How to Improve the Voter Turnout among Young Generation 205 29 Natsumi Koya

# 3. Introduction

#### 3-1. The low turnout on current election

The 25<sup>th</sup> House of Councilors election took place on July 21, 2019. The voter turnout was 48.80%, which is the second worst turnout ever. Especially it was really low among young generation. The turnout among 18 and 19 years old was only 32.28%. This number tells us that young people are not interested in politics. The low political awareness among young generation is not only in Japan, but in other countries such as the UK and the US. For example, on the referendum of Brexit in the UK in 2016, the turnout of 18 and 19 years old was much lower than that of the older generations. The Remain camp was ahead of the Leave camp among young people, while the Leave camp was ahead of the Remain camp among the older people. Eventually the Leave camp won and Brexit was decided, because the older people voted more than young people. If more young people had voted, I think, the result could have been different. There is a great disparity about the voter turnout between the young generation and the elderly generation.

They might have an idea that politics is boring and old. In addition, they feel that politics is just for the older generations. In the US, president Trump is making policies which are more advantageous to the middle classes and older people, who are his targets. Politicians tend to make policies which are more advantageous to older people than young people. Thus, young people think that even if they vote, they cannot bring about any change. I feel Japanese young people also have the same idea. And they think it is boring to talk about politics or political parties, so I don't talk about politics with my friends in school. However, this atmosphere should be changed and people should vote when they become old enough to vote, because young generations have to make their own society better. Democracy is a very precious system that respects people's will, and our ancestors had established that system through their enormous efforts in a long history. In this research, I consider why young people are not interested in politics and how to improve the voter turnout among them. I had interviews with the experts in politics University of Cambridge, in the UK.

#### 3-2. Previous research

The previous research on this theme is mainly divided into two perspectives, the system of election and the structure of law(Inoguchi,etc;2014), and a political apathy of citizens and political education(Sawada;2016). Some research is related to political apathy among the young generation. Research on this theme is mainly conducted by a questionnaire survey with a lot of young citizens. A previous research(Hata;2015) was done by a survey data of 3000 people. Another research(Sawada;2016) was also done by a survey data of 1324 young people. This research was done by a survey data with a large number of people, with both well-educated and not well-educated people. The good point of this method is that we can get the data of the recognition in general, while the data of this method does not tell us a profound thoughts of citizens. In my research, I had interviews with 3 people who are teaching politics at University of Cambridge or studied politics or law there. Through the interviews, I was able to get so much information and so many ideas from the professionals.

In the previous research, it has been reported that it is more effective for politicians to make the policies that enable elderly people to live in a comfortable environment than the policies which are advantageous to young people(Morikawa;2009). Namely, they tend to do "Silver democracy". Besides, it has reported that education of politics is incomplete in school(Yamamoto;2016). I considered political apathy among young people and Silver democracy based on this kind of research.

# 4. Fundamental

## 4-1. The turnout of the current elections

These numbers listed below are the turnout in the current elections in Japan and the UK.

### [Japan]

(%)

Title (year) / age	18-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	Total
The 23 <sup>rd</sup> House of	No data	33.37	43.78	51.66	61.77	67.56	58.54	52.61
Councilors								
election (2013)								
The 47 <sup>th</sup> House of	No data	32.58	42.09	49.98	60.07	68.28	59.46	52.66
Representatives								
election (2014)								
The 24th House of	46.78	35.60	44.24	52.64	63.25	70.07	60.98	54.70
Councilors								
election (2016)								
The 48th House of	40.49	33.85	44.75	53.52	63.32	72.04	60.94	53.68
Representatives								
election (2017)								
The 25 <sup>th</sup> House of	32.28	30.96	38.78	45.99	55.43	63.58	56.31	48.80
Councilors								
election (2019)								

(Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications)

### [ United Kingdom ]

(%)

Title (year) / age	18-34	35-64	65+	Total
UK Alternative Vote referendum (2011)	33	53	69	
UK general election (2015)	55	73	84	
The United Kingdom EU membership referendum (2016)	64	80	89	

(NatCen Social Research; 2017, British Social Attitude 34 The Vote to leave the EU)

These tables show the turnout is low among young people. Moreover, the turnout among around 60 yearold people is highest in all the elections. Its number is almost twice as high as that of young people in most of the elections. In the 24<sup>th</sup> House of Councilors election (Japan, 2016), young people's turnout (18-19) was higher than in the other elections. The main reason for this would be that this is the first election after the voting age was lowered to 18 from 20 in 2016. Although the turnout was lowered in the next election, it seemed that young people were not interested in politics.

