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Economy, Society and Culture, and Globalization

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Introduction - Party Politics in Developed Nations in 2020

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The period from the 2010s to the early 2020s saw three changes in party politics in developed nations.

The first was a change in the established political parties. For example, the Republican Party in the US, which had traditionally favored small government and free trade, underwent a major transformation with the advent of Donald Trump. The Trump administration withdrew from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), reconsidered the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and allowed the budget deficit to expand even prior to the COVID-19 crisis. At the same time, Germany's historically conservative party, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), became more liberal under Chancellor Angela Merkel, as evidenced, for example, by her tolerant acceptance of refugees and abolition of nuclear power.

Second, and related to this, was the growth of populist parties in advanced nations. In 2017, Marine Le Pen of the National Front (now the National Rally) reached the runoff in the French presidential election, and, in the German federal election, the Alternative for Germany (AfD) rapidly became the third largest party in the Bundestag. But populism is not the exclusive domain of the right; Italy's leftist populist party, the Five Star Movement, became the largest individual party in the 2018 general election and realized the government of Giuseppe Conte.

The third change was the upset to the trend of globalization. In the United States, a nation-first orientation began to rise; the United Kingdom left the European Union in 2020. In 2020 also, COVID-19 swept through every nation in the world, cutting off the flow of people and goods, and casting a dark shadow over every level of the system of international cooperation, including cooperation in measures against the disease itself.

NIRA has reported on the political situation in various nations through such publications as *Hints – Kadai "kaiketsu" senshinkoku wo mezase* ("Hints – Towards becoming a 'Problem-solving' Advanced Nation") (Jiji Press, 2017), supervised by Masaki Taniguchi, and *Populism no Honshitsu – Seijiteki sogai wo kokufuku dekiru ka* ("The Nature of Populism: Can We Overcome 'Political Alienation'?") (Chuokoron-Shinsha, 2018), edited by Masaki Taniguchi and Jiro Mizushima. This report represents a continuation of these books, discussing the latest trends in party politics in major nations while taking into consideration the three changes mentioned above.

1. Method of Comparison

Each nation's party system is a reflection of its own political system and the direction of its economy and society, and thus depends to a significant extent on factors unique to that nation. For example, in Japan, when words such as "left" or "right" are used to describe a political position, a major factor is agreement or disagreement with the revision of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution; needless to say, there is no Article 9 issue in other nations.

However, despite this, it is a commonly accepted axiom in comparative politics that a certain number of similar elements will be found in the political spaces of nations under comparison, in particular among the western European nations. For this report, therefore, we established common axes of policy positions between the parties in each nation considered, or in other words "measures" of the same scale, and asked experts in the field of politics in each nation (referred to as "experts" below) to evaluate the policy positions of each party being analyzed using these measures. In addition, we asked the experts to provide supplementary explanations of unique factors that were not encompassed by the framework provided by the measures.

The following three axes of policy positions (the "measures") are assumed in this report.

The first was the axis of policy positions in relation to economic issues. This entails two positions: the left, which is characterized by phrases such as big government and social democracy, and the right, to which the labels small government and neoliberalism are often attached. With respect to concrete methodology, items in the 2017 edition of the Chapel

Hill Expert Survey, a study of the policy positions of parties in European nations,[1] to which the variable denominator LRECON had been applied. The policy positions (mean values) of each party under consideration as measured following the instructions below were presented to the NIRA-commissioned experts in each nation.

LRECON = position of the party in 2019 in terms of its ideological stance on economic issues. Parties can be classified in terms of their stance on economic issues such as privatization, taxes, regulation, government spending, and the welfare state. Parties on the economic left want government to play an active role in the economy. Parties on the economic right want a reduced role for government. Please enter a whole number between 0 and 10, where 0 is the extreme left position, 5 is the center position, and 10 is the extreme right position.

The experts also made corrections as necessary in light of new circumstances that had arisen and the development of their own opinions since 2017.

The second axis concerned social and cultural issues. There is a conservative/right-wing position to traditional social values, and a liberal/left-wing commitment to minimizing the constraints of these values on people. Specifically, the parties' policy positions were measured based on the items in the 2017 Chapel Hill Expert Survey to which the denominator GALTAN had been applied, i.e., the values operationalized using the instructions below. Specifically, the policy position of each party was measured by inclusion of the views of each expert in the values operationalized using the instructions below (the GALTAN items).

GALTAN = Position of the party in terms of their views on democratic freedoms and rights. "Libertarian" or "post-materialist" parties favor expanded personal freedoms, for example, access to abortion, active euthanasia, same-sex marriage, or greater democratic participation. "Traditional" or "authoritarian" parties often reject these ideas; they value order, tradition, and stability, and believe that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues. Please enter a whole

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[1] The research is being carried out by Gary Marks and his colleagues at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. A research project to evaluate the policy positions of major political parties in EU member states and other nations by experts in each nation's politics.
Survey data is available at https://www.chesdata.eu/.

number between 0 and 10, where 0 is libertarianism/postmaterialism, 5 is the center position, and 10 is traditionalism/authoritarianism.

The third axis was policy position in relation to globalization. As mentioned above, the Chapel Hill Expert Survey specifically focuses on European nations; while it measures the position on the EU of each party considered, it does not include questions on globalization in general. Therefore, for this report, we formulated the following original set of instructions and requested the experts to indicate the position of each party based on the same guidelines as in the case of the axes of economic and social/cultural policy.

