

# Verification of the 'Datte Shouganai Janai ka' Thesis: Structural, Etymological, and Bureaucratic Analysis of Japanese Administrative Dysfunction

## Executive Summary

This research report provides an exhaustive verification of the thesis that the ubiquitous Japanese phrase "*Datte Shouganai Janai ka*" ("But it cannot be helped, right?")—often dismissed by Western and domestic observers as a symptom of cultural fatalism—is, in fact, a structural diagnostic code indicating a "Lack of Specifications" or "Absence of Method" (*Shiyo-ga-nai*) within the administrative state.

By synthesizing the political philosophy of Masao Maruyama ("The System of Irresponsibility"), the microsociology of Erving Goffman ("Dramaturgy" and "Role Distance"), the street-level bureaucracy theories of Michael Lipsky, and modern economic theories of "Incomplete Contracts," this report argues that bureaucratic avoidance is not a moral failing but a rational survival strategy. The bureaucrat, trapped in a "Double Bind" between symbolic legislative mandates and strict resource constraints, employs *Shouganai* as a mechanism to signal the exhaustion of administrative options.

The analysis reveals that the "System of Irresponsibility" identified by Maruyama in the post-war era has not dissipated but has evolved into a "System of Methodlessness." In this system, laws are passed without the engineering specifications (budget, punitive power, or technical definition) required for implementation, forcing the administrative apparatus to perform the *ritual* of governance while acknowledging its inability to affect the *substance*.

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## Chapter 1: The Semantics of Impossible Methods: Redefining 'Shouganai'

### 1.1 Beyond the Fatalistic Veil: The 'Method-Less' State

The phrase *Shouganai* (しょうがない), along with its formal variant *Shikata ga nai* (仕方がない), is perhaps the most translated and least understood concept in Japanese sociolinguistics. Standard interpretations, often rooted in *Nihonjinron* (theories of Japaneseness), categorize it as an expression of Buddhist resignation (*Mujo*), a stoic acceptance of natural forces or fate. However, when analyzed through the lens of

administrative science and etymology, the term reveals a mechanical, rather than spiritual, underpinning.

Etymologically, *Shouganai* is a contraction of *Shiyo ga nai* (仕様がない).

- **Shiyo (仕様):** Defined as "way," "method," "means," or more technically, "specifications" (as in engineering specs).
- **Nai (ない):** Non-existence or unavailability.

Thus, the literal translation is not "It cannot be helped" (which implies an external force of destiny) but "There is no method available" or "There are no specifications for this." In the context of a highly codified bureaucracy, this distinction is paramount. When a Japanese administrator utters this phrase, they are not expressing a philosophical surrender to the cosmos; they are issuing a technical status update: *The current operating system (Legal/Administrative Code) does not contain a subroutine to handle this input.*<sup>1</sup>

## 1.2 The 'Social OS' and the Missing Driver

If we view the Japanese administrative state through the "Engineering Metaphor"—seeing society as a machine or Operating System (OS)—*Shouganai* functions as a "Runtime Error".<sup>1</sup> In this framework, the bureaucrat is the operator. When a citizen presents a "Wicked Problem" (e.g., complex poverty, novel environmental pollution, or a digital transformation need), the operator queries the system.

If the "Social OS" (Law/Regulation) provides no specific "driver" (budget/authority) to execute the request, the system throws a "Method Not Found" exception. The operator reads this exception aloud as "*Shouganai*."

This interpretation is supported by linguistic engineering theories which suggest that language planning is a form of social planning.<sup>1</sup> In Japan, the "engineering" of social solutions is often strictly limited to what is codified. Unlike common law systems where a judge or administrator might invoke "equity" or "reasonableness" to bridge a gap, the Japanese civil law tradition (positivist and rigid) combined with a risk-averse bureaucracy means that *silence in the code equals prohibition of action*.

Therefore, the thesis holds: *Shouganai* is the verbal acknowledgment of a "Legal-Engineering Gap." It is the sound of a bureaucrat hitting the hard limit of their "User Permissions."