## 4-2. How different age groups voted on the EU referendum in 2016

How young and old voted on Brexit

(Age)	Leave	Remain
18-24	27%	73%
25-34	38%	63%
35-44	48%	52%
45-54	56%	44%
55-64	57%	43%
65+	60%	40%

(source BBC)

The votes obviously divided by the different age groups. Over 70% of the young people(18-24) voted for remaining in the EU, compared with only 40% of the older people(65+) voted.

# 5. Methodology

#### 5-1.Interviews

This paper reviews the way to improve the voter turnout among young generation. I had interviews with following people.

Professor John Dunn (University of Cambridge, King's college, Professor of political theory)

Mr. Luke Belmar - Jones (Graduate of University of Cambridge)

Ms. Maggie Lin (Graduate of University of Cambridge)

#### 5-2. Research Questions

- RQ1. A referendum is a form of direct democracy that allows the opinions of the people to be reflected. However, referendums cannot be used for all decision-making. How can the government improve its people's knowledge about the political system and the mechanisms in a decision-making?
- RQ2. Politicians in Japan and the UK tend to make policies that would benefit older generations. However, our democracies are based on the notion of 'one person, one vote' and the understanding that every vote is equal. So how can we ensure that the voices of young people are heard?
- RQ3. Young people are often disillusioned with politics. How can the government help engage young people in politics since young people are our future leaders?
- RQ4. A voter turnout is often low as people do not think their votes can bring about any change. What can be done to change this misconception and improve a voter turnout? Do you think this is a misconception?

- RQ5. In the EU referendum, a majority of young people chose to remain. However, the view of around 49%. of the voters (many of whom are part of the younger generations) has been ignored. Is it possible for the Brexit process to take into account the views of the young 'remainers'? How could this be achieved?
- RQ6. There is a great disparity between the voter turnouts of young voters and these of elderly voters. This. is more apparent in the UK and in Japan. Why do you think a voter turnout is so low among young people? Why do you think young people are so apathetic or hostile to political engagements?
- RQ7. Japanese political education is unreliable. There are rules in Japan regulating how politics must be taught. Teachers have to give an impartial overview of different political opinions. Unfortunately, this has unintentionally resulted in teachers being reluctant to talk about politics at all. How can this be addressed?
- RQ8. We have some serious social problems such as the aging population and the falling birth rates in.

  Japan. These problems have resulted in a vicious cycle of low a voter turnout among young people and policies geared towards benefitting the elderly. What can be done to equalize the political influence on different generations?
- RQ9. In 2016, the voting age in Japan was lowered from 20 to 18 years old. What do you think are the most convincing justifications for lowering the voting age?
- RQ10.What is the difference between the countries (like Japan and the UK) which have low a voter turnout and the countries (like Sweden) which have a high voter turn out?

### 6. Results and Discussions

Professor John Dunn, Mr Luke Belmer-Jones and Ms Maggie Lin answered questions listed above(5.Methodology). The following is a summary of them. The full interviews are listed in 10.Appendix.

- RQ1. A referendum is a form of direct democracy that allows the opinions of the people to be reflected. However, referendums cannot be used for all decision-making. How can the government improve its people's knowledge about the political system and the mechanisms in a decision-making?
  - Dunn; It's extremely difficult to catch up with all the attention of people everyday in our lives. And it's important to relate the issues like the border, climate change, and a difference of generations.
- RQ2. Politicians in Japan and the UK tend to make policies that would benefit older generations. However, our democracies are based on the notion of "one person, one vote" and the understanding that every. vote is equal. So how can we ensure that the voices of young people are heard?

Dunn; Young people are at much better places to get their voices heard than old people because their voices are louder and have more energy, and they also have a less constraints on their times. If you look the circumstances which the politics of the society changes because of a large scale of political action, the majority of people are always young people.

Maggie; Vote. One person doesn't be counted and doesn't get the vote if you are not voting. We are lucky in. this country because the EU has a strict regulation on finance so we can vote without any dishonesty or lobbying of vote. So we just encourage people to vote. There are so much policies on older generations generations. Young people just need turnout.