Please classify each party according to its position on globalization. Multilateralism considers globalization, including economic globalization, as inevitable, and is proactive in the liberalization of trade and finance, and the creation of an international order through regional and multilateral cooperation. Unilateralism is reluctant to accept these ideas and seeks to increase the autonomy of the state. Please answer as a whole number from 0 to 10, where 0 is unilateralism, 5 is the centrist position and 10 is multilateralism.

In this report, the parties are plotted in a three-dimensional space consisting of the above three axes of policy position, but in reality each axis is not independent of the other. In general, parties that have an economic affinity with neoliberalism often adopt a socially and culturally conservative stance, and are relatively positive concerning globalization. Conversely, parties committed to economically large government are often socially and culturally liberal, and perhaps more cautious with regard to globalization. The conventional view is that the three axes of policy position can be integrated in a straight line, $x = y = z$, from the left-most party, (0, 0, 0), to the right-most party, (10, 10, 10), i.e. a one-dimensional left-right axis of policy position.

However, as will be shown in the analysis in the next chapter, not all political parties in all nations can be placed on the aforementioned straight line. While there are radical parties at both ends of the social and cultural policy axis, there are also nations in which these parties do not diverge significantly with regard to economic policy. In other nations, the parties are socially and culturally liberal while adopting a neoliberal stance in economic policy. In addition, it is not uncommon for globalization to be a consensus issue for parties, in particular in small nations for which the benefits of trade are significant. Another aim

of this report is to understand such variations between nations and parties.

2. Summary of Analysis Results

Here we provide an overview of the characteristics of party politics in each nation considered based on the three axes of policy position. For greater detail, please refer to the relevant chapters below.

In the United Kingdom, in terms of the economic and social/cultural axes, the parties are basically arranged in the following order, from left to right: Labour, the Scottish National Party, the Liberal Democrats, the Conservative Party, and Reform UK. However, when discussing the globalization of the UK, it is necessary to consider the existence of a global market beyond the Commonwealth and the EU, and the (politicians of) the Conservative Party, which effected the withdrawal from the EU, are, in fact, pro-free trade. With this in mind, it is little wonder that Britain's pro-Brexit Prime Minister Boris Johnson signed the Japan-UK Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement and applied to join the TPP.

In France also, the economic and social/cultural axes of policy position converge largely on one dimension. What makes France different from the UK is that La France Insoumise, the party which is furthest left in relation to the most leftist party on the economic issues, and the National Rally, the most conservative party with regard to social and cultural issues, are both clearly opposed to globalization. It has been said that the French voters have been divided into three groups since the late 1990s: "left," "right," and "bottom." The National Front (the forerunner of the National Rally) and La France Insoumise have won the support of the "bottom," or voters who do not embrace the established parties.

Similarly in Germany, with the two (former) major parties, the center-left Social Democrats and the center-right Christian Democratic Union at the center, we have the Left Party and Alliance 90/The Greens on the left side, and Alternative for Germany on the right side. However, the Liberal Democrats, who are on the right in terms of economic policy but are considered to be closer to the left in terms of social and cultural issues, have historically often played the role of the key party in coalition governments. With regard to anti-globalization parties, in the specific sense of skepticism towards European integration, we can indicate Alternative for Germany and the Left Party, at the twin poles of right and left.

In recent years, the rate of support for Alliance 90/The Greens has continued to exceed that for the Social Democrats, and the results of the general election in fall 2021 will be closely watched from the perspective of the future of the two-party (bloc) system that has been maintained for so long in the post-war period.

With regard to the characteristics of party politics in the Netherlands, the following points can be indicated. First, similar to the Liberal Democrats in Germany, the Netherlands also has a party called Democrats 66, which is on the economic right and the social and cultural left. Second, the center-left Labour Party lost ground in the 2017 general election, while the economically furthest left Socialist Party expanded its power. And third, the right-wing populist Liberal Party, which is economically center-right and socially and culturally somewhat conservative but anti-EU and anti-immigration, became the second party. However, the Netherlands is an export-oriented nation, and the party does not seek to sever economic ties with the nation's neighbors.

In the northern European nations of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway also, there is a correlation between the placement of each party on the economic and social/cultural axes of policy position. However, on the social/cultural axis, the parties in the northern European nations are generally liberal. In addition, with the exception of Sweden, the oppositional scheme of leftist bloc versus rightist bloc, including radical parties, is becoming fixed. The distinctive feature of these nations is to be found on the axis of position in relation to globalization; as small nations, the northern European nations have no choice but to assume the global economy in their considerations whether they wish to or not, and anti-globalization parties have fundamentally not been viable in these nations.

In Italy, the 2018 general elections resulted in a major shift in the traditional two-party bloc of a center-left coalition led by the Democratic Party versus a center-right coalition led by Forza Italia. While both these parties have lost power, the left-wing Five Star Movement and the right-wing Lega have risen in Italian politics. Both of these populist parties are characterized by their negative stance towards globalization. It is important to note, however, that the Italian economy cannot exist without the EU and the euro, and the anti-globalization and anti-EU stance of these parties does not imply that any movement will actually develop urging Italy to leave the EU. The Conte government, which was supported by the Five Star Movement, gave up power due to internal conflicts, in the case of the first Conte Cabinet, with the withdrawal of support by Lega, and in the case of the second Conte Cabinet, with the resignation of the Italia

Viva ministers in the coalition.

