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The illusion of totality: a critical discourse analysis on the identity of Japanese bureaucrats inside and outside of the ministries

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The Illusion of Totality:

A Critical Discourse Analysis on
the Identity of Japanese Bureaucrats
inside and outside of the Ministries

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Abstract

The collective identity is subject to permanent negotiation. Due to the lack of incentive to offer public statements, the collective identity of Japanese bureaucrats (or *kanryo*, 官僚) has been constructed separately inside and outside of the ministries. This paper explores how the collective identity of *kanryo* has been constructed in two Japanese national newspapers as outsider discourses using structural discourse analysis. Illustrations of the constructed identity of *kanryo* will be also presented. Regarding the insider's discourse, this paper illustrates the constructed identity inside ministries based on interviews with employees at the ministries. A comparison of the two discourses and reflection on the results of my research concludes my thesis.

Keywords: *Kanryo* (官僚), Bureaucrats, Identity construction, Newspaper, Interview, Critical Discourse Analysis

Foreword

Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction

One-and-a-half years of work experience inside the Ministry of Economics, Trade, and Industry (METI) gave me an interesting insight into the people who work there. My image of them before I started work at the ministry depended mainly on various information from newspaper articles that insinuate that they are bureaucrats (*kanryo* 官僚)—corrupted, arrogant, and overpaid. At METI, I realized that the manufactured media image was that of an outsider's view. The striking fact was that there is no single officer who calls himself or herself a *kanryo*. If there is no one who actively identifies himself or herself as a *kanryo*, who are the people portrayed in the newspapers? Also, who are the people who work at the ministries, and how do they react to the aforementioned articles? In the academic context, discourse theory teaches us that identity construction is never static and therefore that it is a matter of social struggle (Jørgensen and Phillips 2011, p. 24, p. 34). When it comes to the collective identity construction of bureaucrats, how do the two different discourses coexist while they are a matter of continuous struggle? How does a discourse on the collective identity of bureaucrats appear to the outsider *vis à vis* the insider's standpoint? And crucially, what are the consequences of the constructed identities?

1.1 Research question and prospected results

In the sense that identity is constructed as a result of social struggle (Jørgensen and Phillips 2011), the insider and outsider discourses on the identity of bureaucrats should also be a matter of continuous social struggle. In national newspapers, the term *kanryo(官僚)* is used to *construct* the identity of bureaucrats. However, the term is rarely used within the ministries. Then, what does the identity construction actually look like inside and outside the ministries? And, how do the discourses struggle with each other? These questions led me to my main research question: How are the identities of bureaucrats constructed inside and outside the ministries? In order to answer this question, the following sub-questions will be asked: Firstly, how are the identities of bureaucrats constructed in national newspapers? Secondly, how are the identities of bureaucrats constructed inside the ministries? Thirdly, what do ministry officials think when they read about *kanryo*? Fourthly, how do bureaucrats justify the differences between insider and outsider discourses? Lastly, how might it affect the attitude of bureaucrats toward outsiders?

The intended results of this research are illustrations of two discourses on the identity of bureaucrats, from the perspective of the bureaucrats and the media. The discourses will be separately illustrated from both qualitative and quantitative standpoints. Similar research has been carried out in other countries[1], although the topic of the two differently socially constructed identities of Japanese bureaucrats has not been previously studied [2]. Accordingly, the results given in this paper will make a contribution to the field by investigating a new example of identity construction as a social practice in Japan.

Flyvbjerg explained that the result of rational thinking differs from group to group, and therefore that the purpose of the social sciences is to elucidate society's practical rationality[34] (Flyvbjerg 1998, p. 155). From a post-modernist perspective, groups come to be perceived as existing only when they are embedded in a discourse (Felstead et al. 2009, p. 45, Jørgensen and Phillips 2011, Ricento 2003, p. 612). In this sense, the result of rational thinking differs from discourse to discourse. This study reveals that one group of people can be embedded in two discourses differently depending on disparate outlooks. Consequently, this study indicates that the result of rational thinking differs from perspective to perspective. In accordance with Flyvbjerg, the illustration of social phenomena, in itself, will be seen as significant because it will contribute to revealing that groups of people can exist differently depending on the perspectives taken. So, by establishing an example case, it will place existing research, which assumes that rational thinking will lead us to universal actions, in a new light.

1.2 Context of thesis

Kanryo (官僚) is perhaps one of the most common terms used to indicate the workers at the ministries[5]. It is commonly translated as *bureaucrats* in English. Its definition is ambiguous and therefore varies widely from individual to individual. For instance, the American scholar Chalmers Johnson defines *kanryo* as "officials in the sense of both high rank and role" (Johnson 1995, p. 125). On the other hand, one of the interviewees of this research, who is an employee at a ministry, suggested defining its meaning either as a *first rank national public officer—an official whose status is higher than divisional director—or an official who has graduated from Tokyo University*. To contextualize *kanryo* for this study, it will be necessary to provide a brief explanation of the bureaucracy's historical background and its role in present Japanese politics.

The Japanese official bureaucracy was established at the time of the Meiji Restoration in the middle of the nineteenth century in order to prevent political parties from placing their supporters in the administration (Johnson 1995, p. 125). The underlying reason for the establishment of the bureaucracy led to it becoming the foundation of the so-called tripod of Japanese politics: authority, power, and violence[6]. With the end of the Second World War, political authority shifted from the hands of the emperor to the elected parliament. Regardless of the shift of locus of political authority, various researchers confirm the continuity of the characteristics of the Japanese bureaucracy as the political power holder (Johnson 1995; see also Maruyama 1969). Despite fundamental social changes since the Meiji Restoration, today's bureaucratic structure shares a lot in common with that of the Meiji era (Johnson 1995, p. 125).

In present-day society, bureaucrats continue to be regarded as a social elite[7]. The characteristics of current Japanese bureaucracy can be discussed as being a part of "Japan Inc."[8], a concept that indicates the intimate relationship between politicians, bureaucrats, and the private sector. This intimate relationship contributes to accelerating information exchanges and negotiations between the members of the tripod and, consequently, it institutionalizes information flows as a substantial power structure (Colignon and Usui 2001). In practice, the Japanese bureaucracy deals with policy, the annual fiscal budget, and the drafting of bills. It might be noteworthy to consider that the drafting of bills is not generally regarded as a task for administrations in the West[9]. The Japanese bureaucracy has developed its peculiar characteristics as one of the main actors of economic, political, and social decision-making. In order to emphasize its context-dependent characteristics, it will be more adequate to use the term *kanryo* to indicate senior employees in Japanese ministries.

It is only since the 1990s that the actions of *kanryo* have received daily criticism in Japanese newspapers[10]. When the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) dominated Japanese politics as the majority political party, it strongly influenced the media to be politically non-interpretive[11]. Accordingly, at that time, the contents of political reporting in newspapers and on TV were very "dry and staid" (Kabashima and Steel 2007, p. 96) and "similar" (Sugiyama 2003). Along with the decay of the LDP's political dominance, Japanese newspapers and media gradually developed their powers of interpretation and analysis. This made politicians aware of the importance of political communication, due to the fear of electoral punishment[12]. On the other hand, *kanryo* do not have to be sensitive to public opinion; not only because they do

not have to stand for election, but also because their career system is intra-operative[13].

As a consequence of this dynamic context, the two discourses on the identity of *kanryo* have been separately constructed in newspapers and in the ministries. As a result, there might be different collective identities of bureaucrats coexisting inside and outside of the ministries.

1.3 Background to the study

It is beneficial to clarify the background of some concepts that are utilized in this study. Firstly, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is one of the methods used in this study. CDA is a constructionist, predominantly post-modernist, method of study that aims to reveal the discursive social practices that maintain the social world, for instance, the unequal relations of power and misrepresentations (Jørgensen and Phillips 2011, pp. 75–77). Discourse Analysis (DA) theory in general can be seen as a package of theories and methodologies; it provides philosophical premises, a theoretical model, methodological guidelines, and specific techniques for analysis (ibid. p. 4). Foucault contributed to the establishment of the idea of DA by positing the significance of a so-called archaeology of knowledge[14]. DA aims at studying how a discourse was formulated and what the actual discourse is, while, on the other hand, Critical Discourse Analysis places more significance on the analysis of what is implied and indicated in a given discourse, and how the discourse has been constructed. Therefore, CDA is more often employed to study a *represented identity* and its mode of representation.

Secondly, and accordingly[15], collective identity is defined as a concept that is constructed by human beings in order to categorize or identify individuals as a member of a particular group[16]. Foucault explained our tendency to search for "*unity*" when constructing a discourse that undermines the heterogeneity of "*reality*"[17] as a whole (Foucault 1971, p.127). Jørgensen and Phillips refer to Foucault's *unity* as "*totality*," indicating that individual discourse of reality is constructed in order to make sense of it (Jørgensen and Phillips 2011). In this regard, our individual perception of "reality" consists of illusions of "totality."

1.4 Purpose of study

The aims of this thesis are, firstly, to explore the constructed discourses on the identity of bureaucrats inside and outside ministries. Secondly, it is to examine the consequences of these differences. Finally, this paper aims to illustrate a concept, which is taken for granted in everyday life, from a post-modernist perspective. This is an attempt to establish an example of the

illusion of "totality." The illustration, as a result, reveals that different identities can exist for the same group of people depending on their point of view.

This study focuses specifically on two particular discourses. It delimits my research to the investigation of one small part of the collective identity of bureaucrats as a whole[18]. My aim is neither to point out the locus of responsibility, nor to claim which notion is the more authentic. Since my personal experience of working in METI may contribute to creating a bias in the results of the research, by making the research as transparent as possible, not only stating the research methods clearly, but also by providing all the transcribed interview materials in the appendixes, I have endeavored to minimize the possible risk of bias.

1.5 Methodology and data collection

The data for this study are first-hand materials, which were collected from national newspapers and through face-to-face interviews. Newspaper articles were collected at Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan, during my fieldwork. Five qualitative interviews with *kanryo* were held in Tokyo during January and February 2012. The interviewees are all male. All the interviews have been carried out and analyzed in Japanese, and additionally translated into English.

1.5.1 Newspaper articles

The purpose of this study is to illustrate two coexisting discourses; therefore it was essential to coordinate the time frames. The articles were selected from the time frames that my interviewees mentioned: the administrative reform in 1993; when the Democratic Party Japan became the majority party in 2009; and the period after the Fukushima disaster in 2011. In total, I collected 540 editorial articles from the Yomiuri and Asahi national newspapers. I selected these newspapers due to the size of their circulations, so as to illustrate different discourses that have been constructed by a larger number of people[19]. The content analysis carried out by Feldman shows that the Yomiuri newspaper appears to be rather generous towards the government, while the Asahi adheres to a more critical stance[20] (Feldman 1993).