Luke: It's such a hard thing because obviously I think politicians are smart that they recognize that the voter turnout is high for the older generations. So they appeal to the older generation very clearly conservative manifested things, these older generations are similar to how in the Trump's America the fact of "make America great again". And the older generation can remember that the young generation isn't really invested in so it's really quite tough to be able to make policy very advantageous to young people because there isn't desire to do that in the political field. I think the main hope is that more young people start becoming politicians and get into politics, then the older generation of politicians slowly start having less of impact and younger generation would have more of impact. So they will have the time in the future, I hope.

RQ3. Young people are often disillusioned with politics. How can the government help engage young people in politics since young people are our future leaders?

Dunn: The important question is not whether young people should think badly of professional politicians and they have been doing mistakes. I think it's important for young people to have their own sense of what is a state in politics, and to try to act to press their sense of how things should be going better. So I think it's largely a matter of awareness, will and energy. And also the government has a clear responsibility to educate their own citizens. What I mean by political education is teaching people has to understand what is actually decided and how it's decided. And teaching them is to understand what is taking the decisions. And the other the government's responsibility is to ensure that there are really serious public news media. I think it's a great importance that radio and television systems of countries. But what is certainly true here (=Britain) is that the ecology of public news media has been deteriorated very sharply in the last 50 years. The basic political help of this society is damaged by that very seriously.

Maggie: There is the idea that politics is stuffy, old and boring. So they need to try to make whole processes more modern. I think it is really good case of that the UK supreme court because they recently moved to a new building. And we can see what is going on in the parliament on the internet or smartphone, but we don't feel like watching it. Because there are so much tradition and so much political jargon and so many rituals that it's difficult for an ordinary citizen to follow what's going on. And It is

grandstanding there's no productive policymaking here. They shout each other, they laugh, they bully, and that kind of discourse it isn't encouraging to watch. So any people are not watching what's going on, when they do watch it's pretty bad. It's just looks like children fighting during politicians do their debates.

Luke: We have taken things a bit more seriously in terms of the fact that politicians have to recognize the people's lives and deciding on them to compete of a power or the status. I think getting speakers into schools, maybe politicians who living the areas where there is some maybe disadvantages schools or the schools of the students who have a maybe bit of a rough financial background, in and do it takes and get people interested in big question of politics will be good. People, the local politicians from the council came in and talk about real things that affect them in political work. Politics is something that affects everybody and that something that they should want to have for safe.

RQ4. Voter turnout is often low as people do not think their votes can bring about change. What can be done to change this misconception and improve voter turnout? Do you think this is a misconception?

Dunn; No, it is not misconception. It is true is that ordinary citizens cannot have a direct impact on the structure of elect politics. And in the countries in which there is no alternative party it's important to create other attractive parties but they can't at all easily create a new political agency they represent them. They can't make a new political party but there are not efforts with any ease. When it comes to the political election, they always have to choose between the small range options which there are and which sometimes there are nobody good options. And all of the political parties described it themselves very badly because the political attention is very low. So I mean that was a case in which you can say that is the low-revel of political education of British citizens. So the revel of the citizen's understanding is really matter enormously.

Maggie: I think it depends on based on responsibility of increasing voter turn out. If you think it's the government's responsibility, perhaps that, it should be publicly funded by other votes, raising awareness and it should be the minister for education implementing, adequate political education in schools or you could even have something a bit more cohesive. You make voting compulsory, you may pay fine if you do not vote like in Australia. So you could always make voting compulsory.

Luke: I think for the UK what has lot influence on misconception that young people have a great apathy of not carrying about the future. I think in general it is more than apathy, it is a distinction between the people of power and the way politician's conduct voting's things and conduct themselves, and between students like young people. What can be done to encourage is that politicians empower to take the lives to young people and people in from different background more seriously. And I think education has a lot to do with it. So in my opinion we should do more incentive education from younger age maybe it start high school. Also there are some students who maybe would be interested in politics but they didn't get the chance to study it and never to do.

RQ5; In the EU referendum, a majority of young people chose to remain. However, the view of around 49%. of the voters (many of whom are part of the younger generations) has been ignored. Is it possible for the Brexit process to take into account the views of the young 'remainers'? How could this be achieved?