The major political parties in Spain are also largely positioned on a straight line, from left to right, in terms of both economy and society/culture. However, on the axis of policy position in relation to globalization, the emerging force Vox and Unidas Podemos, which are respectively located at the right and left ends of the economic and social/cultural axes, are anti-globalization, while the two major parties, including the center-left Spanish Socialist Workers Party, are both pro-globalization. However, despite being anti-globalization, both Vox and Unidas Podemos are focused on opposition to austerity policies and do not advocate leaving the EU. In Spain, the Spanish Socialist Workers Party and the People's Party have long alternated in power, but the November 2019 general election resulted in the formation of the first coalition government between the Spanish Socialist Workers Party and Unidas Podemos since the nation's democratization.

In the U.S., the system makes it difficult for parties other than the two major parties to emerge, but both the Democratic and Republican parties have a wide range of policy preferences among their members. In the Democratic Party, we find moderates such as President Biden, but the left is also strongly-rooted, as exemplified by Senator Bernie Sanders, among others. On the other hand, in the Republican Party, the center right mainstream was previously challenged by the right-wing Tea Party faction, while the emergence of the Trump faction, which lacked logical consistency in its pursuit of tax cuts while expanding public spending, caused disturbance within the party. With regard to globalization, the general impression tends to be that the Republican Party supports free trade, while the Democratic Party resists it. However, in recent years, with the exception of the Trump administration, it has been the case that the governing party has promoted free trade, while the non-governing party has been cautious in this regard.

In South Korea, the conservative People Power Party is on the right in terms of both economic and social/cultural issues, while the ruling Democratic Party of President Moon Jae-In is center-right or left-leaning in comparison. Mutual overlap between these two axes of policy position can therefore be observed. However, more than this, the issues that make up the main axes of policy position in South Korean politics are North Korean relations and the reform of "power agencies" such as the Prosecutors' Office and the National Intelligence Service. With regard to globalization, although there was once a conflict over the ratification of the U.S.-ROK FTA, the policy of aiming for economic

growth through free trade, i.e., the promotion of exports, has become a generally agreed-upon issue, at least among the two major political parties.

3. Japan

How, then, were we to approach the interpretation of Japanese party politics? In the case of other nations, we attempted to ensure the objectivity of the evaluation by having the experts make necessary adjustments based on the results of the Chapel Hill Expert Survey. However, Japan was not one of the target nations for that survey. We therefore decided to objectively evaluate the policy positions of each Japanese political party based on the guidelines shown below, using the data provided by successful candidates in the 2019 election for the House of Councillors from among the politicians surveyed in the UTokyo-Asahi Survey (jointly conducted by Professor Masaki Taniguchi of The University of Tokyo and the Asahi Shimbun at the time of the election).

For the axis of policy position over economic issues, the average of responses for the following three items was obtained for each political party.

- Do you agree or disagree with the opinion that a small government that costs less money is better, even if government services such as social welfare become worse? (Reverse scored from 1 = Agree – 5 = Disagree)

- Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion? A: Even if there is some social disparity, priority should be given right now to improving economic competitiveness / B: Even if there is some sacrifice of economic competitiveness, priority should be given right now to correcting social disparity (reverse scored from 1 = Closer to A – 5 = Closer to B)

- Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion? A: Economic regulations should be comprehensively relaxed in order to encourage technological and management innovation by the private sector / B: We should be cautious regarding the relaxation of economic regulations in order to protect existing industries and consumers (Reverse scored from 1 = Closer to A – 5 = Closer to B)

Next, we matched the dimensions of the UTokyo-Asahi Survey (5-point scale) and the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (11-point scale). For the above three items, all the successful

candidates from the Social Democratic Party answered "Disagree" or "Closer to B." Because no more left-leaning position could be taken, this party could be evaluated as being at the furthest left position, i.e., 0, on the Chapel Hill Expert Survey scale.

The average of responses for the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) on the above three items was 2.9 (following the reverse scoring on the 5-point scale (1 to 5)). On the other hand, when the experts were requested for the LDP's score when the shared 11-point scale was applied, the average value was 4.8. Based on these results, we applied a value of 1 (Social Democrats) and 2.9 (Liberal Democrats) from the reverse-scored 5-point scale to the value of 0 (Social Democrats) and 4.8 (Liberal Democrats) respectively on the 11-point scale using a first-order conversion equation, and by also applying this method for parties other than the LDP and the Social Democrats, we obtained the policy positions of each party on economic issues on the Chapel Hill Expert Survey scale (0 = Extreme left – 10 = Extreme right).

Similarly, in the case of the axis of policy position in the area of social and cultural issues, the average of the responses to the following three items was determined for each political party.

- It is natural to restrict privacy and individual rights in order to protect public safety (Reverse scored from 1 = Agree – 5 = Disagree)

- The law should allow couples to continue to use their premarital surnames following marriage if they so desire (1 = Agree – 5 = Disagree)

