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研究課題名(和文) Ideational Analysis of Decentralization in Developed Democracies

研究課題名(英文) Ideational Analysis of Decentralization in Developed Democracies

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研究成果の概要(和文)：本研究では日本、英国とスウェーデンの主要政党が地方分権改革に対してどのような言説や政策アイデアを選挙マニフェストなどを通して公的に示してきたのかを比較検証した。3カ国ともに、右派・左派主要政党の分権に対する政策位置また公的な言説は1980年代以降から変遷しており、各国内政党間での言説の収束が見られた。また、地域政党・極右政党などの登場により、分権や地域格差に対する関心また言説内容の変化も確認できた。政治制度や社会経済環境の違いを超え、新自由主義や地域主義のアイデアが3カ国の政党の分権に対する理解と政策位置を同じ様に影響することを確認した。

研究成果の概要(英文)：The research seeks to investigate the role of ideas on political decentralization and responses to growing regional inequalities among political parties within Japan, UK, and Sweden.

Despite expectations that social democratic and communist parties would generally oppose, while conservative parties favour the idea of decentralization and be more willing to accept regional inequalities, members of these party families in the countries investigated have not necessarily been committed to such positions over time. In recent years we have seen convergence in the discourse, particularly among the major parties on the left and right, over the goal and merits of decentralization. Mainstream parties have also largely been hostile to growing regional inequality. The three cases suggest that despite differing institutional contexts, two ideas (neo-liberalism and regionalism) have a strong impact on the parties' discursive and policy positions on both decentralization and regional inequality.

研究分野：Political Science

キーワード：Discourse Decentralization Party Politics Ideology Regional Inequality

1. 研究開始当初の背景

Considerable domestic academic research has been undertaken in understanding the causes and effects of decentralization reforms and other institutional reforms which has taken place in Japan in the past two decades. Academic analyses on the origins of decentralization have largely focused their explanations on the impact of electoral reform, shift in socio-economic structures, and changes in the material interests and political influence of actors with a stake in central-local government relations. These approaches, although helpful in understanding outcomes of change, do not explain how these reforms have been perceived and legitimated.

Aside from a few exceptions, there are few systemic and conscious attempts to analyze institutional change and policy change in Japan from the perspective of ideas and their discourse. An ideational account of decentralization reform in the comparative literature beyond Japan is also sparse. An analysis of the public “communicative discourse” (looking at how reform ideas were framed, legitimated, and packaged among political elite to the public) is undertaken to expand our understanding major decentralization reforms and shifts in territorial politics.

2. 研究の目的

The research seeks to investigate the role of ideas on political decentralization and

responses to growing regional inequalities among political parties within Japan. It also looks at two comparative cases, UK and Sweden, which are unitary and parliamentary but diverge in terms of the salience of decentralization and regional inequality in party competition in recent years. It aims to investigate the types of normative attitudes and policy ideas held by political parties towards these two territorial issues. It explores the following questions: what are the normative ideas of decentralization? How are they transmitted to the public through a communicative discourse? When and how do these ideas affect policy-making? Through a comparative investigation, the research seeks to identify how ideas interact with interests and institutions, shaping decentralization and responses to regional inequality.

3. 研究の方法

In order to achieve the above goals, the research focused on collecting accessible and comparable data of public discourse in the respective case countries, with interviews with country experts complementing the analysis. The researcher focused on Japan primarily, but also United Kingdom and Sweden to develop comparative insights.

For the 2014 funding year, the researcher focused on collecting party and government literature on decentralization and regional inequalities, conduct archival

work on party literature, political speeches, Diet deliberations, policy pamphlets, and mass media material (newspaper editorials) for the case countries. The researcher also conducted interviews with some Japanese party officials and journalists to gain insights about center-local relations. A research trip was conducted in September, 2015 in the UK to attend two conferences on territorial politics and party politics (in Wales and Edinburgh) to meet with country specialists on devolution and regional politics. The meetings provided both insights and further secondary literature for my research questions.

For the 2015 funding year, the researcher focused on continuing to collect and begin analyzing party and government literature (such as speeches, Diet deliberations, policy pamphlets) and mass media material such as newspaper editorials for the case countries. The researcher met with his coauthor several times to share data (postwar manifesto data) and develop a working paper. A research trip was conducted in October 2015 to Sweden to attend the national political science conference to meet with country specialists on decentralization and regional politics. Archival work was conducted in Stockholm University library to acquire media and academic literature.