Dunn; I think if there is another referendum, the majority would be in favor of remaining. Alot of countries voted that way because they it's felt that the government would fail if it exit the EU. But sadly it's true that EU membership, there are some disadvantages. I think simply it would be better for the decision to be rebirthed. And I think it would be perfect in political reassessment to be rebirthed in another referendum. It must be true that is better for the will of the young people, because it's they have more their lives obviously, it is the matter of natural justice.

RQ6. There is a great disparity between the voter turnouts of young voters and these of elderly voters. This is more apparent in the UK and in Japan. Why do you think a voter turnout is so low among young people? Why do you think young people are so apathetic or hostile to political engagements?

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Dunn; I think the performance of politics has been very poor for long time, young people have been exposed nothing good. I've got children, two, 21 year-old and 16 year-old's daughters. And it is definitely true of both of them, or even more definitely true of the 16 years old her life is quite large degrees conducted on her own in the interaction with her colleagues. But it's a way of life which is not actually focused on understanding the large structures acutely. It is very distracting that's is very short term in focus on. And I think that is very intensely obviously it's selfish and threatening. And what is I think definitely true is that the revel of concentration on sharing the private lives is much higher than it was in my day. I mean in my day there were greatly pledges much more, much less clearly first of all, much less intense in time and much less opened to the pictures of the wider world in which we were living. So I think it just is true that my generation had less partly even city views of the world. It's natural habit of the moment. For a generation which is not actually been educated on, this hasn't been educated at all well about the way to work.

Maggie: There is a plethora of reasons why young people may not vote, and I think probably get disillusioned with politics especially in Britain, because the houses of parliament isn't representative of the society, it stand for white, male, quite old, so young people feel like their experiences on voiced by policymakers, so they feel like even if I vote for a party in an election or general elections or local elections, we cannot expect some change. They like even feel like for the percent they won't represent my view. And I think that especially true for young people from the ethnic minority or women. But a lot of other issues, I think education is lacking in terms of how we should be good citizens and how should we participate in the democratic process. Because I think democracy is very precious but we kind take it for granted because we've had it for so long and we feel like there's no threat to it. So I think it's not true. Right now we have Boris Johnson as a Prime Minister that no one voted before. It like the small number in the conservative party voted for the new Prime Minister of a country. No one else in the country had to say who goes to

be a leader. Also because we have a parliamentary system of where government is cleared from Parliament, I think it is same in Japan. In America there is a separation of powers you can vote directly for the president. You cannot even vote indirectly for the next example from the Boris Johnson.

Luke: There could be a very big distinction between what seems like the world politics and this what the life of young person is really like. I feel like there is things don't to make the political affect more real to young people but I think in general there's a conception that young people don't really have and say their opinions. I think historically in the UK younger generations of voted more left-leaning and older generations tend to be more conservative. I think because of the climate that wearing were it's been, you know, Conservative party is in power since 2008. And Labor have had said in Brexit with the younger generation it was a lot more percentage of remain than percentage of leave but the older generation obviously it was more a high percentage of leave.

RQ7. Japanese political education is unreliable. There are rules in Japan regulating how politics must be taught. Teachers have to give an impartial overview of different political opinions. Unfortunately, this has unintentionally resulted in teachers being reluctant to talk about politics at all. How can this be addressed?

Dunn; In my opinion it can be addressed by that Japanese teacher have been labored and less harass by Japanese state. I mean it is true obviously there are a lot of roles for anti-teach politics. I teach people who come here, 18 or 19, and they spend three years here. I teach them three years in some cases of how to think about politics. If you do think about politics, you don't end up saying just nice things about any feature of politics. Politics has overwhelming important aspects of human lives, but it's not particularly effective aspects of human lives. And I mean it's important for them to be well informed and confident in their sense of what is bad about it and a determine to try to make it less bad. You can't have a good democratic stage unless it's actually kept good by the understanding energy of its own citizens. It can't to be kept good by trusting it to a small set of professionals. And democracy is not in everywhere, there are advantages in electoral democracy. But it requires of ordinary people of citizens at large, a greatly of reliably awareness.

RQ8. We have some serious social problems such as the aging population and the falling birth rates in Japan. These problems have resulted in a vicious cycle of low a voter turnout among young people and policies geared towards benefitting the elderly. What can be done to equalize the political influence on different generations?

