# Kenneth Mori McElwain ケネス・盛・マッケルウェイン

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#### **APPOINTMENTS**

2015~ University of Tokyo (Japan)

Professor, Institute of Social Science, 2019~

Associate Professor, Institute of Social Science, 2015~2018

\*2024~2025 Columbia University (USA)

Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science, School of International and Public Affairs,

and Weatherhead East Asian Institute

\*2018~2019 Oxford University (UK)

Visiting Fellow, Nuffield College and St. Antony's College

2008~2015 University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (USA)

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science Faculty Associate, Center for Japanese Studies

\*2012 Chuo University (Japan)

Visiting Fellow, Faculty of Policy Studies

\*2011 European University Institute (Italy)

Visiting Fellow, Department of Political and Social Sciences

2006~2008 Stanford University (USA)

Lecturer, Division of International, Comparative, and Area Studies

2005~2006 Harvard University (USA)

Post-Doctoral Fellow, Program on US-Japan Relations

## **EDUCATION**

1999~2005 Stanford University (USA)

Ph.D. in Political Science (Aug 2005)

1995~1999 Princeton University (USA)

A.B. in the School of Public and International Affairs (June 1999)

## FIELDS OF INTEREST

Japanese politics; constitutional design; political institutions; parties and elections; political economy; international law; political psychology; survey experiments

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#### PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES & SERVICE

Editor-in-Chief, Social Science Japan Journal, Apr 2021~

Board Director, Japanese Political Science Association, Oct 2024~

Executive Committee, International Political Science Association, Jul 2025~

Secretariat Director for International Affairs, Japanese Political Science Association, Oct 2022~Oct 2024

Co-Chair, Japan Political Studies Group, American Political Science Association, Sep 2020~Sep 2024

Board Member, UTokyo Center for Contemporary Japanese Studies, Apr 2020~Mar 2024

Member, U.S.-Japan Network for the Future, The Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation, 2012~2014

International Editorial Board: Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties

#### **BOOKS & BOOK PROJECTS**

- (4) Forthcoming. *Japan Decides 2024: The Japanese General Election*. Palgrave Macmillan (co-edited with R.J. Pekkanen and D.M. Smith)
- (3) 2024. 『パンデミックと社会科学ーポストコロナから見えてくるものー』勁草書房(編:加藤晋,田中隆一、ケネス・盛・マッケルウェイン)
  - Pandemics and Social Science: Insights from Post-COVID Japan. Keisō Shobō (co-edited with S. Cato and R. Tanaka)
- (2) 2022. 『日本国憲法の普遍と特異ーその軌跡と定量的考察-』千倉書房
  - The Universality and Originality of the Japanese Constitution in Quantitative Perspective. Chikura Shobō
  - Winner of the 44<sup>th</sup> Ishiban Tanzan Book Award (2023)
  - Winner of the 34<sup>th</sup> Asia-Pacific Award Special Prize (2022)
- (1) 2009. Political Change in Japan: Electoral Behavior, Party Realignment, and the Koizumi Reforms, Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford University Press (co-edited with S.R. Reed and K. Shimizu)

In Progress: Gaming Elections: Institutional Manipulation for Political Survival

## **ARTICLES**

- (26) Forthcoming. "Asymmetric Effects of Economic News: A Quasi-Experimental Approach." *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion, and Parties* (with T. Matsumoto)
- (25) Forthcoming. "Democracy by Design? Voter Preferences for Institutional Coherence in Japan." 選挙研究 / Japanese Journal of Electoral Studies
- (24) Forthcoming. "The Double-Bind Between Candidate Quality and Local Ties: A Conjoint Analysis of Voter Heuristics." *The Journal of Politics* (with E. Gagnon and F. Ikeda) <a href="https://doi.org/10.1086/737779">https://doi.org/10.1086/737779</a>
- (23) 2025. "IO Endorsements, Perceived Alignment, and Public Support for Unpopular Policies." *International Studies Quarterly* 69, 1-16 (with S. Kuzushima, Y. Shiraito, I. Umeyama) <a href="https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqaf073">https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqaf073</a>
- (22) 2024. "Constitutional Design Preferences: An Experimental Approach." *International Journal of Constitutional Law* 22(3), 680-709 (with S. Eshima, A. Takahashi, C. Winkler) https://doi.org/10.1093/icon/moae052
- (21) 2024. "Generational Differences in Economic Perspectives." *Electoral Studies* 91, 102830 (with T. Matsumoto, K. Okada, J. Kato) https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2024.102830
- (20) 2024. "Public Preference for International Law Compliance: Respecting Legal Obligations or Conforming to Common Practices?" *Review of International Organizations* 19, 63-93 (with S. Kuzushima and Y. Shiraito) <a href="https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-023-09487-3">https://doi.org/10.1007/s11558-023-09487-3</a>

