早稲田大學政治經濟學會論文コンクール
優秀作論文集
第21回（2020年度）

目 次

2021年 3 月　　早稲田大學政治經濟學會

巻 頭 の 辞

早稻田大學政治經濟學會　会長

齋 藤 純 一

　早稲田大学政治経済学部および大学院政治学研究科・経済学研究科は、学生の皆さんが在学中に修得すべき大切な力は学術的な研究能力であると考え、皆さんが執筆する学術論文（卒業論文、修士論文、博士論文等）をその成果として重視しています。本学会が主催する論文コンクールは、このような学術院の学問理念を具体化するひとつの機会として設けられました。このコンクールに毎年度多数の論文が寄せられていることは、学生の皆さんが自らこの理念に積極的にコミットしていることの証であり、私たち教職員もそのことを誇らしく思っています。

　政治経済学部は、1年生の基礎演習に始まり、アカデミック・リテラシー演習、政治学・経済学・国際政治経済学それぞれの専門演習（プレ演習を含む）、ジャーナリズム・メディア演習や学際領域演習を経て、卒業論文の指導へと至る対話型の教育の充実をはかっています。本論文コンクールは、その一環でもあります。学生と教員がともに刺激し合い、学び合うことを通じてパースペクティブを拡げるとともに、しっかりとした根拠や理由にもとづいて自らの主張を提起する力を養うことがその目的です。

　本年度は、2年生から1本、3年生から17本、4年生からは29本、合計で47本（そのうち12本が共同論文）の応募がありました。応募者数で見ると、2年生1人、3年生44人、4年生以上39人です。これら応募論文の中から、「数理・統計計量部門」で優秀作1本、佳作2本が、また、「歴史・思想・その他部門」で優秀作1本が受賞対象となりました。

　今回、優れた論文として表彰された方々に心からのお祝いの言葉を贈りたいと思います。おめでとうございます。また、今回残念ながら選にもれた方々についても、少しでも質の高い論文を執筆しようとした意欲と努力に敬意を表します。

　本年度のコンクールにおいても、論文審査に当たっては、審査委員長の縣公一郎教授をはじめ多くの教員、博士課程院生の皆さまにご尽力いただきました。心より御礼を申し上げます。

講　　評

早稲田大學政治經濟學會　総務委員長

縣　　公一郎

　2020 年度本學會論文コンクールには、単著論文 35 作品、そして共著論文 12 作品、計 47 作品の応募がございました。全て、学部学生の方々の作品でした。その学年構成は、齋藤会長仰せの通りです。多数ご応募下さり、有難う存じました。厳正なる審査を実施した結果、本年度から、数理・統計計量部門、及び歴史・思想・その他部門の両部門を設定することとし、次の 4 作品を顕彰致します。以下の通り紹介し、それぞれの業績を讃えます。洵におめでとうございます。心よりお慶び申し上げます。

数理・統計計量部門

優秀賞

Nakamura, Kentaro, "Telling China's Stories Well? How the Story-Telling in China has Changed under the Pandemic"

　This paper discusses how the Chinese government's public diplomacy has changed under the COVID-19 pandemic. A good deal of articles from the English editions of the two Chinese newspapers have been retrieved and analysed using sentiment analysis to consider the statements made by the Chinese government to its own country and the United States. The empirical analysis was proficient and properly conducted in a timely manner, which deserved the award.

佳　作

有川正伸「第 24 回・第 25 回参議院議員通常選挙における有権者の影響力評価」

　本論文は、日本における選挙での一票の格差という問題を採り上げ、その分析に携わった特定の先行研究における問題点を指摘した上で、その改善策を提示し、実際に分析を展開した作品である。具体的には、平成 28 年及び令和元年における 2 回の参議院通常選挙結果を対象として、当該先行研究を踏まえたモデルによる分析に加え、独自に設計した指数を用いた分析をも展開し、それぞれ、一票の格差に関して一定の結論を得ている。その結果、新たに提示された指数は、更なる改善の余地はあるものの、先行研究に対して一定の貢献を為したと評価される。

佳　作

高橋優介「ふるさと納税において善意はどれほどの影響を持つのか　—災害復旧支援を題材とした納税者の心理的インセンティブに関する実証分析—」

　本論文は、ふるさと納税制度において機能する経済的インセンティヴと心理的インセンティヴに着目し、特に被災した自治体に対する寄付に際してこれらが如何に作用するのか、この観点に関して2つの仮説を設定した上で計量分析を施した作品である。全国の自治体を対象としてデータ収集・分析した第一段階の結果を踏まえ、2018年に発災した事例に絞って更なる分析を加えている。一般的には、インセンティヴとして前者が後者よりも強い影響を及ぼし得ることが示された一方で、被災前から各自治体自身が広報を展開している場合には、僅かながらも有効に作用し得ることが示されている。ふるさと納税への影響要因に関する分析として、重要な業績であると評価される。

　なお、両佳作の掲載順位は、審査結果順位を示すものではありません。

歴史・思想・その他部門

優秀賞

滋野峻也「明治−大正期台湾公学校における教育勅語の実践　—音声・文字プロパガンダとしての勅語に関する一考察—」

　本論文は、戦前の台湾における教育勅語の実践を、プロパガンダにおける音声と文字という両側面から分析して居り、当時現地での資料を丹念に渉猟し、具体的な実践過程を分析し、新しい知見をも紹介している。この過程においては、上記両側面のうちどちらによる実践がより優先されていたと考えられるのか、という点に結論付けている。問題設定に独創性が認められ、方法論的にも明解であり、学部学生による論文として高く評価される。

　上記4作品に加えて、学部学生の論文として優れた作品が多数提出されていたことを付言致します。来年度も、両部門設定を行って審査する予定です。大学院生の方々を含め、奮ってご応募下さるよう、お願い致します。

Telling China's Stories Well?

How the Story-Telling in China has Changed under the Pandemic

Fourth-year in the Department of Political Science

Kentaro Nakamura

Abstract

This paper analyzes how the Chinese media told their international audiences about their country and the United States under the pandemic. The outbreak of COVID-19 became a pivotal moment in terms of Chinese public diplomacy. Since the 21st century, the Chinese Communist Party embraced soft power and strengthened its effort on state propaganda. The outbreak of COVID-19, however, affected the Chinese global reputation because of the delay in dealing with the pandemic. Therefore, the Chinese government had to confront the global reputation problem, and the necessity of public diplomacy was augmented dramatically. This study aims at estimating the change of public diplomacy after the pandemic using three different classification and scaling techniques about topics, geographical information, and the sentiment polarity. This study estimates the change in tones about China and the U.S. on English versions of the Chinese newspapers: China Daily and Global Times. The statistical analysis elucidates the Chinese media's struggle in telling China's stories well and the little change of negative campaign against the United States. The Chinese state media outlets could not ignore the fact that the Chinese government faced difficulties under the pandemic and had to make arguments based on this fact. On the other hand, the further inflation of negative campaign on the United States is observed only in the political articles because the negative campaign was conducted even before the pandemic. Therefore, while the outbreak of COVID-19 was not the crucial structural break in terms of the negative campaign about the United States, the pandemic damaged China's story-telling capacity.

