

令和 3 年 6 月 1 日現在

機関番号：12601

研究種目：基盤研究(B)（一般）

研究期間：2017～2020

課題番号：17H02478

研究課題名（和文）有権者の認知と政策のマルチメソッド研究：デフレーションの政治経済学

研究課題名（英文）The Political Economy of Deflation: Prices, Public Opinion, and Governance

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交付決定額（研究期間全体）：（直接経費） 13,500,000円

研究成果の概要（和文）：日本政府はデフレ脱却を経済政策の要としているが、物価上昇は有権者の支持を得られない可能性があり、政治的にはリスクが高い。本研究では、過去の世論調査データを用いて、実質的な物価上昇が有権者の経済状況に対する認識にマイナスの影響を与え、それが内閣支持率にもマイナスの影響を与えることを示した。さらに、主観的な経済認識は、回答者の党派性にかかわらず、GDPデータなどの公式発表に影響されることを世論調査実験で明らかにした。また、COVID-19が「買いため」のような経済行動にどのような影響を与えるかを独自の調査で検証した。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

民主主義政府は世論に耳を傾ける必要があるが、その結果、長期的には社会経済的利益を生むが短期的には有権者の批判を受ける政策の実施を躊躇する恐れがある。例えば、インフレ予想は民間消費を刺激し、企業投資を活性化させるが、有権者は物価上昇を嫌う傾向がある。本プロジェクトでは、既存の調査データや独自の世論調査実験を用いて、国民が主観的に経済をどのように捉え、経済政策の目標をどのように評価しているのかを検証し、なぜ政府は長期的な繁栄をもたらす政策を必ずしも優先しないかを明らかにする。

研究成果の概要（英文）：The Japanese government has made overcoming deflation a cornerstone of its economic policies, but price increases may not be popular with voters, making such policies politically risky. Using historical public opinion data, we showed that real price increases negatively affect voters' perceptions of the state of the economy, which in turn also negatively impact cabinet approval rates. In addition, we designed survey experiments to show that subjective perceptions of the economy are influenced by economic news, such as the release of official GDP data, regardless of respondents' partisanship. We also examined how COVID-19 altered citizens' economic behaviors through original surveys.

研究分野：政治学

キーワード：デフレーション 経済認識 政党支持 政府業績評価 コロナ政策 憲法改正

1. 研究開始当初の背景

There is considerable evidence that a government's macroeconomic competence, particularly with respect to inflation, unemployment, and GDP growth, strongly influences individuals' voting behavior. However, there are numerous cases where voters support policies that are at odds with their self-interest. At the same time, it is not clear whether experts' evaluations of macroeconomic performance are shared by regular citizens. For example, many macroeconomists problematize persistent deflation, but voters dislike its opposite—inflation—because it erodes purchasing power and investment returns. Even if macroeconomists are correct, government decision-makers are forced to make a tradeoff between the long-term health of the economy and the short-term preferences of voters. This strategic dilemma is of crucial importance to fundamental questions in political science and economics, but to understand how governments resolve these competing goals, we require further research on how voters subjectively perceive the economy and attribute responsibility for its causes and consequences.

2. 研究の目的

(1) Overcoming deflation has been the cornerstone of Japanese economic policy since the late 1990s, and economic growth is in the interest of the entire nation. However, voters may be more sensitive to the immediate effects of price increases on their daily lives than to the collective, long-term benefits of such policies. This study extends existing research on the relationship between macroeconomic indicators and government approval by examining 1) the determinants of voters' subjective evaluations of the economy; 2) when voters credit or blame the government for economic trends.

(2) While macroeconomic competence is a major component of government approval, voter sentiment is also influenced by ideological policy issues. One such topic is constitutional revision, which is strongly supported by conservative political parties and actors but equally opposed by progressives. By analyzing whether legislators and voters differ in their prioritization of constitutional amendment over socioeconomic issues, we examine the strategic flexibility of governments to change the policy agenda and influence public opinion.

(3) This project also examines the impact of COVID-19 on Japanese citizens' economic and political preferences. While the long-term effects of the pandemic will require further study, we conduct original surveys to explore how individuals' social distancing and consumption behavior changed in the early phases of the infection spread.

3. 研究の方法

(1) Our analysis regarding citizens' subjective perceptions of economic performance is based on an original database of individual-level public opinion, which draws on survey data from Jiji Press from 1976 to 2016. We examine the sensitivity of attitudes towards economic well-being and inflation expectations to real macroeconomic trends, paying particular attention to business cycle effects and generational cohort differences. We also conduct original survey experiments, timed around the release of quarterly GDP data, to examine how news about macroeconomic trends influence voter assessments of the economy.

(2) We examine the relative importance of economic performance versus ideological cleavage issues using data from the University of Tokyo-Asahi Survey (UTAS). This dataset includes preferences towards diverse policy issues among both election candidates and eligible voters. We compare the relative

salience of performance versus ideology among candidates and voters who self-identify as “moderates” versus “extremists”.

(3) Finally, we conducted original surveys relating to COVID-19 and economic behavior. We examine individuals’ tendencies to engage in excessive consumption, whereby people purchase commodities they expect to be in short supply, such as toilet paper and face masks.

4 . 研究成果

Our research has yielded refereed publications and presentations at international conferences relating to all three research topics.