1.5.2 Interviews

By the time my fieldwork started, three interviews had been scheduled with *kanryo* from the Ministry of Economics, Trade and Industry (METI). Another interview with a METI *kanryo* was scheduled after my fieldwork started[21]. Additionally, thanks to my supervisor at Waseda University, two

more interviews were organized; one with a *kanryo* at METI, and the other with a *kanryo* at the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare.

In total, six interviews were planned, but one had to be canceled as it was inconvenient for the interviewee.

1.5.3 Discussion of sources

For the analysis of the outsider discourse, editorial articles were collected from newspapers. Editorial articles reflect the paper's political opinion more forcibly than other sections of the paper, because the perception of editorial boards—which determine the focus of the articles—is more concretely represented in them (Richardson 2007, p. 151). By analyzing editorial articles, the perception of the identity of *kanryo* in the selected newspapers can be examined.

For the analysis of the insider discourse, five qualitative interviews were carried out. The number of female *kanryo* in ministries is limited and, moreover, they are difficult to contact; as a result all my interviewees in the interview stage were male (National Personnel Authority 2009). Consequently, my data sets could be criticized as being biased from a gender perspective. Although, gender-related questions were asked to the interviewees, they will be only briefly discussed. Also, all the interviewees were first-rank public officers[22]. Even though the range of generalizations may be smaller due to this limitation, it is still possible to draw conclusions from the data and materials.

1.5.4 Interview questions

The interview questions are prepared and based on Gruber, who conducted interviews in 1987 on the identity of bureaucrats for her research[23] (Gruber 1987). My interview questions were as follows:

What is your job and what is it about?[24]
What are you in charge of currently?[25]
What is your opinion of your job?[26]
What is the hardest part of your job?[27]
What do you associate with bureaucracy?[28]
How do regime changes affect your job?[29]
Who do you work with?[30]
What do you think about criticism toward "bureaucrats" in newspapers?[31]

I started with these questions, and then modified my interview questions several times. During the first two interview sessions, I realized that questions impeded the flow of the dialogue. They made the interviewees think about how they were supposed to answer. During interviews it proceeded more smoothly when I approached the interviewees with certain topics, leading the conversation to more interesting results. Therefore, my interview style shifted gradually from question-based interviews to open-ended interviews with guide questions. After a brief analysis of the materials, it became clear that it was essential to ask follow-up questions in order to be able to reach any explicit conclusion. Those questions were sent to the interviewees via e-mail.

1.6 Ethical considerations

My presence as a researcher always affects the research environment and by asking questions I might change an interviewee's perception of reality.

1.7 Disposition

Existing research is presented an explored in Chapter 2. Firstly, trends in approaches and topics of research on Japanese bureaucrats are explored. Secondly, research on collective identity using Critical Discourse Analysis will be reviewed. Through this review of existing research, I endeavor to establish the legitimacy of my research. Chapter 3 will present the analytical frame work. Chapter 4 is devoted to an analysis of national newspapers. I present the results of my analysis of the Yomiuri newspaper and then move on to the Asahi newspaper. In this chapter, the discourses pertaining to bureaucrats' identity in national newspaper are quantitatively and qualitatively illustrated. In addition, the outsider discourse from a gender perspective is briefly presented. In Chapter 5, the results of my interviews are analyzed and the insider discourse within the ministry is illustrated. Furthermore, I explore the communications between the insider and outsider discourses. Finally, Chapter 6 will conclude the analysis.

Chapter 2. Review of Previous Research

There exist various studies on the Japanese bureaucracy. The main focus of previous studies has been on the role of bureaucrats in decision-making mechanisms (Choi 2007, Noguchi 1998), the social origins of the bureaucracy (Suzuki et al. 2010), and the relationship of the bureaucracy with politicians and private enterprises (Booth 1999, Inatsugu 2011, Rothacher 2006, Upham 2002, Wade 1990). There also exists research on Japanese national identity construction, which touches upon the roles of bureaucrats (see Bukh 2010, Maruyama 1969). However, the description of bureaucrats in existing research fails to include their heterogeneity (Inatsugu 2011, Elliot 1992). In his latest publication, Inatsugu shows the heterogeneous career system of the Japanese bureaucracy. However, he does not deal with the identities of bureaucrats. In addition to the above, even though post-modern approaches are becoming popular among academics, this is limited to researchers in Western countries (Wodak and Meyer 2009, p. 16). Accordingly, the amount of such research concerning Japan is still limited. More particularly, there is no existing research using Critical Discourse Analysis as a method for studying the identities of Japanese bureaucrats.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been employed to study identity issues. In *The Discursive Construction of National Identities,* De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak (1999, p. 152) illustrated the construction of collective symbols, and the mechanism of "construction of the national identities by means of everyday conversations." In *The Discursive Construction of Americanism,* Ricento (2003) examined the construction of American collective consciousness in discourses with collective symbols. Both researches treated national identities as actively "constructed and conveyed in discourses," not only by politicians and media but also by citizens (De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999, p153, Ricento 2003, p. 612).

Apart from national identities construction, Felstead et al. showed how professional identity and subjective identity contribute to the management of organizations (see Felstead et al. 2009). In addition to this, Gruber pointed out that the insider's view is an important factor to take into consideration so as to be able to understand the professional identity of bureaucrats (Gruber 1987). In her book, she examines bureaucrats' core identity and "how bureaucrats justify their resistance to external control" (Gruber 1987, p. 87). Using interviews, Neumann illustrates the identities of diplomats in the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (Neumann 2005). Even though Gruber and Neumann did not employ CDA as their methodological basis, their studies are meaningful in the sense that they promoted the importance

of the insider's perspective. Bureaucrats' identity as a professional identity has also been studied with CDA. Using interviews, Pipan called into question the stereotypical image of civil servants in Italy (Pipan 2000), and pointed out that heterogeneity of bureaucrats' identity has been taken for granted.

According to this existing research, the heterogeneity of bureaucrats' identity has been highlighted. Additionally, they reveal that CDA is useful for studying identities and for revealing "misrepresentation" (Jørgensen 2011, p. 77). Thus, my topic of study, the discourses on the identities of bureaucrats in Japan, may legitimately be studied using CDA. According to the fact that similar research on Japanese bureaucrats has not been carried out, I expect to contribute new research results in the existing research context. It is crucial to recognize that it is difficult to study accurately anyone's role without knowing her or his identity. Revealing the heterogeneity of bureaucrats' identity led me to review existing studies, and thence to re-evaluate the work of the Japanese bureaucracy.

Chapter 3. Analytical Framework

Discourses can be analyzed based on their structures (Wodak and Meyer 2009). There are principally five stages: discourse, discourse strands, discourse fragments, discourse sectors, and discourse planes. In this research, I define *discourse* as a group of statements, whose meanings are fixed in order to create "totality" (Foucault 1971, pp. 80–86, Jørgensen and Phillips 2011, pp. 26–33, Wodak and Meyer 2009, p. 46). In line with this definition, the discourses I focus on are the identity of bureaucrats. In this study, the discourse strand is *kanryo(官僚)* and it refers to a group of statements.

Discourse fragments are defined as texts that deal with a particular discourse, and they have been selected from newspaper articles and interview materials. Discourse sectors, through which discourse fragments are distributed, are newspapers and interview materials. Lastly, discourse planes are defined as a type of discourse, such as everyday discourse, medical discourse, or academic discourse (Wodak and Meyer 2009, pp. 53–54). As I mentioned previously, the discourse plane on which I focus is everyday discourse.

3.1 Operationalization

Wodak introduced two approaches regarding the structure of discourse: the structural analysis of discourse strands, and the detailed analysis of discourse fragments (ibid. pp. 53–54). The structural analysis of discourse strands is an analysis that focuses on a discourse strand and aims to identify the complications of discourse planes on a particular discourse strand. The detailed analysis of typical discourse fragments is an analysis that focuses on the typical description of a particular discourse and identifies a single discourse strand. For my study, the detailed analysis of typical discourse fragments is most appropriate. Wodak defines a typical discourse fragment as one where discourse planes, discourse sectors, discourse fragments, and discourse strands match one another (ibid. p. 54).

   A typical description fragment can be found through criteria, such as the use of collective symbols, illustrations, and argumentations (ibid. p. 54). In this study I define a typical description fragment as a text in two ways. Firstly, it is a text that has a set of structures, as defined by Wodak. Secondly, it covers the entire collective consciousness that has been constructed using the term *kanryo*. In this sense, collective consciousness is discourse of the sense of what the term *kanryo* represents (see Recento 2003, p. 613). I apply the same analytical framework for both the newspaper articles and the interview materials, because it renders the analysis more systematic and because it is

useful in exploring what the interviewees meant by what they said, through looking at how they expressed themselves. It is also necessary to do so in order to make a comparison to perceive the differences between the two discourses.

In order to identify relevant texts, I first carried out quantitative textual analysis. I categorized the usages of the word *kanryo* and counted the number of times they appear. The topic in which *kanryo* appeared was categorized based on Richardson's division of argumentation. Richardson explains that there are three divisions of argumentation according to Aristotle: *forensic, epideictic, and deliberative* (Richardson 2007, pp. 156–159). These argumentations are formulated based on one's identity. Forensic argumentation treats topics related to the justice and injustice of one's past actions. I counted the number of actions framed in the past tense that were followed by the newspaper's reflections upon them. For example, in the sentence, "There is no objection to the aim to limit the bureaucrats' established interests, and eliminate illegal price fixing or wasting tax money, upon the change of political power" (Yomiuri newspaper 2009), the terms "established interests," "illegal price fixing," and "wasting tax money" are counted as three examples of injustice related to past actions. The part of the sentence, "the aim to limit the bureaucrats'" indicates that these actions have been carried out in the past by bureaucrats. Also, the phrase "there is no objection" indicates that the writer approves of the action of limiting what is perceived of as vested interests. These actions are condemned by the writer as examples of injustice.

Epideictic argument deals with one's present honorable or dishonorable character. For instance, when the Yomiuri newspaper writes, "If the bureaucrats' expertise is not made good use of, the quality of administration will decrease" (Yomiuri newspaper 2009), it should be considered as an example of the depiction of an honorable present character. In this sentence, the bureaucrats are depicted as experts who are crucial to the maintenance of the quality of administration. This can be considered as the writer attributing praise to the bureaucrats' expertise in administration.

Deliberative argumentation covers topics related to advantageous and disadvantageous circumstances pertaining to one's future actions (Richardson 2007, p. 157), for example, "Bureaucrats also should not forget the origin of bureaucracy, which is to serve the nation" (Yomiuri newspaper 2009). In this sentence, the phrase, "forget the origin" is depicted as a disadvantageous action for the nation. In short, I quantitatively analyzed in which topic the identity of *kanryo* has been constructed. This qualitative analysis demonstrates

which kind of collective consciousness has been constructed around the concept of *kanryo*.