1 Introduction

The outbreak of COVID-19 became a pivotal moment in Chinese public diplomacy. As the cul-

ture or the information became important in international relations due to globalization, public diplomacy was regarded as an essential tool to enhance the country's image. As Joseph Nye conceptualized soft power, many governments started to pay attention to the image's role, and the Chinese government is not the exception. Since the 21st century, the Chinese Communist Party embraced the notion of soft power as well as public diplomacy and strengthened the effort on state propaganda. Xi Jinping commented on the importance of the reputation at the 19th National Congress of Chinese Communist Party, saying that China would improve the "capacity of for engaging in international communication so as to tell China's stories well" (Xi 2017). Therefore, it is fair to say that the Chinese government cared much about its reputation even before the pandemic. However, the outbreak of the novel coronavirus termed as COVID-19 seriously damaged china's reputation making the task of public diplomacy much more challenging than before. The virus, originated in Wuhan, China, rapidly spread across the globe, which resulted in the biggest pandemic (WHO 2020). The pandemic affected the Chinese global reputation because of China's delay in dealing with the pandemic (Jacob 2020). Therefore, the Chinese government had to confront the global reputation problem, and the necessity of public diplomacy has been augmented. However, the analysis of Chinese public diplomacy after the pandemic is limited, especially in the quantitative research.

This paper analyzes how the Chinese media told the international audiences about their country and the United States under the pandemic, quantitatively. Using the English-versions of China Daily and Global Times from January 1st, 2019 up to October 31st, 2020, this paper elucidates the change of tones about China and the United States, respectively. Besides, this paper investigates the change in tones in every three topics (Politics, Economy, and Life) by estimating the topics of the articles. The analysis of this paper demonstrates the following three conclusions. First of all, it demonstrates that even Chinese newspapers struggled in telling China's stories well. After the pandemic, the sentiment about China in all Chinese newspaper outlets decreased dramatically. This tendency is common across all the topics. China could not escape from the fact that they faced difficulties, and there is a change in how the Chinese media tell their countries greatness after the pandemic. While the media told what China achieved and praised the country before the pandemic, the newspapers started to include the articles highlighting the effort to tackle difficulties since the pandemic, not ones praising the achieved policies. Secondly, while the Chinese newspapers have negatively mentioned the United States, the further acceleration of the negative campaign due to the pandemic is observed mostly in political articles. Even in political articles where the negative campaign is confirmed, the decline of the sentiment against the U.S. is smaller compared to the sentiment about China. Unlike the political articles, the economy articles do not show the tone's change after the pandemic. The China-US economic rivalry was already intensified even before the pandemic, and the pandemic did not change the structure of the rivalry. While the life articles show

the decline, this reflects not the negative campaign but the decrease in the cultural and educational exchange with the United States. Finally, this study argues about the implication and future of Chinese soft power. The life articles show the decline in the sentiment because of the cessation of the cultural or educational exchange with the United States. Having said that, the confirmed decline of the cultural or educational exchange might affect soft power more than the negative campaign. The father of the concept of soft power, Joseph Nye, emphasized the importance of the civilian's role in public diplomacy (Nye 2008). Therefore, the lack of cultural or educational exchange might hurt both the United States' and China's soft power, which could be the future potential source to deteriorate the China-US rivalry.

This paper proceeds as follows. Firstly, the author identifies the newspaper's role in Chinese public diplomacy and its relation with COVID-19 through the literature review. Secondly, based on the literature review, the author constructs the hypotheses and make the research design. This paper mainly asks two questions: (1) How has the Chinese story-telling in general about China and the United States changed after the outbreak of COVID-19?; and (2) How has the Chinese story-telling about China and the United States in all three topics (Economy, Politics, and Life) changed after the outbreak of COVID-19? Finally, the author shows the results and mentions their implications in the discussion.

2 Literature Review

Along with globalization and the development of information techniques, the role of information and culture has increased recently; in this context, public diplomacy has attracted many countries' attention as a way to strengthen their image. It is not until the 21st century that information and culture have been regarded as a vital power source, often called "soft power." Nye (2004) conceptualized soft power as the power that "rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others" (p.5). To put it simply, different from hard power like military power, it achieves the objectives by attraction and co-option rather than coercion or payments. In this context, several approaches to enhance soft power have been devised; public diplomacy is one. The concept of public diplomacy was devised under the cold war, and the traditional idea of public diplomacy focused on the state effort (Cull 2008). Along with globalization and the prevalence of soft power, however, the concept of public diplomacy was formalized again as a way to enhance the country's image. Nye (2008) argued that public diplomacy is "an instrument that governments use to mobilize these resources to communicate with and attract the publics of other countries, rather than merely their governments" (p.95). Public diplomacy encompasses many activities, such as the advertisement of the culture through broadcasting or promoting the cultural exchange. Therefore, once the notion of soft power

was embraced globally, public diplomacy attracted the attention for strengthening soft power.

In the 21st century, the Chinese government has begun to engage in public diplomacy in its own way. With its rapid rise in the global community's presence, the discussion over soft power emerged inside China. Zhang (2019) pointed out that the foundation to embrace public diplomacy was formed from 2000 to 2007 because of economic development, the decline in the sense of xenophobia, and the problem awareness about the China threat theory. Because the Chinese government regarded the China threat theory as a major problem, public diplomacy became a necessary tool to change other countries' recognition. As a result, during the reign of Hu Jintao, the Chinese embrace of soft power was observed for the first time. Shambaugh (2020) mentioned that the concept of soft power was first officially mentioned in Hu's speech to the 17th Party Congress in 2007. Also, peaceful rise, the concept most forcefully used by Zheng Bijian, was proposed in that context. Shambaugh (2013) argued that this concept was to confront the China threat theory, saying that China's rise was benign. However, their understanding of soft power differs from Nye's one in that the Chinese government prioritizes the governmental role. Shambaugh (2020) argued that the Chinese Communist Party interpreted Nye's soft power with an overemphasis on the state's role in soft power. Indeed, Nye is not supportive of the state propaganda. Rather, Nye (2008) concluded that the state propaganda which degenerates its credibility would be counterproductive. Therefore, although public diplomacy has been embraced in China, its practice has differed from what Nye thought, with the emphasis on the state's story-telling capacity.

The English versions of the Chinese newspapers are a vital tool for public diplomacy; they have been used to strengthen the image. Multiple Chinese media were embarked on the global expansion to upgrade the Chinese image. In terms of newspapers, two English versions of the Chinese newspapers are regarded as the primary news media targeting international audiences: China Daily and Global Times. Although there are some differences between these two media, it is rational to think that both two media outlets have served as the forum of public diplomacy. As for china Daily, its presence in public diplomacy is significant. According to Lin and Bergin (2018), China Daily circulated newspaper-like advertisements called 'China Watch' in more than 30 newspapers worldwide, such as the New York Times in the United States or Mainichi Shimbun in Japan. On the other hand, Global Times, a spin-off of the People's Daily, differs from China Daily in its independence; however, it still shows evidence of the linkage with the propaganda system. In line with Shambaugh (2013), though Global Times demonstrates much more independence in the articles' contents, even indirectly, there is a linkage between Global Times and the Chinese official propaganda system, which was proved based on his interview with the senior editor. Therefore, although the level of linkage differs between China Daily and Global Times, both have been used in public diplomacy to repair and upgrade China's international image.