- Marriage between men and marriage between women should be recognized by law (1 = Agree – 5 = Disagree)
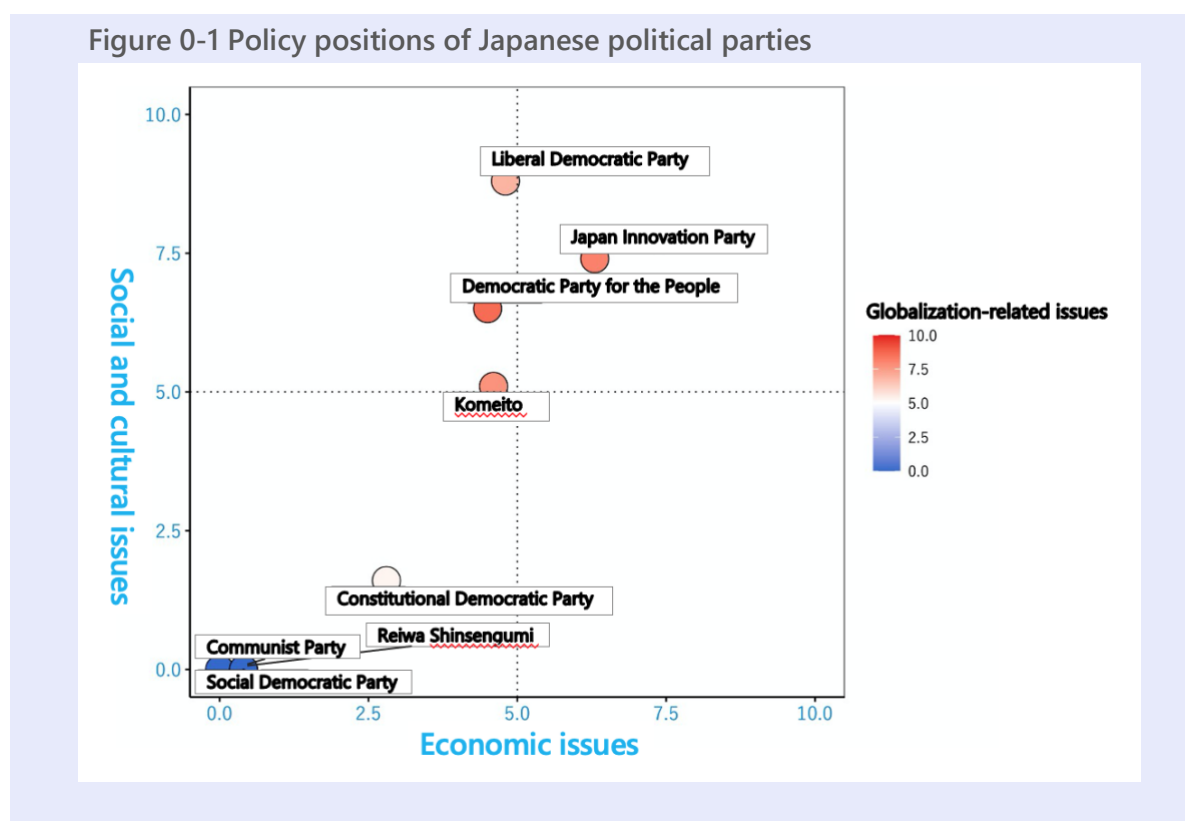
The Japanese Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, and Reiwa Shinsengumi, all of whose successful candidates answered "Disagree" to the first statement (restriction of privacy and individual rights) and "Agree" to the second statement (retention of surname following marriage) and the third statement (same-sex marriage), were positioned at 0 on the 11-point scale. The policy scores (on the 11-point scale; the higher the number, the more conservative) for social and cultural issues of the other parties were then sought to enable the results to be scaled to those of the LDP, which averaged 3.24 on the 5-point scale (following reversal of the scale for restriction of

privacy and individual rights) and was rated 8.8 on the 11-point scale by the experts.

Turning to the axis of policy position in relation to globalization, the following question from the UTokyo-Asahi Survey corresponds to this area:

● Which of the following is closer to your opinion? A: Domestic industry should be protected / B: Liberalization of trade and investment should be promoted (1 = Closer to A – 5 = Closer to B)

Here, all representatives of the Social Democrats and Reiwa Shinsengumi answered "1 = Closer to A"; the average value for the LDP representatives was 2.9, while the experts' rating for the LDP based on the 11-point scale was 6.9. Based on the above, the policy positions of each party on globalization (0 = Unilateralism – 10 = Multilateralism) were calculated by converting the average value for each party on the 5-point scale to the 11-point scale, such that the figure for the Social Democratic Party and Reiwa Shinsengumi would be 0 and the figure for the LDP would be 6.9.

Figure 0-1 Policy positions of Japanese political parties

The policy positions of each party obtained through the above procedure are plotted

in Figure 0-1 in the same manner as in the case of other nations.

Although the Social Democratic Party, Reiwa Shinsengumi, and the Communist Party are all at or near 0 on the axis of policy position in relation to economic issues, the three parties combined won only 10 seats in the 2019 elections for the House of Councillors, or just over 15% of the votes cast in proportionally represented constituencies. There are no right-wing parties above the third quartile (7.5), and most of the parties, including the LDP and the Constitutional Democratic Party[2] are concentrated in a narrow space between the center-left and the center. Despite the fact that they seem to be at odds with each other on individual issues such as economic measures and taxation, the positions of the parties are relatively close when they are grouped into the principle of small government/neoliberalism versus big government/social democracy[3].

In contrast, on the social and cultural issues axis, not only did the Social Democratic Party, Reiwa Shinsengumi and the Communist Party score 0, but the Constitutional Democratic Party, the primary opposition party, also took a radical liberal position and received a score of 1.6. On the other hand, the Liberal Democratic Party received an evaluation of 8.8, a position which would be termed the furthest right in other nations, indicating a polarized multi-party system, in contrast to the economic axis. The fact that the LDP, which has been in power for almost the entire period since its formation in 1955, has adopted extreme policy positions from the perspective of comparative politics is one reason why Japanese society lags behind in terms of women's participation and multiculturalism. At the same time, this may have hindered the growth of right-wing populist parties – rather than forming a new party to critique established parties, the politicians who are most conservative in relation to social and cultural issues are more likely to join the LDP in order to realize their policy goals.

