

LAURA BLECKEN

“SELF-RESPONSIBILITY” IN JAPANESE SOCIETY:  
A CONCEPTUAL HISTORY AND DISCOURSE ANALYTIC  
STUDY APPLYING TOOLS FROM THE DIGITAL HUMANITIES  
(ENGLISH SUMMARY)\*

---

\* This text is a summary of the PhD thesis on “Selbstverantwortung’ in der japanischen Gesellschaft: Eine begriffsgeschichtliche und diskursanalytische Untersuchung mit Methoden der Digital Humanities”, composed under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Christian Oberländer at Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg.

# “SELF-RESPONSIBILITY” IN JAPANESE SOCIETY

A CONCEPTUAL HISTORY AND DISCOURSE ANALYTIC STUDY APPLYING TOOLS  
FROM THE DIGITAL HUMANITIES  
(ENGLISH SUMMARY)

Hostages in war zones, nuclear refugees from Fukushima and workers in precarious conditions are just a few examples of the many Japanese assigned personal responsibility for their situation by the word *jikosekinin*. The term – literally translated as “self-responsibility” – has become a keyword in contemporary Japanese society. But what does *jikosekinin* mean, and how was it established in the Japanese language? This study examines this multi-faceted concept by combining methods of conceptual history and discourse analysis with tools from the digital humanities. It traces the word back to its roots and creates a model for different meanings of *jikosekinin*, through which various discourses converge. Finally, the study investigates how the word is used today by analyzing almost 40,000 blog posts. This procedure allows the omnipresence of *jikosekinin* in everyday life to be broken down and this concept, torn as it is between traditional moral values and the impacts of global neoliberalism, to be discussed.

## 1) INTRODUCTION

Around the year 2000, the word *jikosekinin* started to be called the “keyword of the era” (TAKIKAWA 2001: 32) and was described as “circulating with terrifying momentum” (ISHIDA 2001: 46). In 2018, the whole Heisei period (1989–2019) was described as a time when social problems such as poverty began to be treated as personal problems by the discourse of *jikosekinin* (FUJII 2018: 70–71). The Japanese discourse of *jikosekinin* even gained international attention during the hostage crises of 2004 and 2015, when Japanese citizens abducted in Middle Eastern war zones were harshly criticized for having failed to exercise *jikosekinin* (TAKIKAWA 2005: 61). Many Western newspapers explained this attack with Orientalist narratives of hierarchy, though the word at the center of debate – *jikosekinin* – had just emerged fairly recently (INOUE 2007: 83).

### 1.1 PRIOR RESEARCH

While Japanese scholars began to point out the popularity of the word *jikosekinin* around the year 2000, it began to be increasingly problematized after the hostage crisis of 2004. At first, it was journalists, critics and political scientists who took up the discourse about the former hostages by referring to the buzz-

word (MURAO 2004; DOSHISHA & ASANO 2005; IMAI 2005; KAYAMA 2005; TAKATŌ et al. 2005; HOOK & TAKEDA 2007). In recent years, however, the social implications of a society based on the principle of self-responsibility have been questioned by political scientists, and *jikosekinin* appears to have become a signifier for neoliberalism itself (e. g. UTSUNOMIYA 2014; WADA 2016; YOSHIZAKI 2014).

There are very different explanations for the prevalence of *jikosekinin* in the Japanese language: Many attribute the spread of the concept to neoliberal reforms of the 1990s (e. g. INOUE 2007; WADA 2016). However, it has also been pointed out that self-responsibility was already a common concept in the social system of the Edo period (1603–1868) (KINOSHITA 2017). What is more, some studies claim that the conceptualization of self-responsibility is fundamentally different in East Asian and Western countries (MADDUX & YUKI 2006; KAMBE 2007).

On the other hand, there are only a few studies acknowledging the ambiguity of the word *jikosekinin*. Takikawa Hirohide, a philosopher of law, points out that various arguments were confused under the term *jikosekinin* during the hostage crises in 2004 and 2015 due to its complex semantics (TAKIKAWA 2015: 2005). Matsuo Tadasu, an economics philosopher, states that there are two different concepts overlapping in the word *sekinin* (responsibility) today. The first is “responsibility behind self-determination” (*jikokettei no ura no sekinin*). The second is “responsibility as a member of a group” (*shūdan no membā to shite no sekinin*), a responsibility one bears due to a social role regardless of one’s decisions (MATSUO 2016: 27). In English, the latter concept would rather be translated as “obligation” or “duty” relating back to the pre-modern meaning of *sekinin* (GLUCK 2009: 86). In the course of this study, Matsuo’s theoretical assumptions are tested empirically and integrated into a model for different meanings of *jikosekinin*.

This study takes a comprehensive look at the concept of *jikosekinin* for the first time based on an empirical analysis of actual usage cases of the word in the past and present. Methodologically, it provides an innovative approach for extending studies of conceptual history to the present by employing tools from the digital humanities.

## 1.2 METHODS

From the research perspective of “conceptual history” (German: *Begriffsgeschichte*) (KOELLECK 2006: 1972) this study first explores how the term *jikosekinin* developed in the Japanese language. Studies of conceptual history assume that historical changes in society can be seen through the temporal evolution of certain concepts. In recent years, research in conceptual history has also been conducted in East Asian studies, particularly considering the transfer of concepts across borders (MEYER 2014; 2017).

Studies of conceptual history have been criticized for their selection of analyzed texts that tend to focus on literary examples rather than on everyday language (REICHARDT 1982: 52). One reason for this could be the sheer number

of usage examples in everyday language making it difficult to perform a proper analysis (ZORN 1992: 76). Today, however, digital tools hold tremendous potential for big data text analysis. The latter half of this study presents the results of such an analysis of 39,306 blog posts to clarify the daily use of the term *jikosekinin* in everyday language.

The analysis is conducted by a tool called “TopicExplorer”, currently being developed at Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg. The TopicExplorer is based on the LDA topic model (BLEI et al. 2003). It distributes the word tokens of all documents (in this case: blog posts) into a preset number of groups, which can be interpreted as topics. A topic is visualized by the words that appear most frequently in the group. The TopicExplorer features several research functions to support the interpretability of topics (HINNEBURG et al. 2012; HINNEBURG & OBERLÄNDER 2017). By extracting topics from the text corpus, the TopicExplorer assists in identifying online discourses that employ the word *jikosekinin*. Therefore, while the first half of the study focuses on the concept of *jikosekinin* itself, the latter half analyzes the word in its discursive setting, thereby shifting towards a discourse analytic research perspective.

## 2) ROOTS OF *JIKOSEKININ*

The Japanese term *jikosekinin* consists of the four Chinese characters 自己責任. All of these can be traced back to Oracle Bone Scripts, appearing earlier than 1000 BC (MIZUKAMI 1995: 83, 781, 1994, 2271).