Along with the development of public diplomacy in China, the tone of telling China's stories well has changed over time, but Chinese public diplomacy shares the characteristics: either the explanation of China or the denunciation of other countries. Aoyama (2014) categorized Chinese public diplomacy's characteristics into three types: Passive, Active, and Aggressive public diplomacy. Passive public diplomacy was devised to refute the China threat theory. It is passive because China explains itself by saying what China is not (like China is not a threat). The concept of peaceful rise could be categorized in this type of public diplomacy. However, since the latter half of the 2000s, the style of public diplomacy evolved from passive style into more active and aggressive ones, each corresponds to the second and the third category of public diplomacy (Zhang 2019). The second category, Active public diplomacy, is the same as Passive public diplomacy in that the aim is to explain China. It is active in that China explains itself by saying what China is. Many slogans under Xi Jinping, such as "Chinese Dream" or "the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation," could be categorized into this category. Different from "peaceful rise" that corresponds to China threat theory, these slogans talk about China not from the existing western framework but from China's own framework. Finally, Aggressive public diplomacy means a negative campaign against other countries to protect Chinese foreign interests. A notable example is the one against Japan under the Senkaku-Diaoyu islands dispute. According to the situation, all three tones, Passive, Active, and Aggressive public diplomacy, have been used by the Chinese Communist Party.

The outbreak of COVID-19 became the pivotal moment in Chinese public diplomacy; while the case studies showed the Chinese propaganda campaign over the COVID-19 issues, it has not been elucidated how the Chinese public diplomacy itself has transformed under COVID-19. The outbreak of COVID-19 deteriorated the global reputation against China. Because the origin of the pandemic was in China, the Chinese government suffered severe damage to its reputation, especially from the United States. A notable example is the remarks by U.S. officials. The U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo called COVID-19 as "wuhan virus" (Politico 2020). These remarks could highly defame the Chinese government because they highlight the origin of the virus, implying the responsibilities of the pandemic. Therefore, COVID-19 deteriorated China's image, and China had to confront the biggest defiance ever in public diplomacy. As a result, in order to maintain the international image, the Chinese government launched a massive propaganda campaign about COVID-19. Though the number of articles investigating Chinese media and COVID-19 is limited currently, Jacob (2020) summarized several external propaganda campaigns under the pandemic: highlighting the struggle of other countries, the increased effort to advertise China's contribution, and referring COVID-19 as a global problem which requires the international cooperation. The unique one under the pandemic is the China Daily's website: Fighting COVID-19: The Chinese Way. This website elucidates the information about COVID-19 and highlights the Chinese effort to fight against COVID-19. However,

the scope of previous work fall beyond the argument of Chinese public diplomacy itself; they could talk about the type of public diplomacy directly related to COVID-19, but their insight and observations are not sufficient to judge how COVID-19 has changed Chinese public diplomacy. After the summary of the propaganda campaign over COVID-19, Jacob (2020) argued that because the pandemic's outbreak weakened the Chinese Communist Party, China had to resort to public diplomacy to retain legitimacy. While his analysis could apply to the campaign over COVID-19, however, this argument could not apply to public diplomacy in general due to the limitation of the observations. Therefore, whether and how COVID-19 has accelerated Chinese public diplomacy remains unclear.

In conclusion, while the pandemic was a crucial moment for Chinese public diplomacy as China started to care about its reputation, the research, especially the quantitative one, about how Chinese public diplomacy changed under the pandemic was limited. Therefore, this study checks any change in public diplomacy after the outbreak of a pandemic. Specifically, based on the previous research, the author investigates the transformation of tones about China and its major rival, the United States, on the English versions of the Chinese newspapers, and elaborates how the Chinese story-telling changed under the pandemic.

3 Hypothesis

This paper analyzes how the Chinese media outlets have told their country and the United States under the pandemic. More precisely, this paper aims at detecting any changes in public diplomacy after the pandemic. The author uses the sentiment about the United States and China to estimate the shift of public diplomacy because of public diplomacy categories. As previously noted, in line with Aoyama (2014), Chinese public diplomacy could be categorized into three types. Because one type, Passive public diplomacy, evolved into Active one in the latter half of the 2000s, the variation of the current public diplomacy consists of two types: either Active or Aggressive. The practice of each type of public diplomacy, at least between either Passive or Active one and Aggressive one, could be identifiable because each public diplomacy corresponds to the sentiment against either the U.S. or China (see Table 1). Active public diplomacy corresponds to the increase

Table 1: Type of Public Diplomacy in China (from Aoyama 2014)

Type of Public Diplomacy	Contents	Expected Change in Sentiment about China	Expected Change in Sentiment about the US
Active	To tell the attractiveness of China	Increase	Not change
Aggressive	The negative campaign on other government	Not change	Decrease

in China's sentiment because it aims to tell a positive image of China. Then, as for Aggressive public diplomacy, it corresponds to the decrease in the U.S. sentiment because it defames the other countries to protect the Chinese foreign interests. Therefore, by looking at the sentiment score about the U.S. and China, it is possible to roughly estimate changes in public diplomacy.

The research of this paper has two parts, and both are about estimating the change in public diplomacy. Firstly, this paper investigates the change in the tones about the United States and China in general after the pandemic. It is rational to expect the further empowerment of Active and Aggressive public diplomacy after the pandemic because some symptoms of the intensification of the rivalry have been observed. For example, since the outbreak of COVID-19, several U.S. journalists have been expelled from China. Reuter (2020) reported that three wall street journalists were expelled from China because the criticism on the Chinese fight against COVID-19 was regarded as racism. Therefore, according to the category of public diplomacy and the expected change of sentiment, the corresponding hypothesis is:

Hypothesis 1. *The outbreak of COVID-19 increased the sentiment about China in Chinese newspapers.*

Hypothesis 2. *The outbreak of COVID-19 decreased the sentiment about the U.S. in Chinese newspapers.*

Secondly, this study aims to identify any change in the tones about two countries in the following three topics: Life, Politics, and Economy. As for active diplomacy, it is expected that the outbreak of COVID-19 increased sentiment about China on all three topics. As previously noted, Jacob (2020) concluded that the pandemic deteriorated the Chinese Communist Party's international image, which should force them to resort to public diplomacy to repair the image. Therefore, if China conducted a massive propaganda campaign, it is expected that the change of sentiment could be observed in all three topics.

Hypothesis 3. *The outbreak of COVID-19 increased the sentiment about China in all topics in Chinese news- papers.*

On the other hand, as for Aggressive public diplomacy against the United States, it is rational to think that the sentiment's change shall be observed in the life and political aspects. Because of the outbreak of COVID-19, the political intensification of the Sino-US rivalry has been observed. Indeed, Jacob (2020) mentioned some negative campaigns over COVID-19 related issues. In other

words, the Chinese government tried to repair their image by referring to the failure of the COVID-19 treatment by other governments. It could contain articles about life; telling the miserable life in other countries could relatively elevate China's image. Therefore, the sentiment against the U.S. has been changed in the topic of politics and life. While some media sources have generalized this political intensification into the intensification of the rivalry in general, no case studies have been given to prove that the pandemic deteriorates the China-US rivalry in the economy. On the economic issue, the recent China-US trade war already worsened the two countries' economic relationship. Because COVID-19 did not change the economic rivalry structure, it is expected that the economic sentiment has not changed much.