I analyzed the typical discourse fragments in newspaper articles based on Richardson's rhetorical analysis. Rhetoric in newspaper is a strategy to persuade audiences (Richardson 2007, p. 159). Other than the basic rhetoric of persuasion, which I touched upon in the previous paragraph, arguers can attempt to persuade audiences by using three kinds of strategies, which are available to the author. The first is *ethos*, or the personal character of the speaker; we are more likely to be convinced by someone of "good character," someone with expertise, or someone with first-hand experience (ibid. p. 160). The second is *pathos*, or putting the audiences into a certain frame of mind; this is used to move audiences from one emotional state to another. The rhetoric of emotion is used to make the audience receptive. By rendering the audience receptive, the argument will be powerful (Richardson 2007, p. 160). The third is *logos*, the apparent proof provided by the words of the speech itself (ibid. p. 160). The third strategy has two types: *inductive* and *deductive*. Deductive strategy makes the audiences fill in the missing premises by themselves. Through this the speaker can make their arguments seem more powerful (ibid. p. 161). Inductive methods can be seen as an indication through comparison or analogy (ibid. p. 163). In summary, the author of the articles uses the strategies that are related to one's identity with the purpose of persuading the audience. These three modes of rhetoric lead the audiences to take an active role and be more open to persuasion. Therefore, when these strategies are used, the audiences actively construct a discourse regarding one's identity.

The focus of analysis of the interviews is the pronoun "we," which reflects the strategy of emphasizing totality as a single group (De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999, pp. 151–155). This is because it is the term with which bureaucrats identify themselves most often in the ministries. Firstly, I identify whom they mean by "we." This defines the boundaries within which they share the sense of belonging. Secondly, I focus on what they said when using the term "we" so as to illustrate the collective sense of identity. It is also significant to examine the word *kanryo* so that the analysis will be equivalent to the analysis on the discourse of the newspapers' articles. Thirdly, I analyze the expression *kanryo*, focusing on the way in which it reveals the communication between insider and outsider discourses.

Chapter 4. The Identity of Public Servants Outside of Ministries

In this chapter, newspaper articles from two national Japanese newspapers are analyzed. This chapter contains four parts. The first part is devoted to the analysis of articles from Yomiuri newspaper, which has the largest circulation in Japan. The second part is devoted to the analysis of articles from Asahi newspaper, which has the second largest circulation. The third part briefly touches on the identity of bureaucrats from a gender perspective. The fourth part concludes the analysis of this chapter.

4.1 Yomiuri newspaper

4.1.1 Constructed identity of kanryo

In the material collected the term *kanryo* appeared 39 times. Based on Richardson's rhetorical argumentation[32], topics were categorized as follows:

Topics	The number of times	Words used
Injustice of past actions	19 times	*Amakudari* - established interests - wasted the tax money - illegal price fixing
Justice of past actions	1 time	played an active part
Dishonorable present characters	4 times	- weak against drastic changes - tend to be slow to make decisions
Honorable present characters	11 times	- supply live information - continuity - specialized in administration
Disadvantageous future action	0 times	None
Advantageous future action	4 times	make use of bureaucrats

Table 1. The topics of descriptions of kanryo in Yomiuri newspaper

The topic that appeared most frequently is related to injustice of past actions: *Amakudari*[33], established interests, and waste of tax money. This topic appeared 19 times in total. The second most frequent topic is related to their honorable present character: their expertise in administration and supplying useful information. This topic appeared 11 times. Dishonorable present characters appeared four times: weakness against drastic changes and the

tendency to be slow to make decisions. Furthermore, advantageous future action also appeared four times. Justice of past actions appeared only once. Disadvantageous future action was not mentioned at all.

Quantitatively speaking, positive images of *kanryo* (justice of past actions, honorable present characters, and advantageous future actions) account for 41 percent of the topics. Negative images (injustice of past actions, dishonorable present characters, and disadvantageous future actions) account for 59 percent. From this perspective, the identity of bureaucrats has been constructed more negatively than positively. When based on the chronology of the argumentation, *kanryo*'s past was strongly condemned as unjust, although they have also been depicted as honorable and advantageous.

4.1.2 Typical description
The following editorial text is given as a typical description of the identity of bureaucrats in the Yomiuri newspaper.

Yomiuri Shinbun, September 14, 2009[34]
Politicians-led politics—Don't be hostile but handle bureaucrats.
1. DPJ says that this change of political power is a good chance to shift from "bureaucrats-led" to "politicians-led" politics. 2. However, politicians-led politics is not a goal but a means to achieving better policy making and implementation.
3. DPJ is expected to manage the new political power and to achieve concrete results while taking those points to heart.
4. Around 100 members of the Diet will be assigned to the government. 5. The National Policy Unit, which is under the direct command of the prime minister, is set up in the headquarters, and politicians will arrange and decide on policies through the good use of theme-based meetings with a limited number of cabinet ministers. 6. Meetings of administrative vice-ministers will be abolished.
7. This is the structure of the system of politicians-led decision-making that DPJ envisages.
8. There is no objection to the aim to limit the bureaucrats' established interests, and eliminate illegal price fixing or wasting tax money, upon the change of political power.
9. It would be important to clarify the division between politicians and bureaucrats, and to create new rules.
10. It is also a good chance to stop following the old examples without thinking, and to re-check.
11. As an example there is the problem of a secret nuclear agreement between Japan and the United States of America, which bureaucrats at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have considered as a taboo.
12. Politicians who were chosen by the people will make decisions and take on responsibilities. 13. It is the essence of politician-led politics. 14. It is not a bad idea that the National Policy Unit decides what the new cabinet will prioritize.15. It is true that the current cabinet meeting is not meaningful. 16. It is significant that the small number of cabinet members discusses and adjusts policies at the cabinet meetings.
17. On the other hand, politicians are required to understand policies fully and to have the capacity to handle bureaucrats as long as politicians lead politics. 18.When bureaucrats are ignored, the administration will stagnate.
19. In recent years, the number of applicants has been decreasing. 20. It is believed to be caused by the increasing criticism of bureaucrats due to the series of scandals. 21. If the excellent human

resources will not gather together to work for the government, the administration will stagnate, and then it will be the nation that will suffer.

22. Even in England, which served as a role model for DPJ, the administration is stagnating because of the excessive number of politicians in the government.

23. DPJ should not attack bureaucrats for being popular as they did when they were the opposition party. 24. Politicians should consider their skills as the basis of personnel matters instead of going against the personnel matters of the Diet simply because the person is a retired bureaucrat.

25. It is essential for politicians to have a trust-based relationship with bureaucrats, who supply them with live information and ideas, in order to make the right decisions. 26. It is crucial not to be hostile to bureaucrats and to advocate their abilities.

27. Bureaucrats also should not forget the origin of bureaucracy, which is to serve the nation. (Yomiuri newspaper 2009)

4.1.3 Rhetorical argumentation

Line 3 shows that this article is addressed to Democratic Party Japan. The main argument of the article is "don't forget that political government isn't a goal but a means to draft and implement better policy." In this article, the identity of bureaucrats is used as evidence both to approve and disapprove the policy plans of Democratic Party Japan. The argument develops by pointing out the advantages or disadvantages of future action. From line 8 to line 16, the arguer approves the policy plans. In line 8, bureaucrats' past actions, established interests, illegal price-fixing by the government, and wasting tax money, are condemned as injustices that the approval of policy will eliminate. Line 11 condemns bureaucrats at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From lines 17 to 25, the arguer warns DPJ not to criticize bureaucrats excessively, using a deliberative and epideictic argument. In line 25, bureaucrats are depicted as those who give effective information and ideas, which are necessary in order to judge correctly. It is an example of an epideictic argument.

In sum, the identity of bureaucrats is used as a foundation of the argument to both approve and disapprove the future policy of DPJ. The arguments are contradictory; the former part approves DPJ's policies based on the injustice of past actions of bureaucrats, and the latter part disapproves policies based on bureaucrats' honorable character and advantageous future actions. Through the article, each side of the contradictory identity of bureaucrats appears separately, depending on what the arguer seeks to achieve in their argument.

4.1.4 Rhetoric of personal character

In the selected article, the arguer is representing the audience by emphasizing a national identity. I claim that this is the case because of line 27 in the article. Line 21, "the administration will stagnate, and then it is the citizenry who will suffer," shows that the stagnant administration will not cause bureaucrats and politicians trouble, but the nation. Line 27 states, "bureaucrats also should not

forget the origin of bureaucracy, which is to serve the nation." The line uses the term "the origin *(原点)*," and the arguer then claims that this point should not be forgotten. It shows that the arguer considers that serving people is crucial. In other words, the arguer appeals to the people's national identity. Also, Richardson explains that it is essential not to doubt one's starting point in order to present one's argument as reasonable (ibid. p. 165). In this sense, representing "the origin" helps to show a reasonable reminder for the supporter of the starting point. In this case, the arguer represents the audience's starting point. Thus, it contributes to making the arguer's claim appear reasonable to the audience.

In addition to this, the subtitle of the article has an imperative: "Don't be hostile but handle bureaucrats." The subjects supposed to handle bureaucrats are politicians (see line 17). In this sense, the arguer is giving orders to politicians. This expression gives the audience "the sense of authority" (ibid. p. 153).

4.1.5 Rhetoric of emotion
The arguer stirs up anxiety in line 21: "the administration will stagnate, and then it is the citizenry that will suffer." This line reminds the audience of potential troubles. Anxiety is used to make the audience receptive and the argument powerful. This rhetoric contributes to strengthen the argument as a whole. All the five themes of bureaucrats' identity can be found in the article. Line 8 depicts the theme of corruption: there is no objection to the aim to limit bureaucrats' established interests and to completely eliminate illegal price-fixings by the government and the waste of tax money.

4.1.6 Rhetoric of logic
Lines 19, 20, and 21 reported the decreasing number of the applicants for national public officers.

19. In recent years, the number of applicants has been decreasing.
20. It is believed to be caused by the increasing criticism of bureaucrats due to the series of scandals.
21. If the excellent human resources will not gather together to work for the government, the administration will stagnate, and then it will be the citizenry that will suffer.

Here, in lines 19 and 20, the premise that criticism has demotivated applicants is hidden. Lines 19 and 21, "the number of applicants has been decreasing" and "the excellent human resources will not gather" are written as

a causal relationship. Causal relationship is an inductive rhetoric of logic (ibid. p. 164). When we put this causal relationship into a sentence, it becomes "the decreasing number of applicants can cause a decrease in the number of excellent human resources." In this sense, the excellent human resources are also discouraged from applying for a governmental job. Therefore, excellent human resources are also decreased because of the increasing criticism. In other words, it can be concluded that the number of excellent human resources in the government has been decreasing in recent years.

