

博士論文（要約）

現代日本の有権者とイデオロギー

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要約

第1章 先行研究と問題設定

本章では、まず、概念形成のレベルおよびそれに準ずるイデオロギーに関する知識、信念体系、イデオロギー的自己意識、ヒューリスティックとしてのイデオロギー、イデオロギーの心理的ないし生物的基盤という、イデオロギーの5つの側面について、国内外の先行研究をまとめた。その上で、本論文全体を貫く2つの問題関心を設定した。第一の問題は、イデオロギーについて知識があり、それを使いこなせる人々（イデオログ）とそうでない人々（非イデオログ）という二分法を超えた、イデオロギーに関する個人レベルの不均質性をすくい取る必要があるということである。第二の問題は、日本のイデオロギー研究を日本のイデオロギー政治の描写に留めることなく、日本の欧米諸国とは異なる政治環境を意識した研究を行うことで、従来の国内研究以上に比較政治学的な貢献をなすべきだということである。さらに、日本においてイデオロギーの心理的な基盤に関する研究が不足していることについても指摘した。これらの問題関心に沿ったかたちで各章の実証分析を紹介し、統計分析などに関して各章に共通する説明を行った。

第2章 日本の有権者による左右イデオロギー空間の認識

先行研究は、近年、日本の有権者が政党のイデオロギー位置の差異を認識できなくなった、あるいは、日本の主要政党が中道化してきたと論じている。これらの議論は、有権者に政党をイデオロギー軸上に位置づけてもらう世論調査の質問に依拠している。しかし、このような質問は、質問文を誤解する回答者や、「左」「右」といった用語に対する無知を隠すために不適切に答える回答者によるノイズの影響を受ける。左-右の用語の意味を知っている人々だけの認識を抽出することでこの問題に対処するために、本章はそのための有限混合分布モデルを考案した。2012年の衆院選の後に実施された世論調査のデータにこのモデルを適用することによって、左-右の用語を理解している者は全体の半数強であり、彼らは政党のイデオロギー位置を専門家と同じように認識できることを確認した。くわえて、そのような有権者であっても、立場が曖昧な政党や新しい政党を位置づけるのは難しいこともわかった。本章の分析は、近年の日本におけるイデオロギーの理解に資するだけでなく、世論調査の設計や不均質な世論調査の回答の分析に対しても含意をもつ。

第3章 日本の有権者によるイデオロギーラベルの理解

本章は、日本の有権者が政策に関して左-右のラベルをどのように解釈しているかを分析した。有権者がイデオロギーラベルをどのように理解しているかという問いに対しては、多くの研究者が挑戦してきたが、従来のリサーチデザインはいくつかの欠点を抱えていた。本章は、有権者にとってのイデオロギーラベルの意味を調べる手法としてコンジョイント実験が適していると提案し、実際に日本の有権者に対してオンラインで実験を実施した。得られたデータを分析したところ、日本の有権者は平均的にみて、左-右のラベルを第一に安全保障・ナショナリズムの争点、第二に社会争点と結びつけているが、経済争点とは結びつけていないことがわかった。また、有限混合分布線形回帰モデルで分析するなどした結果、冷戦下で青年期を過ごした世代はそうでない世代よりも左右ラベルを安全保障・ナショナリズムの争点と結びつけやすいこと、社会争点に関してはそのような世代による差はみられないことを発見した。本章の分析は、政治的社会化理論の射程を広げるとともに、イデオロギーラベルの理解に関する不均質性を析出することに成功した。

第4章 日本の有権者による多次元の政策空間の認識

有権者が政党の位置をどのように認識しているかという問いに対して、先行研究の多くは、政党の位置を1次元のイデオロギー軸上に縮約されるものとして扱っており、政策空間が多次元である場合を十分に考慮してこなかった。多次元の政策空間では、関係するイデオロギー的な手がかりが争点ごとに異なるが、平均的な有権者にとって、様々な争点をそれぞれの政策次元に正しく結びつけるのは困難である。そのため、有権者一人ひとりが異なる次元の手がかりを好んで使う傾向にある可能性がある。この仮説を検証するため、本章は2次元の政策空間上で争われた2012年の衆院選に着目した。有権者が3つの主要政党の政策位置を相対的にどのように位置づけるかを分析したところ、実際に有権者の政策空間の認識に不均質性があることが明らかになった。さらに、混合ロジットモデルを用いた分析によって、この不均質性が年齢、イデオロギー的な極端さ、ならびに党派性によって説明されることがわかった。本章の知見は、世論と投票行動の分野だけでなく、政党間競争の研究にも含意をもつ。