Hypothesis 4. *The outbreak of COVID-19 decreased the sentiment about the U.S. in articles about politics and life in Chinese newspapers.*

4 Research Design

Corresponding to all four hypotheses, the author sets up different research designs, respectively. The first two hypotheses require the estimation of the sentiments in general about China and the United States. The procedure consists of the following three steps. Firstly, the author identifies the country of the sentences using the classification technique and categorizes the sentences into the country. For example, if sentence A talks about Donald Trump, it is categorized into the United States. Then, the author estimates the sentiment of the sentences in each country group, either China or the United States. Lastly, the author constructs the two-way interaction model to estimate the existence of the change statistically. As for the latter two hypotheses, in addition to the estimation of the country and sentiment score, they require the estimation of the topics. Here, the author uses the topic model and categorizes the sentences into three topics: Life, Politics, Econ-

Table 2: Examples of Terms of Dictionary for seeded LDA in each topic

Dictionary	Politics	Economy	Life
On Seeded Dictionary	xi human rights legal politic* govern*	gdp invest* price* bank* econ*	art film university museum education
Not on Seeded Dictionary (Identified in the process)	global warming eu party cooperation	company import consumption price	music local culture book

omy. After estimating the topics, the author uses the three-way interaction model to evaluate the change in all three topics.

In the research, the estimations of the country, topics, and the sentiment score are necessary methodologically. To estimate the country of the sentences, the author uses the geographical classification method called newsmap. Newsmap is the semi-supervised machine learning techniques to classify articles about countries. Although this method does not involve human involvement, the performance of the techniques is considerable. Watanabe (2018) compared the simple keyword matching, Open Calais and Geoparser.io (geographical information extraction systems), and newsmap, and concluded that the accuracy of newsmap is comparable to the other methods. However, this research suffers from the problem in estimating the country of the corpus. The newspaper articles likely talk about more than one country in one article and the estimation of the topic could not be done correctly in the article level. Therefore, in this study, the author estimates the country of sentences rather than articles. Of course, the sentence-level estimation could raise the possibility of misclassification. Therefore, the author conducts the robustness check by estimating the score only for the sentences with more than 10, 20, and 30 tokens because the number of tokens means the amount of information.

For the estimation of the topics, the author uses the seeded Latent Dirichlet Allocation (Seeded LDA). In line with Blei (2011), the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) is one of the most widely used topic models. Seeded LDA is the semi-supervised version of the Latent Dirichlet Allocation (Lu et al. 2011). Specifically, Seeded LDA weighs the terms on the dictionary, and LDA finds the words that occur with the weighted words. As a result, seeded LDA could create the full dictionary of topics from the given dictionary and estimate each corpus's topic. Examples of the terms on the dictionary (both seeded and full dictionary) are in Table 2. The topics of politics and economy are easy to understand. Different from politics and economy, the topics of life might be bewildering. Life articles are intended to collect all the items about neither the politics nor the economy. This topic is labeled as life in that it mostly includes articles about people's life, such as culture or education. Different from the estimation of the country, the estimation of the topics is conducted in the article level.

Finally, this study uses Latent Semantic Scaling (LSS) to estimate the sentiment score. Latent Semantic Scaling is a low-cost document scaling technique (Watanabe 2020). With the sentiment dictionary, this study uses LSS to estimate the polarity of the sentences. As previously noted, these sentiment scores are used for regression as the dependent variable.

5 Data

As for data, the author collects the English versions of a news article from two famous Chinese news sources: China Daily and Global Times. Because of the large number of articles, only the stories related to the U.S. or China are downloaded with the search terms "Chin*", "us", "united", or "america*." The date range of the stories is from 2019/01/01 to 2020/10/31. After deleting the duplications, the total number of articles is 17999 articles (China Daily) and 33969 articles (Global Times). Both China Daily and Global Times could serve the purpose of the research, and the author could check the robustness by using both sources. As discussed in the literature review, both news media are the primary English newspaper and relate with the government. Although China Daily is more suitable for the purpose, the sentiment score in both sources could be regarded as the effort in public diplomacy. Therefore, both sources could be used in the research design. They are useful to check the robustness because as long as both sources have the relation with the Chinese government, the fluctuation of the sentiment in each media outlet should not differ significantly; and if it differs to a great extent, there is a possibility that something goes wrong in terms of procedure.

6 Results

Figure 1 is the sentiment score in the articles about China, and Figure 2 is about the United States, respectively. Because the score obtained from China Daily highly correlates with the score from Global Times, the results are robust. About China, even though the sentiment fluctuates a lot, it is obvious from Figure 1 that the average of the sentiment declines after COVID-19 (the dotted red line). On the other hand, however, it is not evident from Figure 2 that the sentiment about the U.S. changes after COVID-19.

To statistically evaluate the effect of COVID-19, the author uses the following two-way interaction model. The model is:

$$Sentiment_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Source_i + \beta_2 Country_i + \gamma_1 COVID_i + \gamma_2 Country_i * COVID_i \tag{1}$$

where $Source_i$ is the source dummy (China Daily or Global Times), $Country_i$ is the dummy variable of the country (China or the U.S.), $COVID_i$ is the time dummy. The time dummy $COVID_i$ is coded as one after December 10, 2019. The timing is based on the survey that COVID-19 might have been circulating in Wuhan as early as December 10, 2019 (Allen-Ebrahimian 2020).

The results are summarized in model (1) on Table 3, and the interaction plot is in Figure 3. The interaction plot shows the change of the sentiment after the outbreak of COVID-19 by each country. The horizontal line represents the country; the left CN means China, and the right US
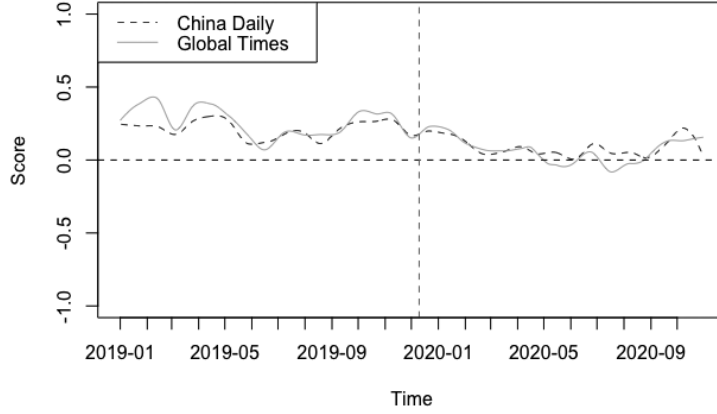
Figure 1: The sentiment score about China (The red line is the outbreak of COVID-19)
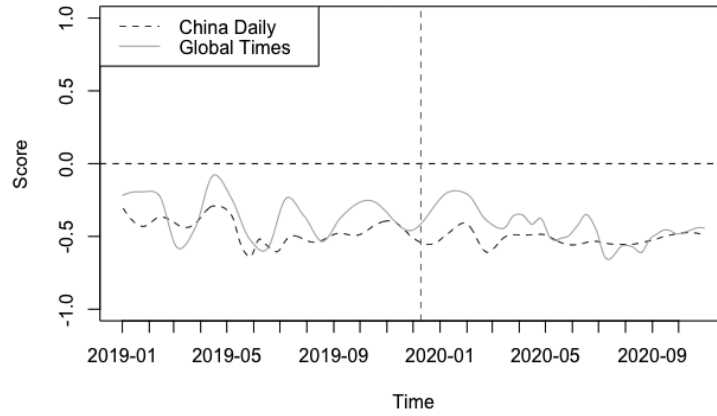