4.1.7 Conclusion regarding the Yomiuri newspaper

According to the quantitative text analysis, identity has been constructed as 41 percent positive and 59 percent negative as a whole. Also, chronologically speaking, the past actions of *kanryo* were strongly condemned as unjust, the present characters have been constructed as honorable, and their future actions have been considered as advantageous.

According to the result of detailed analysis of typical discourse fragments, the identity of bureaucrats has been constructed as a diametrically opposed one. On one hand, it is constructed as an identity with an unjust past, and on the other hand, it is constructed as an identity with honorable present characters and advantageous future actions. However, the heterogeneity of the identity of bureaucrats is undermined in two ways. Firstly, it appears separately, depending on the argument that the arguer is aiming to reinforce. Secondly, the heterogeneity is undermined under the term *kanryo*. The argument through the article is strengthened with the rhetoric of personal character, emotion, and logic.

It is interesting to observe that the power structure is constructed among DPJ, bureaucrats, the nation, and newspapers in the selected editorial articles of Yomiuri newspaper. DPJ reforms the power structure between politicians and bureaucrats. They have to handle bureaucrats in order to achieve better policy planning and implementation. Otherwise, the citizenry will suffer. It indicates that politicians and bureaucrats can cause the citizenry trouble. In this sense, the audiences are constructed as powerless. However, with the rhetoric of emotion, the arguer showed himself in favor of the people. At the same time, the arguer issued a command to DPJ. These have an effect to lift the people higher than DPJ in the power structure. In the end, *kanryo* has been constructed as the lowest in this power structure among the arguer, the people, politicians, and *kanryo*.

4.2 Asahi newspaper

4.2.1 Constructed identity of kanryo

Through the 270 editorial articles collected, the term *kanryo* appeared 37 times. Here also I will categorize the topic that appears to be based on the same analytical framework I employed for Yomiuri newspaper. The table below shows the distribution.

Topics	The number of times	Words used
Injustice of past actions	14 times	• *Amakudari* • constructed cozy relationship with politicians
Justice of past actions	1 time	• did their best
Dishonorable present characters	12 times	• have systematic problems • not drastic
Honorable present characters	5 times	• specialists • powerful • professionals
Disadvantageous future action	4 times	• they will resist • bureaucratization of decision-making will occur
Advantageous future action	1 time	• it will be important to construct a live relationship with bureaucrats.

Table2. The topics of descriptions of kanryo in Asahi newspaper

The most frequent topic was related to *kanryo*'s unjust past actions, *Amakudari*, and a constructed cozy relationship. It appeared 14 times. The second most frequent topic was related to dishonorable present characters, systematic problems, and not drastic. It appeared 12 times. Honorable present character appeared five times. It depicts *kanryo* as specialists and professionals. Both just past actions and advantageous future actions appeared once.

From a quantitative standpoint, it can be said that the identity of *kanryo* has been constructed as 81 percent negative, with topics of unjust past actions, dishonorable present characters, and disadvantageous future actions, and as 19 percent positive, with topics on just past actions, honorable present characters, and advantageous future actions. From a chronological point of view, *kanryo*'s past actions are strongly condemned as unjust. Their present character has

been constructed more heavily as dishonorable. Their future actions are depicted as disadvantageous.

4.2.2 Typical description

December 23, 1993, Asahi Shinbun[35]

Arrogance of bureaucrats and political intervention

1. The chief of the Economic and Industrial Policy Bureau, who was prospected to be the next vice-administrative minister of Ministry of Economics, Trade, and Industry, resigned due to the minister's request for his resignation. 2. In fact, it was a dismissal.

3. A main reason why the minister requested him to resign is because he inadequately influenced personnel matters with a private consideration for a son of the ex-vice-administrative minister, who worked at the ministry, upon running for the member of the representatives during the time when the Liberal Democratic Party was in power.

4. This incident, which involved officers who were in the highest positions of the ministries at a national level, makes us think about the relationship between the Japanese bureaucratic system and politicians.

5. It is an unwritten law of the majority of ministries that the minister, who is a politician, is not allowed to interfere in personnel matters. 6. The fact that a minister's interference caused disturbances shows how it has been considered as normal. 7. However, for instance, foreigners may think it is odd. 8. It is common sense to ask why it is a problem that the minister, who has the appointive power, interferes in the personnel matters of his subordinates. 9. It is an odd story that the head of the ministry cannot touch the personnel matters of bureaucrats, who are just clerical employees of the administration. 10. In the USA, where it is said residents of Washington change when the president changes, it is normal that politicians appoint high rank bureaucrats. 11. The system of calling the minister "a guest" is a quite special Japanese product.

12. The problem is its advantages and disadvantages. 13. When the request for the resignation of the Kumagaya minister spread, it disgusted the ministry as "it damages the administration's neutrality."

14.If the minister holds the appointive power in practice, bureaucrats cannot handle administration fairly due to the political speculation. 15. Additionally, there is some truth in the statement that bureaucrats do not want to be influenced by a minister who does not know anything about the bureaucrats' lives.

16. On the other hand, however, it is a well-known fact that high officials have kept a close relationship by supporting each other during the era of LDP's dominance. 17. It is also said that it involves factional strife between a group of ex-vice-administrative ministers and an opposing group. 18. Additionally, the cause of the incident is easily a personnel matter for their staff. 19. They may not be in a position that they can use "neutrality of administration" as an excuse.

20. This incident has also been affected by historical changes such as the collapse of LDP's political power and the establishment of a coalition government. 21. Bureaucrats are feeling a sense of crisis about a plan to have a "parliamentary secretary," which Ozawa Ichiro, a powerful man in the New Political Party, created to shift power from the bureaucrat-led to the politician-led administration. 22. Along with the change of political power, criticism of "a cozy relationship between politicians and bureaucrats" is severe. 23. Bureaucrats at Kasumigaseki are involved in this.

24. Thus, it becomes clear that the resistance of bureaucrats at METI against the minister is motivated by arrogant conservatism that they do not want their prestigious status in politics, which they have enjoyed under the present system, to be interfered with.

25. However, the minister's bombshell request is also not satisfactory. 26. The judgment of the minister, who threw the public office into disorder by firing the chief, who was the central member of the government's policy of economic stimulation measures in the middle of economic recession,

is also questionable. 27. Why did he not do it when he became the minister, if the reason for the request of resignation was related to the responsibility of the chief's previous position?

28. This incident revealed how politicians and bureaucrats have been in a cozy relationship behind doors. 29. It is a question whether both politicians and bureaucrats can take a chance and generate an "open and strained relationship" on not only personnel matters but also on policy making (Asahi newspaper 1993).

4.2.3 Rhetorical argumentation

The main argument of this article is that politicians and bureaucrats have had cozy relationships. The article does not seem to have a particular audience; rather it is addressed to politicians, bureaucrats, and the readers of the newspaper in general. The article points out the cozy relationship between politicians and bureaucrats as a reason behind the incident of the resignation of the administrative vice-minister. Between lines 5 and 23, the argument develops based on descriptions of present characteristics. And, these arguments are supported and exemplified with arguments on the past actions of *kanryo*. There could not be found any argument related to future actions in this article. It means that this article is written to praise or censure *kanryo* based on the justice or injustice of their actions.

Lines 8, 9, 18, and 24 illustrate bureaucrats' identity with arguments about their present characteristics. Line 8 refers to the *kanryo*'s unwritten rule as being unreasonable. With line 9, the dishonorable character of *kanryo* was strengthened with the expression "it is an odd story." In addition to this, in line 9, they are identified as "just clerical employees of the administration', and it expresses the dishonorable character of the *kanryo*. Line 19 mentions their ideal character of "neutrality of administration" as an excuse. Line 24 points out their arrogant conservatism. These lines cover the dishonorable character of bureaucrats, and censure *kanryo*.

Lines 6, 18, and 23 have arguments related to their past actions. Line 6 expresses the injustice of the fact that the unwritten law of *kanryo*'s personnel matters has been treated as normal. The line supports epideictic arguments in lines 8 and 9. Line 18 points out the injustice of personnel matters inside of the ministry, and in this sense, it supports line 19. Line 23 highlights the injustice of their prerogative status in politics, and supports the following argument on their present characteristics. According to the analysis of the rhetorical argumentation, the past actions of bureaucrats are constructed as unjust, and the current character of bureaucrats is treated as dishonorable.

4.2.4 Rhetoric of personal character

The rhetoric of personal character can be found in line 10. The line refers to a case in the United States as an example and effectively reveals the arguer as a

person who can add information. Therefore, the line shows the arguer as wise. Secondly, the arguer uses the term "normal." In addition to this, lines 17 and 19 reveal the hidden reason of the incident. It portrays the arguer as a person who has first-hand information.

4.2.5 Rhetoric of emotion

The rhetoric of emotion can be found in lines 6, 8, and 10. Line 6 mentions that it has been treated as natural to have the unwritten law. In questioning the long-standing common sense of this, the line points out the audiences' uncritical state of mind. In line 8, the arguer questions the unwritten law, and suggests a new common sense. In other words, the arguer directs the audiences to a critical state of mind. In addition to this, the arguer presented an example of the United States as proof that the new common sense is actually normal. To sum up, the arguer endeavored to move the audiences from an uncritical to critical state of mind.

4.2.6 Rhetoric of logic

In the article, there are four cases of inductive rhetoric of logic. They are lines 6, 16, 23, and 28. Richardson suggested terms that indicate the inductive rhetoric, such as "…is evident of…," "…illustrate that…," and "No wonder…" (Richardson 2007, pp. 162–163). These terms omit the verification of the arguments. Line 6 uses the term "shows that," line 16 employs "it is a well-know fact that," line 24 uses the expression "it becomes clear that," and line 28 contains "revealed how." All the lines omit the verification from the audiences. More interestingly, these four lines illustrate the past action of bureaucrats, alternatively, the unjust characteristics of *kanryo*.

4.2.7 Conclusion regarding the Asahi newspaper

According to the quantitative analysis of 270 editorial articles from 1993 to 2011, the term *kanryo* appeared 35 times. The topics that appeared with *kanryo* were also categorized into the same six categories. 81 percent of the topics were categorized as negative: the injustice of past actions, dishonorable character, and disadvantageous future actions. Accordingly, 19 percent were positive: justice of past actions, honorable character, and advantageous actions. From a chronological perspective of the identity, it has been constructed as negative. According to the detailed analysis of the typical description, the argument is structured based on the injustice of bureaucrats' past actions and the dishonorable character of bureaucrats.

