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 研究課題名(英文) Symbolic Politics and the Ascendance of Rhetoric: An inquiry into Political Symbols, their Usage and Role in Japan
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研究成果の概要(和文)：本研究は、政治的行動とコミュニケーションという枠組みの中で、日本の公共圏で使用されるシンボルの形態と機能などを検討した。データは、2019年から2020年にかけて、テレビインタビュー番組における国会議員や地方政治家、専門家を含む125人に対して行った2,458の質問を特定した。また、インタビュー回答者が使用した情報源の種類を識別し、情報源を使用した理由を明らかにし、情報源とインタビュー対象者の属性、質問の仕方、使用されたシンボルとの関係を示している。分析により、文化的側面がインタビューに与える影響や、「顔」への脅威がインタビュー参加者のコミュニケーション戦略に果たした役割を明らかにした。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

the study revealed it is not only the interview environment and the fashion in which questions are asked, but also the culture and political culture of a society that determine the types, use, and frequency of cited sources and symbols during political interviews, as they affect political behavior.

研究成果の概要(英文)：This study examined the forms and functions of the symbols used in the public sphere in Japan within the broad framework of political behavior and communication. Data was collected during 2019-2020 from 125 live interviews with politicians and nonpoliticians on programs broadcast on Japanese television. The study identifies 2,458 questions that were posed during these interviews to various groups of interviewees, including members of the national Diet, local level politicians, and to subject matter experts. It also identifies the type of sources which interviewees used during interviews, specifies the reasons for using these sources, and indicates the relationship between these sources and the attributes of the interviewees, the manner in which questions were asked, and the issues and symbols used in the interviews. Analysis of the data reveals the effect of cultural aspects on the interviews, and the role played by the threat to “face” on the interviewees’ communication strategy.

研究分野：Political Psychology

キーワード：political interviews political symbols media interviews political rhetoric Japan political communication discourse analysis

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1. 研究開始当初の背景

Along with research aimed to examine the extent to which public opinions is affected and shaped by belief systems, psychological cognitive concepts, media influence, and level of political attention and information, researchers have allocated during the last few years a growing attention to the “symbolic politics model,” according to which people’s responses to a political issue depend on the positive/negative feelings towards certain symbols as well as on the emotional intensity they feel about the respective symbol. Symbolic politics refers thus to an approach to politics that is not based on rational actor explanations of political decision making and behavior; rather, it concerns with the interpretation of the meaning of political events and the emotions accompanying these meanings. As such this model focuses on four key scientific questions: (1) What type of symbols used in a particular political environment; (2) Who use these symbols, and how frequently; (3) Why do they use symbols; and (4) What is the effect of the cultural milieu on the usage of symbols?

Under this background this study also aimed to identify the sources related to the use of symbols that politicians utilize during regular work, especially during political interviews, to examine the motives for quoting these sources, and to indicate the relationship between these sources and symbols usage during interviews and the attributes of the politicians, the interview broadcast programs, the manner questions were asked, and the issues at the center of the interviews. Focusing on the case of Japan the study intends to examine related questions and compare them with data in other democratic societies.

2. 研究の目的

The aim of this study is to systematically examine the nature and functions of political symbols in Japan especially during live political interviews on Japanese television. It aims (1) to identify the symbols used by members of the political elite (members of the administration, politicians, government officials, interest groups and public opinion leaders, and the media). It designs (2) to examine the usage of these symbols by members of the different groups (for comparison reasons also nonpoliticians are included in the sample), and to observe similarities and differences in the way and the intensity they employ symbols.

Furthermore, the study (3) assesses the sources members of the different groups utilize and rely on when presenting their political arguments, thoughts, and ideas on a variety of social, economic, and international issues. Last, (4), the study will detail the nature and function symbols play in Japanese political culture (including public discourse) and the sources used for that matter, in a broad comparative, cross-cultural, cross-national context. By exploring these questions this study aims to contribute more to the general knowledge also on the role played by different sources in political communication.

3. 研究の方法

This study is based on 125 live interviews broadcast with politicians and nonpoliticians (e.g., subject matter experts and retired politicians) over a period of 12 months (April 23, 2019 to April 22, 2020).

Subjects were selected to maintain an equilibrium between the televised programs and the interviewees.

Four televised programs are at the center of this study: Puraimu Nyusu (Prime News) (included 45 interviews, 36% of the sample), Hodo 1930 (Broadcast 1930) (36, 28.8%), Gekiron Kurosufaya (Gekiron Crossfire) (22, 17.6%), and Nichiyo Toron (Sunday Debate) (22, 17.6%). Of the 125 subjects, 93 interviews (74.4%) were with national politicians from all the political parties represented in the National Diet. The sample also included nine (7.2%) interviews with local politicians (e.g., governors of Tokyo and Osaka and mayors of various cities), and 23 (18.4%) with nonpoliticians. The interviews took place either in small groups or in one-on-one sessions. As a whole,

the sample consisted of interviewees ranging in age from 35 to 81 years (average age: 60.4 years) and included 16 (12.8%) female politicians and experts. The 125 interviews yielded a total of 2,458 questions and answers. Among the 2,458 questions, politicians were asked 1,923 questions (78.2%)—of these, Diet members, 1,720 and local politicians, 203.