On the axis of policy position in relation to globalization, the top five parties following the 2019 elections for the House of Councillors (the LDP, the Constitutional Democratic Party, the Komeito, the Democratic Party for the People, and the Japan Innovation Party), and including the Constitutional Democratic Party (5.3), are all rated as being more multilateralist than the neutral point (5). In particular, the Japan Innovation Party and the Democratic Party for the People are more positive regarding globalization than the LDP; a distinctive feature here

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[2] The former Rikken DPJ before it became the current Constitutional Democratic Party in 2020. The same applies to the National Democratic Party.
[3] See also Taniguchi (2020), Chapter 5, which draws similar conclusions through a different method of analysis.

is the fact that globalization is not a point of contention among relatively large parties. On the other hand, the significant gap between the Constitutional Democratic Party and the Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, and Reiwa Shinsengumi suggests a potential hurdle for cooperation between opposition parties in future elections.

As many readers may already have noticed, the opposition between reformers and defenders of Japan's constitution, and between hawks and doves in the nation's foreign and security policy, has not appeared in the above discussion. The fact that the economic axis of policy position (or the axis of policy position that integrates the economic and social/cultural axes into one dimension) does not constitute the primary axis of opposition in the policy space, but rather that the axis of policy position on which the emphasis is on constitutional issues and foreign and security policy – once termed the opposition between "*hoshu* (conservatism)" and "*kakushin* (reform)," now variously termed the opposition between "left" and "right," "liberals" and "conservatives," etc. – appears before the other axes is a unique feature of Japanese politics. However, outside of Japan there are other important axes of policy position, such as English nationalism in the United Kingdom and policy toward North Korea in South Korea, and these can influence the outcome of elections. I hope that this report will assist the reader in gaining a deeper understanding of the politics of each nation considered, including these unique aspects of policy commitment.

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Appendix: Instruction Sheet for Experts

Q1 What are the policy positions of the major political parties (parties that received at least 5% of the vote in the most recent election or parties that are expected to receive at least 5% of the vote in the next election)?

(1) Please classify the parties according to their position on economic issues. Those on the economic left want the government to play an active role in the economy. Those on the economic right want to reduce the role played by the government in the economy, for example through privatization, reduction of taxes, deregulation, and the reduction of government expenditure and welfare spending. Please enter a whole number between 0 and 10, where 0 is the exterme left position, 5 is the center position, and 10 is the extreme right position.

(2) Please classify the parties based on their positions on social and cultural issues. "post-materialist" or "libertarian" parties are pro-abortion, pro-death with dignity, pro-gay marriage rights, pro-participatory democracy and seek to realize greater freedom for people. "Traditionalist" or "authoritarian" parties are opposed to such ideas, respect the values of order, tradition and stability, and believe that government should be a strong moral authority with regard to social and cultural issues. Please answer as a whole number from 0 to 10, where 0 is post-materialism/libertarianism, 5 is the center position and 10 is traditionalism/authoritarianism.

(3) Please classify each party according to its position on globalization. Multilateralism considers globalization, including economic globalization, as inevitable, and is proactive in shaping the international order through regional or multilateral cooperation. Unilateralism is reluctant to accept this way of thinking, and seeks to increase the autonomy of the state. Please answer as a whole number from 0 to 10, where 0 is unilateralism, 5 is the center position, and 10 is multilateralism.

Note 1: Please indicate your evaluation at the time of the most recent election or as of the end of 2019 (i.e., prior to the impact of COVID-19). The same applies up to and including Q5 below.

Note 2: Basically, please use the position of the party leader (or the person effectively

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holding the highest position in the party) as the policy position of the party. If there are powerful opposition forces within the party, please add a separate entry.

Note 3: (1) and (2) are based on the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES); we have indicated the scores provided by experts on national politics for the nations covered by the 2017 CHES. You may skip (1) and (2) and answer only (3) if you agree with the survey results.

Q2 Please indicate the axes of policy position that are unique to the target nation.

(1) Please indicate whether there are major axes of policy position other than "Economy," "Society and Culture," and "Globalization," which you evaluated in Q1, if any, in addition to the position of each party on these axes.

(2) Please indicate if there is any common understanding in the area of political research regarding the axes of policy position in the target nation (e.g., "there is a significant correlation between the economic axis and the social/cultural axis and they are understood as a single left-right axis" or "the axis of globalization has a strong pro-EU vs. anti-EU character and is the most important domestic axis of policy position").

Q3 Please tell us about the recent political situation in the nation.

(1) Please indicate the results of the most recent elections (House of Representatives elections for nations with a parliamentary system / House of Representatives and presidential elections for nations with a presidential system).

(2) In the case of parliamentary elections, please provide a very brief explanation of the electoral system.

(3) If any political changes have occurred since the elections, such as a change in administrators, the formation of a coalition, etc., please explain the circumstances.

Q4 Please tell us about anti-globalization parties (parties that scored 0-4 for Q1 (3) and strongly advocate this position).

(1) Please describe the political profile of each party, including the type of people (socioeconomic status, characteristics of political awareness, etc.) who support the party.

(2) If the political party in question has participated in a government, please explain (1) the circumstances of its participation in the government, (2) the form of its participation in the government (e.g., administrative role, junior partner in a coalition government, cooperation outside Cabinet, etc.), (3) the measures taken by the government, and (4) how the administration ultimately ended.

Q5 Please tell us about anti-globalization trends in the target nation.