4 . 研究成果

Despite expectations that social democratic and communist parties would

generally oppose, while conservative parties favour the idea of decentralization and be more willing to accept regional inequalities, members of these party families in the countries investigated have not necessarily been committed to such positions over time. In recent years we identified convergence in the discourse, particularly among the major parties on the left and right, over the goal and merits of decentralization. Mainstream parties have also largely been hostile to growing regional inequality, albeit with different rationalizations and emphasis. Third and minority parties, including regional, agrarian, and extreme right parties, have departed from this mainstream discourse, at times succeeding in increasing the salience of territorial issues and altering the position of the larger parties on these matters. Neo-liberal and regionalist discourse have tended to emphasize the inevitability and necessity of territorial inequality, while arguing that decentralization will trigger virtuous competition among regions. The three cases suggest that despite differing institutional contexts, two ideas (neo-liberalism and regionalism) appear to have a strong impact on the mainstream parties' discursive and policy positions on both decentralization and regional inequality.

Research results by country:

Japan: Analysis of various party discourse in the post-war period supported three general findings: first, since the mid-1990s there has been a convergence on

positions towards decentralization and regional inequality among the mainstream parties. Second, regional inequality became salient during two key periods of post-war history (mid-1960s and since around 2005), but with more ideational divergence in the mainstream party on the matter in the earlier period than the latter. Finally, the emergence of new third-pole parties (such as Your Party and Japan Restoration Party) in the latter period with strong views on regional issues/decentralization has altered the discursive positions of mainstream parties. For the major parties, decentralization and regional inequality have tended to be separately understood and discussed in the communicative discourse.

This data was used to generate one accepted book chapter, another currently in review, and a working paper discussing the ideas and discourse of decentralization and regional policy among parties since the 1960s.

UK: The research project compared public discourse among the major parties on decentralization and regional inequality from the post war period, including party platforms, editorials of major newspapers, and Hansard records. Additional data was gained from meeting and secondary literature of country experts on the Labour, Conservative, and Scottish Nationalist Party.

Initial analysis of party discourse data in UK since around the mid-1980s suggest

the following findings: although parties on the left and right were both largely indifferent to decentralization in the early period, the matter gained salience periodically over with greater demands of devolution to Scotland and Wales. Both parties converged over decentralization policy in recent years, with regionalist ideas from below and ideas of state efficiency legitimating policy change. Regional inequality has become salient over different periods, but mainstream parties have largely tended to downplay this divide. In recent years, newly emerging right parties (such as United Kingdom Independence Party) and local parties (such as Welsh Plaid Cymru and Scottish National Party) have focused on regional inequality and demanded both decentralization and more redistribution.

Sweden: The research project collected and analyzed texts capturing the public discourse among the major parties on decentralization and regional inequality from the post war period, including party platforms, party policy programs relating to decentralization/local government, and media articles.

Analysis of the party communicative discourse in Sweden suggest that main parties on left and right (aside from the notable exception of the agrarian Center party) have not highlighted territorial issues or decentralization in their party platforms. Decentralization reforms - such as "free commune experiments" in the 1980s and regionalization policy in the 1990s - were backed by general

consensus among parties on left and right. High levels of fiscal equalization and the emphasis on left-right issues, rather than territorial issues, marks political discourse. Only very recently have problems of rural depopulation and unemployment, pushed mainstream parties to address these issues, with diverging discursive responses.

The Sweden and UK data is being used to write a comparative chapter with Japan in a forthcoming monogram.

Although much of the output from the research is still being written/under review, the researcher hopes that the forthcoming output will highlight the importance of the understudied ideational context of decentralization and responses to the growing challenge of regional inequality in Japan and elsewhere.

5 . 主な発表論文等

〔図書〕(計 2 件)

1. Hijino, Ken. (2016) Palgrave MacMillan. "Selling the Idea of Local Power: Decentralization Reforms Since the 1990s" in Gill Steel (ed.) *Power in Contemporary Japan*, pp. 219-237
2. Hijino, Ken. (発行確定) Routledge. *Local Politics in Japan's Party System.*

6 . 研究組織

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