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- (19) 2023. "Narrative Premiums in Policy Persuasion." *Political Psychology* 45(2), 383-405 (with K. Kawata and M. Nakabayashi) <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12928">https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12928</a>
- (18) 2023. "Explaining Public Support for Gender Quotas: Sexism, Representational Quality, and State Intervention in Japan." *Politics & Gender*, 19(3): 781-805 (with M. Miura and T. Kaneko) <a href="https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X22000617">https://doi.org/10.1017/S1743923X22000617</a>
- (17) 2022. "The Clash of Traditional Values: Opposition to Female Monarchs." *European Political Science Review*, 15(2), 291-310. (with G. Liu and Y. Shiraito) <a href="https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773922000418">https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773922000418</a>
- (16) 2022. "Mobile health technology as a solution to self-control problems: The behavioral impact of COVID-19 contact tracing apps in Japan." *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol 306 (Aug) 115142 (with S. Cato, T. Iida, K. Ishida, A. Ito, H. Katsumata, M. Shoji) <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2022.115142">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2022.115142</a>
- (15) 2022. "Vaccination and altruism under the COVID-19 pandemic." *Public Health in Practice*, Vol 3 (June) (with S. Cato, T. Iida, K. Ishida, A. Ito, H. Katsumata, M. Shoji) <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhip.2022.100225">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhip.2022.100225</a>
- (14) 2022.「新型コロナウイルス感染症に関する壮年パネル調査-概要と記述統計分析-」『社会科学研究』第 73 巻第 2 号, 95–125. (with 飯田高, 石田賢示, 伊藤亜聖, 勝又裕斗, 加藤晋, 庄司匡宏)
  "ISS Panel Survey on the COVID-19 Pandemic (2020): Overview and Descriptive Analysis." *Journal of Social Science* 73(2): 95-125 (with T. Iida, K. Ishida, A. Ito, H. Katsumata, S. Cato, M. Shoji)
  <a href="https://jww.iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp/jss/pdf/jss7302\_095125.pdf">https://jww.iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp/jss/pdf/jss7302\_095125.pdf</a>
- (13) 2022. "Variations in Early-Stage Responses to Pandemics: Survey Evidence from the COVID-19 Pandemic in Japan." *Economics of Disasters and Climate Change* Vol. 6, 235-258 (with S. Cato, T. Iida, K. Ishida, A. Ito, M. Shoji) <a href="https://doi.org/10.1007/s41885-021-00103-5">https://doi.org/10.1007/s41885-021-00103-5</a>
- (12) 2021. "Prosociality and the Uptake of COVID-19 Contact Tracing Apps: Survey Analysis of Intergenerational Differences in Japan." *JMIR mHealth and uHealth*, Vol 9(8):e29923 (with S. Cato, T. Iida, K. Ishida, A. Ito, H. Katsumata, M. Shoji) <a href="https://doi.org/10.2196/29923">https://doi.org/10.2196/29923</a>
- (11) 2021. "Social media infodemics and social distancing under the COVID-19 pandemic: Public good provisions under uncertainty." *Global Health Action* 14(1) (with S. Cato, T. Iida, K. Ishida, A. Ito, H. Katsumata, M. Shoji) <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/16549716.2021.1995958">https://doi.org/10.1080/16549716.2021.1995958</a>
- (10) 2021. "The Proposer or the Proposal? An Experimental Analysis of Constitutional Beliefs." *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 22(1):15-39 (with S. Eshima and C. Winkler) https://doi.org/10.1017/S1468109921000025
- (9) 2021. "The bright and dark sides of social media usage during the COVID-19 pandemic: Survey evidence from Japan." *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 54:102034 (with S. Cato, T. Iida, K. Ishida, A. Ito, H. Katsumata, M. Shoji) <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2020.102034">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2020.102034</a>
- (8) 2020. "When Candidates Are More Polarised than Voters: Constitutional Revision in Japan." *European Political Science* 19:528-539. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41304-020-00270-1
- (7) 2020. "Social distancing as a public good under the COVID-19 pandemic." *Public Health* 188:51-53 (with S. Cato, T. Iida, K. Ishida, A. Ito, M. Shoji) https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2020.08.005
- (6) 2015. "Who Tolerates Tax Increases? Age and Gender in the Raising of Japanese Consumption Taxes." *Journal of Social Science*. 67:75-96 (with G.W. Noble) https://jww.iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp/jss/pdf/jss6702 075096.pdf
- (5) 2015. 「株価か格差か: 内閣支持率の客観的・主観的要因」 『レヴァイアサン』 57号, 72-95 "Inequality or Growth? Subjective Economic Beliefs and Government Approval in Japan" *Leviathan* 57 (Oct)
  - https://www.kennethmcelwain.com/ files/ugd/d28431 d78d4d73ca8e46ab93c0b6f7ccb12795.pdf