(1) Please explain any political events (e.g., Brexit, Greek crisis) or social movements that have not been mentioned up to this point or that you think should be described in more detail with regard to political trends related to globalization.

(2) Please indicate whether there are influential anti-globalization movements among (established) political parties that were not mentioned in Q4, or if existing policies and commitments have been affected by anti-globalization parties or social movements.

Q6 Up to and including Q5, we have asked about the period up to the end of 2019, but we are aware that the political situation in each nation may be changing in response to the global outbreak of COVID-19 since January 2020. If you have noticed any political changes since the spring of 2020, please indicate those changes.

Q7 Finally, we would like to ask you for your general evaluation.

With regard to the political response to globalization in the target nation,

（1）What is your general evaluation, and

(2) What is your outlook for the future?

(3) In addition, we are also interested in populism. We would be grateful if you could tell us

(1) Whether the anti-globalization parties you mentioned above can be called populist, and

(2) Whether there are so-called "left-wing populist parties" in your nation, and if so, your opinion regarding their evaluation (i.e., how they differ from right-wing populism).

Chapter 1   France

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Summary

During the conflict between conservatives and progressives in the 1970s and the confrontation between proponents of big and small government that commenced in the 1980s, French politics revolved around the existing political parties of the left and right. However, due to the issue of European union which has been ongoing since the 1990s, anti-EU groups have split off from both conservative and progressive parties due to intra-party conflict, producing a fragmented multi-party system. As a result, conflicts between political parties have shifted from the traditional economic issues to sociocultural issues such as immigration and security, and to arguments over globalization.

These political conflicts, and the results of two referendums in 1992 and 2005, produced a tripartite division of the "electoral market" in France. The right-wing populist the National Front (now National Rally) has gained the support of the "bottom" tier of voters who do not identify with the politics of either the established left or right political parties. On the left-wing side, the party La France Insoumise has foregrounded an anti-globalization stance, gaining support mainly from young people and the educated classes, enabling it to solidify its position in the left-wing camp. The growing support for populist parties on both the left and right demonstrates that there exists a significant number of voters in France that support calls for opposition to globalization.

The centrist party in power in France, Emmanuel Macron's La République En Marche!, has taken a clearly pro-EU and pro-globalization stance in opposition to these anti-globalization groupings. This is because it has been able to gain an advantage over both the existing conservative and progressive parties, given that the National Rally cannot build cooperative relationships with the existing right-wing parties. In the future, whether or not it is able to transform France's middle class, which is in decline due to globalization, into active supporters, will be key to the success of the party. At the same time, the emergence of voters who are not represented by established parties or even the left and right populist parties, such as those involved in the Gilets Jaunes movement or voters supporting the Greens, whose numbers are increasing throughout Europe, may be a harbinger of further political change.

Chapter 3 Germany

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Summary

In Germany, two major political parties, the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), have to date been the major parties on the left and right of the nation's administration. However, the 2017 German federal election represented a significant shakeup, with Alternative for Germany (AfD), a populist party that attracted considerable attention, becoming the nation's third highest-polling party, in addition to taking more than 20% of the vote together with the left-wing party Die Linke.

While both the established left and right parties, the CDU and the SPD, are comparatively centrist with regard to both economic and sociocultural issues, on economic issues the right-wing populist AfD initially staked out the most right-wing position, for example by favoring economic liberalism, in addition to making its opposition to the Euro a major policy position. However, in the wake of the European migrant crisis in 2015, groups split off from the AfD, and the party began to foreground a nationalist, "Germany-first" stance. Given that it is the successor to the former East German Communist Party, the left-wing Die Linke is closer to a centrist position on sociocultural issues than the Green Party, which campaigns for environmental protection, but as the Greens shift towards a more moderate and pragmatic stance, the party is now positioned as the nation's most economically left-wing.

On the issue of globalization, the left-wing Die Linke has staked out an anti-globalization stance, while the right-wing AfD has critiqued European union via focal points such as the Euro crisis, making this a political issue. Die Linke has indicated that it is opposed to economic globalization, and is gaining support from voters in the western part of Germany who reject other political parties and from voters in the eastern part of the country who actively support Die Linke itself. The AfD has differed in its support base from the more standard supporters of populist parties, and has been characterized by a strategy of attracting support from a wide range of voters, including those identifying as anti-Euro, anti-immigrant/refugee, and anti-established parties.

Having previously been termed "the sick man of Europe" due to its low level of economic growth, Germany is now characterized as "winner takes all" as a result of the success of the economic recovery that it focused on from the early 2000s. However, since the 2010s, problems related to globalization have become apparent due to the Euro crisis, the refugee crisis, and issues of EU unity. The coalition government of the established political parties cannot deal with these problems. Germany's two major parties have been weakened, and a coalition between new political parties will be sought in the future.

Chapter 4   Italy

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Summary

In Italy, a politics formerly centered on two major parties on the left and right has transformed into a politics in which populist parties (the left-wing Five Star Movement (M5S) and the parties of the right-wing alliance, or Lega) have joined the main actors. The increasing power of left and right populist parties has resulted in a scramble to win support bases and produced a type of familial antagonism between parties with similar policy positions. Against this background, in the 2018 general election, the M5S and the Lega became the nation's first and second parties, and formed a left-right populist coalition government. Despite the fact that the M5S, which advocates support for the poor through universal basic income, and the Lega, which advocates tax reductions via a flat tax, stressed opposed policy positions, the two parties displayed commonalities in not adopting a strict stance with regard to realizing EU goals and favoring a generous redistribution of finances to the electorate. Following this period, the M5S dissolved the populist coalition government with the Lega and formed a coalition with the Democratic Party, an existing left-wing political party that is closer to the M5S in terms of policy.