Figure 2: The sentiment score about the United States (The red line is the outbreak of COVID-19)

means the United States. The vertical line represents the change of the sentiment after the pandemic. As shown in Figure 3, the 95 percent confidence interval does not include zero. Therefore, statistically, the decline of the sentiment due to COVID-19 is significant about both China and the United States. Therefore, while hypothesis 1 is rejected, hypothesis 2 is supported. However, the sentiment about China has decreased more than the sentiment about the U.S. after the outbreak of COVID-19.

In order to test hypotheses 3 and 4, the author constructs the three-way interaction model (country, topic, and time) as follows.

Table 3: Regression Results

	DV: Sentiment Score	
	(1) Two-way Interaction	(2) Three-way Interaction
COVID	−0.186*** (0.004)	−0.032*** (0.006)
Topics (Life)		0.674*** (0.006)
Topics (Politics)		−0.136*** (0.006)
Country (1:US/0:CN)	−0.556*** (0.006)	−0.413*** (0.009)
Sources (1: Global Times)	0.054*** (0.003)	0.098*** (0.003)
COVID x Country	0.076*** (0.008)	0.017 (0.013)
Country x Topics (Life)		0.075*** (0.015)
Country x Topics (Politics)		−0.098*** (0.012)
COVID x Topics (Life)		−0.199*** (0.009)
COVID x Topics (Politics)		−0.138*** (0.009)
Country x COVID x Topics (Life)		−0.088*** (0.022)
Country x COVID x Topics (Politics)		0.164*** (0.017)
Observations	295,404	295,404
R^2	0.068	0.172
Adjusted R^2	0.068	0.172

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.005

$$Sentiment_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Source_i + \beta_2 Country_i + \beta_3 Topic(Life)_i + \beta_4 Topic(Politics)_i$$
$$+ \beta_5 Country_i * Topic(Life)_i + \beta_6 Country_i * Topic(Politics)_i + \gamma_1 COVID_i$$
$$+ \gamma_2 Country_i * COVID_i + \gamma_3 Topic(Life)_i * COVID_i + \gamma_4 Topic(Politics)_i * COVID_i$$
$$+ \gamma_5 Topic(Life)_i * Country_i * COVID_i + \gamma_6 Topic(Politics)_i * Country_i * COVID_i \quad (2)$$

where $Topic_i$ is the category of topic in the sentences (reference category is Economy). The results are summarized in model 2 on Table 3, and the interaction plot is in Figure 4.

All three topics show a decrease in the sentiment score about China after the outbreak of COVID-19. Therefore, hypothesis 3 is rejected; even in the Chinese newspaper, China suffered from
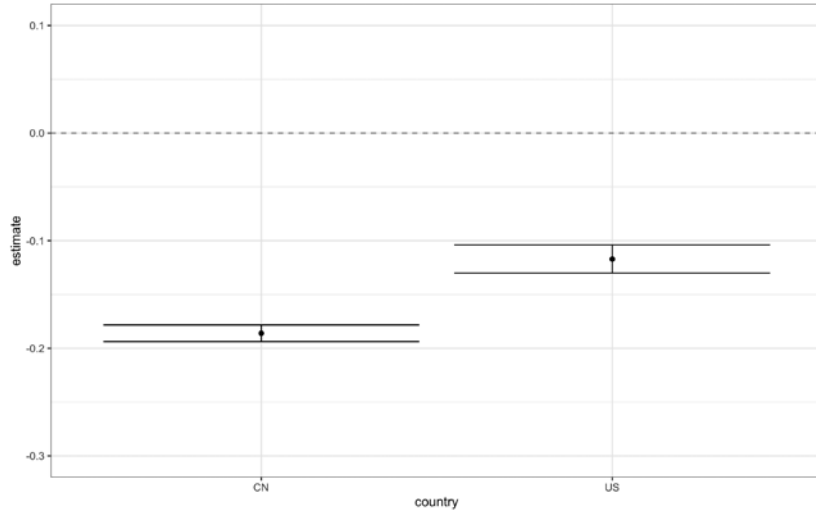
Figure 3: Interaction plot of model (1): two-way interaction model (error bar is 95 percent confidence interval)
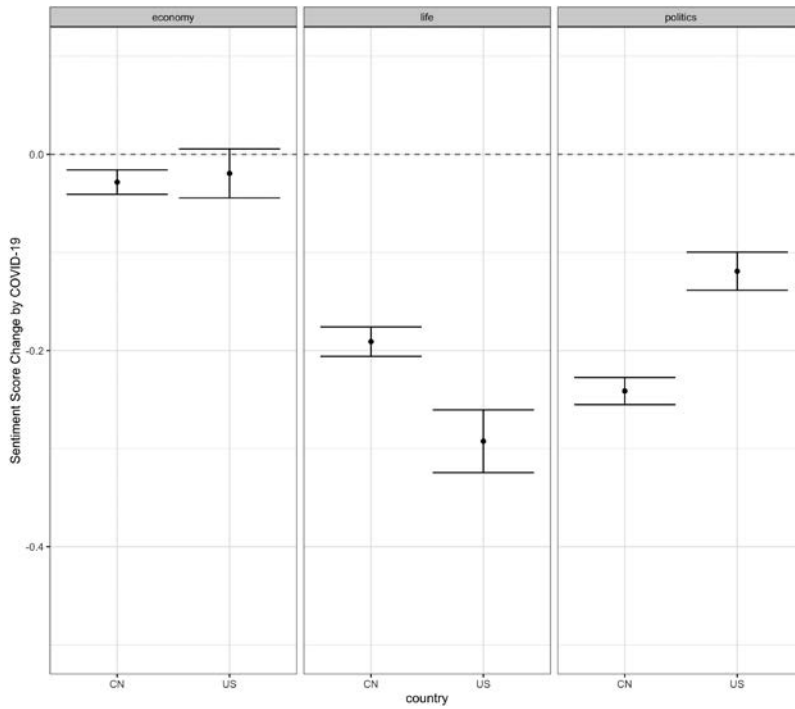