第5章 日本におけるイデオロギー投票とソフトニュース

民主主義に関するソフトニュースの功罪は広く議論されてきたが、ソフトニュースの投票行動に対する影響はこれまでにほとんど研究されていない。本章は、ソフトニュースの視聴とイデオロギー投票の関係に焦点を当てた。ソフトニュースが事件のどのような側面を強調するか注目することで、ソフトニュースは単純で使いやすい手がかりを提供し、エピソード型のフレームを用いるため、ソフトニュースを視聴することがイデオロギー投

票を弱めるのではないかという仮説を立てた。この仮説を検証するために、本章では日本を適切な事例として用いた。2007年から10年の国政選挙の前後に実施された世論調査のパネルデータを利用することで、生態学的妥当性と内的妥当性を同時に確保した分析を行った。分析の結果、個人が視聴するソフトニュースの番組数が増加すると、イデオロギー的自己位置づけが投票に与える影響が実質的に低下することがわかった。本章の結果がもつソフトニュースをめぐる議論に対する含意とともに、他国の政治コミュニケーション研究に対する含意も議論した。

第6章 青年期における信念体系の形成とその心理的基盤

本章は、青年期における争点態度の形成、体系化について分析することで、有権者のイデオロギーがどのように形成されるかについて考察することを試みた。日本の15～23歳を対象とした2回のインターネット調査、およびそれと比較可能な全年齢を対象としたインターネット調査を実施し、それらのデータを比較した。第一に、争点態度間のイデオロギー的な一貫性を分析したところ、青年期のデータでは、一貫性は15～19歳頃にかけて上昇し、その後は一定であるが、22歳以下の青年と20～30歳を比較すると、後者の方が一貫性が高かった。第二に、二重過程動機づけモデルに基づき、右翼的権威主義および社会的支配傾向という権威主義的志向と経済的、文化的、外交的保守主義という3種類の保守主義の関係を分析したところ、国外の先行研究が示すのと同じように、右翼的権威主義は文化的保守主義に、社会的支配傾向は経済的保守主義に結びついており、外交的保守主義はどちらの権威主義指標とも結びついていた。この傾向は、若年層調査でも全年齢調査でもほぼ同様であった。以上の2つの分析結果は、有権者のイデオロギーの形成において、政治エリートによるトップダウンの影響と個人の心理的な動機づけというボトムアップの影響のいずれもが重要であることを示唆している。

第7章 日本における有権者と政治家の価値観とその構造

本章は、日本の有権者と政治家の価値選好とその構造を調べた。有権者の価値選好は2014年衆院選後の世論調査で、政治家の価値選好は2016年参院選後の政治家調査で測定した。価値選好の測定のために、回答者に自由、平等、経済的安定、道徳、自助努力、社会秩序、愛国心という7つの価値の順位を付けてもらうという質問を採用した。得られたデータを分析したところ、有権者と参院選候補者の価値観の一致度は低く、前者は経済的安定と社会秩序を重視するのに対して、後者は自由と平等を重視していた。ただし、価値観の構造は両者で類似していた。さらに、日本の有権者の間では、価値選好の党派のないイデオロギー的な違いはみられなかったのに対して、候補者の間では、価値選好の方向および凝集性について所属政党による差がみられた。具体的には、2016年参院選で共闘した野党4党と公明党の候補者は似た価値選好をもっていた。その一方で、自民党は最も価値選好の凝集性が低い政党であった。本章の分析は、現代日本における代表性のあり方

や政治的対立の本質の評価につながるものであり、同時に、政党政治の研究に対しても示唆を与える。

第 8 章 日本における有権者の信念体系の不均質性

有権者の信念体系を分析するために、研究者は因子分析や項目反応理論に基づくモデルを用いてきたが、これらの手法では信念体系の不均質性を析出できない。つまり、これらの手法では、有権者の中に複数の集団があり、集団によって「何が何を伴うか」が異なる可能性や、別の集団は政治的に意味のある信念体系を共有していないという可能性を考慮できない。本章は、有権者の信念体系の不均質性を有限混合分布統合因子分析モデルによって明らかにすることを提案する。このモデルを日本の世論調査データに適用することで、日本の有権者は 5 人に 2 人しか政治的に意味のある信念体系を共有しておらず、残りの回答者の多くは世論調査に省力回答をしている可能性が高いことを確かめた。また、政治的に意味のある信念体系を共有する人々の中にも 2 つの集団があることも発見した。一つは伝統的な保革イデオロギーの信念体系を共有しているのに対して、もう一つの集団では、日本の世論に関する先行研究が明らかにしてこなかった、日本の自律的な外交政策をめぐる政治的対立軸に関する信念体系が共有されていた。本章が提案する手法は、信念体系の研究に資するだけでなく、世論調査における省力回答に対処するためにも有用である。