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- (4) 2015. "What's Unique About the Japanese Constitution? A Comparative and Historical Analysis." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 41(2):249-280 (with C. Winkler) <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/43917706">http://www.jstor.org/stable/43917706</a>
- (3) 2012. "The Nationalization of Japanese Elections." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 12(3):323-50. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1598240800008055
  - Reprinted: 2013 K.E. Kushida and P.Y. Lipscy, eds. *Japan Under the DPJ: The Politics of Transition and Governance*. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center, Stanford University Press
- (2) 2011. "Party Democratization and the Salience of Party Leaders." *Journal of Social Science* 62.1 (with M. Umeda) http://jww.iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp/jss/pdf/jss6201 173193.pdf
- (1) 2008. "Manipulating Electoral Rules to Manufacture Single-Party Dominance." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(1):32-47. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25193795
  - Reprinted: 2018 Robert Pekkanen, ed. Critical Readings on the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan, Volume 1. Brill

#### **BOOK CHAPTERS AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

- (30) Forthcoming. "Introduction: LDP Dominance on the Edge." In K.M. McElwain, R.J. Pekkanen, D.M. Smith, eds. *Japan Decides 2024: The Japanese General Election*. Palgrave Macmillan. (with R.J. Pekkanen, D.M. Smith)
- (29) Forthcoming. 「憲法改正の正統性をどう担保するか」編:山本龍彦・佐藤信『憲法(政治)のオルターナティブ—「余白」の埋め方』勁草書房 (with 横大道聡)
- (28) 2025. 「日本の社会科学はなにを求められているのか-社会調査から見る大学への期待-」編:東京大学社会科学研究所・宇野重規・加藤晋・保城広至『社会科学のメソドロジー1: 価値と事象の社会科学』東京大学出版会、第12章、325-349 (with 田中隆一)
  - "What Is Expected of the Social Sciences in Japan? Public Expectations Toward Universities as Seen Through Social Surveys." In UTokyo Institute of Social Science, S. Uno, S. Cato, H. Hoshiro, eds. *Methodology of Social Sciences, Volume 1: Values.* University of Tokyo Press, Chapter 12, 325-349. (with R. Tanaka)
- (27) 2025. 「日本の民主主義の現状」編:竹中治堅『民主主義の再評価』楽工社 (with 高安健将, 谷口尚子)
  - "The Current State of Democracy in Japan." In T. Harukata, ed. *Reevaluating Democracy*. Rakkousha. (with K. Takayasu and N. Taniguchi)
- (26) 2025. 「憲法典」編:日本比較政治学会『比較政治学辞典』丸善出版, 394-395
  "National Constitutions." In Japanese Association of Comparative Politics, ed. *Dictionary of Comparative Politics*. Maruzen Publishing, 394-395.
- (25) 2024. 「日本国憲法の構造的柔軟性-比較憲法データからの示唆-」編:江島晶子『講座 立憲主義と憲法学〔第6巻〕 グローバルな立憲主義と憲法学』信山社, 第9章, 211-229 (with C. Winkler) "The Structural Flexibility of the Japanese Constitution Insights from Comparative Constitutional Data." In A. Ejima, ed. *Lectures on Constitutionalism and Constitutional Law [Vol. 6]: Global Constitutionalism and Constitutional Law.* Shinzansha, Chapter 9, 211-229. (with C. Winkler)
- (24) 2024. "Mass-Elite Discrepancy over Foreign Policy: Constitutional Revision in Japan." In J. Shim, ed. *Mass-Elite Representation Gap in Old and New Democracies: Critical Junctures and Elite Agency*. University of Michigan Press, 196-220. <a href="https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.12776814">https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.12776814</a>
- (23) 2024.「クオータ制の支持基盤-誰がなぜ支持するのか?-」編:三浦まり『ジェンダー・クオータ