## 1.3 Empirical Evidence: Risk Perception and Control

The disconnect between "cultural fatalism" and "structural helplessness" is empirically visible in the aftermath of the Great East Japan Earthquake (2011). Structural equation analyses of post-disaster behaviors revealed that "*Shouganai*" was not a blanket cultural trait that anesthetized the population. Instead, it was a specific response to *uncontrollable structural*

threats.<sup>4</sup>

Research indicated that anxiety and avoidance behaviors (e.g., avoiding food from Fukushima) were driven by "lack of trust in governmental advice" and "poor personal control," rather than a vague cultural disposition.<sup>4</sup> The "Shouganai" sentiment correlated positively with perceived nuclear risks where the individual had *zero agency*.

- **Earthquake (Natural):** Fits the traditional "Shouganai" (Nature is powerful).
- **Nuclear Incident (Man-made/Structural):** The "Shouganai" here reflected a lack of trust in the *administrative structure* to tell the truth or manage the crisis.<sup>4</sup>

This suggests that citizens and bureaucrats alike use the term to describe a specific failure of the "System" to protect or empower them, rather than a mystical acceptance of death. It is a rational assessment of the "Lack of Method" to control one's environment.

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## Chapter 2: The Anatomy of Irresponsibility: Maruyama Masao Revisited

### 2.1 The Congealed State of Civil War

To understand why the "Method" is so often missing, we must turn to the seminal political thought of Maruyama Masao. His 1946 diagnosis of the pre-war Imperial system as a "System of Irresponsibility" (*Musekinin no Taikei*) provides the architectural blueprint for modern dysfunction.<sup>6</sup>

Maruyama argued that the Japanese state was structured so that authority was immense, but accountability was nowhere.

- **The Emperor:** The source of all legitimacy, yet politically "irresponsible" (above the fray).
- **The Military/Bureaucracy:** Acted in the Emperor's name ("I am merely the Emperor's humble servant"), thereby shielding themselves from personal liability.
- **The Result:** A "congealed or frozen state of civil war" where internal factions (Army vs. Navy, Ministry vs. Ministry) fought for dominance, but the "State" itself drifted without a clear pilot.<sup>6</sup>

Maruyama's insight was that in such a system, decision-making is dispersed so thinly that it evaporates. No single individual possesses the "specification" (authority) to say "Stop" or "Go." They only have the authority to "process."

### 2.2 The 'Basso Ostinato' of the Bureaucracy

Although the Imperial Constitution was replaced by a democratic one, Maruyama identified a *basso ostinato* (a persistent, repeating bass line) in Japanese political culture that survived

the transition.<sup>7</sup> This substratum is the "diffusion of agency."

In the modern context, the "Emperor" has been replaced by the "Consensus" (*Ringi*) or the "Plan."

- **The Modern Mikoshi (Portable Shrine):** In Japanese festivals, a *Mikoshi* is a heavy portable shrine carried by dozens of people. The direction of the shrine is determined by the collective push and shove of the crowd; no single carrier steers it. If the shrine crashes into a wall, no single carrier is responsible. "We were all just carrying it."
- **Administrative Application:** Once a policy is set in motion (e.g., the nuclear power policy pre-2011, or the "Go To Travel" campaign during COVID), it becomes a *Mikoshi*. Bureaucrats carry it faithfully. If it leads to disaster, they invoke *Shouganai*. They cannot drop the shrine (that would be insubordination/chaos), and they cannot steer it alone. The "System of Irresponsibility" is the mechanism that allows the shrine to move without a driver.

## 2.3 Apologizing for the 'Atmosphere'

The endurance of this system is visible in the ritual of the corporate or bureaucratic apology. As noted in the research, Japanese leaders often apologize for "causing anxiety to the public" (*seken wo sawagaseta*) or "causing a disturbance," rather than for the specific error or decision.<sup>6</sup>

This is a structural defense mechanism derived from Maruyama's "System." By apologizing for the *disturbance of the Omote* (the public surface/harmony), the leader acknowledges their role as the "Manager of Harmony." However, they implicitly deny responsibility for the *Ura* (the causal decision), often implying that the error was an inevitable result of the "System" or "Atmosphere" (*Kuuki*).

- **The Logic:** "I am responsible for the fact that you are upset (Omote). I am not responsible for the event that upset you (Ura), because that was determined by the System/Consensus."
- **The Conclusion:** *Shouganai*. The event itself was a force majeure of the organization.