In the article, all the strategies of persuasion were found to be present. Firstly, with the rhetoric of personal character, the arguer expresses his view as a person who has wisdom and first-hand information. Secondly, with the rhetoric of emotion, the arguer points out the audiences' uncritical state of mind and puts them into a critical state of mind by suggesting a new common sense. Thirdly, with the rhetoric of logic, the injustice of bureaucrats' past action has been made less questionable. In the article, the arguer criticized bureaucrats, politicians, and the audiences. Bureaucrats were mentioned as "just clerical employees of the administration." The arguer considers it as "odd" that politicians have no handle on bureaucrats' personnel matters. In this sense, the arguer thinks that politicians should control bureaucrats; in other words, politicians are placed higher than bureaucrats in his view of power structure.

4.3 Gender perspective

I would like to illustrate the identity of bureaucrats on national newspapers from a gender perspective. Both Yomiuri and Asahi reported a case where a chief of the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare was arrested due to the suspicion of corruption on June 16, 2009. Interestingly, Yomiuri mentioned this chief as a "female career bureaucrat," and Asahi also mentioned the chief's name, Muraki Atsuko. As we saw already in the typical description in the previous section, Asahi did not mention the name of the chief who resigned at METI. Yomiuri's typical description did not mention a gender issue, probably because it argued against bureaucrats as a whole. However, it mentioned a gender issue especially in this article. This indicates that bureaucrats are considered as male in general. It is, however, true that the ratio of male workers is much higher than female ones, as I stated in the data selection section (National Personnel Authority 2009).

4.4 Comparison of national newspapers

The quantitative textual analysis revealed the constructed collective identity of *kanryo*. In the analysis, the number of times the term *kanryo* appeared throughout the collected materials was counted. In 270 editorial articles from Yomiuri newspaper, the term appeared 39 times. In 270 editorial articles from Asahi newspaper, it appeared 37 times. Then, the themes the term constructed were categorized based on Richardson's division of argumentation. The six categories are justice of past actions, injustice of past actions, honorable present character, dishonorable present character,

advantageous future actions, and disadvantageous future actions. From a quantitative standpoint, two points became clear. When it comes to negative and positive images of *kanryo*, Asahi newspaper constructed images much more negatively than Yomiuri newspaper. Chronologically, Yomiuri newspaper has condemned bureaucrats' past actions strongly but present character and future actions have been depicted favorably. On the other hand, Asahi newspaper has constructed negative images of *kanryo* throughout, past, present, and future. This quantitative analysis indicates that the readers of Asahi newspaper have a much more negative image of *kanryo* than the readers of Yomiuri newspaper. In other words, *kanryo* as a group identity exist differently for the readers of Asahi and Yomiuri newspapers.

From a qualitative perspective, in the case of the Yomiuri newspaper, the identities of bureaucrats have been constructed as diametrically opposite, but also represented as homogeneous. More particularly, it appears as though neither negative nor positive representations depend on an argument. In the sense that an argument is made to persuade the audiences, the identity of *kanryo* is used to direct them in a certain direction. Accordingly, the identity of *kanryo* appeared as both homogeneously positive and negative. In the case of the Asahi newspaper, the identity of *kanryo* has been more homogeneously constructed and represented than in Yomiuri newspaper. In addition to this, the identity of *kanryo* has been used as a part of the rhetoric of logos, and made less questionable; that is to say, the identity of *kanryo* has been constructed as less arguable. In this sense, their identity is treated as concrete and homogeneous. As a conclusion, the identity of *kanryo* in the national newspapers has been presented as a totality even though it has been constructed with heterogeneity.

Chapter 5. Identity of Bureaucrats Inside the Ministry

This chapter will show the identity of bureaucrats that has been constructed by bureaucrats themselves. The materials for analysis have been collected from five male bureaucrats using interviews.

5.1 Who are "we"?

All interviewees used "we" to refer to "the government" and "the administration." Three of the interviewees used "we" to refer also to "the ministry they work for" with the name of their ministry, METI and MHLW, or simply called it "our public office." This usage of "we" corresponds to their perception of "the other." The interviewees referred to "the government" and "the administration" as "we," and referred to "the legislature," "the Diet," and "the nation" as "the other."

> We are basically, so, well we are the government. Then, when it comes to the Diet, as I said just now, it has a side, which has lots to do with the government. But, the government and the Diet are, after all, separated, well, they are separated as the government and the legislature, so, well…there are two points where the separation becomes most obvious, they are the budget and the law[36] (Interviewee A).

"The others" of "the ministry they work for" is mentioned as "the name of other ministries" or simply "other ministries." They are also clearly defined as different companies. I asked whether the Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications and the METI are different.

> That's right. Different. After the entrance examination, they will go to different job interviews. So, they are different companies[37] (Interviewee B).

One interviewee stated:

> We are, well, Human Resources Policy Office. Human resources does not, in short, belong to one industry, for example, lately, when it comes to generating global human resources, there are global human resources in whichever industries.
>
> Relatively speaking, it is OK when everyone's interest matches, but, there are cases where directions of interests go in, well, totally opposite directions. Especially, for example, MHLW. We, METI, have a process that we generate the industries, then, therefore the employment will be generated. But MHLW and others, later I will talk about political power, but they think the employment comes first (laugh). Firstly, there is a good environment for the employment, and then, well how can I put it, then

business will be generated, there is a considerable number of people who think in that way.

It is hard to adjust the way of thinking about policy concepts, and so, actually the national budget flows out for the policies, which don't match the needs of the business world. It is difficult to adjust or to correct those. It is because different institutions have to cope with them, and also there is no regular meeting, so it's a bit, maybe difficult, after I came to this office, especially, well, there are a lot of cases to cope with like MHLW, like Ministry of Education, and various public offices, I feel in that way[38] (Interviewee C).

This interviewee mentioned "we" as both "my department" and "my ministry," but as we can see in the last line, he positions his department as a place in which he experiences difficulties. The interviewees who used "we" to denote the government were the ones who have the longest and the shortest careers. It is interesting to note that the youngest interviewee expressed his insecurity due to his lack of personal experience, but on the other hand, he expressed firmly the differences between inside and outside the ministry.

B) Public office has a culture whereby it is not necessary to send new-year cards, year-end gifts or mid-year gifts, I was told that it will be rather like a burden for the colleagues if I send them.

I) So will you send them to the people who you work with outside of the ministries?

B) I send them to my friends. The people outside of ministries also know about the culture of public offices.

I) Independent.

B) Hmm, it is difficult to separate private relationships and job-related relationships. The person, who I have known since before that I started work, working not on nuclear but water energy at Toshiba, invited me to his marriage ceremony. And I send him new-year cards. But, I don't send cards to people who I know only because of my job. Still, trading companies send me new-year cards under the name of their companies[39] (Interviewee B).

The three deputy directors gain a collective identity through their ministries and the government. In the sense that collective identity is created through the articulation and negotiation of particular experiences (Howarth, Norval, and Stavrakakis 2009, p. 159), the interviewees show the different stages of collective identity construction. Therefore, the collective identity of bureaucrats varies based on the time they have spent as an employee. Bureaucrats who enter a ministry learn their collective identity, and as they

spend more time in the ministry they will accumulate experiences that support their collective identity. In the end, they will be able to generalize their collective identity over different ministries. In other words, the longer time they spend in the ministry, the easier it may become to share the identity with bureaucrats from other ministries.

5.2 Constructed identity

There are three themes that have all been mentioned previously: role, continuity, and legitimacy. The interviewees think that their role is to support politicians to make right decisions. According to the interviewees, the "right" decision is the one that will bring benefit to the nation in the longer term. In the sense of generating benefits continuously, they consider the continuity of policy as significant. Even though the continuity is essential, they all agreed that decisions should be made by politicians, because bureaucrats are not legitimized by the nation via elections.

The striking difference between the interviewees from the Ministry of Economics, Trade, and Industry (METI) and the interviewee from the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare (MHLW) is their attitude to maintaining the continuity. The interviewee from MHLW states his role in maintaining the continuity as follows:

> Of course, suggestions will be made. So, when it changes often, if it is known that it may change, important decision-making will be sustained; when the next step is unknown, and when what will happen to the next is unknown. So, if this change continues, policy making will stop, but, I don't know why, but in the case of our public office, the former vice-minister becomes the minister, so if the policies don't have continuity, everything can stop. Our public office has an enormous amount of problems, well, if it stops, well, employment and everything, pensions and medical care, nurseries and everything, there are problems that cannot wait everywhere. In this sense, I think that the continuity of policies is important[40] (Interviewee D).

As he states in the last line, the continuity is maintained because politicians consider it important. On the other hand, the interviewees from METI consider the maintenance of continuity as a part of their role. Therefore, they actively participate in the maintenance.

> The first thing the DPJ was saying was that the economy doesn't have to grow, that it doesn't matter.
> So, what happened when new Minister Naoshima came is that, anyway, we kept telling him that the economic growth is important.

Then it started to change and Minister Naoshima started to say that the economic growth is important. Then, when Naoto Kan came, and when the National Policy Unit made the Growth Strategy, almost all the bills we made went there. Then, what I thought about was that of course our way of thinking changed, and the system of decision-making changed because of the change of the political power. And also, there are people who say that the economic growth is unnecessary (laugh). The mission was denied, in the first place. That is strange. Those have been changed. But nobody believes that the economic growth is unnecessary (laugh), so, how can I put it, regardless of the ideological differences and of process, as a result of, well, education? Well yes, educate politicians and make them understand. Then, it will change. In the end, the policies won't be that different[41] (Interviewee C).

Also one interviewee says:

Of course, the minister makes various decisions, but other than that, the name on the stamp will be that of the Minister, but we make decisions that it will be right for the people everyday[42] (Interviewee E).

Another one states:

Actually, politicians can't run away from the reality of elections. So, anyway, probably it is too bad right now, to some extent, it distorts. And, I think there is no one but us who is totally free from that distortion, and who can judge like this choice is better in the end, even though the other choice looks better in the short run[43] (Interviewee A).

In summary, interviewees share the collective identities regarding role, continuity, and legitimacy. It implies that the different attitudes to maintaining the continuity of policies indicate that different ministries construct collective identity differently. Due to the limitation of the amount of materials, it may be difficult to draw such a big conclusion.

5.3 Communications

I raised the same question for all the interviewees about the term *kanryo*: Do you use *kanryo* to indicate yourself? Do you consider yourself as a *kanryo*? All the interviewees denied that they use the term *kanryo* in their everyday conversation. At the same time, they accept the fact that they are grouped under the name. One interviewee says:

Well, the name is normally used, I don't think so, but I admit I am (*kanryo*)[44] (Interviewee E).