The character 自 symbolizes a human nose and is thought to be used for the meaning of “I”, because people point at their nose when referring to themselves (SHINCHŌSHA 2007: 1853). The character 己 symbolizes the end of a long thread, and as such stands for a “beginning” and also for “I” (MIZUKAMI 1995: 781). The character 責 consists of two parts: 束 (thorn) and 貝 (payment). While some assume that the meaning is composed of both parts and describe it as “to torture as if stinging with thorns because of a loan” (TŌDŌ 1978: 1253), others assume that 束 (thorn) only refers to the pronunciation of the character meaning simply “tribute” (MIZUKAMI 1995: 1234; SHIRAKAWA 2004: 525). The character 任 consists of the parts 人 (person) and 壬 (carrying a weight) and therefore stands for a person carrying a weight (MOROHASHI et al. 1989/1990: 169). It is mostly used for “office” (GLUCK 2009: 86)

The compound 自己 (self) originated in Chinese and was probably transferred to Japanese in the Kamakura period (1185–1333) (JIN 2014). It tends to appear in compound words (MURATA 2017). The compound *sekinin* 責任 also originated in Chinese and came to Japan during the Kamakura period, probably with the introduction of Zen Buddhism (TANEMURA 2013: 136), though it was seldom used before the Meiji period (1868–1912) (MATSUI 2002: 30). In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, *sekinin* became a popular word in Japanese translations of Western literature, particularly in legal texts (SATO 1986: 194). With the spread

of the word, its meaning has expanded drastically: While before the 19<sup>th</sup> century *sekinin* meant “fulfilling duties assigned to one’s status” (TANEMURA 2013: 147), *sekinin* later came to be used as a translation for a variety of foreign words, including “liability”, “responsibility” as well as the German words *Schuld* (fault, guilt) and *Zurechnung* (accountability) (MATSUI 2002; TAKIGAWA 2003: 16). In 1907, Japanese scholars already noted that the word *sekinin* had very different meanings (WATANABE 1907: 693), and it has remained ambiguous until today (TAKIGAWA 2003: 16; GLUCK 2009).

## 2.1 THE FORMATION OF *JKOSEKININ*

The compound noun *jikosekinin* already appeared in the early 20th century. A search of the Newspaper Clippings Collection of the Kobe University Library found 19 articles containing the word *jikosekinin* between 1912 and 1943 (as of November 27, 2019). In addition, among articles in the Asahi Shinbun’s database of the Kikuzō II Visual, early articles containing the compound noun appear already in 1898 and 1912. The texts suggest that *jikosekinin* was established in Japanese via at least two different routes.

On the one hand, *jikosekinin* seems to have been formed occasionally in newspaper articles, combining *jiko* with the older meaning of *sekinin* and thereby referring to the duties of a group of people, mentioned before. For example, in 1898 one author criticizes the government for not commenting on an intensely debated parliamentary request to disclose the reason for returning the Liaodong Peninsula, after the 1895 Triple Intervention. The author writes, the cabinet members “did not mention a word about the major event in the realm of their own duty” (*jikosekinin-nai no dai-jiken*) (Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun 1898/06/01). Another example is a newspaper article in 1912 about the duties of soldiers at home, in which the author exclaims, “Do they not know their place of duty?” (*jikosekinin no aru tokoro*) (Shin Aichi 1912/05/20). In both cases, the compound noun *jikosekinin* seems to be formed occasionally by omitting the case particle of longer expressions like *jiko no sekinin* – a trend which is often observed in Japanese newspaper articles (ISHII 2013: 147).

On the other hand, *jikosekinin* has also frequently appeared in translations of the German word “Selbstverantwortung” since the 1920s (FÖRSTER & MURAKAMI 1924: 517; HOLL & SATŌ 1928: 27–28). Here, *jikosekinin* stands for the responsibility one bears for self-determined actions – a different concept from the duties mentioned above. In 1934, Heibonsha’s “Large Dictionary” featured a paragraph about the “principle of self-responsibility” (*jikosekinin no gensoku*).

[...] the individual must be liable for their own harmful actions, but only in cases where this action is deliberate, based on their own intent or negligence.

*Kojin wa jiko no kagai kōi ni taishite sekinin o owazaru o enai ga, sono jiko no kōi mo jiko no ishi katsudō ni yoru mono, sunawachi jiko no koi mata wa kashitsu ni motodzuku mono ni kagiru [...]*

(HEIBONSHA 1934: 387)

In this case, *jikosekinin* no longer refers to a personal duty. Instead, it requires a free will and the deliberate determination of the subject taking responsibility.

In the 1940s, the word *jikosekinin* was also used in Japanese translations of Nazi propaganda texts for the German words “Selbstverantwortung” and “Selbstverantwortlichkeit”. For example, one newspaper article praises the “Self-responsibility and free choice of entrepreneurs” (*kigyōsha no jikosekinin to jiyū-na ketteiryoku*) (Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun 1941/10/23). Naturally, the so-called “free choice” of entrepreneurs in Nazi Germany was in reality restricted (TOOZE 2008: 646), but the concept translated as *jikosekinin* again referred to a proclaimed self-determination.

In conclusion, it can be assumed that *jikosekinin* appeared in the Japanese language via two processes: First, it was formed within Japanese texts, such as newspaper articles, referring to personal duties – the older meaning of *sekinin*. On the other hand, it was also introduced as a new word for translating the German expressions “Selbstverantwortung” or “Selbstverantwortlichkeit”. In these cases, *jikosekinin* stood for the concept of bearing the consequences for self-determined actions. These two meanings correspond closely with the two concepts Matsuo describes as “responsibility as a member of a group” and “responsibility behind self-determination” (MATSUO 2016: 27). In this way, one can already observe the different meanings have converged in the word *jikosekinin* since its first appearances at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## 2.2 MODEL FOR THE MEANINGS OF *JIKOSEKININ*

To investigate how the impact of *jikosekinin* changed over time, it is necessary to construct a framework for its meanings. As the historic analysis showed, the word *sekinin* in particular acquired various meanings during the translation process of Western texts. Therefore, the model proposed in this study combines Matsuo’s distinction mentioned above with Takikawa’s classification of *sekinin* (TAKIKAWA 2003; 2005: 73). Takikawa distinguishes three different discourses under the term *jikosekinin* during the hostage crisis in 2004:

- A) Discourse of obligation: The actor has to pay sufficient attention before the act
- B) Discourse of liability: The actor has to bear the consequences of the act himself
- C) Discourse of causation: The cause of the event lies with the actor himself (TAKIKAWA 2005: 73)

All these claims (A/B/C) were expressed with the same word *jikosekinin* during the hostage crisis, but they are of separate content. The claim that the three Japanese did not fulfill their obligation to pay enough attention

before going to the war zone of Iraq (A), the claim that they had to pay for their own ransom or even deserved to be murdered (B) and the claim that it was their own fault they were taken hostage (C) have very different impacts. One might argue that the three Japanese should not have gone to Iraq (A), but still consider the Japanese government liable for its citizens (B) and argue that the main cause for the hostage taking were the perpetrators (C). Or one might think that the three Japanese had the right to go to Iraq (pursuing humanitarian and journalistic goals) (A), but still argue they were going there at their own risk and therefore had to bear the consequences of their actions themselves (B).

While Takikawa’s distinction between obligation, liability and causation is necessary to clarify the point in time for claiming responsibility, Matsuo’s distinction sets the normative frameworks in which the subject of responsibility is located. Shifting the focus towards the subject of responsibility, one could rephrase Matsuo’s “responsibility as a member of a group” as the “responsibility of a group member” and Matsuo’s “responsibility behind self-determination” as “responsibility of a self-determined individual”. Figure 1 combines Takikawa’s (obligation/liability/causation) and Matsuo’s (group member/self-determined individual) distinctions.