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## Chapter 3: The Dramaturgy of the State: Goffman and Lipsky in Kasumigaseki

### 3.1 Street-Level Bureaucracy and the Rationing of Services

While Maruyama explains the "High Politics," Michael Lipsky's theory of *Street-Level Bureaucracy* explains the "Low Politics" where *Shouganai* is most frequently weaponized. Lipsky argues that frontline workers (police, welfare officers, teachers) face a fundamental

conflict: **Infinite Demand vs. Finite Resources.**<sup>10</sup>

In Japan, the street-level bureaucrat (*Madoguchi* official) is theoretically granted discretion, but practically stripped of the "Method" to help.

- **The Situation:** A single mother requests welfare assistance (mandated by Article 25 of the Constitution).
- **The Resource Constraint:** The local municipality has a capped budget and strict internal guidance to reduce caseloads.<sup>10</sup>
- **The Coping Mechanism:** The official uses *Shouganai* to rationalize the denial. They might say, "The regulations require documents X, Y, and Z. You lack Z. *Shouganai*."

Here, the "Lack of Specification" (the missing document) is used as a shield to protect the bureaucrat from the moral weight of the decision. They are not *refusing* help; they are merely pointing out the *absence of the method* to provide it. This "rationing" of services through procedural barriers is a hallmark of a system where demand exceeds the engineered capacity.<sup>11</sup>

### 3.2 Dramaturgy: Front Stage (Omote) vs. Back Stage (Ura)

Erving Goffman's theory of *Dramaturgy*—viewing social interaction as a theatrical performance—maps perfectly onto the Japanese cultural duality of *Omote* (Front/Public) and *Ura* (Back/Private).<sup>13</sup>

- **Front Stage (Omote):** The world of the "Sincere Civil Servant." Here, the script requires the bureaucrat to listen politely, bow, and express deep regret. The "props" are the counters, the forms, and the official stamps (*Hanko*). The "audience" is the citizen.
- **Back Stage (Ura):** The break room or the internal meeting. Here, the bureaucrat drops the mask and admits the structural impossibility of the task. "We have no money for this. Why did the Diet pass this law? *Shouganai*."

The dysfunction arises when the *Omote* performance (promising safety, welfare, or justice) is completely decoupled from the *Ura* reality (lack of resources). The citizen is presented with a pristine "Front Stage" that promises a solution, only to be told that the "Back Stage" machinery is broken.

### 3.3 Role Distance and the Bureaucratic Smile

Goffman's concept of "Role Distance" is the specific mechanism used to deliver the *Shouganai* verdict.<sup>11</sup> Role Distance occurs when an individual plays a role but creates a buffer to show they are not *fully* identified with it.

- **The Interaction:** A bureaucrat enforcing a rigid, nonsensical rule might smile apologetically, use polite language, or even joke about the complexity of the paperwork.
- **The Message:** "I am enforcing this rule because it is my Role. But I (the human)

understand it is absurd. Please do not blame me; blame the Role."

This "Bureaucratic Smile" is the physical embodiment of *Datte Shouganai Janai ka*. It invites the citizen to join the bureaucrat in a shared resignation to the System. "We are both victims of this lack of method," the smile says. It is a tool of social cohesion used to prevent the structural failure from turning into interpersonal conflict.<sup>15</sup>

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## Chapter 4: The Double Bind of Symbolic Legislation

### 4.1 The Legislature as Decorator

A primary driver of the "Lack of Specifications" is the tendency of the Japanese Diet to pass **Symbolic Legislation**. These are laws designed to signal virtue (to the public or the international community) rather than to engineer social change.<sup>10</sup>

- **The Pattern:** The law declares a high ideal (e.g., "Eliminate Hate Speech," "Promote Women's Advancement") but deliberately omits the "Sanction Clause" (*Bassoku*).
- **The Result:** The law is a "sword without a blade." The bureaucrat is handed this sword and told to fight injustice.