Nonpoliticians were asked the remaining 535 questions (21.8%). The distribution of questions across the television programs was: Puraimu Nyusu, 1,084 questions (44.1%); Hodo 1930, 616 (25.1); Gekiron Kurosufaya, 523 (21.3); and Nichiyo Toron, 233 (9.5%). The number of questions per interview ranged from 5 to 69, with an average of 19.66 questions. Interviews from the four programs were recorded using a DVD recorder, and a verbatim transcript was made for each selected interview. Criteria for identifying questions and responses were determined. Two coding sheets were devised for analyzing the structure and verbal content of the interviews: the first for interviewers' questions and the second for interviewees' responses. Furthermore, a third coding sheet was designed to address the question of sources. It categorized each and every interviewee's response as either having no references to other viewpoints, as presenting the opinion and views of the interviewee ("internal-source"), or as quoting or referencing points of view of outer sources ("external-source", divided into two sub-categories:

"external-source," i.e., the response consists solely on other sources' utterances, thoughts, or feelings; and a mixture of "internal- and external-source" ' i.e., the substance of the response consists of the interviewee's ideas and thoughts and, in addition, the viewpoints of another source.

Each question identified in this study was coded and examined in light of the various categories explained above. The coding was conducted initially by well-trained graduate and undergraduate students.

The training process involved coding a sample of 500 questions from the interviews while working closely with the author and another collaborator. Any problems that arose during coding were resolved immediately.

4 . 研究成果

This study went beyond earlier studies with its scope, including the multiple number of examined televised programs, large sample of interviewees that also included local level politicians and nonpoliticians, and its detailed analysis. It first identified 2,458 questions asked during four televised political programs. To the majority of 58% of these questions interviewees replied by indicating their own opinions or thoughts. Only about 42% of the replies included references to external source, disclosing the viewpoints and ideas of other individuals or groups. In the latter case, the most common pattern was a combination of both the speaker viewpoints along with that of others. From the rhetorical perspective, quoting others' viewpoints and simultaneously revealing one's thought and ideas, has a conversational function: to create a linkage between the worldviews of others and that of the speaker. This also aims to persuade the audience to accept the speakers' stances as these are already acknowledged by others.

Fourteen clusters of sources identified in this study. They reveal that interviewees in Japan tend most often to refer to statements and ideas expressed by high echelon political leaders in the international community, including the presidents of the U.S., South Korea, and China; other notable decision-makers and subject matter experts invited to participate in the interview sessions; and government officials including the prime minister and members of his Cabinet. On the whole, the selection and citation of a particular source most often might affect not only the way the audience frames its understanding of the policy, but also a heuristic and effective way to assess the speaker's position on a given issue within an already recognized framework of ideas supported by esteemed others.

The analysis reveals that behind the rationale of citing others is the predominant tendency to support the speakers' own ideas or to justify their stances (in 90% of the cases); this, as suggested above, to create linkage between the worldviews of others and that of the speaker. Only in a few cases (less than 9%) were quotes used to specify differences of attitudes between the speaker and others in order to rebut and challenge views or criticize standpoints. Rather than accentuating the disparity between differences people, criticizing, and disapproving other stances, or

trying to prove that their positions are the correct ones, politicians tried to avoid direct confrontation that might lead to someone's "loss of face" and embarrassment.

"Face management," in this sense, manifests the most important characteristic of political

interviews in Japan. Here, politicians refrain, as much as they can, from open confrontation and public criticism of others for what they say or think, preferring instead to maintain a calm atmosphere during interviews, to maintain a gentle communication style and friendly exchange of opinion.

As in my previous studies, threat to face appears as an important predictor of replies during political interviews. The analysis suggests that when there is no threat to face, interviewees feel they can talk freely, often quoting others' statements and utterances. In contrast, when faced with tough questions, they are less likely to do so. Ruling and opposition Diet members, for example, refer most often to other participants in the interview sessions as sources, but the frequency of quoting these sources gradually decreased as the threat to face increased. Threat to face seems thus as a factor that reduces citing others.

Importantly, the study contends that is not only the interview environment and the fashion in which questions are asked, but also the culture and political culture of a given society that can determine the types, use, and frequency of presented symbols and cited sources during political interviews. As this study covers only Japan, I share the view that related studies from other societies and cultures would enhance our understanding also the communication processes that affect political behavior in general.

5. 主な発表論文等

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〔産業財産権〕

〔その他〕

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6. 研究組織

| 氏名 (ローマ字氏名) (研究者番号) | 所属研究機関・部局・職 (機関番号) | 備考 |
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7. 科研費を使用して開催した国際研究集会

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8. 本研究に関連して実施した国際共同研究の実施状況

| 共同研究相手国 | 相手方研究機関 |
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