Figure 1: The meanings of *jikosekinin*

<i>sekinin</i> ↓ ↓	<i>jiko</i> → Group member (1)	Self-determined individual (2)
Obligation (A)	(1A) Bearing an obligation	(2A) Deciding on an action by free will
Liability (B)	(1B) Bearing the consequences/ sanctions for violating one's obligation	(2B) Carrying the consequences/compensations for a (bad) result by oneself
Causation (C)	(1C) Being guilty of violating one's obligation	(2C) Being the cause for a (bad) result

In short, the discourse of the responsibility of a group member on the left side says: “You must fulfill your obligations (1A), otherwise you are guilty of violation (1C) and must face sanctions (1B)”. The discourse of the responsibility of a self-determined individual says: “You decide your actions yourself (2A), if something goes wrong it is your own fault (2C) and you have to bear the consequences (2B)”. Particularly the difference on the level of liability is notable: While a self-determined individual can fulfill liability by compensating for a bad result– e. g. by reimbursing costs (2B) – a group member faces a punishment or sanctions (1B) if it violates an obligation. Matsuo refers to the ritual suicide of warriors in the past as an

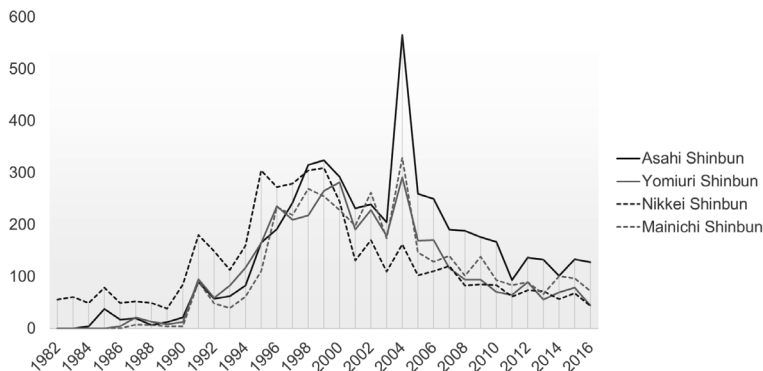
example for taking over responsibility through self-sanctioning (1B) rather than compensating (MATSUO 2016: 39).

Naturally, these theories about responsibility are very simplified. The distinctions in Figure 1 build a framework for interpreting the meanings of *jikosekinin* – based on the introduction of the word into Japanese – and not an exhaustive model for the concept of responsibility itself. In common language use, the meaning of *jikosekinin* often stays undefined and cannot always be clearly classified into one of the six meanings above. However, the following empirical study shows that all these meanings can be found in the everyday use of the word *jikosekinin* in Japanese, making the discourse of *jikosekinin* ambiguous and thus difficult to criticize.

### 3) SPREAD OF JIKOSEKININ

In order to analyze the spread of *jikosekinin* up to the present day, a full-text search on the term *jikosekinin* was performed in the online databases of the Asahi Shinbun, Yomiuri Shinbun, Nikkei Shinbun, and Mainichi Shinbun. Figure 2 shows the number of articles for which *jikosekinin* is detected each year, starting from 1982, when full-text search became available for the archives.

Figure 2: Number of appearances of *jikosekinin* in newspaper articles



The use of *jikosekinin* in newspaper articles surged for the first time noticeably in 1991. This was due to a scandal of illegal compensation payments made by securities companies to major stockholders, which was widely discussed in the media (TANEMURA 2005).

Between 1997 and 2002, the number of occurrences of *jikosekinin* is very high in all four newspapers. The main reason for the increase seems to have



been the “Japanese Big Bang” (*Nihon-gata bigguban*), a series of reforms liberalizing Japan’s financial system from 1996 to 2001. *Jikosekinin* in these articles mostly expresses a personal liability (2B in Figure 1) due to a self-determined decision to make an investment, as in the following example:

High attention is required from savers and investors in the age of a flourishing supply of financial products, because as “financial consumers” they now have to see through the properties and risks of the products and have to select the products that are most suitable for their own life planning at their own liability.

*Kin’yū shōhin no hyakka-ryōran jidai no yokinsha ya tōshika ni wa, shōhin no seikaku to risuku to o mikiwamenagara, jikosekinin de jibun no seikatsu sekkei ni mottomo fusawashii shōhin o erabu ‘kin’yū shōhisha’ toshite no kibishii me ga motomerareru.*

(Yomiuri Shinbun 1999/07/01)

In this article, the word *jikosekinin* refers to bearing the consequences for investments (2B), similar to the articles of 1991. However, it is notable that in the article of 1999 the subjects of liability are not only major stockholders, just as in 1991, but also “savers” and “investors” – in many cases individuals who may have difficulties in obtaining transparent information about investment risks.

In 2004, the number of occurrences of *jikosekinin* in the Asahi Shinbun, Yomiuri Shinbun and Mainichi Shinbun reached its peak, undoubtedly because of the debate about the hostage crisis. The following examples show that *jikosekinin* was used for various meanings at the time.

- 1) Their reckless and irresponsible behavior, which lacked any awareness of personal obligation, has put an unnecessary and huge burden onto the government and its related agencies. (translated from INOUE 2007, 83)

*Jikosekinin no jikaku o kaita, mubō katsu musekinin-na kōdō ga, seifu ya kankei kikan nado ni, ōki-na muyō no futan o kakete iru. Shinkoku ni hansei subeki mondai de aru.*

(Yomiuri Shinbun 2004/04/13a)

- 2) “In areas outside of Japanese sovereignty, the possibilities of protection (of Japanese) are of course limited. I want them to be aware of the principle of personal liability.”

*‘Nihon no shuken ga oyobanai tokoro dewa, (Nihonjin no) hogo ni genkai ga aru no wa tōzen da. Jikosekinin no gensoku o jikaku shite hoshii.’*

(Yomiuri Shinbun 2004/04/13b)

- 3) Dangerous Region also Self-Responsibility / Koike, Minister of Environment  
“Aren’t they [the three hostages] careless? There is also personal fault in many respects if you travel purposely to a place that is generally described as dangerous.”

*Kiken chiiki, jikosekinin mo/Koike-kankyō-shō*

*‘Mubō dewa nai ka. Ippan-teki ni abunai to iwarete iru tokoro ni aete iku no wa jibunjishin no sekinin no bubun ga ōi.’*

(Yomiuri Shinbun 2004/04/09)

Quote 1 is taken from an editorial in the Yomiuri Shinbun. This use of *jikosekinin* could be re-phrased as personal “obligation” (1A), because it criticizes

the attitude of the three Japanese before they were taken hostage. It argues inside the framework of the duties of a group member; one who should not cause trouble for others.

Quote 2 is a statement from the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Takeuchi Yukio, referring to the limited possibilities of government protection for Japanese citizens abroad. In this context, *jikosekinin* questions the liability for the outcome – which, Takeuchi argues, lies with the hostages, because they left the area of Japanese sovereignty at their own risk (2B).

Quote 3 exhibits a typical example of the formation of a four character word in newspaper articles. In the article, Minister Koike is quoted, but she uses the expression *jibunjishin no sekinin* – referring to the “personal fault” of the hostages for their “careless” action (1C or 2C). However, in the title, probably because of space restrictions, her statement is abbreviated to *jikosekinin* (self-responsibility), this way opening it up to other interpretations, like “personal liability” (2B) or “deserved punishment” (1B). Thus, *jikosekinin* allows discourses of sanction and compensation to converge and blur the borders between social obligations and self-determination.

In fact, the ambiguity of *jikosekinin* seems to have been one reason for the immense dynamic of the discourse in 2004. If the usage of *jikosekinin* had been narrowed down to the distinct meanings displayed in figure 1, political statements would have been scattered and probably received far less response. “Strategic ambiguity” (EISENBERG 1984) is a powerful rhetorical tool, which allows “divergent interpretations to coexist and enables diverse groups to pursue what may be conflicting goals.” (LEITCH & DAVENPORT 2007: 6). It was pointed out that the Koizumi administration intendedly engaged in the discourse of *jikosekinin* (HOOK & TAKEDA 2007) and profited from the evolving dynamic, which prevented the public from re-questioning the dispatch of the Japanese Self-Defense-Forces to Iraq (KAMBE 2007: 41–42).