Another interviewee states:

On the contrary, I guess the phrase *kanryo* appears only in something like articles of Asahi as such. Well, probably it can be in weekly magazines. Normally, well, a term like *kanryo* will never be used in the normal conversation, or the conversation at work. I won't use it, and the person who I am talking to won't use it either, the people from private companies won't use it. That's why it is ambiguous. And also, the term has a negative brand or label[45] (Interviewee A).

The latter interviewee expressed two reasons why he does not use the term. This is because the definition of *kanryo* is ambiguous, and also because the term was branded negative from the beginning. The constructed identity in the newspaper articles is the common reason that prevents them from using the name. Another interviewee agrees:

I) Do you use the term *kanryo* yourself, like in the newspapers?
D) No. No. I won't. Never.
I) Never?
D) Well, maybe, normal people, I mean normal public officers, became unwilling to talk about their own professions over the last five or ten years. More particularly, the term *kanryo* isn't used. Well, the image of the term, or it sounds arrogant also; it has gotten a label as a target of criticism[46] (Interviewee D).

Their attitude about the constructed identity of bureaucrats in the newspapers is similar. They accept the constructed identities as they are, because it is how the mass media works.

Well, as long as they criticize, not accuse, it is exactly what the media is supposed to do as their job, I think it is the way it is. They have more or less different tastes, that depends on Sankei, Mainichi, Yomuuri, Nikkei, or something like that. Hmm, to be honest, there are a lot of things that make me angry while I'm reading it, like 'I don't work thinking in that way,' but well, I can't help it if public officers seem like that (as written in newspapers) in people's eyes[47] (Interviewee E).

The interviewees agree on their reaction toward outside discourse.

I keep '*kanryo* did this or that' in my mind, but I have a big ideology that it's OK if I do a good job. It's not like that 'oh this person who is labeled can be me, what, leave me alone!' But it's more like 'yes there is one opinion like that.' I think it is the way it is because people at newspaper companies write like that, even though they know well that there are other sides to society[48] (Interviewee C).

In sum, all the interviewees agree that *kanryo(官僚)* is a label for their profession. They do not use *kanryo* on a daily basis because it has negative connotations from the outset. However, they think that they cannot help this

because it is a result of the mass media. They have no intention of changing it or negotiating their identity outside of the ministries. Instead of negotiation, they accept it as it is, and do their jobs. Also, I asked whether they use other terms that are used to indicate bureaucrats, for example public servants, *Kasumigaseki*[49], national public officers, and so on. One interviewee answered:

> I think the terms are used at work to categorize. When we talk with people from private enterprises, or with people from the same ministry or other ministries, as a comparison to the private sector… As a way of thinking of public servants…, as a trend of *Kasumigaseki*…
> It depends on the object if we want to limit the categories; we use 'METI is…' 'As government…' In this case, the term changes depending on who we are talking with. It is not about collective consciousness but the fact[50] (Interviewee B).

It indicates that the term of use differs depending on whom they deal with in the conversation. The analysis of the term of use reflects *kanryo*'s perception of the differences among the others. More particularly, they chose the term that equalizes the status depending on the perception of the status of the people they are dealing with.

It is crucial to note that there is discrepancy between the constructed identity inside and outside the ministry. Identities are perceived as to exist only when they are constituted within the discourse (Felstead et al., 2009, p. 45, Jørgensen and Phillips 2011, Ricento 2003, p. 612). The interviews showed that interviewees disagree with the outside discourse, but they have no intention of negotiating with it. The fact that they do not use the term *kanryo*, and also the fact that they have little desire to negotiate their identity outside of the ministry, indicate that the identities of bureaucrats inside and outside the ministry have little communication. In a sense that people's identity is under continuous negotiation (Felstead et al., 2009), inside and outside identities of bureaucrats are not constituted within the same discourse. It is interesting to note that the outside discourse is constructed on the inside of the ministries as an outside discourse.

One interviewee stated:

> A) On the contrary, I use the term 'bureaucratic.'
> I) Do you mean business-like by the term?
> A) We use it in a bad sense; it is not for *kanryo* but for, in short, for example, banks or receptions of dentists (laugh). It would be the case that there are people who are bureaucratic. The way of thinking is very bureaucratic, for instance. Well…to put importance on institutions, how can I say it, to put great importance on the logic of institutions, and well therefore, speed, speed is …the

speed of decision-making is very slow, or, well in short, not to take risks[51] (Interviewee A).

The term bureaucratic reflects the outside discourse of bureaucrats. Judging from the statement "We use it in a bad sense, it is not for *kanryo*," they use the term particularly as a reflection of the outside discourse of the identity of bureaucrats and use it for people other than the bureaucrats themselves. The term attributes the discourse back to outsiders; that is to say, it invalidates the outside discourse in ministries. Regardless of the interviewees' perception of the media as a watchman of the authorities, as long as the discourse is invalidated in this way, a watchman remains just watching. In other words, there is no power struggle from an insider's perspective, because there is no communication and negotiation. This also means that there is no public deliberation.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

In this paper, I illustrated discourses of the identity of bureaucrats both outside and inside the ministries. The outside discourse was illustrated based on editorial articles from issues of Yomiuri and Asahi newspapers dating from 1993 to 2011. The number of newspaper material I analyzed was 540 in total. Quantitatively speaking, both Yomiuri and Asahi newspapers have constructed the identity of *kanryo(官僚)* as a negative one. The six categories I employed to put the topic in order were Richardson's division of argumentation: injustice and justice of past actions, dishonorable and honorable present character, and disadvantageous and advantageous future actions. Yomiuri newspaper had 59 percent negative and 41 percent positive constructions. Asahi newspaper had 81 percent negative and 19 percent positive constructions. Chronologically, the Yomiuri newspaper depicted *kanryo* as people who have unjust pasts, honorable characters, and advantageous future actions. The Asahi newspaper depicted them as people who have unjust past actions, dishonorable present characters, and disadvantageous future actions. Qualitatively speaking, the Yomiuri newspaper constructed the identity of *kanryo* as something contradictory, as I found in quantitative analysis. On one hand, they have unjust past actions; on the other hand, they have honorable characters and advantageous future actions. These diametrically opposed identities appear interchangeably, and depend on the argument that the arguer endeavors to persuade the audience to accept. The Asahi newspaper constructed the discourse of identity of bureaucrats more homogeneously than Yomiuri. With the strategies of persuasion, the identity of *kanryo* has been constructed as less questionable.

The insider discourse was illustrated based on the open-end interviews with five bureaucrats from METI and MHLW. The limited amount of interview materials made it difficult to draw a general conclusion, but the discourse of the identity of bureaucrats was illustrated. Inside the ministries, it was found that the term used in newspaper discourse, *kanryo,* is not used by people who are recognized as bureaucrats in the newspapers. The analysis of the pronoun "we" revealed that they find their sense of belonging both in the ministry that they work for, and in the ministries as a whole. More particularly, all the interviewees share similar ideas of their role, continuity, and legitimacy. Their role is to support politicians to make decisions that can generate long-term benefits for the nation. They consider that they are the only actors who can maintain the continuity of policies, since they are not elected. At the same time, as they do not have elections, they consider that their decisions lack legitimacy from the nation. The significant difference between interviewees

from METI and MHLW is their attitude to maintaining the continuity. All the interviewees from METI stated that it is essential for them to endeavor to actively generate continuity. On the other hand, the interviewee from MHLW considers that the continuity is maintained because the ministers care to do so. Whether bureaucrats ought to be the actors to maintain the continuity of policies remained unexplored in this paper. However, the newspaper materials did not emphasize the significance of the identity of bureaucrats as a role to maintain the continuity of policies. It may suggest that the perception of their role is the view of the insider, but not of the outsider. In that case, the meaning of action is perhaps perceived differently outside ministries; bureaucrats are actively interfering with politics even though they are not supposed to do so. As I mentioned in the beginning of this paper, I do not intend to identify whose view is more correct or preferred. This is a reflection, which has room for further research.

There is little communication between outsider and insider discourses. The interviewees agreed that they have no intention of negotiating their identity, because it is considered as something unchangeable. In addition to this, the outsider discourse is treated as an outsider discourse inside the ministries. This is shown with the usage of the term "bureaucratic." The term reflects the outsider discourse of *kanryo*'s identity as a negative one: slow to make decisions and placing importance on the institutional logic. The outside discourse is not considered as a part of the insider discourse. Rather, it remains as and consolidates an outsider's view. Therefore, it makes it possible to construct the insider discourse of their identity without conflicting with the outside discourse. This invalidation of an outsider's view makes it possible for bureaucrats to position themselves differently in relation to the power structure constructed outside the ministry. In addition to this, it prevents them from being publicly deliberative. The invalidation of outside discourses and lack of public deliberation contributes to making bureaucrats appear to be excluded from and in conflict with those outside the ministries. It will reproduce unilateral conflicts for the outsiders, but without bureaucrats being aware of them.

This study revealed that the identity of a group of people could exist differently depending on which perspective it is constructed from. It indicates that the result of rational thinking differs from perspectives to perspectives. Depending on which discourse is dominant, the result of rational thinking changes. As one interviewee stated, it is considered important for bureaucrats to educate politicians. This statement shows that the result of rational thinking of bureaucrats and politicians is different. In addition to this, the

heterogeneity of the identity of bureaucrats has constructed unilateral conflicts without bureaucrats knowing about them. The existing research has treated the identity of bureaucrats as homogeneous, not only with insider but also outsider discourses. The fact that there is no existing research focusing both on the identity of bureaucrats and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) also supports this view. It implies that existing research has assumed that the result of rational thinking is supposed to be a universal action. Therefore, the conflict between the situation inside and outside the ministries is depicted as being caused by irrationality, or also, simply as being non-existent. However, as we saw in this paper, conflicts have been constructed and enforced. In order to understand what is occurring in society, as Foucault wrote, it is crucial to recognize a reality with a plurality of perspectives (Foucault 1971). So, the results of existing research can be reviewed by taking these points into consideration.

The three limitations of this study themselves suggest room for further research. Firstly, the limits to the amount of materials analyzed prevented me from capturing a bigger picture. It suggests that the illustration of the collective identity of bureaucrats will improve by taking more perspectives into consideration. Secondly, as I mentioned in the beginning of this paper, national newspapers construct discourses on the identity of bureaucrats with various vocabularies, for instance, public offices, ministries, governments, and so on. Also, the interviews revealed that the bureaucrats use different names depending on whom they are dealing with. Therefore, further analysis on different names of bureaucrats will also contribute to deepening our understanding of the collective identity of bureaucrats in Japan. Finally, my study has not touched upon the historical analysis of discourses. The typical article from Yomiuri newspaper was written and published in 2009. The typical article from Asahi newspaper was written and published in 1993. The analysis on changes of the typical article in each newspaper over 16 years will be meaningful in order to understand the historical background of the constructed collective identity of bureaucrats in Japan.