### 4.2 Case Study: The LGBT Understanding Act & Power Harassment

- **LGBT Act:** The "Act on Promoting Understanding of Sexual Minorities" passed in 2023 is a prime example. It mandates "understanding" but provides no legal definition of discrimination and no penalties for violators.<sup>19</sup>
  - **The Double Bind:** A municipal official is approached by a same-sex couple denied housing. The official must "uphold the law" (promote understanding) but has **no method** (punitive authority) to force the landlord to rent.
  - **Outcome:** The official visits the landlord, asks for "understanding," gets rejected, and returns to the couple saying, *Shouganai* ("I have no legal method to force them").
- **Power Harassment (Pawahara):** Until 2019, there was no law defining workplace bullying. Even the 2019 revisions introduced a "duty to take measures" but no direct penalties for failure.<sup>20</sup>
  - **The Gap:** The Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (MHLW) receives 80,000+ consultations a year.<sup>20</sup> For decades, labor bureaus could only offer "guidance" (*Gyosei Shido*). If the company ignored the guidance, the "method" ended. The "Power Harassment Gap" is literally a gap in the code—a missing "If-Then" statement in the law (If Harassment -> Then Fine).

### 4.3 The Double Bind of the Welfare State

The "Double Bind" theory (Bateson) describes a situation where a subject receives conflicting commands from a single source.<sup>21</sup>

- **Command A (Constitutional):** "Article 25: All people shall have the right to maintain the minimum standards of wholesome and cultured living."<sup>10</sup>
- **Command B (Fiscal/Administrative):** "Reduce the deficit. Minimize welfare dependency. Screen applicants rigorously."<sup>10</sup>

The welfare case worker is the victim of this Double Bind. They cannot satisfy Article 25 without violating the Fiscal Command. They cannot satisfy the Fiscal Command without violating Article 25.

- **The Escape:** *Shouganai*. The bureaucrat retreats to technicalities ("You have a car, so you are not destitute," "You have family, ask them first" - *Fuyo Gimu*). These technicalities are the only "method" available to resolve the contradiction.<sup>12</sup>

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## Chapter 5: Economic Paralysis and Contractual Incompleteness

### 5.1 Incomplete Contract Theory and Public-Private Failure

The dysfunction extends beyond social issues into the economic machinery of the state, particularly in Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) and Private Finance Initiatives (PFI). Here, **Incomplete Contract Theory** provides the diagnostic tool.<sup>23</sup>

An "incomplete contract" is one where the parties cannot specify all future contingencies. In Japan, the "System of Irresponsibility" leads to contracts that are *intentionally* vague to maintain harmony and avoid confrontational negotiation phases.

- **The BOT vs. BTO Dilemma:** Research by the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) shows that the choice between Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) and Build-Transfer-Operate (BTO) structures fundamentally alters the "method" of risk management.<sup>24</sup>
  - In many Japanese PFIs, the government (Principal) entrusts operations to the private sector (Agent) but fails to specify the "Quality of Service" or "Risk Allocation" in the event of external shocks (e.g., inflation, demographic collapse).
  - **The Consequence:** When a project becomes unprofitable due to unforeseen factors (an "incomplete" part of the contract), there is no mechanism for renegotiation because the bureaucracy fears "collusion" accusations. The project enters a zombie state. The "method" for flexible adjustment is missing.

### 5.2 The Unfunded Mandate: Fiscal Centralization vs. Political Decentralization

A major structural cause of local government "methodlessness" is the **Unfunded Mandate**.<sup>26</sup>

- **The Mechanism:** The Central Government (Diet) passes a law mandating new services

(e.g., vaccination rollout, new childcare standards).

- **The Deficit:** The Central Government does *not* provide the corresponding funding, expecting Local Governments to find the money in their existing grants.

Japan's system is characterized by "Centralized Policy, Decentralized Execution." This creates a massive "Implementation Gap."

- **The Local Reality:** A mayor wants to implement the new childcare standard but lacks the tax base. They cannot raise local taxes easily due to national regulations.
- **The Verdict:** *Shouganai*. "We will implement the policy *in spirit* but we cannot build the facilities." The "Unfunded Mandate" is essentially a command to "Build bricks without straw." It guarantees a "Shouganai" outcome.<sup>27</sup>

Research on 30 OECD countries confirms that the wider the gap between "Political Decentralization" (responsibility) and "Fiscal Decentralization" (budget), the higher the dysfunction and the lower the economic growth.<sup>26</sup> Japan sits deep in this gap.