#### 4) CURRENT USE OF *JIKOSEKININ*

The fourth chapter explores how the term *jikosekinin* is used today. It analyzes a text corpus of 39,306 documents, composed of all blog posts from November 26, 2014 to April 6, 2017 indexed by the blog search engine kizasi.jp, and which include the term *jikosekinin* (自己責任). The number of topics was set to 100. Accordingly, the TopicExplorer distributed the words of all articles into 100 groups or “topics”. For a better overview, the 100 topics were summarized into 27 clusters in figure 3, using the clustering function of the TopicExplorer, which combines adjoining topics. Each cluster is visualized by a list of its most frequent words and an English title added afterwards by the author.

Figure 3: Topics of the 39,306 blog posts containing *jikosekinin*

"Self-Responsibility"	Stock Exchange	Government	Hostage Crisis	Foreign Affairs	Allergies	Repairing things	Events	Horse Racing	Selling things	Society	Welfare	Spirituality	Health
責任 (3481)	投資 (934)	安倍 (283)	イシム (436)	日本 (848)	アレルギー (348)	交換 (291)	参加 (650)	予想 (249)	お願 (1910)	社会 (425)	生活 (200)	人間 (330)	健康 (160)
自己 (3895)	株 (231)	国民 (192)	人質 (454)	国 (296)	関係 (249)	作業 (250)	お願 (197)	お願 (197)	購入 (256)	人間 (966)	社会 (441)	心 (222)	病院 (139)
お願 (495)	株価 (916)	政治 (170)	日本 (396)	日本人 (274)	アレルギー (189)	部分 (214)	場所 (148)	購入 (149)	写真 (956)	主義 (850)	高齢 (153)	自己 (790)	薬 (138)
注意 (279)	株式 (175)	事件 (316)	ワケ (167)	ワケ (167)	新聞 (172)	使用 (224)	開催 (178)	レース (546)	内省 (219)	自由 (592)	国民 (99)	人生 (270)	病気 (104)
危険 (378)	平均 (78)	政権 (164)	子口 (334)	戦争 (154)	対策 (154)	確認 (144)	レース (146)	馬 (243)	予約 (230)	時价 (115)	保護 (78)	存在 (164)	治療 (14)
東京 (237)	日経 (55)	首相 (148)	政府 (132)	外国 (120)	検査 (151)	状態 (144)	予定 (105)	確認 (119)	¥1 (243)	存在 (107)	家族 (42)	自身 (164)	医療 (55)
取り (195)	取引 (142)	政府 (116)	日本人 (102)	海外 (114)	体質 (150)	参考 (136)	日 (79)	自己 (117)	対 (252)	存在 (88)	費用 (85)	他人 (182)	患者 (85)
参考 (184)	株 (131)	選挙 (104)	後藤 (117)	平和 (111)	ワケ (149)	管理 (131)	集合 (76)	レース (112)	メロ (235)	国家 (56)	年金 (85)	責任 (174)	効果 (84)
安全 (176)	市場 (125)	批判 (105)	被害 (95)	韓国 (96)	差 (140)	調整 (118)	希望 (140)	覆 (102)	更新 (238)	人々 (93)	介護 (73)	意識 (152)	医師 (74)
事故 (142)	利益 (129)	議員 (85)	拘束 (74)	国民 (83)	活用 (145)	穴 (114)	主催 (70)	ネット (107)	電話 (234)	個人 (87)	制度 (71)	大切 (144)	食事 (70)
期待 (143)	リスク (111)	発言 (82)	要求 (74)	国民 (83)	キョウキ (143)	固定 (114)	連絡 (64)	終了 (102)	利用 (71)	営業 (80)	負担 (71)	神 (137)	検査 (56)
判断 (144)	上昇 (108)	自民党 (91)	身代金 (72)	日 (83)	治療 (142)	部品 (113)	注意 (63)	配信 (98)	確認 (131)	意味 (84)	日本 (70)	関係 (178)	他人 (53)

Body	Eating	Adjectives	Cleaning things	Children	Deciding	Crime	Companion ship	Hobbies (indoor)	Hobbies (outdoor)	Work	Economy	Disasters
足 (134)	味 (34)	ダメ (135)	水 (151)	子供 (303)	理解 (177)	事件 (134)	話 (417)	言葉 (381)	車 (299)	仕事 (403)	経済 (250)	発生 (240)
色 (74)	肉 (59)	無理 (84)	掃除 (145)	親 (207)	判断 (154)	被害 (121)	女性 (241)	相手 (244)	場所 (535)	会社 (330)	企業 (156)	地域 (171)
状態 (70)	料理 (91)	大丈夫 (81)	綺麗 (64)	子 (203)	意味 (125)	犯罪 (103)	責任 (237)	ネット (230)	山 (200)	一社 (114)	日本 (130)	対策 (151)
赤 (88)	野菜 (46)	事 (75)	使用 (43)	学校 (142)	個人 (114)	責任 (95)	自己 (224)	好き (218)	雨 (139)	保険 (115)	中国 (124)	影響 (128)
顔 (85)	パン (24)	とこ (44)	洗濯 (42)	教育 (150)	重要 (101)	行為 (84)	お金 (228)	気持ち (104)	道 (145)	企業 (110)	市場 (104)	状況 (125)
石 (63)	ご飯 (42)	こ (41)	風呂 (37)	子ども (139)	能力 (98)	警察 (89)	金 (137)	テレビ (174)	レース (145)	電話 (102)	金融 (59)	支援 (124)
髪 (41)	塩 (74)	ホント (88)	きれいな (39)	勉強 (130)	説明 (90)	障害 (89)	店 (143)	写真 (144)	家 (89)	消費 (91)	責任 (70)	責任 (70)
服 (38)	食品 (33)	汗 (85)	乾湿 (37)	大平 (131)	認識 (89)	保存 (59)	男性 (129)	本 (159)	別荘 (43)	大変 (85)	米国 (91)	事故 (102)
服 (37)	期限 (34)	余裕 (65)	状態 (37)	大入 (124)	選択 (89)	殺人 (42)	紳手 (114)	声 (137)	嵐 (136)	個人 (87)	政策 (64)	原因 (112)
服 (49)	食 (34)	マジ (27)	部分 (27)	家族 (114)	行動 (81)	本人 (41)	意味 (110)	紹介 (47)	体 (117)	体 (117)	成長 (44)	関係 (16)
足 (33)	酒 (22)	自己 (24)	方法 (21)	先生 (113)	関係 (84)	詐欺 (47)	話 (125)	距離 (117)	労働 (37)	政府 (70)	原発 (104)	原発 (104)
力 (45)	レース (1)	い (34)	温度 (18)	娘 (111)	目的 (83)	裁判 (32)	迷惑 (81)	意味 (118)	出発 (116)	契約 (89)	緩和 (64)	調査 (85)

As the figure shows, blog posts containing the term *jikosekinin* are from a wide variety of topics. While it was expected that the blog posts exhibit discussions about the hostage crisis or the welfare system, there are also unexpected topics, e. g. about “allergies” and “horse racing” which are not commonly associated with *jikosekinin*. A look into the documents linked to each topic helps to discern what kind of texts these topics consist of and reveals many texts, like the following:

Regarding allergies, there is a large difference in body constitution and there is unsecured information as well, so please use this information at your own risk (*Arerugū ni kanshite wa taishitsu no sa mo okiku, fu-kakutei-na jōhō mo arimasu node, jōhō no katsuyō ni atatte wa jikosekinin de onegai itashimasu*) (#56104, Allergies cluster)

Please make all investments at your own risk!!! (*Tōshi wa, subete jikosekinin de onegaishimasu!!!*) (# 45856, Stock Cluster)

Please purchase at your own risk (*Kōnyū wa jikosekinin de yoroshiku onegaishimasu*) (# 3279161, Horse Racing Cluster)

In the above examples, *jikosekinin* can always be translated as “at your own risk”, referring to the liability (2B) deriving from a self-determined choice. Overall, examples of *jikosekinin* that express the meaning of 2B are overwhelmingly common throughout the corpus. Some bloggers regularly post articles which include a disclaimer stating the reader’s liability in every article. In this way, a disproportionately large number of articles from the same blog are extracted into the corpus. A filtering of blogs with over 50 articles and blog posts containing a common disclaimer phrase showed that about 30 % of all documents were made of blogs using disclaimers. After filtering these, a second analysis was conducted on the

subcorpus of the remaining 26,939 documents, this time setting the number of topics to 60.

Then, five topics were selected for a closer study, based on their stability throughout all modelling processes and their relatively homogenous content (Figure 4). The following five text samples show exemplary usages of *jikosekinin* in the five topics.

Figure 4: Five topics for closer analysis

#25	#20	#41	#46	#4
安倍 (1431)	事故 (990)	女性 (2013)	イスラム (1619)	日本 (2141)
政治 (1323)	原発 (776)	男 (1074)	政府 (1543)	中国 (1085)
国民 (1228)	福島 (611)	男性 (1002)	人質 (1432)	韓国 (761)
政権 (1120)	稼働 (326)	結婚 (902)	日本 (1420)	日本人 (651)
選挙 (923)	基準 (281)	相手 (741)	後藤 (1206)	日 (630)
自民党 (875)	規制 (269)	女 (709)	テロ (1191)	政府 (480)
首相 (801)	汚染 (256)	夫 (684)	日本人 (1188)	外国 (388)
議員 (794)	政府 (249)	母 (584)	殺害 (1006)	中 (365)

- 1) The simpler things are, the better. Complicated matters are troublesome. Not having a job, being poor, being unpopular – that is your own fault. Social inequality is self-evident – this one sentence, which Koizumi has repeated over and over, has become the new “value concept” of the Japanese.

*Monogoto wa tanjun de areba aru hodo ii. Ko-muzukashii rikutsu wa uttōshii. Shigoto ga nai no mo, binbō-na no mo, motenai no mo jikosekinin. Kakusa wa atte atarimae — Koizumi-shi ga kurikaeshita ‘wanfurēzu’ ga, Nihonjin no arata-na ‘kachikan’ ni natte shimatta no da.*

(#3449605)

- 2) It is said that “voluntarily fled” equals “personal liability”, but it is not that we simply fled on our own convenience. Our houses were contaminated, our earth was contaminated, our water was contaminated. We wanted to protect what is important to us, only because of this we decided to flee.

*Jishuhinan ikōru jikosekinin to iwaremasu ga, watashi-tachi wa katte ni hinan shita wake de wa arimasen. Katte ni ie o yogosare, daichi o yogosare, mizu o yogosare mashita. Watashi-tachi wa daiji-na mono o mamoritai, tada sore dake no omoi de hinan o kimemashita.*

(#2854651)

- 3) If you really want to give priority to “being in love”, you should decide all by yourself, because you want to marry a “loved one”, and only focus on the one “person you love the most”. And even if this man turns out to be of no use, you should educate him because he is your “loved one”.

*‘Suki’ o dō shitemo yūsen shitai no de areba, ‘suki-na hito’ to kekkon o shitai no desu kara, subete jikosekinin de, kakugo o kimete, ‘ichiban daisuki-na hito’ dake ni fōkasu sareru to ii deshō ne. Kari ni dame-otoko-san de attemo, ‘suki-na hito’ desu kara, sodatete agete kudasai.*

(#69467)

- 4) “Are they not guilty in the moment they left on their own? [...] If you are a reasonable person, don’t you think, “I cannot cause any discomfort to my surroundings” and avoid dangerous behavior on your own?”

*Katte ni tokō shita jiten de jikosekinin de wa nai no ka? to [...] jōshiki-teki-na ningen nara ‘shūi ni meiwaku o kakeru koto wa dekinai’ to kangae, jibun kara kiken-na kōdō wa tsutsushimu mono na no de wa nai deshō ka.*

(#3492993)

- 5) “Not to travel to Korea” – that will save Japan. Going to Korea on a school trip in high school is like traveling to be taken hostage. This is simply personal guilt. This is where the fight begins. “Don’t travel to Korea. Don’t let others travel “- we want to make that known to all Japanese, don’t we.

*‘Kankoku ni ikanai’ kore ga Nihon o tasukeru. Kōkō no shūgakuryokō ni Kankoku nante no wa hitojichi ni naru tame ni iku yō na mono de, kore wa mō jikosekinin. Koko kara tatakai ga hajimaru. ‘Kankoku ni wa ikanai. Ikasenai’ zen-Nihonjin ni kakusan shitai ne.*

(#3517606)

The first example is taken from topic #25, which mostly consists of articles critically debating the politics of the government led by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) of Japan. In these articles, *jikosekinin* is used as a negative keyword of neoliberalism, reframing social issues as individual issues. The writer implies that “not having a job, being poor, being unpopular” depends on a variety of external factors rather than being simply “your own fault” (2C). However, the word *jikosekinin* shifts the focus to individual behavior instead of social and structural circumstances.

The second example appears in topic #20, which consists of blog posts about the aftermath of the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster. The article is quoting a “voluntary evacuee” (*jishu hinansha*). This expression is used for people who evacuated after the nuclear disaster, though not living in the mandatory evacuation zone declared by the government (and adjusted several times). It is supposed, that in the year 2015 there are still about 13,000 families of “voluntary evacuees”, whose reimbursements are far below those provided for the mandatory evacuees, leaving them with heavy financial burdens (YOSHIDA 2016: 11–13). In the quote, *jikosekinin* refers to personal liability (2B) because of a self-determined decision. The statement demonstrates how the discourse of responsibility due to self-determination easily assigns a personal liability (2B) because of an alleged free choice. The argument of *jikosekinin* suggests that the families self-determinedly decided to evacuate and therefore must bear the consequences, but it omits the major external factor of the nuclear contamination danger – which puts the assumption of a self-determined and free decision into question.

The third example appears in topic #41, which consists of articles related to dating. While in the two topics above, *jikosekinin* is mostly used as a negative keyword, in topic #41 *jikosekinin* is used affirmatively. Among the bloggers, there are many marriage counselors, who use the word *jikosekinin* to encourage clients to take initiative on their own. The text example also stems from the blog of a marriage counselor and clearly refers to self-determination (2A). The claim to “raise” the partner, should he turn out to be no good, can be interpreted as bearing the consequences for one’s own decision.