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Footnotes

[1] Similar work has been done by Pipan (2000) in Italy. The stereotypical images of Italian civil servants were questioned with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Also, constructions of national identities as a type the collective identities have been studied with CDA (see De Cillia, Reisigl, and Wodak 1999, Recento 2003). The existing research will be reviewed in detail in Chapter 2.

[2] Wodak and Mayer explain that this is because the application of Critical Discourse Analysis as a research method is still limited to Western countries (2009, p. 16).

[3] The existing research tends to assume that rational thinking leads human beings to one universal action. This is because rationality is often understood by academics as context-independent. However, as long as the perception of "reality" is context-dependent, rational thinking and its results, which take place in "reality," are also not free from the context (see Flyvbjerg 1998).
[4]
[5] The other terms commonly found in the national newspapers include shou-shokuin (employee of ministries), Seifu (the government), Kokka-koumuin (national public officers), Kasumigaseki (the name of the area where almost all the ministries are located), Yakunin (public servants), Kan (officials). The slight differences between each term are often ignored. Accordingly, they are interchangeable. This makes it almost impossible to determine what the terms indicate.

[6] See Maruyama (1969). Maruyama explains that Japanese politics has a tripod structure. He defines politicians as the authority holders, bureaucrats as the power holders, and the other factors as the sources of violence.

[7] See Colignon and Usui (2001). The authors found that the term *Amakudari*, which is commonly translated as "descendent from the heavens," shows a glimpse of the distinction between elite and non-elite.

[8] Abegglen was the first scholar who used the term "Japan Inc." to indicate the intimate relationship between politicians, bureaucrats, and the private sector. After Abegglen, Johnson studied further the role of Japanese bureaucracy in Japanese politics. In his study, Johnson used the term "Iron Triangle", indicating the substance of the power structure that derives from the relationship (Colignon and Usui 2001). This intimate relationship was considered to be a significant factor in the state-led economic boom in 1960s, namely the Japanese miracle (see Johnson 1995, Noguchi 1999).

[9] See Sakakibara 2011.

[10] See Inatsugu 2011.

[11] Since its consolidation in 1953, the LDP has remained the principal party by dominating the overwhelming majority of the Diet for 37 years. It is crucial to note that this ideological firmness made the media politically neutral, but foremost, the LDP stopped the media from being sensitive to political issues by using the licensing authority (see Sugiyama 2003). Also, it is crucial to note that political neutrality is not a synonym of political objectivity in the case of Japan (see Takeshita and Ida 2009, p. 159).

[12] Kabashima and Steel (2007) showed how the ex-prime minister Junichiro Koizumi used the media to generate favorable public opinion. Also, McCargo and Lee (2010) showed how the Democratic Party Japan won the general election in 2009.

[13] Unlike the career system of bureaucrats in the USA, the electoral results of political parties do not affect the career system of *kanryo*. The decision-making in their career remains within the ministry the bureaucrats belong to (see Inatsugu 2011).

[14] Foucault revealed the similarity between the development of taxonomy and the accumulation of "truth" in *the order of things (1971)*. He considered that individual perceptions of the social world, in other words, discourses, constitute "true" information. The reason why human beings consider the information "true" is because the contents of "the truth" have been constructed as "true."
It suggests that the historical development of human knowledge contributes to the construction of discourses and vice versa.

[15] As CDA provides a package of philosophical premises, theoretical models, methodological guidelines, and specific techniques for analysis, the employment of CDA indicates the concepts in this paper are defined from a post-modernist perspective.

[16] In everyday life, "the world" and its elements such as time, reality, and truth are treated as if they exist "out there," but they are considered as a part of the constructed concept as a whole from a constructionist perspective (Foucault 1971, Jørgensen and Phillips 2011). In accordance with Foucault, Duara explained that it is the human being who makes concepts exist (Duara 1998). This is applicable to the concept of the collective identity (see Felstead et al. 2009, Foucault 1971, Jørgensen and Phillips 2011, Ricento 2003, Wodak and Meyer 2009).

[17] Foucault taught the significance of recognizing "reality" from every possible perspective in order to perceive it as it is. In this sense, he understands that "reality" is an aggregation of discourses, which are separately constructed by individuals as "real" (see Foucault 1971). In this sense, individual perception of collective identity is a part of "reality" as a whole.

[18] It indicates that my research disregards investigations of other prevailing discourses apart from everyday discourses constructed in the two national newspapers researched, and in the ministries. The collective identity as a whole in this study is considered to be an aggregation of discourses, which are constructed from every perspective possible (see Jørgensen and Phillips 2011, p. 142).

[19] Yomiuri has the biggest circulation, only with morning editions: 9,955,031. Asahi's circulation is the second biggest among Japanese national newspapers: 7,713,284 (Yomiuri Shinbun 2012).

[20] The newspaper reporting the most liberal view is Nihon Keizai Shinbun. However, its circulation is comparatively limited: 3,010,558 (see Yomiuri Shinbun 2011).

[21] It was organized using *snowballing*. One of the interviewees asked his colleague to meet me.

[22] There are three different categories for Japanese public officers at national level: *1-shu*（一種）are public officers who have the highest status. They are promoted faster and higher. *2-shu*（二種）officers are promoted slower than *1-shu* officers. Also, unlike *1-shu*, they are not able to gain high-level promotions. *3-shu*（三種）have the lowest rank and deal with administrative work (see Inatsugu 2011).

[23] I found her interview questions very helpful in regards to matching questions and answers. By "answers" I mean what I am aiming to research, in the other words, the focus of the research. It does not mean "What I want to hear."

[24] 何をする仕事に就いているか。

[25] 今は何を担当しているか。

[26] 自分の仕事についてどう思うか。

[27] 仕事をする上で大変な事は？

[28] 官僚制の役割について。

[29] 政権交代するとかわる事。

[30] どのような人と関わり仕事をしているか。

[31] 新聞上での'官僚'批判への態度。

[32] Richardson explained three divisions of argumentation; Forensic, Epideictic, and Deliberative. These argumentations are based on one's identity. Forensic argumentation deals with topics related to justice and injustice of one's past actions. Epideictic argumentation covers topics related to one's honorable and dishonorable current character. Deliberative argumentation concerns topics related to one's advantageous and disadvantageous future actions.

[33] A personnel matter: the appointment of retired government officials to important positions in the industry.

[34] 政治主導　官僚を敵視せず使いこなせ
1.民主党は、政権交代は「官僚主導」政治を「政治主導」に転換する好機という。2.だが、政治主導は、より良い政策の立案と実行のための手段であり、目的ではあるまい。
3.民主党は、この点を肝に銘じて新政権を運営し、具体的な成果につなげてもらいたい。
4.国会議員約１００人を政府内に配置する。5.首相直属の国家戦略局を司令塔とし、少人数の閣僚によるテーマ別の閣僚委員会を活用して、政治家が政策を調整、決定する。6.事務次官会議は廃止する。
7.これが、民主党の描く政治主導の意思決定システムの骨格だ。
8.政権交代を機に、官僚の既得権益に切り込み、官製談合や税金の無駄遣いを徹底して排除する狙いに異論は無い。9.政治家と官僚の役割分担を明確にし、新たなルールを作ることも大切だろう。
10.安易な前例踏襲を辞め、再点検する好機でもある。11.外務官僚がタブーとしてきた、核持ち込みに関する日米の密約問題を調査する民主党の方針は、その一例だ。
12.国民から選ばれた政治家が重要な政策ついて自ら判断し、その責任を負う。13.それが政治主導の本質だ。14.新内閣の最優先課題をトップダウンで決めるため、国家戦略局を活用する構想は悪くない。
15.現在の閣議が形骸化しているのは事実だ。16.少数の関係閣僚が閣僚委員会で、実質的に議論し、政策を調整することは意味がある。
17.一方で、政治主導を掲げる以上、政治家には政策を十分理解し、官僚を使いこなす能力が求められる。18.官僚の専門性を活用しなければ、行政機能は低下する。
19.近年、国家公務員志望者の減少が続いた。20.不祥事続発に伴う官僚批判の高まりが一因という。21.政府に優秀な人材が集まらなければ、行政が停滞し、困るのは国民だ。
22.民主党が「お手本」とする英国でも、政府内の与党議員が多すぎて行政に支障を来している、との批判があるとされる。
23.民主党は、野党時代のように、人気取りのために官僚たたきに走るべきではない。24.官僚OBであることだけを理由に国会同意人事に反対するといった対応は慎み、能力本意の人事を行うべきだ。
25.政治家が誤り亡き判断をするには、生きた情報とアイデアを提供する官僚との信頼関係が欠かせない。26.官僚を敵視せず、その能力を最大限引き出すことが重要だ。
27.官僚も、政治的中立性を保ち、国民に奉仕する、という原点を忘れてはなるまい。

[35] December 23, 1993, Asahi Shinbun
官僚のおごりと政治の介入
1.通産相の次期事務次官と目されていた産業政策局長が、通産相の辞任勧告を受けて辞職した。
2.事実上の解任である。
3.大臣が辞任を迫ったおもな理由は、自民党政権時代、同省に務めていた前事務次官の息子の衆院選立候補に当たり、不当な情実人事をしていたことにあるという。
4.有力官庁の最高ポストにあった人たちを巻き込んだこの出来事は、日本の官僚システムと政治家の関係について、色々考えさせるものを含んでいる。
5.政治家である大臣には人事に口を出させないというのが、大方の中央官庁の不文律だ。6.時たま大臣が介入すると省庁あげての騒動となり、ニュースになるというのは、それがいかに当然のこととしてまかり通ってきたかを証明している。
7.しかし、このニュースォ例えば外国の人が聞いたら不思議に思うのではあるまいか。8.任命権のある大臣が部下の人事を動かしてどこがおかしい、という方が常識にかなっていよう。9.そもそも行政の事務方にすぎない官僚の人事について、その役所の長である大臣の意思が及ばないというのは、考えてみれば奇妙な話である。
10.大統領とともにワシントンの住民も入れ替わると言われる米国などでは、高級官僚は政治家に任免されるのが普通である。11.大臣を「お客様」と呼ぶシステムは、きわめて特殊な日本的産物だ。

12.問題はその功罪である。13.熊谷通産相の辞任勧告が伝わると、省内には「行政の中立性を侵す」という反発が噴き出した。

14.もし大臣が実質的な人事権を握ったら、官僚が政治的な思惑に振り回され、公正な行政ができない。15.また、官僚人生の事情にうとい大臣に左右されてはたまらない、という主張にも一理あるだろう。