In Southern European countries such as Italy, there are political parties that are critical of the EU and the euro. However, given the financial support and oversight provided by the EU, voters see leaving the Union as a matter of "fiction" rather than a realistic policy. As a result, the coalition government between the M5S and the Democratic Party has transitioned to emphasizing relations with the EU, while retaining populist tendencies.

More recently, the approval rating of the M5S has dropped, while the approval rating of the Lega has increased. Despite solid support for its response to the COVID-19 pandemic, the M5S has suffered defeats in local elections, while the Democratic Party is finding its feet and once again becoming the mainstay of Italy's left-wing. The current Dragi administration has positioned technocrats who are experts in a variety of fields as key bureaucrats overseeing its administration. When the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic has been resolved, it is expected that there will be fierce competition between

political parties before the next general election, with responsibility shifted to such technocrats to deal with difficult matters. As this plays out, the right-wing will be dominant. The key for Italy's left will be whether it is able to realize electoral coalitions in the nation's central and southern areas.

Chapter 5   The Netherlands

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Summary

Over the course of the 20th century, the Netherlands was overwhelmingly buoyed up by the three classical European forces of Christian democracy, social democracy, and liberalism. But with the emergence of liberal left and green parties supported by the urban middle class in the 1980s, and right-wing populist parties in the 21st century, a variety of political antagonisms have formed in opposition to these established political parties.

On the axis of political antagonism regarding globalization, the positions of the established parties are being influenced by parties with issue ownership that advocate radical policies. In particular with regard to immigration issues, influenced by the claims of the right-wing populist parties Party for Freedom and the Forum for Democracy, the Netherlands took measures to inhibit the influx of migrants during the European migrant crisis, and the nation's level of acceptance of migrants was rather low in Western Europe. Globalization is a particularly important issue in understanding trends in Dutch party politics in recent years, but the importance of economic and sociocultural issues remains unchanged in relation to medium- to long-term policy conflicts.

In the 2017 general election, the Labour Party, a social democratic party, took a centrist path by joining a coalition government, receiving as a result only approximately 5% of the vote, and the ruling party suffered a significant defeat. At the same time, the Party for Freedom, a right-wing populist party, made a dramatic jump to become the nation's second party by increasing its criticism of the ruling administration. As a result, Dutch party politics became fragmented, for example through the formation of a four-party coalition government that included minor parties in addition to the first and third parties.

On the other hand, as the Party for Freedom's chances of joining the coalition diminished, public support shifted to the Forum for Democracy, which still had a possibility of joining. In addition, a stratum of non-voters who were indifferent to politics came to attention, with the result that the Forum for Democracy became the first party in the 2019 Senate elections.

There will be no rejection of economic globalization in the Netherlands today or in the future. At the same time, there is strong opposition to globalization in the form, for example, of an influx of immigrants and refugees. The current situation is that the public holds an unfavorable image not only of Islam, but also of Central and Eastern Europe. As an aspect of this, there is support for the image of a "small EU" that seeks to promote the integration of the northern European nations rather than the nations of southern Europe. There is also support for policy positions that differ from the former valorization of globalization, seeking a smaller economy and a type of globalization realized through small-scale cooperative relationships. However, as is the case in other European nations, it is unlikely that a political party taking a position opposed to economic globalization position will arise in the Netherlands.

Chapter 6 Spain

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Summary

Since Spain's democratization, the nation's two major political parties, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party and the People's Party, have alternated terms in power. In recent years, a number of new parties such as Unidas Podemos, Vox, and Ciudadanos have emerged; these parties take an anti-globalization stance, in opposition to the established political parties, which actively advocate globalization. In the most recent election, the two major parties retained their support. Among the emerging parties, Ciudadanos suffered a devastating defeat, while Vox became the third leading party. Again among the emerging parties, Unidas Podemos expanded its power with the support of the younger generation, residents of metropolitan areas, and far-left voters in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis.

What makes Unidas Podemos different from left-wing populist parties in other countries is that it actively values frameworks of international cooperation such as the EU, while also taking an anti-globalization stance. Vox, also an emerging party and considered to hold a position bordering on right-wing populism, has expanded its support by changing its stance from the rejection of immigrants to opposition to Catalan independence.

The results of the November 2019 general election saw a coalition government formed between Unidas Podemos and the Socialist Workers' Party. This coalition government had a certain level of opportunity to resolve the political instability that has seen four general elections held since 2015, but because the COVID-19 crisis occurred immediately afterwards, results are difficult to evaluate. While there are anti-globalization parties in Spain, as is the case in other southern European countries, there are no parties that take a medium- to long-term anti-globalization stance, entirely rejecting frameworks for international cooperation such as the EU. Although anti-austerity stances have been bruited, this has not led to any anti-globalization rhetoric. In addition, although Unidas Podemos and Vox are anti-globalization parties, they also display certain features that cannot be evaluated as belonging to populist parties.

Chapter 7   Northern Europe

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Summary

In the Nordic nations, political parties representing left and right positions have formed large left and right political blocs, competing for voters closer to a centrist position. However, this political composition has changed significantly since the 1990s. What this means is that against the background of increasing support for radical right-wing and populist parties, it is no longer possible for existing parties to take power alone, and the left and right blocs are clearly becoming fixed. In the Nordic nations attempts have been made to form consensuses between all political parties by minority cabinets. However, the emergence of a radical right-wing has made it difficult for agreements to be reached between political parties, and there is a strong tendency for resolutions to be passed based on the agreement of a majority.

