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研究課題名(和文) A Cross-National Analysis of Regional Strongholds for Statewide Parties

研究課題名(英文) A Cross-National Analysis of Regional Strongholds for Statewide Parties

研究代表者

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研究成果の概要(和文)：小選挙区制度の導入により、政党間の競争の「全国化」= nationalization(地域間や選挙区間の得票率や選挙間のスイングの均一化)が進むと想定されてきた。日本の政党と政党システムの「全国化」を複数の指標を用いて試算し、選挙制度改革前後に分析した結果、小選挙区における「全国化」は限定的であることを示した。また、継続的に一党が独占・優位に立つ「牙城」的地域= strongholdを測る指標を作成し日本の政党のstrongholdの規模と推移を測った結果、1994年以降、これら牙城の数や規模は増加していることを確認した。また、他国との比較から日本の政党勢力の地域的偏りの特殊性や背景を示した。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

Territorially unbalanced partisan support and entrenched strongholds in Japan's party system highlight the challenges of generating competitive elections across differing regions and districts, necessary for improving accountability and responsiveness for all voters, regardless of where they live.

研究成果の概要(英文)： The project investigated the extent to which Japan's partisan competition has become "nationalized" (homogenizing of partisan support and swings across districts) and the extent to which partisan strongholds (regions or districts dominated by one party) have changed, since electoral reform in 1994 and compared to other majoritarian systems.

The project found that Japan's party system since 1994 has not become more nationalized as measured by different indicators (static, dynamic, and multilevel, etc.) as some previous studies claimed. In addition, there has been a greater number of regions and districts that are less competitive over multiple elections, forming extensive partisan strongholds.

Japan's nationalization and stronghold levels were compared with other majoritarian systems. We found that Japan's lopsided partisan competition was unique in that only one of the two major national parties in Japan sustained such extensive strongholds.

研究分野：Political science

キーワード：Nationalization Party systems Electoral reform Multilevel Strongholds

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1. 研究開始当初の背景

- 1) As a result of adopting a mixed member majoritarian electoral system in 1994, numerous observers (McElwain 2012, Reed, Scheiner, and Thies 2012, e.g.) suggested that Japanese elections, parties and its party system were becoming more “nationalized” – i.e. partisan support was becoming more geographically homogeneous across districts and regions. Three general elections since 2012, the nationalization of Japanese party competition appeared limited and clear differences in the competitiveness and rootedness of Japan's major parties across territories are still evident.
- 2) Theorizing and empirical research on the nationalization of party competition in Japan was incomplete, particularly in terms of generating and analyzing comparative indicators which measure the persistence of geographic partisan strongholds. Barriers to party nationalization and territorial competitiveness had not been investigated from a comparative perspective, especially in terms of institutional factors (electoral, executive, local government systems).

2. 研究の目的

- 1) In order to analyze territorial elements persist in party competition, the project generated various nationalization indicators (static, dynamic, multilevel, coverage, and competitiveness) to be able to compare Japan temporally (pre- and post-electoral reform) and against other countries. It also aimed to create an index that can measure the extent of "regional strongholds" for statewide parties and use this index to make a comprehensive "map" of where and when such strongholds exist for major parties in selected unitary states.
- 2) The second goal was more analytical and qualitative. Having identified these levels of nationalization and extent of strongholds, the project sought to undertake focused comparisons of cases in which regional strongholds were challenged, defended and/or lost. The project aimed to investigate how regional strongholds were targeted by opposition parties, particularly in campaigning strategy.