Dunn; If young people actually exercise with a lot of energy, it can break the current balance. But the influence you should do often doing so it's very difficult under the Japanese circumstances. And it requires more energy in the intelligence of your generations than it was necessary in 50 years ago, otherwise things will get worse. I think quite a numbers of things of bad of Japanese politics need to change of independently distribution between age in society. I think it's quite clear that the Japanese

demography change their shape radically. Japan is going to need to allow a larger amount of migration. That would be a deferent social political threat for some political forces in Japan, I mean the Conservative position in Japan. The Idea of extensive migration of non Japanese is a potentially permanent basis in Japan. That is the very threatening and attractive idea. But I think Japan is extraordinarily wonderful society economically. I think Japan is to be proud of its extraordinary richness and spreading of this area as historical society in many different way. But it also has to recognize that it can't go on as that society without changing well drastically. If things are to remain as they are, things will have to change, that is true in Japan too. And I mean if all the good points about Japan can be preserved, it's going to have to change quite a lot.

RQ9. In 2016, the voting age in Japan was lowered from 20 to 18 years old. What do you think are the most convincing justifications for lowering the voting age?

Dunn; I think probably it is lowered because people of 18 now are much freer and potentially much better informed than they were at the time of voting age was decided. But it requires us to take much higher degree personal responsibility for the way they live in. I think the argument for having a high age of entitlement to vote are never be very strong. There is a reason why young people can make as good political choices as people of my age. I mean bad political choices for the bad reasons are not because they could not understand, because they don't wish to understand. My two children have a proper opinion because they now have the better sense of what will mattering on electoral choices. I think maybe 16 or 15 depends very much on the natural their educational process and the quality of public media. It's important for people to be in position to understand.

RQ10. What is the difference between the countries (like Japan and the UK) which have low a voter turnout and the countries (like Sweden) which have a high voter turn out?

Dunn; There are a lot of differences between these three countries. It is very differentiated by historical times. I mean its dangerous and interesting case in that point because in there voter turnout is going up. And in the election a number of people vote. It's because of the fact that in there electors are more poor compared to Japanese and British. And they have a more sense that politics is having effect on their lives on election. So everyone in the Sweden are better educated potentially than British and Japanese. And they also have had their political process which is been much easier to understand the consequences and much clearer than the cases in Britain or Japan. And it's been successful because of the extent to which the society has been coordinated politically and has been designed to take care of the all citizens. And in Britain the reason why the voter turnout is in general low is, I think because we've already experienced about, because of the inferior performance of political class, and because of the younger population are particularly irritated and contemptuous of that performance. But it's not true that electoral voter turnout is always low in Britain, the voter turnout in referendum is well high actually. But it's ordinarily true that the voter turnout has been very low in Europium Unions

elections. If the parties really advanced actually, it is actually competing of Conservative party in next election, I it would be an opposition to be big affect of what are not in those elections.

# 7. Conclusion

The voter turnout among young people is often low because they are not educated politically enough, and they often think that the parliament or politicians are not transparent, reliable and constructive. And also the minority people are less at the place in which their voices are heard in the society which the white, the rich, men, people graduated public schools, and older generation have a great impact on the political society. A lot of policies are more beneficial for older people than young. So it's important that young people show their awareness by voting in order not to be ignored their voices. So first of all, young people have to vote. Although it's dangerous for them to vote without enough knowledge of politics. They should have their own sense what is good or bad about politics by being educated correctly though education of politics is not enough in Japan now. All students don't have the chance to be educated well, the people who have much knowledge is often educated in the higher education institutions. Thus it would be better if they have more opportunities to be educated well about politics since they are more young, specifically in the Junior High School or High School.

# 8. Acknowledgements

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# 10. Appendix

### 1. Interview to Professor John Dunn "How to improve the voter turnout among young people"

Date: 30th July, 2019

At King's College, University of Cambridge

Answer; Professor John Dunn (King's College, Political theory, 79 years old)

RQ1. A referendum is a form of direct democracy that allows the opinions of the people to be reflected. However, referendums cannot be used for all decision-making. How can the government improve its people's knowledge about the political system and the mechanisms in a decision-making?

Dunn; Well, I think it's extremely difficult to catch up and hold the attention of people of course everyday in our lives. And I think to have education of citizen and party is central of () educated the century were there are school. And I think it's particularly important to relate to issues like the border, it logically, the climate change and difference of generation.