Figure 4: Interaction plot of model (2): three-way interaction model (error bar is 95 percent confidence interval)

the decline in the sentiment. On the other hand, while the sentiment about the U.S. in the articles about the economy does not decrease statistically, articles about politics and life show a decline in the sentiment about the United States. Therefore, hypothesis 4 seems supported by the result: the sentiments in the articles about life and politics decreased due to the outbreak of COVID-19.
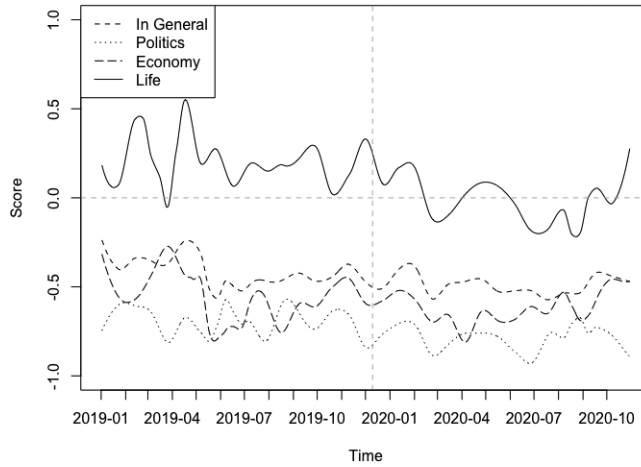
Figure 5: Change of the sentiment against the United States

However, the result here does not support all the reasoning behind hypothesis 4; while the sentiment about the U.S. in life article decreased after the pandemic, it does not mean the negative campaign. In constructing hypothesis 4, the rationale is that the negative campaign against the United States occurred, especially about the life and the policy related to the pandemic. However, according to Figure 5, the sentiment about life is far above the sentiment about economy and politics. Aside from the dispute over COVID-19, both politics and economy have a unique source of rivalry, such as the trade war or Taiwan issue. Indeed, the sentiments of both two topics are much lower than the sentiment of life, even before the pandemic. Therefore, if a massive negative campaign was conducted in life articles, it is expected that the sentiment score should be similar to that of either politics or life. However, Table 3 shows a different result: the sentiment score about life is still far above politics and economy. Therefore, hypothesis 4 is only partially accepted; the further inflation of the negative campaign occurred only in the political articles.

The change about life articles represents the two characteristics of the negative campaign, along with the Chinese Aggressive public diplomacy. Firstly, articles about life mainly include education or culture. Thus, the U.S. appears in the context of cultural interaction or educational exchange, which could not be done due to COVID-19. Secondly, when discussing COVID-19 issues in the context of the negative campaign against the United States, the articles mostly include governmental or administrative issues. In other words, Chinese aggressive public diplomacy is not likely to attack solely other citizens' life. The negative campaign mostly aims to degenerate the other governments so as to elevate the legitimacy of the reign of the Chinese Communist Party. As a result, the decrease in the sentiment of life about the United States after COVID-19 mostly reflects the decline in the foreign cultural exchange or the educational opportunity in the United States; it does not reflect the negative campaign about the life of the United States.

7 Discussion

The implication of the results could be summarized into the following three points; first of all, the results demonstrate that even the Chinese newspapers struggled in telling China's stories well after the outbreak of COVID-19. The hypotheses about China (hypothesis 1 and 3) are rejected, and the results rather show the opposite: even in the Chinese newspapers, the sentiment score about China declined after the pandemic. Although the sentiment score about China is much higher than that about the United States, the decline of the sentiment about China is more significant than that about the U.S.(see Figure 3). The decline mechanism is a result of the pandemic. Before the outbreak of COVID-19, the articles classified as Chinese ones mainly include praising the greatness of what the Chinese government achieved, such as the Belt and Road Initiative. After the pandemic, however, because it was evident that the Chinese government confronted the pandemic, the news articles started to include the ones highlighting the Chinese effort on the pandemic, whose sentiment is not as high as the sentiment of the articles on the achieved policies. Indeed, Jacob (2020) noted that after the pandemic, China launched massive efforts on deflecting the criticism concerning the pandemic, such as highlighting the mitigation efforts. However, because the outbreak of COVID-19 itself could not be ignored, even though the Chinese efforts have been highlighted in the news articles, overall, the sentiment about China has declined after the pandemic.

Secondly, while the Chinese newspapers have negatively mentioned the United States, the confirmed negative campaign is limited, mostly in political articles. While hypothesis 2 (the hypothesis of the sentiment about the U.S.) is supported, it does not indicate the acceleration of the negative campaign; the partial rejection of hypothesis 4 indicates that the acceleration of the negative campaign occurred only about the political articles. This is because the negative campaign was already conducted. Even before the outbreak of COVID-19, the Sino-US rivalry was intensified, and the negative campaign along with Aggressive public diplomacy had been employed. Both politics and economy had their reason for rivalries, such as the trade war or the Hong Kong issue. Therefore, compared with the sentiment about China, the change of the sentiment is smaller in all topics except life because Aggressive diplomacy existed all the time before the pandemic. In the life articles, the U.S. sentiment shows a significant decrease after the pandemic; however, as previously discussed, it is not rational to regard the change as Aggressive public diplomacy because the polarity of the sentiment about life is much higher than that about politics and economy (Figure 2). Therefore, the decline in the sentiment about life is from not Aggressive public diplomacy but the cessation of the cultural or educational exchange. In conclusion, this study confirms that although the outbreak of COVID-19 might trigger a further negative campaign in the United States, its change might be limited and only statistically confirmed in political articles.

Finally, while the decline in the U.S. sentiment about life does not indicate a further negative campaign, this decline might have a profound implication over public diplomacy and soft power. Hypothesis 4 is essentially rejected because the reasoning behind it is proven wrong. Hypothesis 4 is about the escalation of the negative campaign in articles about politics and life, and the results on Figure 4 match hypothesis 4. However, the decline does not mean the escalation of the negative campaign; assuming the Figure 5, in terms of the sentiment, the economic or political articles are significantly lower than life articles. Therefore, if the negative campaign was conducted on life articles, the sentiment score should drop more and be similar to political or economic articles. The unexpected results are because of the characteristic of the Chinese negative campaign. When Chinese newspapers denounced the other countries in terms of COVID-19, they mainly targeted the governments, not solely at the citizens; thus, the rebuke on other countries in terms of COVID-19 is classified in political articles. The drop of the U.S. sentiment in life articles occurred because the U.S. appears mainly in the context of the educational or cultural exchange in life articles. Therefore, the sentiment against the U.S. dropped after the COVID-19 because of the cessation of the cultural or educational activities. While these results fall beyond the scope of this study, however, it might have the profound implication over Chinese soft power. As discussed in the literature review, the recent Chinese effort on propaganda results from the acceptance of soft power and public diplomacy. Globalization accelerated the spread of information and culture, which expanded the role of image in international relations. This background generated attention to the notion of soft power; as an instrument to enhance the image, public diplomacy gained popularity. While Chinese diplomacy practice puts weight on the state's role, the original concept of public diplomacy in the context of soft power differs (Shambaugh 2020). The father of soft power, Joseph Nye, emphasized the role of cultural exchange and mutual understanding at the civilian level (Nye 2008). Therefore, though this study focuses on state propaganda, the confirmed cessation of the cultural exchange might profoundly affect soft power. As discussed already, the arguments related to life articles demonstrate that the drop of the sentiment about the U.S. in life articles reflects not the negative campaign but the stop of the cultural exchange. However, because the decline reflects the stop of cultural exchange or the educational exchange between the United States and China, it might lead to the reduction in the civilian amicability between the United States and China, which could have a more profound effect on soft power.