第 9 章 政治エリートと信念体系を共有しているのは誰か

有権者の信念体系に関する通説は、平均的な有権者が政治エリートと信念体系を共有できていないと論じてきたが、最近の研究には、「超洗練層」に限れば、政治エリートと信念体系を共有できている可能性を示唆するものもある。先行研究の問題点は、政治エリートと信念体系を共有すると予想される有権者を政治知識や政治関心によって先験的に決めてしまっているところにある。本章では、同じ争点態度を測定した政治家調査と有権者調査のデータに対して、第 8 章で提案した有限混合分布統合因子分析モデルを適用し、衆議院議員と同様の信念体系を共有している人々とそうでない人々を分類することを試みた。その結果、議員と信念体系を共有しているのは 6 人に 1 人ほどにすぎないが、彼らは必ずしも政治的に洗練されていると考えられる特徴をもっているわけではなく、そのグループには学歴が低い者や政治知識の自己評価が高くない者も含まれていた。この結果は、教育程度が高く政治知識レベルが高い人々ほど争点態度のイデオロギー的な一貫性が高いという通説的見解に疑義を呈するものである。

第 10 章 結論

本章では、第 1 章で提示した問題関心の観点から、これまでの各章の実証研究の成果をまとめた。その上で、本論文が明らかにしてきた近年の日本の有権者像として、イデオロ

ギー的な概念を理解してイデオロギー的に一貫した態度をもつ有権者は、全体の一部にすぎないこと、イデオログの中でも、イデオロギーに関する概念の理解のあり方や争点態度の揃い方が一様でないことを挙げた。そこから、現実の日本政治に対する含意として、第一に、イデオロギー的な概念や用語が登場する場面での適切な政治コミュニケーションのあり方について、報道関係者を含む政治エリートは真剣に検討すべきであるということ、第二に、日本の有権者の政治的判断が政治エリートの選択操作に脆弱である可能性が高いことが導かれる。最後に、今後のイデオロギー研究者が取り組むべきこととして、概念形成のレベルの分析、政党と政治家以外の政治的アクターのイデオロギー位置の測定ないし推定、心理学的・生物学的なアプローチによる研究の充実、複数のイデオロギーレベルの比較を挙げて結びとした。

謝辞

共同研究について

本論文の一部は、共同研究の成果である。共同研究者には共同研究を博士論文の一部とすることについて許諾を得ている。

- 第3章は、荒見玲子と谷口将紀との共同研究の成果である。
- 第4章と第6章は、谷口将紀との共同研究の成果である。

研究助成について

本論文で行った研究は、次の研究助成を受けた。

- 第2～5章は、JSPS 科研費 13J08571 の助成を受けたものである。
- 第7章は、JSPS 科研費 16H07164 の助成を受けたものである。
- 第6, 8, 9章は、JSPS 科研費 16H07164 の助成および一般財団法人櫻田會の政治研究助成金を受けたものである。

二次分析データについて

第8章の分析にあたり、東京大学社会科学研究所附属社会調査・データアーカイブ研究中心 SSJ データアーカイブから「変動期における投票行動の全国的・時系列的調査研究 (JESIV SSJDA 版), 2007–2011」(JESIV 研究会 (平野浩・小林良彰・池田謙一・山田真裕)) の個票データの提供を受けた。

なお、第5章でも同じ調査のデータを利用しているが、こちらは SSJ データアーカイブでの公開前に、投票行動研究会 (<http://www.res.kutc.kansai-u.ac.jp/JES/index.html>, 最終アクセス 2018 年 3 月 25 日) から提供を受けたものである。

他にも、東大朝日有権者調査と東大朝日政治家調査を二次分析に利用している。データは東京大学谷口研究室のウェブサイト (<http://www.masaki.j.u-tokyo.ac.jp/utas/utasindex.html>, 最終アクセス 2018 年 3 月 25 日) から入手した。

倫理審査について

第3章で実施したコンジョイント実験を伴うオンライン調査および第6章で利用した若年層を対象とした2回のオンライン調査は、東京大学ライフサイエンス委員会による倫理審査を受けて実施した。

既公刊論文について

本論文の一部は、次の既公刊論文をもとにしている。

- Hirofumi Miwa. 2015. “Voters’ Left–Right Perception of Parties in Contemporary Japan: Removing the Noise of Misunderstanding.” *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 16 (1): 114–137. (第2章)
- Hirofumi Miwa and Masaki Taniguchi. 2017. “Heterogeneity in Voter Perceptions of Party Competition in Multidimensional Space: Evidence from Japan.” *International Political Science Review* 38 (5): 673–689. (第4章)
- 三輪洋文. 2017. 「現代日本における信念体系の不均質性——混合分布モデルによるアプローチ」東京大学社会科学研究所附属社会調査・データアーカイブ研究センター（編）『現代日本人の政治意識と投票行動に関するデータの二次分析』113–153. (第8章)

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