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研究課題名(和文) Explaining Media Freedom Decline in Democracies

研究課題名(英文) Explaining Media Freedom Decline in Democracies

研究代表者

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交付決定額(研究期間全体)：(直接経費) 3,400,000円

研究成果の概要(和文)：本研究では、民主主義国家でのメディアの自由度の低下に着目した。トートロジーに陥るのを回避するために、本研究では民主主義を構成する諸要素とメディアの自由度を区別し、概念化・操作化した。通常、民主主義国家における報道の自由は、執政府への権力集中を抑制し、立法府や執政府の独立性を促進する。本研究では、報道の自由への制限は、政府機関の独立性や民主的アカウンタビリティを構成する諸要素を逐次的に低下させると指摘する。本研究から以下が明らかとなった。メディアの自由度が低下すると、選挙不正が増加し、執政府の権力への制約が低下する。また、メディア自由度の低下は民主的アカウンタビリティを侵食する持続的効果をもつ。

研究成果の学術的意義や社会的意義

This project contributes to the growing scholarly literature on democratic backsliding. Journalists, policymakers and citizens also worry about the state of democracy in their countries and around the world. This research advances our understanding of the process by which democracy deteriorates.

研究成果の概要(英文)：This research project focused on declines in the level of media freedom in democratic countries. The research conceptually and empirically distinguished media freedom from other aspects of democracy to avoid making tautological arguments. Ideally, in democracies, the media reinforce independent judiciaries and legislatures against executive overreach. However, this research project argues that the decline of press freedom leads to a reduction in the independence of these government institutions and a decline in other aspects of democratic accountability. The findings demonstrate that declines in press freedom precede increases in electoral manipulation and decreases in institutional checks on executive power. The project also finds that changes in media freedom have lasting effects on democratic accountability over the long-run.

研究分野：Political Science

キーワード：comparative politics media freedom democracy democratic backsliding accountability

1 . 研究開始当初の背景

Background of Research. Although it is often assumed that democracy implies free and independent media, this research project challenged this conventional wisdom by describing and explaining declines in media freedom that occurred in countries deemed to be democratic by various well-known indicators. While this project grew out of research on democratic Latin America, which is the area of the PI's regional expertise, the empirical scope of this research project included democracies around the world. Media watchdog organizations and academic databases have identified sharp declines in the freedom of the media in Hungary, Poland and India, for example, but also smaller declines in the United States of America and Japan, among other countries.

As this project progressed, the research focus expanded to declines in the quality of democracy overall, thereby contributing to a growing body of research on democratic backsliding. One of the most noted challenges in confronting democratic backsliding is being able to identify when it is occurring because democratically elected leaders take subtle and incremental actions which they justify within a democratic framework. Cumulatively, however, these actions damage democracy. By empirically examining the relationship between media freedom and democracy in a dynamic panel data analysis, this research project demonstrated that media freedom declines should be seen as red flags that raise concerns that further declines in democracy are likely to follow.

2 . 研究の目的

Purpose of Research. The objective of this research project was to examine the causes and consequences of media freedom decline in democracies, thereby challenging previous research that tended to assume democracy protects the freedom and independence of the media. Building upon the PI's previous co-authored research,¹ one purpose of this project was to examine how political institutions, particularly party systems, constrain or facilitate executive-led attacks on the media's freedom and independence. An additional purpose was to theorize why some executives act against the media, while other executives accept media as an essential component of liberal democracy. Towards this second purpose, the PI and her co-author developed the argument that executives who seek to concentrate power will limit media freedom and independence because doing so facilitates other actions they wish to take to limit their own accountability. Given this reasoning, the researchers came to the realization that media freedom declines contribute to, and foreshadow, subsequent declines in

¹ Kellam and Stein. 2016. "Silencing Critics: When and How Presidents Restrict Media Freedom in Democracies." *Comparative Political Studies* 49(1): 36-77.

democratic accountability. Thus, as a final purpose of this research, they examine the role of media freedom declines in the process of democratic backsliding. To be able to analyze the relationship between media freedom and democracy, this project had to empirically separate the two concepts. Thus, an additional objective of this research project was to assess common measurements of democracy in relation to media freedom and independence.