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- がもとらす新しい政治』法律文化社, 202-22 (with 三浦まり, 金子智樹)
- "Support Base for Quotas Who Supports Them and Why?" In M. Miura, ed. *The New Politics Brought About by Gender Quotas*. Hōritsu Bunka Sha, 202-220. (with M. Miura and T. Kaneko).
- (22) 2024. 「国民の政治意識の変遷」編:加藤晋、田中隆一、ケネス・盛・マッケルウェイン『パンデミックと社会科学―ポストコロナから見えてくるもの』勁草書房, 25-43 (with 澁谷遊野)
  - "Changes in the Public's Political Awareness." In S. Cato, R. Tanaka, and K.M. McElwain, eds. *Pandemics and Social Science: Insights from Post-COVID Japan*. Keisō Shobō, 25-43. (with Y. Shibuya)
- (21) 2024.「政府要請による社会的信念の変化」編:加藤晋,田中隆一,ケネス・盛・マッケルウェイン 『パンデミックと社会科学ーポストコロナから見えてくるものー』勁草書房,44-60 (with 加藤晋,飯田高,石田賢示,伊藤亜聖)
  - "Changes in Social Beliefs Due to Government Requests." In S. Cato, R. Tanaka, and K.M. McElwain, eds. *Pandemics and Social Science: Insights from Post-COVID Japan*. Keisō Shobō, 44-60. (with S. Cato, T. Iida, K. Ishida, and A. Itō).
- (20) 2024.「信頼される「専門家」の特性」編:加藤晋,田中隆一,ケネス・盛・マッケルウェイン『パンデミックと社会科学ーポストコロナから見えてくるもの』勁草書房,85-104 (with 近藤絢子)
  - "Characteristics of Trusted 'Experts'." In S. Cato, R. Tanaka, and K.M. McElwain, eds. *Pandemics and Social Science: Insights from Post-COVID Japan*. Keisō Shobō, 85-104. (with A. Kondo)
- (19) 2024. "Constitutional Revision—Why It Failed." In Y. Funabashi and K. Nakakita, eds. *Critical Review of the Ab-Administration: Politics of Conservatism and Realism.* Routledge, 212-232. https://doi.org/10.4324/978100342794
- (18) 2023. "Japan: Manipulating (On) the Margins." In N. Tan and K. Templeman, eds. *Electoral Malpractice in Asia: Bending the Rules*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 27-42. (with T. Yoshikawa)
- (17) 2023. "Constitutional Revision in the 2021 Election." In R. J. Pekkanen, S. R. Reed, and D. Smith, eds. *Japan Decides 2021*. Palgrave Macmillan, 319-331. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-11324-6">https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-11324-6</a> 21
- (16) 2022. "Constitutional Politics in the Post-Abe Era: Institutional and Political Hurdles." *Nippon.com* (Oct 19, 2022). <a href="https://www.nippon.com/en/in-depth/d00847/constitutional-politics-in-the-post-abe-era-institutional-and-political-hurdles.html">https://www.nippon.com/en/in-depth/d00847/constitutional-politics-in-the-post-abe-era-institutional-and-political-hurdles.html</a>
- (15) 2022. 「憲法改正-なぜ実現できなかったのか」編:アジア・パシフィック・イニシアティブ『検証 安倍政権-保守とリアリズムの政治』文藝春秋,346-383
  - "Constitutional Amendment Why Could It Not Be Achieved?" In Asia Pacific Initiative, ed. *Evaluating the Abe Administration: Politics of Conservatism and Realism.* Bungei Shunjū, 346-383.
- (14) 2021. 『日本の民主主義の再評価:第1回パネル討論「日本の民主主義の現状」報告書』日本国際交流文化センター(with 竹中治堅, 高安健将, 谷口尚子) https://www.jcie.or.jp/japan/report/activity-report-14215/
  - Report: "Japan's Democracy: Lessons and Reflections 1 | The Current State of Japan's Democracy." Japan Center for International Exchange. (with H. Takenaka, K. Takayasu, and N. Taniguchi)
- (13) 2021. "The Japanese Constitution." In R.J. Pekkanen and S.M. Pekkanen, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Japanese Politics*, Oxford University Press, 23-40. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190050993.013.12
- (12) 2020. "2.2 Studying Japanese political behaviour and institutions." In N. Kottmann and C. Reiher, eds. *Studying Japan: Handbook of Research Designs, Fieldwork and Methods*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 68-71
- (11) 2020. "The Perils and Virtues of Constitutional Flexibility: Japan's Constitution and the Liberal International Order." In Y. Funabashi and J. Ikenberry, eds. *The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism: Japan and the World Order*. Brookings Institution Press, 303-323. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7864/j.ctvbnm3nv.13