8 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study demonstrates that while the outbreak of COVID-19 invited a limited increase in the negative campaign against the United States, even Chinese newspapers struggled in

telling China's story well. The outbreak of COVID-19 became a crucial moment in terms of Chinese public diplomacy. Since the 21st century, the Chinese government has mainly engaged in public diplomacy to tackle the China threat theory. The outbreak of COVID- 19 entangled the problem of Chinese reputation. The delay in reporting the virus resulted in a global pandemic, and it led to the deterioration of the Chinese reputation (Jacob 2020). Therefore, the Chinese Communist Party had to confront one of the biggest challenges to repair the image due to the pandemic. Thus, this study investigates the structural change in the story-telling in the English versions of the Chinese news outlets. Because the Chinese public diplomacy could be categorized into two types, either about themselves (Passive or Active public diplomacy) or the negative campaign (Aggressive public diplomacy), this study estimates the change of the sentiment about countries (the U.S. and China) after the pandemic. The statistical analysis elucidates the struggle in telling China's stories well and the little change of negative campaign against the United States. The outbreak of the pandemic changed the Chinese media's way of story-telling about China. The stories about China started to include not only the ones praising what the government achieved but also the ones highlighting the governmental efforts. On the other hand, the further inflation of negative campaign on the United States is observed only in the political articles because the negative campaign was already conducted. Overall, while the pandemic is not the crucial structural break in terms of the negative campaign against the United States, COVID-19 has damaged China's story-telling capacity.

The research of the U.S. public diplomacy and comparison between China and the United States might be enumerated as one direction of future research. This paper investigates only Chinese public diplomacy. While the research on Chinese public diplomacy give an in-depth understanding and highlight any change in public diplomacy, it talks little about the international relationship between the United States and China. Given the recent work on the negative campaign, public diplomacy should be understood as a relation. Indeed, Kohama, Inamasu, and Tago (2017) demonstrated that the effect of a negative campaign depends on the tactics of the attacked. Therefore, the results of this paper could not generalize about the China-US rivalry in general; and the comparative research between the Chinese public diplomacy and the American one is necessary, especially in terms of the negative campaign.

References
Allen-Ebrahimian, Bethany (Mar. 2020). "Timeline: The Early Days of China's Coronavirus Outbreak and Coverup". In: Accessed on 11.29.2020. url: https://www.axios.com/timeline-the-early-days-of-chinas-coronavirus-outbreakand-%20cover-up-ee65211a-afb6-4641-97b8-353718a5faab.html.
Aoyama, Rumi (2014). "Bougyo teki, Sekkyoku teki, soshite Kougeki teki public diplomacy: Chugoku ni okeru 3tu no youso (Passive, Active, and Aggressive Public Diplomacy: three elements of Chinese Diplomacy)". In: *Kokusai Mondai[Published in Japanese]* 635, pp. 15–25.
Blei, David (2011). "Probabilistic Topic Models". In: *Communications of the ACM* 55.
Cull, Nicholas John. (2008). *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency : American propaganda*

and public diplomacy, 1945-1989 / Nicholas J. Cull. Cambridge ; Cambridge University Press.

Jacob, Jabin T. (2020). "'To Tell China's Story Well': China's International Messaging during the COVID-19 Pandemic". In: *China Report* 56.3, pp. 374–392.

Kohama, Shoko, Kazunori Inamasu, and Atsushi Tago (2017). "To Denounce, or Not To Denounce: Survey Experiments on Diplomatic Quarrels". In: *Political Communication* 34.2, pp. 243–260.

Lin, Louisa and Julia Bergin (Dec. 2018). "Inside China's audacious global propaganda campaign". In: *The Guardian*. Accessed on 11.29.2014. url: https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/dec/07/china-plan-for-global- media-dominance-propaganda-xi-jinping.

Lu, B. et al. (2011). "Multi-aspect Sentiment Analysis with Topic Models". In: pp. 81–88.

Nye, Joseph S. (2004). *Soft power : the means to success in world politics*. New York: public affairs.

——— (2008). "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power". In: *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, pp. 94–109.

Politico (Mar. 2020). "Pompeo, G-7 foreign ministers spar over 'Wuhan virus' At issue is whether to link the coronavirus directly to China." In: Accessed on 11.29.2020. url: https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/25/mike- pompeo-g7-coronavirus-149425.

Reuter (Feb. 2020). "China revokes three Wall Street Journal reporters' credentials". In: Accessed on 11.29.2020. url: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-china-media-response-idUSKBN20D0QU.

Shambaugh, David L. (2013). *China goes global : the partial power / David Shambaugh*. Oxford, UK ; Oxford University Press.

——— (2020). *China and The World*. Oxford, UK ; Oxford University Press. Watanabe, Kohei (2018). "News-map". In: *Digital Journalism* 6.3, pp. 294–309.

——— (2020). "Latent Semantic Scaling: A Semisupervised Text Analysis Technique for New Domains and Languages". In: *Communication Methods and Measures*.

WHO (Feb. 2020). "Report of the WHO-China Joint Mission on Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19)". In: url: https://www.who.int/docs/default-source/coronaviruse/%20who-china-joint-mission-on-covid-19-final-report.pdf.

Xi, Jinping (Oct. 2017). "Secure a Decisive Victory in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects and Strive for the Great Success of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era". In: url: http://www. xinhuanet.com/english/download/Xi_Jinping%27s_report_at_19th_CPC_National_Congress.pdf.

Zhang, Xuebin (2019). *Nihon to Chugoku no public diplomacy: Gainen Henyo ni tomonau aratana kyousou (Public Diplo- macy of Japan and China: the new competition from the change in the concept)*. Kyoto: Minerva [Published in Japanese].

第 24 回・第 25 回参議院議員通常選挙における 有権者の影響力評価

早稲田大学政治経済学部政治学科

4 年　有 川 正 伸

要旨

　本論文では、武藤・小野[1]の先行研究をもとに、平成 28 年第 24 回参議院議員通常選挙と令和元年第 25 回参議院議員通常選挙のデータを用いて、有権者の参議院議員選挙における影響力を評価した。影響力の評価に当たっては、先行研究[1]を踏まえ、代議員制度モデルにより参議院議員選挙をモデル化し、各選挙区だけでなく比例代表区における有権者の影響力も考慮した評価をシャープレイ値により行なった。またこれを拡張し、国会の議決に対する有権者の影響力も考慮できるよう「参院有権者投票力指数」を設計して有権者の影響力評価を行なった。なお参院有権者投票力指数は、「有権者の各選挙区と比例代表区におけるシャープレイ値」に「有権者一人当たりの各選挙区選出議員団の国会内でのシャープレイ・シュービック指数」を加えた数として定義した。分析の結果、まず比例代表制を考慮した場合は、有権者の影響力の格差は減少するという結果を得た。また、参院有権者投票力指数により影響力を評価した場合は、比例代表制を考慮した場合と比較して僅かではあるが有権者の影響力の格差が拡大したという結果を得た。そして、これらの得られた結果をもとに分析で使用した評価方法の適切性について考察した。

