

在外研究員研究報告書

2019年4月12日 受付

所 属	ILA	氏 名	スティール ジル	
職 名	教授			
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発 表	題 目 名	発表学術誌名Vol. No.		発行年月日
		“How Junichiro Koizumi Seized the Leadership of Japan’s Liberal Democratic Party.” Kabashima, Ikuo, and Gill Steel. In Pekkanen, Robert (Editor). Critical Readings on The Liberal Democratic Party. Leiden: BRILL, Forthcoming. Page numbers pending.		2018 5
	著 書 名	発 行 所 名		発行年月日
		共編集 『現代日本社会の権力構造』 浅野正彦、スティール・ジル。 北大路書房。		2018 7
		「どのように人は社会的権力を「学ぶ」のか」 スティール・ジル、浅野正彦、トーステン・マリー 『現代日本社会の権力構造』 浅野正彦、スティール・ジル。北大路書房。		2018
		「政治的選好の形成と権力」 スティール・ジル 『現代日本社会の権力構造』 スティール・ジル、浅野正彦。北大路書房。		2018 7 7
		「反権力集団とその展望」。スティール・ジル 『現代日本社会の権力構造』 スティール・ジル、浅野正彦。北大路書房		2018.7
	The Public and the Private: Changing Women’s and Men’s Lives in Japan.” Gill Steel. In Steel, Gill (Editor). Beyond the Gender Gap in Japan. Michigan University Press.		2019.7.	
	(単著 “Women’s Work at Home and in the Workplace.” Gill Steel. In Steel, Gill (Editor). Beyond the Gender Gap in Japan. Steel, Gill (Editor). Michigan University Press.		2019.1	
演 題	講 演 学 会 名		講演年月日	
	“Gender and Voting in Japan, Britain, and the United States.” Nissan Institute, Oxford University.		November 3, 2017.	

Gill Steel

### Sabbatical Report

While on sabbatical, I pursued three main research projects. The first is a book manuscript, *What Women Want: Voter Preferences in Britain, Japan, and the United States* that is currently under submission. My findings show that mainstream political scientists should think more about the varying effects of gender. The current focus on gender gaps exaggerates gender differences in voting behavior and values; this serves to marginalize women and underserves both women and men.

In contrast to previous work, I claim that citizens' preferences on policy issues are not identity-defining for most women or men. I also reject arguments that modernization produces 'modern gender gaps' in which women are more likely than men to prefer progressive parties and politics. We should be open to the possibility of interesting variation that pays attention to specific political contexts, rather than assuming that either long-term social change or short-term campaigns determine values and voters' preferences. I extend existing theories to create a broader framework for thinking about gender and voting behavior, giving us more analytical purchase in understanding gender and its varying effects on individual voters' preferences than any single theory. I incorporate the effects of party identification; the influence of class politics on political decision making, on social provision and on expectations of the state; symbolic politics, and the role of the media and campaigns in shaping mass opinion. I show that in countries in which social provision is scarce, elites have successfully mobilized the public into regarding social provision as an issue of symbolic politics.

My third project examines why young Japanese people are disengaged from politics when British youth seem to be reengaging. The severity of Japan's youth civic engagement gap makes Japan a useful case to probe the causes of youth disengagement

elsewhere: voter turnout overall has fallen and the age voter turnout gap continues to grow. Moreover, young people participate less in other, non-party directed types of engagement than do older people.

This research forms part of a cross-national study of youth disengagement from politics, on which I am co-principal investigator. The research team analyzes why in some countries, large and growing civic engagement gaps exist between young people and their older counterparts, threatening to delegitimize democracy. I began by analyzing findings from large scale public opinion surveys to investigate what people think, then use the interview data to think about why they think the way they do. In our qualitative research, we oversample young people with lower socioeconomic status in deprived regions since this under-researched demographic is disproportionately excluded from surveys.

I investigate how social differentiation impacts young people's civic engagement in deprived areas. With a team of co-researchers, I have begun conducting in-depth interviews with young people in Japan and in Britain. I argue that global trends are combined with long-term efforts by the long-time ruling party, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) to restrict participation to an excessive degree, particularly among young people. The research paradigm has shifted from accepting that young people are uninterested in politics, to arguing that they are interested in politics, just not in party-directed politics. In contrast, our initial findings suggest that young people are not interested in politics, largely because they do not have faith in the democratic process, seeing it as being too far removed from their lives. They are interested in daily life issues but are unable to connect these to politics. As 'dutiful' participation recedes, the failure of parties and politicians to encourage young people to engage with formal

politics is glaring. This research has obvious policy implications for measures that would reverse the democratic deficit.

The third project resulted in the book, *Gendai Nihon Shakai no Kenryoku Kozo* [Power Structures in Contemporary Japanese Society] (2018) with Asano Masahiko.

I participated in the European Association for Japanese Studies in Lisbon in 2018 and in the talks and workshops across Oxford. I was also extremely grateful for the opportunity to organize a colloquium at the Nissan Institute which influenced my most recent book, *Beyond the Gender Gap in Japan*.