3 . 研究の方法

Research Methods. This research project followed scientific methods. The theoretical arguments were rigorously tested using statistical methods appropriate for dynamic panel data. The project compiled a global dataset of democracies covering the period from 1996 to 2016. Data for the project came from various publicly available sources, including Freedom House and the Varieties of Democracy Institute, among others.

For the dissemination of preliminary research findings and feedback on research-in-progress, the PI hosted a symposium at Waseda University on “Democracy in Latin America: Presidents, Legislatures and Elections.” The symposium brought together leading scholars from Latin America, the USA, and Japan to discuss the quality of accountability and representation in Latin America.

4 . 研究成果

Results. The research resulted in several key findings:

- Democratic backsliding is pervasive in Latin America, particularly so under populist presidents.
- Among democracies worldwide, declines in media freedom precede increases in electoral manipulation and decreases in institutional checks on executive power.
- Among democracies worldwide, changes in the level of media freedom have lasting effects on vertical and horizontal accountability, and thus democracy, over the long run.

5. 主な発表論文等

〔雑誌論文〕 計2件（うち査読付論文 0件/うち国際共著 1件/うちオープンアクセス 1件）

1. 著者名 Marisa KELLAM	4. 巻 57(4)
2. 論文標題 Book Review of Citizenship and Contemporary Direct Democracy by David Altman, Cambridge University Press, 2019.	5. 発行年 2019年
3. 雑誌名 The Developing Economies	6. 最初と最後の頁 374-377
掲載論文のDOI（デジタルオブジェクト識別子） 10.1111/deve.12219	査読の有無 無
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1. 著者名 Marisa KELLAM	4. 巻 28(2)
2. 論文標題 Media Freedom Decline in Democracies: Lessons from Latin America	5. 発行年 2018年
3. 雑誌名 CP: Newsletter of the Comparative Politics Organized Section of the American Political Science Association	6. 最初と最後の頁 44-49
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〔学会発表〕 計7件（うち招待講演 2件/うち国際学会 5件）

1. 発表者名 Marisa KELLAM
2. 発表標題 Can Democracy Survive without Media Freedom?
3. 学会等名 Waseda-Irvine Conference on Political Economy（招待講演）
4. 発表年 2018年

1. 発表者名 Marisa KELLAM
2. 発表標題 Can Democracy Survive without Media Freedom?
3. 学会等名 World Social Science Forum（国際学会）
4. 発表年 2018年

1 . 発表者名 Elizabeth A. STEIN and Marisa KELLAM
2 . 発表標題 “ Can Democracy Survive without Media Freedom? Latin American Cases of Democratic Backsliding in Comparative Context. ”
3 . 学会等名 International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association (国際学会)
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1 . 発表者名 Marisa Kellam and Elizabeth A. Stein
2 . 発表標題 Reassessing the Empirical Relationship Between Democracy and Media Freedom: Do the Measures You Choose Affect the Answers You Get
3 . 学会等名 Midwest Political Science Association (国際学会)
4 . 発表年 2017年

1 . 発表者名 Marisa Kellam and Elizabeth A. Stein
2 . 発表標題 Does Decentralization Exacerbate Threats to Media Freedom in Latin America?
3 . 学会等名 Political Communications Section, American Political Science Association (国際学会)
4 . 発表年 2017年

1 . 発表者名 Marisa Kellam and Elizabeth A. Stein
2 . 発表標題 Can Democracy Survive without Media Freedom? A cross-national analysis of media freedom and democratic decay
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4 . 発表年 2017年

1. 発表者名 Marisa Kellam
2. 発表標題 Dying in Darkness: Press Freedom and Democratic Backsliding in the Americas.
3. 学会等名 Amherst University, hosted by Professor Javier Corrales (招待講演)
4. 発表年 2020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1件

国際研究集会 Democracy in Latin America: Presidents, Legislatures, and Elections	開催年 2019年～2019年
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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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