The fourth example appears in topic #46, which consists of articles about the hostage crisis in 2015. This example shows how various meanings of *jiko-*

*sekinin* are mixed up in the arguments. The writer asked, “Are they not guilty in the moment they left on their own?”, which seems to refer to a violation of the duty (1C) not to cause discomforts as the writer describes later. Judging from the discursive setting, this interpretation seems the most likely, but *jikosekinin* could also be translated as “Isn’t it their own fault [...]?” or “Isn’t it at their own risk [...]?” referring to causation (2C) or personal liability (2B) due to free choice. Topic #46 is one of the largest in the corpus, and the numerous blog posts use *jikosekinin* in various ways – similarly to 2004 when the ambiguity of *jikosekinin* allowed different statements to converge within the same keyword.

The fifth example is found in topic #4. This topic mainly consists of articles expressing the views of the Japanese online right-wingers (*netto uyo*). Many of the bloggers agitate against South Korea or Koreans living in Japan, who are often targeted by Japanese online right-wingers (SAKAMOTO 2011). The blogger in the quoted post claims, that Japanese travelling to or residing in Korea hindered the Japanese government to take agitative action against Korea, because then Japanese residing in Korea would be taken hostage. In his nationalistic view, travelling to Korea is not a matter of free choice, whilst not travelling is an obligation of the Japanese nation. Therefore, *jikosekinin* in this case seems to imply the moral guilt (1C) of violating one’s obligation.

## 5) CONCLUSION

The results can be summarized as below.

- 1) The term *jikosekinin* was established in two different ways: It was formed inside Japanese texts by occasional contraction of longer expressions, and it was used as a translation word for foreign concepts like the German “Selbstverantwortlichkeit”.
- 2) Thus, *jikosekinin* now holds many different meanings, referring to “obligation”, “liability” and “causation” (TAKIKAWA 2005) as well as to the responsibilities of a group member and of self-determination (MATSUO 2016). The model constructed in this study is helpful to distinguish between these meanings as they can overlap in everyday language.
- 3) In the debates over the hostage cases in 2004 and 2015, the ambiguity of *jikosekinin* allowed claims for personal liability due to free choice and claims for sanctions, guilt and obligation converge. The ambiguity of the term itself was one reason for the dynamic of the discourse evolving into a storm of criticism targeted at the former hostages.
- 4) In recent years, *jikosekinin* has been used in a variety of topics in numerous blog posts. The most common meaning seems to be the personal liability due to self-determination (2B).

- 5) Though the meaning of *jikosekinin* as responsibility due to self-determination seems prevalent today, the word is sometimes still used in the former meaning for duties of a group member. Particularly posts by Japanese on-line right-wingers tend to imply this meaning when criticizing Japanese for going abroad.

Blurring the borders between decision, liability and cause, *jikosekinin* is a very powerful word for neoliberal arguments. If *jikosekinin* is ascribed to an individual, it suggests a self-determined decision, personal liability and personal fault at the same time, thereby imposing a vast burden on the victim. It is necessary to distinguish between the meanings of *jikosekinin* in order to clarify the implicit claims and question the discourse of self-responsibility.

## REFERENCES

- #45856 Document (2015/08/16): Taimuri-na kabushiki baibai jōhō Vol. 1896... [Timely Stock Trading Vol. 1896...]. <http://ameblo.jp/shingoror/entry-12062587332.html> (2018/06/28). In: *TopicExplorer Database JIKOSEKININ\_20170407*. [http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de:8080/JIKOSEKININ\\_20170407\\_1\\_te/](http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de:8080/JIKOSEKININ_20170407_1_te/) (2020/06/28).
- #56104 Document (2016/12/30): 2016/12/30 no shokumotsu arerugi kankei nyūsukurippu [Food Allergy Related News Clips for December 30, 2016]. <https://food-allergy.hatenadiary.org/entry/20161230/1483067107> (2018/06/28). In: *TopicExplorer Database JIKOSEKININ\_20170407*. [http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de:8080/JIKOSEKININ\\_20170407\\_1\\_te/](http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de:8080/JIKOSEKININ_20170407_1_te/) (2020/06/28).
- #69467 Document (2016/01/18): Jibun no suki-na hito wa furimukanai koto [If the One You Like Does Not Look at You]. <http://ameblo.jp/erilyn-event/entry-12116251051.html> (2018/06/28). In: *TopicExplorer Database SEKININ\_JIKO\_NO\_DISCLAIM\_UPD\_1*. [http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de/09sdfjglikqw3bret5cp84vqyolrfiksefgdakyuheas/webapp/SEKININ\\_JIKO\\_NO\\_DISCLAIM\\_UPD\\_1\\_te/](http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de/09sdfjglikqw3bret5cp84vqyolrfiksefgdakyuheas/webapp/SEKININ_JIKO_NO_DISCLAIM_UPD_1_te/) (2020/06/28).
- #2854651 Document (2017/03/06): \* [\*]. <http://sayonaragenpatsu.cocolognifty.com/blog/2017/03/post-4ace.html> (2018/06/28). In: *TopicExplorer Database SEKININ\_JIKO\_NO\_DISCLAIM\_UPD\_1*. [http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de/09sdfjglikqw3bret5cp84vqyolrfiksefgdakyuheas/webapp/SEKININ\\_JIKO\\_NO\\_DISCLAIM\\_UPD\\_1\\_te/](http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de/09sdfjglikqw3bret5cp84vqyolrfiksefgdakyuheas/webapp/SEKININ_JIKO_NO_DISCLAIM_UPD_1_te/) (2020/06/28).
- #3279161 Document (2016/06/30): 06/30 Ōi keiba yosō (kekka tsuiki-zumi) [June 30, 2011 Ōi Racing Forecast [Results Added]]. <http://minamikantoukeiba.cocolog-nifty.com/blog/2016/06/index.html> (2018/06/28). In: *TopicExplorer Database JIKOSEKININ\_20170407*. [http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de:8080/JIKOSEKININ\\_20170407\\_1\\_te/](http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de:8080/JIKOSEKININ_20170407_1_te/) (2020/06/28).
- #3449605 Document (2015/05/13): Nihon o dame ni shita yatsura datte sa? [What About the Ones, who Ruined Japan?]. <http://blogs.yahoo.co.jp/shuchan180129/12883536.html> (2018/06/28). In: *TopicExplorer Database SEKININ\_JIKO\_NO\_DISCLAIM\_UPD\_1*. [http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de/09sdfjglikqw3bret5cp84vqyolrfiksefgdakyuheas/webapp/SEKININ\\_JIKO\\_NO\\_DISCLAIM\\_UPD\\_1\\_te/](http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de/09sdfjglikqw3bret5cp84vqyolrfiksefgdakyuheas/webapp/SEKININ_JIKO_NO_DISCLAIM_UPD_1_te/) (2020/06/28).
- #3492993 Document (2015/01/24): Jikosekinin [Self-Responsibility]. [http://blogs.yahoo.co.jp/ma\\_golddust\\_135/17241036.html](http://blogs.yahoo.co.jp/ma_golddust_135/17241036.html) (2018/06/28). In: *TopicExplorer Database SEKININ\_JIKO\_NO\_DISCLAIM\_UPD\_1*. [http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de/09sdfjglikqw3bret5cp84vqyolrfiksefgdakyuheas/webapp/SEKININ\\_JIKO\\_NO\\_DISCLAIM\\_UPD\\_1\\_te/](http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de/09sdfjglikqw3bret5cp84vqyolrfiksefgdakyuheas/webapp/SEKININ_JIKO_NO_DISCLAIM_UPD_1_te/) (2020/06/28).
- #3517606 Document (2016/06/05): 175 Nihon saisei dai-sakusen hōdan-kai kokunai jōsei... [175 Japan Revitalization Strategy Meeting, Domestic Situation...]. <http://blogs.yahoo.co.jp/hideout1924/28044098.html> (2018/06/28). In: *TopicExplorer Database SEKININ\_JIKO\_NO\_DISCLAIM\_UPD\_1*. [http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de/09sdfjglikqw3bret5cp84vqyolrfiksefgdakyuheas/webapp/SEKININ\\_JIKO\\_NO\\_DISCLAIM\\_UPD\\_1\\_te/](http://topicexplorer.informatik.uni-halle.de/09sdfjglikqw3bret5cp84vqyolrfiksefgdakyuheas/webapp/SEKININ_JIKO_NO_DISCLAIM_UPD_1_te/) (2020/06/28).
- BLEI, David, Andrew Y. NG and Michael I. JORDAN (2003): Latent dirichlet allocation. *Journal of Machine Learning Research*. 3: 993–1022.
- DOSHISHA Daigaku and Kenichi ASANO (Ed.) (2005): *Iraku Nihonjin kōsoku jiken to ,jikosekinin' hōdō: Kaigai media wa Nihonjin kōsoku jiken o dō tsutaeta ka* [The Abduction of Ja-