The Scandinavian radical right-wing promotes expansionary fiscal policy and serves as a home for anti-globalization and anti-austerity opinions. At the same time, there are numerous aspects of these parties in which their tendencies differ from the far-right parties observed in other European nations. In addition, because northern European nations basically favor small and open economies premised on globalization, there are no anti-globalization parties as found in other European nations. Ultimately, given the focus on globalization, conflicts arise due to differences in opinion regarding the form in which globalization should be promoted, and the specific characteristics of political parties are mainly reflected in differences in issues such as their degree of acceptance of immigration and their distance from the EU.

In general, radical right-wing parties in Europe have an approval rating of about 10% to 25%. As in other European nations, the radical right-wing in Scandinavia has a bedrock support stratum of around 10%. However, given that policy in Scandinavia is premised on globalization, there is little support from the "losers" in the globalization process that is said to exist in many countries. Like other Scandinavian political parties, the Scandinavian radical right has formed a network of supporters and consolidates the opinions of those supporters as a representative of their interests. In addition, the formation of left and right blocs, of which the radical right-wing will be a part, will force

voters to question which bloc they support, and this will provide an important perspective in considering the future of populist parties in Scandinavia.

Chapter 8   The United States

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Summary

The US Democratic Party has a moderate center-left faction and a left-wing that is closer to a social democratic position, while the Republican Party has a mainstream center-right faction, the Tea Party faction, and a Trump faction that represents a factor promoting a certain level of disorder. As this indicates, a variety of opinions coexist within the two major parties in the US. In the case of the issue of globalization, the Republicans have been viewed as positive, while the Democrats have on the contrary been seen as negative. However, since the Obama administration, the Republican Party has been skeptical of free trade, while the Democrats have tended to promote it. In addition, a tendency for the two major parties to promote globalization while in power, and to adopt an anti-globalization stance when not in power, became more pronounced from the time of the Clinton administration, but more recently both major parties have become increasingly skeptical regarding globalization.

The United States has promoted globalization, but the progress of globalization has weakened domestic trade unions. In addition, the Democratic Party's promotion of globalization has robbed workers of their political voice. Against the background of these changes, the Trump faction among the Republicans argued that the increase in unemployment among white workers in the Rust Belt region, in which there is a high proportion of manufacturing workers, is due to both legal and illegal immigrants and the global elite, a stance that garnered support from voters. However, because the Trump faction was also trying to create conditions that were favorable to the US predicated on globalization, the result was a strengthening of the mood of anti-globalization among its supporters.

In the 2020 presidential election, in addition to winning the presidency, the Democrats effectively won a majority in both the House of Representatives and the Senate, a so-called "triple blue" scenario. At the same time, the COVID-19 issue has increased the visibility of factions within the two major parties that seek an expansion of social security. The Democratic left and the Trump faction of the Republican Party share an anti-globalization stance, but they also have significant disagreements in opinion.

There is a possibility of cooperation with regard to the Green New Deal policy, but given the current "triple blue" status, it is extremely unlikely that this will become a significant movement.

Chapter 9　　South Korea

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Summary

In South Korea, the policy positions of the two major political parties, the conservative People Power Party and the progressive Democratic Party of Korea, are expanding and becoming more polarized. In economic policy, the People Power Party takes a "small government" stance, while the Democratic Party takes a big government stance; similar conflicts have arisen with regard to sociocultural policy. The Democratic Party is closer to a centrist position than the liberals, but in recent years the party's progressive tendencies have been becoming more pronounced. Nevertheless, the conflicts between political parties in South Korea emphasize the nation's unique axes of policy antagonism. The policy positions of the two major parties in relation to globalization have converged, and this therefore no longer functions as an axis of policy antagonism in the nation. For the two major parties, moves towards trade liberalization such as the US-Korea FTA have become a consensus issue, and there is now no difference in immigration policy between the parties, given their promotion of multiculturalism.

The political focus on the two major parties also showed signs of change as the People Party made a dramatic leap to become the nation's third party in the 2016 parliamentary elections. In addition, the impeachment and dismissal of former President Park Geun-hye in 2017 inflicted severe damage on South Korea's conservative political parties, a situation that became known as the "downfall of the conservatives." In the 2020 general election, conservative parties saw their number of seats reduced, but more recently the tendency towards a resurgence of the two-party system is once again gaining momentum. South Korea's electoral system was reformed in 2020. This reform attempted to increase the allocation of seats to the minor parties, but the two major parties each formed satellite parties, taking advantage of loopholes in the system, which reduced the number of seats for the minor parties and increased the weighting for the two major parties.

The two-party system is strong in South Korea, and it is difficult for emerging political parties (such as anti-globalization parties or populist parties) to enter the

political arena. On the other hand, presidents, regional governors and mayors tend to manipulate criticism of mainstream political cliques and utilize their political authority to mobilize populist support, appealing broadly to the general public while maintaining the support base of the two major parties. One of the characteristics of South Korean politics is that parties often try to renew their image and make a new start, as seen for example in changes to the names of the two major political parties. However, despite repeated changes of party names, supporters remain loyal to the image of the party, and as a result there is virtually no change in approval ratings or political partisanship. Such party name changes continue in order to appeal to newness and renew the image of the parties, given the fact that the nation's politicians align and realign factionally for the presidential elections.