　本論文の構成は以下の通りである。まず第 1 章では本論文の動機や目的、1 票の格差問題に関する現状説明を行なった。第 2 章では先行研究について紹介し、武藤・小野[1]による日本の国政選挙における有権者の影響力に関する先行研究や、シャープレイ・シュービック指数について紹介した。第 3 章では、本論文で使用する有権者の影響力評価方法の説明・紹介や参院有権者投票力指数の設計を行った。第 4 章では武藤・小野[1]が用いた方法や第 3 章で設計した参院有権者投票力指数を用いて、第 24 回・第 25 回参議院議員通常選挙における有権者の影響力を分析した。そして第 5 章では分析結果をもとに考察を行なった。最後に第 6 章では、本論文のまとめや今後の課題について述べた。

参考文献（一部）
(1)　武藤 滋夫・小野 理恵,『投票システムのゲーム分析』, 1998, 日科技連

佳 作

ふるさと納税において善意はどれほどの影響を持つのか？
——災害復旧支援を題材とした納税者の心理的インセンティブに関する実証分析——

早稲田大学政治経済学部経済学科

4年 高 橋 優 介

要旨

　本稿では、ふるさと納税制度の意義を捉え直し、ふるさと納税の現状と意義の乖離を指摘する。この指摘を前提として、本来の意義を理解した納税者の想いがふるさと納税による寄附金額にどれほどの影響を与えているか分析する。最後に、ふるさと納税が目指すべき今後の姿を考える。

　そもそも納税者にとってふるさと納税制度を利用するインセンティブは、大きく分けて経済的インセンティブと心理的インセンティブの2種類存在する。経済的インセンティブはふるさと納税の代名詞とも言える返礼品であり、心理的インセンティブは生産者支援やGCF（ガバメント・クラウド・ファンディング）、災害復旧支援が挙げられる。そして、政府主導のふるさと納税研究会報告書において、当初のふるさと納税制度には納税者の選択・「ふるさと」の大切さ・自治意識の進化という3つの意義があるとされ、そこに返礼品という見返りの要素は見受けられなかった。つまり、ふるさと納税は無償が前提の寄附であり、政府は納税者に心理的インセンティブの働きを期待していた。しかしながら、実際に制度が施行されると返礼品という存在が登場し、多くの納税者はふるさと納税の意義を忘れ見返りに心を奪われるようになってしまった。現状のふるさと納税は返礼品のお得さという経済的インセンティブが先行していると言える。こうした現状は高額返礼品問題や返礼率競争を引き起こし、制度存続を深刻なレベルで脅かしている。今一度、ふるさと納税本来の意義である寄附の側面に立ち返る必要がある。

　こうした状況下においても、納税者の善意、つまり見返りを求めない寄附の心がふるさと納税による寄附金額にどれほどの影響を与えているか考えた。心理的インセンティブの中でも災害復旧支援に着目し、2018年の災害を題材として2つの仮説を分析した。1つ目は「被災状況が深刻なほど、ふるさと納税による寄附金額が増加する」、2つ目は「被災状況が深刻かつ被災自治体のふるさと納税が認知されているほど、ふるさと納税による寄附金額が増加する」というものである。被災地域の凄惨な状況を認知した納税者の心理的インセンティブが被災自治体のふるさと納税による寄附金額にどれほどの影響を与えるかを見る。

　仮説Ⅰの分析結果から、納税者が単に凄惨な被災状況を認知することだけではその被災自治体の寄附金額が増加することはないと分かった。納税者は経済的インセンティブの影響を強

く受けており、心理的インセンティブに左右されることは少ないのである。このことは先行研究の結果を踏まえても妥当である。しかし、仮説Ⅱの分析結果から、被災前から各自治体が自身のふるさと納税を認知させておくことが、被災した際に被害状況の深刻さと相乗効果を発揮し寄附金を集める上で僅かばかり有効に働くということが明らかになった。この点は先行研究において全く見られず新しい発見である。本稿から得られた重要な示唆として強調しておきたい。

　最後に、今後のふるさと納税が目指すべき姿を考える。このことに関して、納税者・自治体という２つの視点で見ていく。まず、納税者は返礼品の魅力を感じつつも、あくまでふるさと納税の趣旨が寄附であることを忘れず、寄附金の使い道にも関心を持つことが必要である。つまり、共感ファースト・モノセカンドを目指すべきである。次に、自治体は政府の方針に従った上で、積極的に寄附金の使い道を提示し納税者の共感を集めるべく努力する必要がある。ことに災害復旧に関して言えば、被災前の広報はもちろんのこと被災後の詳細な情報開示と情報拡散を行うことで納税者の心理的インセンティブを刺激しふるさと納税の本来あるべき姿を目指す必要がある。納税者・自治体相互、つまり社会全体でふるさと納税の在り方を今一度見つめ直すときが来ているのだ。

優秀作

明治-大正期台湾公学校における教育勅語の実践
——音声・文字プロパガンダとしての勅語に関する一考察——

早稲田大学政治経済学部政治学科

4年　滋　野　峻　也

要旨

　戦前期の日本において、学校教育における根本的方針かつ道徳的規範とされたのが「教育勅語」であることは知られているが、それは明治28（1895）年から昭和20（1945）年にかけて日本の統治下にあった台湾においても例外ではない。領有直後から、勅語は「修身」教科書、あるいは学校行事の際に校長により勅語を音読する「奉読」といった形で、条文をそのまま利用する形で実践された。これらの実践方法において、勅語は「音声」および「文字」として表現されたのであり、いわゆる「メディアの重層」が生じていた状態であったといえよう。一方で、本来内地向けに作成された勅語は、植民地で使用するには矛盾を抱えていた。

　本稿の目的は、植民地教育の場において、矛盾を抱えた勅語がどのように「プロパガンダ・メディア」として機能したのかを明らかにすることである。その方法として、「重層メディア」である勅語の実践の方向性を「音声プロパガンダ」および「文字プロパガンダ」の二形態に区分し、特に領有開始から大正期にかけての公学校における両者の実践を検討の対象とする。前者については主に学校行事における「勅語奉読」に着目し、唱歌教育や学校行事の成立過程との関連について言及しながら検討する。後者においては、「修身」教科書における勅語に関する記述について分析する。

　本稿で得られた結論は以下の通りである。「音声プロパガンダ」としての実践については、領有直後に早くも第一回の「奉読」が実施され、公学校の普及とともに全島に広がった。また、初期段階では漢訳版の勅語が「奉読」に使用されたり、勅語に関する唱歌が合わせて使用されたりといった当局側の工夫が随所に見られることがわかった。一方、「文字プロパガンダ」としての実践については、「公学校規則」等で「修身」科で勅語の趣意を教えることを重視する認識は示されていたものの、実際に児童用教材に記述として現れるのは大正2（1913）年以降の『公学校修身書』が最初であった。「音声」としての勅語が「文字」としての勅語より優先された原因について明らかにすることはできなかったが、一つの可能性として、音声言語と文字言語の相違が、矛盾を抱えた勅語の「解釈」の必要性の有無を生んだ点を指摘することができるだろう。

謝　　辞