- panese in Iraq the „Self-Responsibility“ Media Coverage: How International Media Reported on the Case of the Abduction of Japanese]. Tōkyō: Gendaijin bun-sha, Daigaku tosho (hatsubai).
- EISENBERG, Eric M. (1984): Ambiguity as Strategy in Organizational Communication. *Communication Monographs*. 51 (3): 227–242.
- FÖRSTER, Friedrich W. and Komao MURAKAMI (1924): *Jiritsu shugi no kyōiku* (Erziehung und Selbsterziehung) [Education and Self-Education]. Tōkyō: Monasu.
- FUJII Tatsuo (2018): *Heisei no shōtai: naze kono shakai wa kino fuzen ni ochiitta noka* [The True Face of the Heisei Era: Why this Society Became Dysfunctional]. Tokyo: Isutopuresu.
- GLUCK, Carol (2009): *Sekinin/Responsibility* in Modern Japan. In Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt (Ed.): *Words in Motion: Toward a Global Lexicon*. Durham: Duke University Press. S. 83–106.
- HEIBONSHA (1934): *Daijiten* [Great Dictionary]. Tōkyō: Heibonsha.
- HINNEBURG, Alexander and Christian OBERLÄNDER (2017): Getting the Story from Big Data: Interaktive visuelle Inhaltsanalyse für die Sozialwissenschaften mit dem TopicExplorer am Beispiel Fukushima. In Bubenhofer, Noah and Marc Kupietz (Eds.): *Visualisierung sprachlicher Daten*. Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing. S. 269–298.
- HINNEBURG, Alexander, Rico PREISS and René SCHRÖDER (2012): TopicExplorer: Exploring Document Collections with Topic Models. *Proceedings of the European Conference on Machine Learning and Principles and Practice of Knowledge Discovery in Databases*. 2: 838–841.
- HOLL, Karl and Shigehiko SATŌ (1928): *Ruttā no shūkyō-kan* (Was verstand Luther unter Religion?) [What is Luther's Understanding of Religion?]. Tōkyō: Ruttā kenkyūkai.
- HOOK, Glenn D and Hiroko TAKEDA (2007): „Self-responsibility“ and the Nature of the Postwar Japanese State: Risk through the Looking Glass. *The Journal of Japanese Studies*. 33 (1): 93–123.
- IMAI Noriaki (2005): Boku ga tsutaetai koto [What I would like to tell]. In Doshisha, Daigaku and Kenichi Asano (Eds.): *Iraku Nihonjin kōsoku jiken to „jikosekinin“ hōdō: Kaigai media wa Nihonjin kōsoku jiken o dō tsutaeta ka* [The Abduction of Japanese in Iraq the „Self-Responsibility“ Media Coverage: How International Media Reported on the Case of the Abduction of Japanese]. Tōkyō: Gendaijin bun-sha, Daigaku tosho (hatsubai).
- INOUE Miyako (2007): Language and gender in an age of neoliberalism. *Gender and Language*. 1 (1):475.
- ISHIDA Hirotooshi (2001): Eibei keiyaku-hō kara manabu koto [What to Learn from the Anglo-American Law of Contracts]. *Hōgaku Seminā* [Legal Seminar]. 46 (9): 32–35.
- ISHII Masahiko (2013): Rinji-teki-na yoji kango no keisei: bunshō-ron-teki-na shiten kara [Formation of occasional four-character words from a syntactic perspective]. In Nomura Masaaki (Ed.): *Gendai Nihon kango no tankyū* [Exploration of modern Japanese Kanji words]. S. 146–166.
- JIN Jing (2014): Nitchū saiki daimeishi no imi ni yoru kenkyū (Research by the Meaning of the Reflexive Pronoun of Japanese and Chinese). *Rekishi bunka shakai-ron kōza kiyō* (Kyōto Daigaku daigakuin) [Departmental Bulletin Paper of historical and cultural sociology (Kyoto University Graduate School)]: 25–39.
- KAMBE Naoki (2007): *The rhetoric of „proper“ citizenship in contemporary Japan: A case of the Japanese hostage crisis in Iraq*. Wayne State University: Wayne State University Doctoral Thesis.
- KAYAMA Rika (2005): *Imadoki no „jōshiki“* [Common Knowledge of Today]. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten.