3. 研究の方法

- 1) To measure levels of party and party system nationalization in Japan during periods of pre- and post-electoral reform, I collected Japanese electoral data to generate various indicators measuring static, dynamic, and multilevel nationalization. Standard comparative indicators for party nationalization scores, weighted and standardized (Morgenstern 2017, Schakel 2012, Boschler 2010, Jones and Mainwaring 2003, e.g.) were used to calculate nationalization scores for Japan's Lower House Elections (1958-2017) and prefectural assembly elections (2007-2019). These were used to compare Japan's nationalization levels before and after electoral reform as well as cross-nationally.
- 2) Referencing existing literature, I developed an index for estimating regional-level strongholds looking at the highest subnational tier. For countries with majoritarian rules, regions/prefectures/provinces in which parties captured, 70%, 80%, or 90% seat/vote shares over more than 3 electoral cycles were categorized as moderate, strong, and super “strongholds”. For countries with proportional rules, I calculated the counties in which statewide parties had the highest vote share over several electoral cycles, categorizing the top 3 counties as these parties' “strongholds”. These regional strongholds were visualized through maps. In Japan's case, I also measured the extent of district-level strongholds by calculating numbers of consecutive wins by the same party, average vote and seat shares, as well as competitiveness of districts (Sekihairitsu) over time for both pre- and post- electoral reform periods.
- 3) To analyze how campaigning differs between strongholds and more competitive regions/districts in Japan, I collected campaigning data (mainly candidate manifestos) for stronghold prefectures in Japan (Shimane, Toyama, Ishikawa, e.g.) and more competitive regions (Osaka, Tokyo, Okinawa, e.g.). These manifesto data were coded for reference to national and local issues, among other things.

4 . 研究成果

- 1) Looking at the majoritarian tier for the Lower House elections, the Japanese party system has not become more nationalized. Indicators measuring party nationalization (static, dynamic, and multilevel) as well as competitiveness and coverage (number of contested districts) covering the period 1958-2017 demonstrate that Japan's partisan support and competition has not become more homogeneous across territories since electoral reform. [To take one indicator, the standardized party nationalization score (PSNS) averaged at 0.79 and the mean standard deviation (MSD) of vote shares for parties across districts averaged at 5.6 during the pre-electoral reform period (1967-1993). The PSNS fell for the majoritarian tier to a mean of 0.66, while the MSD rose to a mean of 8.99 during the post-electoral reform period (1996-2017), suggesting decreased levels of static nationalization (although these indicators point to increased static nationalization levels when looking exclusively at the PR tier).]
- 2) Looking at the majoritarian tier for the Lower House elections, the extent of Japanese regional strongholds (regions in which one party captures over 70 per cent of vote/seat share over several electoral cycles) have increased. [The proportion of prefectures where one party captured over 70, 80, 90, or 100 per cent of seats in the pre-reform period was respectively 21, 9, 0, and 0 per cent; this proportion of stronghold regions increases respectively to 15, 12, 1, and 28 per cent in the post-reform period.] In addition, reduced competitiveness at district level were observed for these strongholds in national and prefectural elections in the post-1994 period. The extent of partisan strongholds where the one party fully dominates all seats in a particular region or continues to consecutively and exclusively win seats in one district has increased in the post-electoral reform period, suggesting reduced competitiveness and lopsided territorial competition..
- 3) Comparatively, Japan's nationalization levels (the PSNS for Japan's majoritarian tier in 2017 is at 0.58,) are as low as fully majoritarian (e.g., the UK's PSNS in 2017 is 0.67) or highly federalized states (e.g. Canada's PSNS in 2015 is 0.7); The lopsided competition is particularly unique in Japan as only one of its two major parties has a durable geographic base, unlike in other majoritarian states where the two major parties hold their own strongholds, allowing for regrouping and recovery during volatile "wave" elections.
- 4) Japan's "unbalanced" nationalization and entrenched strongholds result from a combination of electoral rules at national level which fragments the opposition, historical legacy (a network of local assembly members in SNTV era), and multilevel depth (continued dominance of LDP in local elections) which advantages the LDP. Although lopsided competition is a common feature of majoritarian electoral systems (static nationalization is low, leading to "unbalanced" territorial competition in the UK, US, Canada e.g.) These features are unique to Japan compared to other unitary, parliamentary states with bipartisan competition.
- 5) As analyzed through candidate manifestos, electoral competition differs between strongholds and non-strongholds in terms of the electoral strategies (such as candidates referencing links to national or local candidates) and types of campaigning promises (programmatic, clientelistic, or identity). Candidates, depending on whether they are from the dominant or opposition party, in strongholds or non-strongholds, engaged in different degrees of "nationalizing" or "localizing" their campaigns.

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掲載論文のDOI（デジタルオブジェクト識別子） 10.1080/09555803.2019.1646784	査読の有無 有
オープンアクセス オープンアクセスではない、又はオープンアクセスが困難	国際共著 該当する

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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

	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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