

令和 6 年 6 月 9 日現在

機関番号：37105

研究種目：基盤研究(C)（一般）

研究期間：2020～2023

課題番号：20K00120

研究課題名（和文）Resurrection, Revolution or Reclamation Project? Conservatism in the Age of Identity Politics

研究課題名（英文）Resurrection, Revolution or Reclamation Project? Conservatism in the Age of Identity Politics

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交付決定額（研究期間全体）：（直接経費） 900,000円

研究成果の概要（和文）：本研究の主な目標はアイデンティティ政治の時代とその以前における保守主義の発展を検証して行くのである。右傾化が進んできたと言われている中で1）冷戦時代と比べると、知識人と保守政党との距離が大きくなり、2）社会民主主義を批判し続けている米英の保守主義知識人と異なり、日本の知識人は、自民党が採用していた新自由主義を強く批判しそれに対抗する立論を展開していた。その一方、歴史的継続性、慎重な改革、非人工的制度としての伝統という概念は米英独との共通点となっている。上記の研究成果をまとめた9万ワードの原稿を2023年末に完成し米大学出版社に提出した。2024年6月の現在、査読の結果を待っているところである。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

This study's significance rests in its analysis of conservatism in the age of identity politics. It has demonstrated that conservatism has not necessarily changed, but rather adjusted to postwar-Cold War realities, e.g., by opposing neoliberalism. This helps us understand new ideological cleavages.

研究成果の概要（英文）：Conservative identity politics have become a significant feature in contemporary politics and society. Against the backdrop of ongoing polarization, it may seem that conservatism has radicalized. This may be true for certain conservative elements, but at the same time, rifts between intellectual and political center-right forces have arguably increased. This has manifested itself in growing criticism of neoliberal policies, which have long been considered part of the conservative coalition. While mainstream conservative intellectuals in the US or UK have continued attacking social democratic policies, many of their Japanese equivalents have seen neoliberalism as a greater threat, and produced counterarguments, in line with Mannheim's definition of conservatism.

The goal of this research project was to produce a book manuscript detailing these developments. This manuscript has been completed and is currently under review at a university press.

研究分野：政治思想史

キーワード：日本政治史 政治思想史

1 . 研究開始当初の背景

The backdrop to this research project has been what some have referred to as a hard right shift within the conservative establishments of advanced democracies. Right-wing identity politics had become so influential as to lead the British Conservative Party to embrace BREXIT and many Republicans elect Donald Trump in 2016 and back him ever since. In Japan too, criticisms of a “drift to the right” have been heard during the past two decades. This led to the questions of 1) whether conservative discourse had changed radically in becoming in favor of radical change and 2) whether there were precursors to these developments and how these could be explained.

2 . 研究の目的

The goal of this research is to trace recent developments in conservative elite discourse in Japan, the US, the UK, examining commonalities, differences and trends and locating links to identity politics:

How have these elites (conservative intellectuals and political parties) viewed globalization and diverse societies, and how have they reacted to these changes?

What are the commonalities and differences to older conservative discourse? Can we find potential similarities between the conservatism of the three countries?

3 . 研究の方法

This research has relied on a large collection of primary and secondary sources on Japanese, British and American conservatism. These include party election platforms, writings on center-right parties, conservative elites and thought, as well as books and articles by representative conservative intellectuals.

These sources have been analyzed within theoretical frameworks prepared by Karl Mannheim (1986) and Michael Freeden (1996), which treat conservatism as a political tradition capable of adjusting to different ideological opponents, by reconfiguring its core concepts to build sophisticated counter arguments.

4 . 研究成果

The goal of this project has been compiling the findings and preparing a book manuscript to be submitted to a university press. I have completed the manuscript in late 2023 and hence submitted said manuscript totaling 90,000 words to the book publisher for review. As of early June 2024, I’m still waiting for the results of the review process.

This research has shown an arguably growing gap between situational conservatism espoused by center-right parties like the LDP and the conservatism of intellectuals. While there have always been tensions between the two, they seem to have increased over the past decades. As the LDP adopted neoliberal policies, many conservative intellectuals have become critical of the party’s positions. In fact, for a time, neoliberalism became the main ideological challenger of conservatism in Japan. Meanwhile, mainstream conservative intellectuals in the West, were more focused on their ideological battles with social democracy.

That being said, the critique of neoliberalism among conservative elites (at least amongst intellectuals) has increased in all three countries. There are further similarities, though, as Japanese and American and British conservatives are critical of multiculturalism and feminism.

What is more, their arguments based on controlling change and extra human origins of society are often similar, even though their opponents may vary slightly.

It also shows that despite conservatism’s critiques of postwar democracy, it

has traditionally kept its distance from right-wing populism. At the same time, said right-wing populism can also tap into certain conservative concepts to argue for radical change in the age of identity politics.

5. 主な発表論文等

〔雑誌論文〕 計0件

〔学会発表〕 計1件（うち招待講演 1件 / うち国際学会 0件）

1. 発表者名 Chris Winkler
2. 発表標題 Contemplating Conservatism in Postwar Japanese History
3. 学会等名 Rethinking Postwar Politics（東北大学にて）（招待講演）
4. 発表年 2023年

〔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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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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