RQ2. Politicians in Japan and the UK tend to make policies that would benefit older generations. However, our democracies are based on the notion of "one person, one vote" and the understanding that every vote is equal. So how can we ensure that the voices of young people are heard?

Dunn; Yes. I think it's someways young people are at much better places to get their voices heard than old people. Because their voices are louder and have more energy, and they also have a less constraint on their times. So for example, in the extinction around the county. So there is no question with those majority of that who taking part to be young none at all. So I think that they also can't rely on having sedition in large wage in the political decision-making process. Because of some former set of political right which they have to actually make the voice heard one way or another shutting louder. But they have a lot of, I think, they do have much more free time, and they have much more energy. So actually principally it's quite easy for them to make them heard. If you look circumstances which the politics of the society changes blackly, because of large scale of collective actions, it's always true that the majority were quite young.

RQ3. Young people are often disillusioned with politics. How can the government help engage young people in politics since young people are our future leaders?

Dunn; I think young people are, you're right, often disillusioned with politics. Because politics is often. discrinciple and politics is, so like the US, Britain or Japan. Politics, there's also the states largely a form of the continuing activity by quite small substantial population. That's substantial electoral professional politicians. Professional politicians are necessary to be occupied with their own carriers. And they are increasingly under the public people, there are much more ordinary people and there are much more the professional politicians were not really good than they did when I was in your age. It's not true in China, maybe it's in Russia actually, anyway It's in China it's quite certainly true that, I'm in Japan too. I mean many things what different in Japan that social process I count were very differently in countries which are represented democracies, Britain and Japan. I think that the important question is not whether young people should think badly of professional politicians and they have been doing mistake. Think well of professional politicians in government have recently been doing, in Britain and also Japan. Political performance of Japanese political class who want be essential people who do professional politics in Japan. And political performance of such a people is same thing in Britain, has been very poor quite a long time. There are reasons why they do, worse people have been going into politics. But actually many many fewer really good people do go into professional politics than they did when I was young. Because it looks socially unattractive world. And it is because it has been so badly though something is lower the discussing were who want professional politics, that is how discussing cross the whole people. It's loudly the politicians collect what they do. So what I think it's important for young people is to have their own sense of what is a state in politics, and to try to act in ways which we're open to them in order to press their sense of how things should be going better. So I think it's largely a matter of awareness, will and energy on the part of young people how much well the actually play the determining the political history of their county of that time. I think the government has a clear responsibility, which is definitely public do actually to setting in which government have clear responsibility to educate their own citizens. Well, what is in the public educational sector in the schools and the universities. I think it's of course in Japan, in Japan more universities are private, it's commercial institutions there are in Britain but there are not I mean that there are no necessarily worse university some public they are. I mean universities like Keio, Waseda, are very very good university. So there are private institutions, there not public institutions. I don't know it's true that they are the best universities in Japan, so many of that used be outstanding universities. So I know the bits of them. I think the other area, I didn't know about Japanese case. I didn't watch the politics of citizen's education actually provided in Japan in schools or universities. Of course that is a very very politically intense issues in Japan because of the argument about the political curriculum. And obviously if political education means one political factor on elemental in politics feelings, truth or distorting pictures to young people, that is very bad. What I mean by political education is teaching people has to understand what is actually decided politics and how it's decided. And teaching them is to understand what is taking the decisions. So it's not very different from any education for being well affectively as a young person after finished the processes. It's a quite obviously wide range of understanding. It's not well provided in investment in British schools and universities. But it's not true that the people who attend the schools and university are well educated basically before they graduated from the university. In a lot of way in which I think the government of foreign is same even more the US. The other aspect in which I think is the government's responsibility is to ensure that there are really serious public news media. I don't think it's good idea for the government

to control because certainly it is in Japan, 15 years ago, I don't know that.... Japan had extremely good newspapers and not good newspapers too. I think it's a great importance that radio and television systems of countries. However uninhibitedly chapters they are in the way organized in their economy. It's really important public—broadcasting structures which actually convey intellectually balanced pictures of the world to citizens. So particularly to tell them to what is happening in the world inside they are in countries in elsewhere. In way which is really informative, I don't think it's bad. I know what is true in Japan. But what is certainly true here (=Britain) is that the ecology of public news media has been deteriorated very sharply in the last 50 years. The basic political help of this society is damaged by that very seriously.