(1) Using public opinion data, we identify the sensitivity of citizens’ subjective evaluations of the economy to objective macroeconomic trends. We apply recent innovations in disaggregating Age-Period-Cohort (APC) components of public opinion. Our primary interest is in the “cohort” dimension: citizens who were born and raised during economic booms or recessions may have persistent beliefs about the economy that are resilient to short-term, or “period”, trends. At the same time, individuals who support the governing party may perceive the economy more optimistically than those who support opposition parties. In presentations at annual meetings of three international conferences (1, 2), we show that birth year and partisanship have important interactive effects. Older generations are more pessimistic about the overall state of the economy than younger generations, and this trend is particularly pronounced for opposition party supporters. However, the pattern is reversed for evaluations of individual economic well-being. Among both LDP and opposition party supporters, younger cohorts see their individual economic circumstances more negatively. Our analyses demonstrate that citizens vary in their sensitivity to market signals, which in turn suggests that government policies that aim to stimulate demand and reverse deflation may have weaker effects than predicted by economy theory.

We also conduct multinational survey experiments that test the causal relationship between economic trends and individuals’ subjective evaluations. Results were presented at domestic conferences (3, 4). Papers based on these presentations are currently being prepared for submission to peer-reviewed international political science journals.

(2) We examine the relative weight that citizens place on the government’s economic competence versus ideological policies. This research has yielded two publications in peer-reviewed, international journals and one book chapter in an edited volume. First, we demonstrate an important gap between the preferences of “elites” and the “masses”. Politicians have stronger preferences (either agree or disagree) about constitutional amendment than do voters (5). Citizens who are ideologically extreme (very conservative or very progressive) are also likely to prioritize constitutional issues in their vote choice. However, ideological moderates, who comprise most of the population, care more about socioeconomic topics, such as economic growth and employment prospects. Second, we design a survey experiment to examine the importance of partisan signals in shaping opinion towards constitutional reform (6). We show that voters, particularly non-partisans, are more likely to support constitutional amendments when they are told these are proposed by a neutral panel of experts, rather than by the governing party. Third, we find that context matters. Voters are more likely to support amendments to Article 9 when they are shown information that stimulates geopolitical concerns, such as a weakening in America’s security commitment or the growing power of China (7).

(3) The COVID-19 pandemic has caused significant harm to economic well-being, social relationships, and physical and mental health. While many countries have imposed strict lockdowns and legal sanctions to impose social distancing and other protective behaviors, Japan is an important outlier because the

government has largely relied on non-mandatory requests to contain infection spread. We conducted a series of survey experiments to identify how COVID-19 and related government policies have altered people's behavior. In (8), we argue that social distancing is a public good that is likely to be under-supplied in the absence of external enforcement. However, social norms and prosocial attitudes can make up the difference. Individuals who are altruistic and/or sensitive to public shaming are more likely to engage in social distancing. In (9), we look at the effect of social networking services (SNS) on economic behavior and find that social media has both positive and negative effects. Regular users of SNS are more likely to take up recommendations of the government, such as wearing facemasks, but they are also more likely to engage in non-recommended behavior, such as hoarding toilet paper. These variations in individual responses to government recommendations point to the importance of tailoring public policy messages to different sub-populations.

- (1) Kenneth McElwain, Tomoko Matsumoto, Junko Kato, Kensuke Okada. "Generational Differences in Economic Perceptions: Postwar Japan in Historical Context." Presented at: 2018 International Political Science Association Meeting; 2017 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting; 2017 European Political Science Association.
- (2) Kenneth McElwain, Tomoko Matsumoto, Junko Kato. "Why Do Government Deficits Prevail? A Survey Experiment on Budget Making." Presented at the 2018 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting
- (3) 松本朋子「再分配政策に対する有権者の態度 米英日瑞の多国間サーヴェイ」日本国際政治学会 2020 年度研究大会
- (4) 松本朋子、岡田謙介、加藤淳子「福祉給付と税負担に対する有権者の態度-米英日スウェーデンのサーヴェイ実験」日本比較政治学会第 23 回大会 (2020)
- (5) McElwain, Kenneth Mori. 2020. "When candidates are more polarised than voters: constitutional revision in Japan." *European Political Science* 19:528-539.
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- (7) McElwain, Kenneth Mori. 2020. "The Perils and Virtues of Constitutional Flexibility: Japan's Constitution and the Liberal International Order." In *The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism: Japan and the World Order*, edited by Yoichi Funabashi and John Ikenberry, 303-323. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.
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- (9) Cato, Susumu, Takashi Iida, Kenji Ishida, Asei Ito, Hiroto Katsumata, Kenneth Mori McElwain, and Masahiro Shoji. 2021. "The bright and dark sides of social media usage during the COVID-19 pandemic: Survey evidence from Japan." *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 54:102034.

5. 主な発表論文等

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1. 著者名 Cato Susumu, Iida Takashi, Ishida Kenji, Ito Asei, Katsumata Hiroto, McElwain Kenneth Mori, Shoji Masahiro	4. 巻 54
2. 論文標題 The bright and dark sides of social media usage during the COVID-19 pandemic: Survey evidence from Japan	5. 発行年 2021年
3. 雑誌名 International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction	6. 最初と最後の頁 102034 ~ 102034
掲載論文のDOI (デジタルオブジェクト識別子) 10.1016/j.ijdrr.2020.102034	査読の有無 有
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1. 著者名 McElwain Kenneth Mori	4. 巻 19
2. 論文標題 When candidates are more polarised than voters: constitutional revision in Japan	5. 発行年 2020年
3. 雑誌名 European Political Science	6. 最初と最後の頁 528 ~ 539
掲載論文のDOI (デジタルオブジェクト識別子) 10.1057/s41304-020-00270-1	査読の有無 有
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2. 論文標題 Social distancing as a public good under the COVID-19 pandemic	5. 発行年 2020年
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4. 発表年 2018年

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〔図書〕 計0件

〔産業財産権〕

〔その他〕

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6. 研究組織

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7. 科研費を使用して開催した国際研究集会

〔国際研究集会〕 計0件

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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