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研究課題名 アラブ立憲君主制政治の持続可能性:ポピュリズム台頭の考察から

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研究成果の概要:本研究はポピュリズム台頭の考察から、クウェートにおけるセミ・デモクラシーが政治基盤にもたらす影響を明らかにすることを目指した。ポピュリズム派生について、政治参加の変化を政治システムと構造からの検討を試みた。サバーフ家レジームが、多数存在する反対勢力の勢いをコントロールするために近年行った選挙区と投票数の改定より、逆に反対勢力同士のアライアンスを進めることとなり、その共有アジェンダとしてポピュリズムが台頭した。既存する構造的機会不均等のバランスをとる従来の国民議会という民主的な場を通して、非民主主義的なプラクティスが両方向から行われることが、政治基盤に影響を与えていることが明らかとなった。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義 民主主義への移行期におけるレジームでのポピュリズムに関する研究は多くなく、民主主義とポピュリズムの関係についてもいくつか先行研究があるもののその関係性は曖昧であるとされる。その中、(移行期ではないが)特にセミ・デアリクラシーであるクウェートの事例を介して検討の表面を表面を表面である。また、タワロウェ 行にというアングーとのなりウェートの事例を介して検討することに思義があると考える。よん、ラロコロナ禍により現地での調査と情報収集ができなかったため、当初の計画を変更し関連するデータの収集と経年的変化や関係性を見ることを試みた。当該地域での信頼できるデータの収集は困難であり、欠損しているものも収集方法についても課題は残るが、今後も取り組むとともに分析の方法も検討していきたいと考える。

研究分野: 政治学(比較政治学、国際関係)

キーワード: クウェート、民主化、比較政治学

## 1.研究の目的

This study aimed to explain changes in political environment in Kuwait over time by examining the rise of populism, its causal mechanism, and its implications to the current political system. The relationship between populism and liberal democracy is vague; by observing the rise of populism in semi-democracy, not necessary in transition, can contribute to the conceptualization of liberal democracy and democratization in the field of comparative politics.

The rise of populism has been seen around the world recently. Kuwait is no exception and has seemed to experience the rise of populism over some time. In the case of Kuwait, populists have dominated parliament and their demands debilitate function of the government and weakens the governance of the State. The Kuwaiti political system is one explanation of this phenomenon; institutional design itself creates a bipolar environment between ruling elites and others. 50 members of parliament are elected by the people; however the Prime Minister is appointed by the Emir and 15 ministers are appointed by the Prime Minister. This system generates bipolar division between ruling family and elites, and representatives of "the people". Another explanation is class politics over distribution of rent revenue. The class politics derived from traditional social cleavages that have existed in Kuwaiti society (hadher and bedu, Sunni and Shiite, ruling family, merchants, tribes, gender, age, etc.) and modern socioeconomic structure built upon the cleavages. However, institutional design and social structure haven't changed since the inception of Kuwaiti parliament; therefore those points lacks to explain the changes over time in representation and participation.

### 2. 研究成果

First of all, the study undertook the definition of populism by reviewing the body of literature then applied the definition to clarify the scope of the study. There is no general agreement on what populism is and how it is defined among scholars because of its ever-changing nature. Nevertheless, it is widely understood between two; a discourse (Hawkins 2009) and political strategy (Weyland 2001, 2017) or ideology (Mudde 2004). The ideational approach based on the antagonistic relationship between homogenous people and "the elites", and the premises that there is "the general will" which consists of the interests of "the people" (Mudde 2004, 2018). The objective of study is to identify the mechanism in which populism has risen, so the study has considered a discourse and political strategy approach.

Second, the measurement of populism was considered. There are several ways to measure the phenomena; content analysis (traditional, computerized), text analysis, expert's interview, citizen survey, categorization, holistic grading designed by education psychologists, data collected from previous literatures, and so on. Many studies are based on case studies from South America, Europe, and Asian experiences, unit of analysis was political speeches, election manifesto, and other types of communication by political leaders or parties (Roodujin&Pauwels, 2011; Hawkins et al. 2009; Meijers&Zaslove, 2021; Akkerman et al., 2014 etc). Since Kuwaiti constitution limits political parties and political leaders are appointed by the ruling family, the range of observation must be precisely designated in order to further clarify scope of the study.

Third, given the definition and approaches based on literature review, the study identified who are "the people" and in what unit of community they are in by analyzing local political context. Upon restoration of parliament in 1990s, a group of forces refer themselves as "popular" faction (Sha'abyyah) emerged. They are not engaged to a clear ideology such as leftist, liberal, or Islamist. Their political strategy is rejection of the government's economic liberalization and privatization. Sha'abyyah consists of members of 1986 parliament who are based in urban area, and strategically placing candidates from the peripheral tribal areas.

Finally, The study, then organized events in chronological order to identify the independent variables which accelerated their expansion since 2000s; environmental factors from revival of parliament in 1990s, reorganization of electoral constituencies, formation of alliance through popular agenda, and consolidation of force. The study found combination of those events precipitated the rise of populism in Kuwait. The outcome of the study is presented at the Japan Association of Middle Eastern Studies conference in 2020, 23nd Exeter Gulf Conference in 2022 (co-authored), and will be presented at Middle Eastern Studies Conference in 2022 (co-authored). The future direction of the study is to triangulate the outcome of qualitative study by collecting data from previous parliament sessions (number and contents of interpellations etc) and communications to the public then test simple text analysis.

# 主な発表論文等

〔雑誌論文〕 計0件

[「学会発表] 計3件(うち招待講演 0件/うち国際学会 2件)	
1.発表者名 Kaori Mita	
Table Milita	
2.発表標題  Pice of Populion in Kuwait: Observation of Kuwaiti Democracy	
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