaken by the Japanese government to address the comfort women issue after Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe recognized the existence of the comfort women in a speech in August to mark the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II, she said	TJ	Very Japan-positive, progress = even though condemned by victims, series of actions = which actions? Abe recognized their existence (he also denied it multiple times), far distanced from victims and their wishes
Group hopes for inclusion in ‘Comfort Women’ talks (Taipei Times, 2015)	women who were forced into sexual slavery	SF	“forced”, “sexual slavery”
	Japan is to propose creating a government-backed fund	TJ	Propose = Japan’s initiative, the fund sounds Japanese (but was really Korean)
	she is happy to see Japan talking with South Korea to resolve the issue	TJ	Focus on diplomacy, forward looking, issue = distance to victims
	the decision should also apply to victims in other nations such as Taiwan, China, Indonesia and the Philippines	SC	Regional identification, should = normative opinion (Japan should do more)
	58 of whom came forward to demand compensation	SF	Focus on victims, demand = has not happened yet, number of victims
	during more than 20 years of negotiations, many of them died and only four	SF	Focus on time running out, age and death of victims

	the compensation should be paid by the Japanese government rather than a private foundation	SC	Focus on governments and organizations, focus on Japan's responsibility, demanding action
Nation's 'Comfort Women' museum in need of funds (Taipei Times, 2016)	The first museum dedicated to Taiwanese "comfort women" still needs NT\$10 million (US\$317,158), museum administrators said	NN	About funds, not the case in particular
	it will be a milestone for the nation's human rights movement and for Taiwan's comfort women	SF	Human rights discourse, human rights movement mentioned before COMFORT WOMEN
	the foundation is facing a shortage of half the required funds	NN	About funding, not the case
	The foundation calls former comfort women "Amas" because most of the women are in their late 80s or early 90s	SF	Focus on age of victims
	The Web site, www.twrf.org.tw/amamuseum , offers various options for making donations, including a one-time donation, a fixed amount for a fixed period or the purchase of charity items	NN	Descriptive, neutral
	More than 2,000 Taiwanese worked as "comfort women" for the Japanese Imperial	TJ	Worked as = no mention of sex slavery
Taipei still at odds with Japan on 'comfort women' (Hsu, 2016)	HOPE : Taiwan contacted Japanese officials the day after Tokyo decided to pay reparations to South Korean comfort women, seeking a similar solution	TJ	Hope = forward-looking and positive regarding Japan, a solution is possible
	The government has yet to find common ground with the Japanese government on the issue of reparations for Taiwanese "comfort women,"	SC	Focus on governments, has yet to = sounds like it might not happen
	Japanese Cabinet approved a payment of ¥1 billion (US\$9.77 million)	TJ	Different conversion rate here, making it 9.77 million USD rather than 8.3
	This is not the answer we are looking for	SF	Focus on compensation, they have not received enough
	Taipei wants Tokyo to respond to its four demands	SC	Japan othered (cause it has not yet responded), demands = has not happened yet
	Both sides hope to set a date for the delayed talks over maritime cooperation	TJ	Suddenly shifts focus of article to maritime cooperation, concluding statement on maritime cooperation
Taiwan demands compensation	has demand ed that the Japanese government begin discussions with Taiwan	SC	Focus on governments, political discourse, demand = strong (has not yet happened)

for 'comfort women' (Lu & Chung, 2016)			
	¥1 billion (US\$9.98 million)	TJ	Different conversion rate here, making it 9.77 million USD rather than 8.3
	The Japanese government is to use reserve funds for this fiscal year and, on completion of payment, will consider Japan to have fulfilled a bilateral deal struck with South Korea in December last year	NN	Neutral, no clear narrative or direction
	Tokyo has avoided terminology that classed the funds as reparations for Korean comfort women	SC	Legal discourse, avoidant behaviour
	adding that it hoped for the removal of a statue of a girl in front of the Japanese embassy in Seoul that symbolizes the women	SF	Focus on statue, villainizing Japan (however "hoped" rather than "demanded")
	Taiwanese comfort women who were "drafted"	TJ	First use of word 'drafted', makes it sound like they were performing a military duty, no mention of slavery
	official apology, thus restoring the honor and dignity of the women and give appropriate compensation that would help take care of the surviving comfort women	SF	Legal discourse, listing of demands for Taiwanese COMFORT WOMEN, honor and dignity = Japan stole the honor of COMFORT WOMEN
	According to the Japanese representative in Taiwan, his government understood Taiwan's request	TJ	Japan can understand – Japan is willing to help
Ma hopes 'justice can be served' for 'Comfort Women' (Taipei Times, 2016)	President Ma Ying-jeou (馬英九) yesterday said he hopes that justice can be served soon for Taiwan's "comfort women"	SC	The president is with the victims = national unity, served = metaphor (they have ordered it, they deserve it)
	women who were allegedly forced into sexual slavery	TJ	Allegedly = it is not proven
	The issue of comfort women	TJ	Comfort women are but an issue, removal from actual people
	The museum is named after Taiwan's three surviving comfort women, who are now in their late 80s and early 90s and are affectionately called "Ama," which means "grandmother"	SF	Closeness to victims, "comfort women", focus on age and death of victims