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- (10) 2020. "Japan and the Liberal International Order: A Survey Experiment." In Y. Funabashi and J. Ikenberry, eds. *The Crisis of Liberal Internationalism: Japan and the World Order*. Brookings Institution Press, 359-376. (with A. Liff). https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7864/j.ctvbnm3nv.15
- (9) 2019.「危機に対応できる憲法とは一安定性と適応性の間で」編:玄田有史・飯田高『危機対応学の社会科学(上) 想定外を超えて-』東京大学出版会, 49-65.
  - "What Kind of Constitution Can Respond to Crises? Between Stability and Adaptability." In Y. Genda and T. Iida, eds. *The Social Sciences of Crisis Thinking (Vol. 1): Beyond the Unexpected*. University of Tokyo Press, 49-65.
- (8) 2018. "Constitutional Revision in the 2017 Election." In R.J. Pekkanen, S.R. Reed, E. Scheiner, and D. Smith, eds. *Japan Decides 2017*. Palgrave Macmillan, 297-312. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76475-7 16
- (7) 2017. "The Anomalous Life of the Japanese Constitution." *Nippon.com* (Aug 15, 2017) https://www.nippon.com/en/in-depth/a05602/the-anomalous-life-of-the-japanese-constitution.html
- (6) 2017. 「日本国憲法の特異な構造が改憲を必要としてこなかった」 『中央公論』 2017年5月号 "Why the Constitution of Japan has Not Required Amendments." *Chuō Kōron* May 2017
- (5) 2017. 「世界中の憲法との比較で見えた日本国憲法の特徴と普遍的価値」 『Journalism』 2017年5月号 "Fundamental Attributes of the Constitution of Japan in Comparative Perspective." *Journalism* May 2017
- (4) 2016. "Did Abe's Coattails Help the LDP Win?" In R.J. Pekkanen, S.R. Reed, and E. Scheiner, eds. *Japan Decides 2014*, Palgrave Macmillan, 103-117. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137552006">https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137552006</a> 9
- (3) 2015. "Parties and Elections in Japan." In ed. J. Babb, *The SAGE Handbook of Modern Japanese Studies*, SAGE Publications, Ch. 20, 367-391. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473909908.n21
- (2) 2014. "Party System Institutionalization in Japan." In A. Hicken and E.M. Kuhonta, eds. *Party System Institutionalization in Asia: Democracies, Autocracies, and Shadows of the Past*, Cambridge University Press, 74-107. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107300385.004
- (1) 2007. "Parties and Voters in Industrial Democracies." In C. Boix and S. Stokes, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press, pp. 555-581 (with A. Wren) https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199566020.003.0023

## WORKING PAPERS

- *Under Review.* "Does Learning from Nationalistic Textbooks Make People Nationalistic? Difference-in-Difference Analysis of Yokohama City" (with S. Cato and A. Igarashi)
- *Under Review.* "Alleviating Quota Skepticism: A Multi-Experiment Analysis of Means and Ends" (with T. Kaneko and M. Miura)
  - "Good News or Bad News? Political Social Media Messaging During the 2020 Olympics" (with E. Gagnon and Y. Shibuya)
- "Constitutional Origins in Asia: Chronology, Proximity, or History?"
- "Constitutional Evolution: When are Constitutions Amended Versus Replaced?" (with J. Clipperton)

#### **TEACHING**

McElwain 6 September 2025

Comparative Constitutional Design (Undergraduate, Graduate) Comparative Political Parties and Elections (Graduate) Comparative Politics Field Seminar (Graduate) Contemporary Japanese Politics (Undergraduate, Graduate) Japan and the World (Undergraduate, Graduate)

#### **AWARDS / GRANTS**

2023~2026: JSPS 23H00775 *How the Mass Public and Political Elites View Reforms to Political Institutions*. Principal Investigator (¥18,330,000)

2017~2020: JSPS 17H02478 *The Political Economy of Deflation: Prices, Public Opinion, and Governance.* Principal Investigator (¥17,550,000)

2017 東京大学卓越研究員 / University of Tokyo Excellent Researcher Award (¥6,000,000)

### ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIPS

American Political Science Association; Association of Asian Studies; International Political Science Association, International Society for Public Law; Japanese Association for Comparative Politics; Japanese Association of Electoral Studies; Japanese Political Science Association; 全国憲法研究会

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