- KINOSHITA Matsuo (2017): *Hinkon to jikosekinin no kinsei Nihonshi* [Early Modern Japanese History of Poverty and Self-Responsibility]. Japan: Jimbun Shoin.
- KOSSELLECK, Reinhart (1972): Einleitung. In Reinhart Koselleck, Werner Conze, Otto Brunner (Ed.): *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*. Bd. 1. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta. S. XIII-XXVII.
- (2006): *Begriffsgeschichten: Studien zur Semantik und Pragmatik der politischen und sozialen Sprache*. Suhrkamp Verlag Frankfurt am Main.
- MADDUX, William W. and Masaki YUKI (2006): The „ripple effect“: cultural differences in perceptions of the consequences of events. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin*. 32 (5):669–683.
- MATSUI Toshihiko (2002): Kan'yakugo no Nihongo e no juyō: Kan'yaku ‚bankoku kōhō‘ no ‚sekinin‘ no baai (On the Acceptance of Chinese-Translated Words: the case of „responsibility“ in international law). *Bunrin*. 36: 21–45.
- MATSUO Tadasu (2016): *Jiyū no jirenma o toku: Gurōbaru jidai ni mamoru beki kachi to wa nanika* [Solving the Dilemma of Freedom: What are the Values to Protect in the Era of Globalization?]. Tōkyō: PHP Kenkyūjo.
- MEYER, Harald (2017): Begriffstransfer. In: *Bonner Enzyklopädie der Globalität*. Springer. S. 355–366.
- MEYER, Harald (Ed.) (2014): *Begriffsgeschichten aus den Ostasienwissenschaften: Fallstudien zur Begriffsprägung im Japanischen, Chinesischen und Koreanischen*. München: Iudicium.
- MIZUKAMI Shizuo (1995): *Kōkotsu Kinbun Jiten* (Dictionary of oracle-bone and bronze scripts). Tōkyō: Yūzankaku shuppan.
- MOROHASHI, Tetsuji, Tadashi KAMATA and Toratarō YONEYAMA (1989/1990): *Dai Kan-Wa Jiten* [Great Chinese-Japanese Dictionary]. 2. Edition. Tōkyō: Taishūkan Shoten.
- MURAO Kenkichi (2004): *Hitojichi-ron* [The Hostage Discourse]. Kyōto: Kamogawa Shuppan.
- MURATA Minori (2017): Ni-ji kango ‚jiko‘ o kōsei yōso to suru yoji-jukugo no shiyō hindo chōsa: BCCW] o mochiite [A Survey on the Usage Frequency of Four-Character Chinese Words Consisting of the Two-Character Chinese Word „Jiko“: Using BCCW]. *Nihongo to Nihongo kyōiku* [Japanese and Japanese Language Education] (45): 79–105.
- REICHARDT, Rolf (1982): Zur Geschichte politisch-sozialer Begriffe in Frankreich zwischen Absolutismus und Restauration. *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*. 12 (47): 49.
- SAKAMOTO Rumi (2011): ‚Koreans, go home!‘ Internet nationalism in contemporary Japan as a digitally mediated subculture. *The Asia-Pacific Journal / Japan Focus*. 9 (10): 1–2.
- SATŌ Toru (1986): *Bakumatsu Meiji shoki goi no kenkyū* [A Study of Vocabulary at the End of the Edo Period and the Early Meiji Period]. Tōkyō: Ōfū-sha.
- Shin Aichi* (1912/05/20): Nōson (1–25): Aisen [Rural Areas [1–25] Aisen]. Kobe University Newspaper Clippings Collection: 1/9.
- SHINCHŌSHA (2007): *Shinchō Nihongo Kanji Jiten* [Shinchō Japanese Kanji-Dictionary]. Tōkyō: Shinchōsha.
- SHIRAKAWA Shizuka (2004): *Jitō* [Character System]. Tōkyō: Heibonsha.
- TAKATŌ Nahoko and IRAKU KARA KIKOKU SARETA 5-NIN O SAPŌTO SURU KAI (Eds.) (2005): *Ima toinaosu ‚jikosekinin-ron‘* [Re-questioning the Discourse of Self-Responsibility Now]. Tōkyō: Shin’yōsha.
- TAKIKAWA Hirohide (2001): ‚Jikokettei‘ to ‚jikosekinin‘ no aida: hō tetsugaku-teki kōsatsu [Between Self-Determination and Self-Responsibility: Considerations of legal philosophy]. *Hōgaku Seminā* [Legal Seminar]. 46 (9): 32–35.

- (2003): *Sekinin no imi to seido: Futan kara ôtô e* (*The significance of responsibility: a response-based interpretation of responsibility practices*). Tōkyō: Keisō Shobō.
- (2005): ‚Jikosekinin-ron’ no bunseki. In Takatō, Nahoko and Iraku Kara Kikoku Sareteta 5-Nin O Sapōto Suru Kai (Eds.): *Ima toinaosu ,jikosekinin-ron’* [Re-questioning the Discourse of Self-Responsibility Now]. Tōkyō: Shin’yōsha.
- (2015): *Hitojichi satsugai jiken no shōgeki to jikosekinin-ron no bunseki* [Analysis of the Impact of the Hostage Murder and the Theory of Self-Responsibility]. Hōritsu jihyō [Legal Commentary]. 87 (4): 1–3.
- TANEMURA Takeshi (2005): ‚Jikosekinin’ no jidai: 1991-nen no sonshitsu hoten o jirei to shite (Self-Responsibility in 1991: A Case Study of Reimbursement of Trading Losses). *Nature-people-society: Science and the humanities* (38): 147–171.
- (2013): Kindai izen no Nihon no sekinin: ‚Shokubun to shite no sekinin’ ni tsuite no kōsatsu (Responsibility in the Pre-Modern Japan: A Study of Responsibility as Shokubun). *Journal of the Faculty of Letters. Sociology/Socio Informatics*. 23 (248): 133–151.
- TŌDŌ Akiyasu (1978): *Gakken Kan-Wa Daijiten* [Gakken Great Chinese-Japanese Character Dictionary]. Tōkyō: Gakken.
- Tōkyō Asahi Shinbun* (1898/06/01): Shasetsu gaikō mondai no tōgi [Editorial: Discussion of Diplomatic Issues]. Tōkyō, P. 1. Asahi Shinbun Reduced-size Facsimile Edition.
- Tōkyō Nichinichi Shinbun* (1941/10/23): Doitsu senji keizai ni okeru shikigyō sonchō to infure yokusei [Respect for Private Enterprise and Inflation Control in the German Wartime Economy]. Kobe University Newspaper Clippings Collection: 26/40.
- TOOZE, J. Adam (2008): *Ökonomie der Zerstörung: die Geschichte der Wirtschaft im Nationalsozialismus*. [München]: Pantheon.
- UTSUNOMIYA Kenji (2014): *Jikosekinin-ron no uso* [The Lie of the Discourse of Self-Responsibility]. Tōkyō: Besutoserāzu.
- WADA Hideaki (2016): *Kono kuni no tsumeta-sa no shōtai: Ichi-oku-sō ,jikosekinin’ jidai o ikinuku* [The True Nature of Coldness in This Country: Surviving the Era of Self-Responsibility for the 100 Million]. Tōkyō: Asahi Shinbun Shuppan.
- WALLENBOWITZ, Anneli (2011): *„Imperialismus“ in der japanischen Sprache am Übergang vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert: Begriffsgeschichte im aussereuropäischen Kontext*. Bonn: V & R unipress, Bonn University Press.
- Yomiuri Shinbun* (1999/07/01): Kin’yū bigguban kawaru manē & raifuchansu to risuku, jikosekinin de: tokushū [Financial Big Bang – Changing Money & Life, Chances and Risks in Self-Responsibility: Special Edition]. Tōkyō, P. 9. Yomidas Rekishikan (Heisei).
- Yomiuri Shinbun* (2004/04/09): Iraku 3 hōjin hitojichi kiken chiiki, jikosekinin mo / Koike kanyō-shō [Three Japanese Hostages in Iraq – Minister of the Environment Koike: Dangerous Region, also Self-Responsibility]. Tōkyō, P.3. Yomidas Rekishikan (Heisei).
- Yomiuri Shinbun* (2004/04/13a): [Shasetsu] San-hōjin hitojichi shunbetsu subeki ‚kaihō’ to Iraku seisaku [Editorial: Three Japanese hostages: A sharp distinction must be made between ‚liberation’ and Iraq policy], Tōkyō, Morning Edition, P. 3. Yomidas Rekishikan (Heisei).
- Yomiuri Shinbun* (2004/04/13b): Iraku hōjin hitojichi kiken chiiki e no tokō ‚jikosekinin no gensoku, jikaku o’ / Takeuchi gaimu jikan [Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs Takeuchi: „Awareness of the Principle of Self-Responsibility“, Travelling to Dangerous Region, Japanese Hostages in Iraq]. Tōkyō, P.2. Yomidas Rekishikan (Heisei).

- YOSHIDA Kunihiko (2016): Problems and Challenges for „Voluntary Evacuees“ With Regard to the Fukushima Radiation Disaster. *The Hokkaido Law Review*. 67(4): 426–400 [1–27].
- YOSHIZAKI Shōji (2014): *Jikosekinin-ron' o norikoeru. Rentai to ,shakai-teki sekinin' no tetsugaku* [Overcome the Discourse of Self-Responsibility: A Philosophy of Solidarity and Social Responsibility]. Tōkyō: Gakushū no tomosha.
- ZORN, Wolfgang (1992): Rezension: Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland. *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte: VSWG | Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*. 79: 73–76.