16.だが一方で、名相自民党支配の時代に、高級官僚がいかに有力政治家と持ちつ持たれつの密接な関係を保ってきたかは、周知の事実だ。17.この騒動には、前事務次官系とそれに反発するグループの派閥抗争が絡んでいるともいわれる。18.しかも、ことの発端が身内からの候補者に対する安易な人事にある。19.「行政の中立性」を表看板に出来る立場ではあるまい。

20.今回の騒動には、自民党政権の崩壊、連立政権の誕生と言う歴史的な変化が絡んだ面もある。

21.新政党の実力者・小沢一郎氏が、官僚支配の行政を政治家主導に移そうというふれこみで打ち出した「政務審議官」構想に官僚達は強い危機感を抱いている。22.政権交代に伴って、「政・官癒着」への批判も厳しい。23.霞ヶ関の官僚にとって、対岸の火事ではないのだ。

24.こうみると、大臣に対する通産官僚の抵抗には、五五体制下で享受してきた官僚の政治に対する特権的地位を侵されたくないという、おごった保守意識が働いていることが分かる。

25.といって、通産相の爆弾勧告もうなずけるものではない。26.不況のまっただ中で政府が景気政策を打ち出そうとしている矢先に、その立案の中心人物の一人である局長をクビにし、役所を混乱に陥れた大臣の見識が疑われる。27.辞任勧告の理由が局長の前職当時の責任を問うものなら、なぜ大臣就任時に断行しなかったのか。

28.今回の出来事は、これまで政治家と官僚がいかに密室の中のなれ合い関係にあったかをさらけ出した。29.これを契機に両者が、人事はもとより政策面についても「開かれた緊張感のある関係」を作り出せるかどうかが問われている。

[36]僕らは、基本的には、その、だから僕らは政府な訳ね。それで、国会の方は、さっきいったように政府と一体的な面もあるんだよね。だけど、一応やっぱり政府と国会って別れてて、そのー、行政と立法府でさ、別れてて、それで、その、・・一番ここの関係が一番出てくるのは、二つあって、予算と法律なんだよ。

[37]そうそうそう。違う。だから、試験を受けた後、それぞれ面接試験を別に受けに行くから。別の会社。

[38]僕らその、産業人材制作室っていうところで、人材って要するに、一つの産業の人材ではなくて、たとえば最近はグローバルな人材をつくるんだとかってなると、グローバル人材って、どこの産業にでもいる訳ですよね。

比較的、皆ベクトルが同じ時は良いんですけど、あの、ベクトルがこう、がちんこでぶつかっちゃう事もあって、特に厚生労働省なんかでいくと、僕らはやっぱり、産業を作って、産業ができることによってそれで雇用が出来てきて、それでやっぱり、っていうのが、あの、経産省の考えるプロセスなんですよね。でも、厚生労働省とかは、後で政権の話も出てくるけど、まず、雇用があると（笑）まず良質な雇用があって、みんなそれなりに良い雇用があって、そっからそのなんだろうな、ビジネスがうまれてくるっていう、そういう考えの人が結構いて。

政策コンセプトの考え方、を、ある程度調整するっていうのは大変だし、実際にそれで国費が流れて行くので、やっぱり、産業界のニーズにマッチしてないその政策をやってたりするので、その辺をしっかり調整っていうか、矯正っていうか、していくのはなかなか大変だなぁと。やっぱりそれは組織が違うところ、が一緒になってやらなきゃいけなくて、恒常的にいつも集まって顔見て話をしているわけではないので、その辺は少し、やりにくさっていうか、ここの部署にきて、特にその、厚労省なり、文科省なり、いろんな役所とおつきあいする事が多いので、その辺は少し感じてますね。(Interviewee C)

[39]B）年賀状とか、お歳暮とかお中元は役所はださなくていい文化だから、むしろお前が出すと負担になるからって。
I）省庁外でしごとのおつきあいがある人にはだすんですか？
B）ぼくは、友達とか。そういう文化だっていうのは外の人も知ってるから。
I）独立してるんですね。

B）うーん、それこそさ、プライベートの付き合いと、仕事の付き合いの線引きが、めんどくさい、難しい部分がある。もともと知り合いで東芝で働いてる、原子力じゃなくて、水力やってるんだけど、そいつとかは結婚披露宴とか招待してくれたし、年賀状も書いたりしてるけど、完全に仕事だけの付き合いの人には、年賀状書いたりはしてない。ただ、職場には、商社さんとかが、会社名義の年賀状を送ってきてくれたりはしてる。(Interviewee B).

[40]もちろん提案はしますよね。だから、ぽんぽんかわっていくときは、かわるかもしれないっていうのがわかれば、重要な政策決定はとめておきますよね、次はどうなるかわからない。次、どうされるかわからないっていう時は。だから、それが続くと、ストップ、なんですけど、うちの役所はなんでか、よくわからないんですけど、大臣になられるかたが、前、副大臣やられた方がなっていて、まぁ政策が一貫していないと、何にもかもとまっちゃう事が多い。うちの役所はとてつもなく問題の量が多いので、あの、とまると、その、雇用でも何でも、年金でも医療でも看護でも、なんでも、とまってたら、大変なものがそこらじゅうにあるので、そういう意味で、政策の継続性って言うのは配慮していただいてるとは思ってますね (Interviewee D).

[41]民主党が最初に言ってたのは、経済は成長しなくていいっていってたの。そんなの関係ないと。新しい大臣、直嶋さんが来たときになにがあったかっていうと、とにかく成長っていうのがどんだけ重要かっていうのを発信し続けたの。
そしたらやっと、かわり始めて、で、直嶋さんがいろんなところで発信し始めて、成長重要だと。で、菅直人が、きたとき、国家戦略室で、成長戦略作ったときに、僕らが作った議案がほとんど、むこうにいったんだけど。それで思ったのは、やっぱり、政権が変わる事に因って、もちろん考え方かわるし、意思決定のシステムもかわったし、・・あとはそもそも、経済成長なんかいらないといっている人たちもいるから笑、そもそも否定されてんだよ、ミッションが。それがおかしい。そういうものはかわってきたんだけど。でも、経済なんか成長しなくていいって、だれも思ってなくて（笑）、そうすると、なんていうだろう、いろいろ思想が違ったり、プロセスがちがったりするんだけど、結果、あのしっかりと教育、教育？まぁ、教育なんだな、政治家に教育をして、わかってもらう、それによって、かわって行く。結果、そんなに変わんない政策を、作る事になるんですよ。(Interviewee C).
[42]いろんな事は当然、大臣に意思決定してもらうんだけど、それ以外のいろんなところで、名前は大臣の名前で判子をおしてるだろうけど、僕らは、国民のために正しいだろうという意思決定は日々やってるね (Interviewee E).
[43]政治家の人たちってやっぱり選挙って、逃れられない現実だからね。で、どうしたって、いまはまぁひど過ぎにしても、多かれ少なかれそれはやっぱり、歪むんだよ。で、そのゆがみから、全くフリーでね、本当に１０年後２０年後の事をかんがえたら、やっぱりこっちの方が良い、目先はこっちのが大事だけど、本当の事を考えれば、こっちの方がやっぱり大事でしょってできるのは、やっぱり僕らしかいない、とおもってるから。(Interviewee A).

[44]まぁそういう名称で呼ばれてはいるから、自分でそう思う事はあんまりないけど、まぁそうだろうね。(Interview E).

[45]官僚って二語字熟語で、でてくるのは、そういう朝日新聞の、記事みたいのしかないんじゃない、逆に。まぁ週刊誌だったりするかもしれないけど。普通はだって、あの、普通の会話っていうか、仕事上の会話でも、絶対に官僚なんて言葉使わないもん。僕も使わないし、相手も使わない、民間の人だって使わないよ。だから、曖昧なんだよ。曖昧なのとそれと、はじめっからネガティブな、烙印がもう、レッテルがはられてるようなね。(Interviewee A).

[46] I）新聞以外で、官僚って自分で使ったりします？
D）しないしない。しないです。絶対しない。
I）絶対ですか
D）たぶんあの、普通の人たちは、普通の公務員は、最近ここ５年１０年くらいは自分の職業を名乗らなくなったかな。もっといえば、官僚なんて言葉は、つかわないですね。なんか、言葉のイメージっていうか、偉そうな響きもあるし、批判の対象としての、言葉のレッテルが、つきすぎてる。(Interviewee D).

[47] まぁ非難じゃなくて、批判をしてる限りは、それはメディアの仕事そのものだから、そういうものなんだろうと思うし。多少路線が違う、それは産経、毎日、読売、日経とか、そういうもんでしょ。まぁ正直腹立つ事も一杯あるけど、読んでてね、そんな事思って仕事してる訳じゃないんだけどなぁって思う事はあるけれど、まぁ国民の方からすると、役人はそういう風に見えちゃってもしょうがないね。(Interviewee E).

[48] 官僚がなんとかしたかんとかしたっていうのは、一つ心には留めるけど、まぁ別に自分は自分で良い仕事すれば良いかなって、おっきな概念があって。レッテルの張られたこの人が自分の事かもしれないって言って、なんだ、うるせーなぁって俺は違うんだってすごく強く反対したりするのではなくて、それは一つその見方があるよねと、でもあの、世の中には、新聞社の人たちもよくわかっていて、違う側面があるのに、そう書いているから、じゃぁそれはそれでしょうがねぇなぁ、とは思う。(Interviewee C).

[49] kasumigaseki(霞ヶ関) is an area in Tokyo, Japan where the national-level ministries are located, except for the Ministry of Defense. In comparison with kasumigaseki, politicians are often called Nagatacho(永田町) where the Diet building is located.

[50] 仕事・職場だと、カテゴライズ、カテゴリーの整理をする時に使う傾向があると思います。民間企業の人と話すときや、それこそ省内、他省庁の人と話すときに、役人的な考え方としては・・・、霞ヶ関の傾向としては・・・、　←
民間との比較。その中で、さらに限定するときは、その限定対象毎で、経産省は・・・、政府としては・・・、この場合は対象の違いによって、指示語（！？）が変わるから、言葉を選ぶって感じです。あんまり意識とかの差ではない。ファクトの違い。(Interviewee B).

[51] 逆に、官僚的って言う言葉は使うよ。
I）事務的っていうことで？
A）それは、悪い意味で、それは官僚じゃなくて要するに銀行だったり歯医者の窓口だったり（笑）それこそ新聞記者だって、官僚的って言われる人はいるかもしれないね。考え方が非常に官僚的だ、とかさ。そのーそういう組織のなんていうか、組織の論理みたいのをものすごく重んじて、それでそのまぁだからスピードが、スピードが、遅いとかさ、意思決定が、意思決定のスピードがものすごく遅いとかさ、それから、そのー、要するに、リスクをとらないとかね。
(Interviewee A)