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## Chapter 6: Case Study - The Daito Flood and the Legalization of Resignation

### 6.1 The River that Was 'Good Enough'

The most damning evidence that *Shouganai* is a structural/legal concept, not a cultural one, is found in the **Daito Flood Litigation** (*Daito Suigai Soshō*) and the Supreme Court's interpretation of the State Redress Act.<sup>30</sup>

- **The Case:** Residents sued the state for damages after a river flooded, arguing that the river management was "defective" (Article 2 of State Redress Law).
- **The Defense:** The state argued that "Budgetary constraints" limited their ability to improve the river.
- **The Ruling (1984):** The Supreme Court ruled in favor of the state. It established the principle that a river is not "defective" if it meets the "**national average level of renovation**" taking into account "**financial and social constraints.**"<sup>30</sup>

### 6.2 The Legal Codification of 'Shouganai'

This ruling effectively *legalized* the concept of *Shouganai*.

- **The Logic:** If the entire nation is equally poorly renovated due to budget cuts, then no single river is "defective." The "standard of safety" is relative to the "method available" (budget).
- **The Implication:** The court explicitly accepted "Lack of Resources" as a valid defense against liability for disaster. The state does not have a duty to provide absolute safety; it



only has a duty to provide "budget-compliant safety."

This creates a perverse incentive. If the Ministry of Finance keeps the budget low for everyone, the "Standard of Safety" drops for everyone, and the state's liability decreases. *Shouganai* is thus written into the case law of the Supreme Court: *If we didn't give you the budget, it's not our fault that you drowned.*

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## Chapter 7: Performative Governance in the Age of Anxiety

### 7.1 Iza Ding and the Performance of Concern

When the state cannot provide the "Method" (Substance), it provides "Performance" (Theater). Political scientist Iza Ding calls this "**Performative Governance**"—the state's use of theatrical displays of benevolence to maintain legitimacy when it lacks the capacity to solve problems.<sup>31</sup>

In Japan, this explains the intense focus on *procedure* over *outcome*.

- **The Theater:** The "Emergency Task Force," the "Panel of Experts," the "Inspection Visit" by the Minister in a blue work uniform.
- **The Function:** These are dramaturgical acts designed to show "The state is *trying*." They address the *emotional* need of the public (to feel cared for) because the *structural* need (to be saved) cannot be met.

### 7.2 The 3.11 Crisis: When Performance Failed

The Great East Japan Earthquake was the moment Performative Governance collapsed. The "Performance" of safety (the myth of the fail-safe nuclear plant) was shattered by the "Reality" of the tsunami.

- **The Cognitive Dissonance:** The public realized that the "Method" for nuclear safety did not exist. It was all "Assumption" (*Sotei*). When the event exceeded the assumption (*Soteigai*), the bureaucracy simply froze.<sup>4</sup>
- **The Double Bind of the Victim:** The victims were told "It is safe to live here" (Omote/Performance) but "Do not drink the water" (Ura/Reality). This contradiction generated profound distrust and anxiety, which the government dismissed as "harmful rumors" (*Fuhyo Higai*).

### 7.3 The Digital Transformation (DX) Crisis: You Cannot Code 'Shouganai'

The ultimate threat to the "System of Irresponsibility" is **Digital Transformation (DX)**.<sup>34</sup>

- **The Conflict:** Computers operate on binary logic (0 or 1). They require explicit specifications. They do not understand "Read the air" or "Compromise."
- **The Failure:** Japan's recent administrative failures (COCOA app, My Number Card) stem from the attempt to digitize the "System of Irresponsibility." The bureaucracy tried to build software without defining the "Methods" (e.g., who is responsible for data errors?).
- **The Result:** "Digital Defeat." You cannot code *Shouganai*. When the code encounters a gap, it crashes. The "Engineering Metaphor" becomes literal: the Social OS is incompatible with Digital Logic because it relies on *human* ambiguity to function.<sup>3</sup>

## Chapter 8: Gap Analysis & Strategic Risk Assessment

### 8.1 Gap Analysis: The Void between "Ho" (Law) and "Jitsumu" (Practice)

The research identifies four critical "Implementation Gaps" where the *Shouganai* mechanism is most active.

Domain	The "Omote" (Symbolic Goal/Law)	The "Ura" (Structural Reality)	The "Shouganai" (Mechanism of Avoidance)	Relevant Snippets
Social Welfare	<b>Article 25:</b> Right to min. living standards.	<b>Fiscal Austerity:</b> Strict budget caps; "Water's Edge" rejection tactics.	"We have no precedent for this case." (Unfunded Mandate)	10
Disaster/Safety	<b>Zero Risk:</b> "Absolute Safety" myth.	<b>Soteigai:</b> Structural impossibility of stopping mega-disasters.	"It was outside our assumptions (Force Majeure)."	4
Labor/Rights	<b>Anti-Harassm</b>	<b>No</b>	"We can only	19

	<b>ent/LGBT Laws:</b> "Promote Understanding ."	<b>Punishment:</b> Lack of "Bassoku" (penalties) or clear definitions.	issue guidance ( <i>gyosei shido</i> ), not orders."	
<b>Digital (DX)</b>	<b>Digital Agency:</b> "User-Centric Service."	<b>Legacy Bureaucracy:</b> Hanko culture; Vertical silos.	"The systems don't talk to each other." (System Error)	3

## 8.2 Risk Assessment: The Collapse of the Buffer

The "Shouganai" mechanism has historically served as a shock absorber, maintaining social stability (Wa) by absorbing structural failures into a narrative of fatalism. However, this buffer is now failing.

### Risk 1: The Crisis of Legitimacy (The Maruyama Risk)

As Maruyama predicted, a system where no one is responsible eventually leads to political apathy or radicalization. The younger generation, facing "Power Harassment" and "Pension Collapse," no longer accepts *Shouganai* as a valid excuse. They view it as negligence. The "Performative Governance" is losing its audience.<sup>6</sup>

### Risk 2: The Fiscal Implosion (The Unfunded Mandate Risk)

As the population ages, the tax base shrinks while the "Mandates" (elderly care, infrastructure repair) grow. The "Implementation Gap" will widen until it becomes a canyon. Local governments will simply cease to function in certain domains, leading to "Service Deserts." The Daito Flood ruling suggests the state will legally wash its hands of this, but the social cost will be catastrophic.<sup>26</sup>

### Risk 3: The Global/Digital Incompatibility

International partners and global investors (Incomplete Contracts in PFI/Trade) do not accept "ambiguity" as a valid legal defense. Japan's inability to provide "clear specifications" for investment rules or digital standards risks isolating it from the global "OS".<sup>34</sup>

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## Chapter 9: Conclusion - Re-Engineering the Social OS

The verification of the thesis is affirmative and robust.

"Datte Shouganai Janai ka" is not a cultural sigh of resignation. It is a Structural Error

Message. It signifies "Lack of Specifications" (Shiyo-ga-nai).

The Japanese administrative system acts as a "System of Irresponsibility" (Maruyama) where "Methods" (Authority/Budget) are systematically withheld from the operators (Bureaucrats) to protect the core (The State) from liability. The bureaucrats navigate this "Double Bind" (Lipsky) through "Dramaturgy" (Goffman)—performing the role of governance while lacking the engineering tools to execute it.

Final Insight:

To fix "Shouganai," one cannot simply "change the mindset" (a cultural fix). One must "change the specs" (a structural fix).

1. **Instrumental Legislation:** Stop passing Symbolic Laws. Every law must contain the "Method" (Budget + Penalty + Agency).
2. **Fiscal Alignment:** End Unfunded Mandates. "Finance must follow Function."
3. **Digital Logic:** Use DX not to digitize the mess, but to force the definition of ambiguity. If it can't be coded, it shouldn't be law.

Unless the "Social OS" is patched to include these missing drivers, the system will remain trapped in the "frozen civil war," endlessly apologizing for the anxiety caused by its own lack of method.

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## Literature List & Source Verification

- **Maruyama Masao:** *Theory of the System of Irresponsibility / Ultrationalism*.<sup>6</sup>
- **Erving Goffman:** *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Dramaturgy, Role Distance).<sup>11</sup>
- **Michael Lipsky:** *Street-Level Bureaucracy* (Implied via <sup>11</sup> & Context).
- **Nils Brunsson:** *The Organization of Hypocrisy*.<sup>40</sup>
- **Iza Ding:** *The Performative State*.<sup>31</sup>
- **Hart & Moore / Aghion:** *Incomplete Contract Theory*.<sup>23</sup>
- **Legal Cases:** *Daito Flood Litigation (State Redress Act)*.<sup>30</sup>
- **Disaster Studies:** *3.11 Risk Perception*.<sup>4</sup>
- **Administrative Data:** *Unfunded Mandates* <sup>26</sup>; *Implementation Gaps*.<sup>36</sup>

(End of Report)

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