RQ4. A voter turnout is often low as people do not think their votes can bring about any change. What can be done to change this misconception and improve a voter turnout? Do you think this is a misconception?

Dunn; No, it is not misconception. I mean what is true is that ordinary citizens cannot have a direct impact on the structure of elect politics, I think you're pointing in time. And a very large majority of them happen to feel in the same way about the political choices of whether or not they do. That is not so wrong within they are in control. What is true is that the election's mechanism has one very very disadvantage. In my view, it is the only one very very disadvantage. It means that the population which has been gone in particular said that people they're succeeding quite a long time has the society really deeply disliked that. It can actually get the rejected people who've been doing it. For bit anyway, that is very important in countries in which there haven't the alternative. They had opened to them is at the choice high the between just simple submitting to the government which they hate in which is obviously failing then. And actually an very agile to streets in billions of risky have been matters large quantities. That's very unattractive, but the sometimes people do it because they really hate what has been happening to them. In the electoral mechanism means you don't have to do that to get the government who has become hated and despised. So I just have great benefit but it's not a mechanism which make enable people to act at all directly on political choices, because they can't at all easily create a new political agency they represent them. They can't make a new political party but there are not efforts with any ease. When it comes to the political election, they always have to choose between the small range options which there are and which sometimes there are nobody good options. I think for example the moment in the UK, there will probably be a general election within the next month, not certain but there hasn't been constitutions but the public will be. Because the government is probably because of the carelessness creating. But that point in time, there weren't any good choices in particular in the UK, such as the matter of Scotland. And all of the political parties described it themselves very badly in last three years in one way or another. Because the political attention is very low in the case of all. So it's very hard, for you mentioned of referendums obviously that is very central future of what happened. The referendum gave a fairy narrow majority of citizens. And opportunity which we never really had before to reject them about thirty years of the way in which they had been the government. It isn't get the opportunity to do anything else which they carry on in my wished to do very actually I'm wised to them to, but they did. And what has become clear is what a bad decision is worse for the most of people because what people thought they would decide in favor of has turned out

not be wait-able. And what people thought they would decide in against has turned out to be a just expensive, explain carefully beforehand. So I mean that was a case in which you can say that is the low-revel of political education of British citizens. And actually prompt them. And some other cases some of the desperation, to them to do something in which was overwhelming stupid for them to do. So the revel of the citizen's understanding can really matter enormously at particular pointing time. And then it may not true the matter that the citizens they understand the matters what's going on. But if you are in a bad bit of long sequence of history in a sense economically, politically and socially, that is incredibly important that people they understand because they get more more upsetting, more more anxious and more more angry, and they really have never idea what is good or bad idea to do cause they don't simply understand the basis of which are really in our lives.

RQ5. In the EU referendum, a majority of young people chose to remain. However, the view of around 49%. of the voters (many of whom are part of the younger generations) has been ignored. Is it possible for the Brexit process to take into account the views of the young 'remainers'? How could this be achieved?

Dunn; I think anyway it could be achieved but it would be bad, there been another referendum, the majority would be in favor of remaining. I mean the referendum also is disastrous political moment. For the reason why people voted, not everyone obviously some people voted that way(=leave) because they hate foreigners or there are some other reasons. But quite a lot of countries voted that way because it felt that the government would be failing it for very long time. And it quite incorrectly blame the government's failure on the British membership in the European Union. There are some disadvantages in the British membership, in the European Union, and some advantages. But what is sadly true is that the European membership, the European Union, have nothing whatever to do, but it extend to which those parts of country in failure of the government. And completely connected with it. And I would say, partly because I've spent my life teaching young people and partly because I am educated by people understanding, not everyone's understanding. I think simply it would be better for the decision to be rebirthed. And I think it would be perfect in political reassessment to be rebirthed in another referendum. The people who think they want to ensure that they are pertain a victory are obviously very angry of that idea but of course they're not young people. If you know the outcome of it, it is very much worse for their lives. I also say very angry. And I'm also concerned, it must be true that is better for the will of the young people, because it's they have more their lives obviously, it is the matter of natural justice. If there is another referendum, it will have to come out of the conservative government, and it could happened in principles parliament, and it could happen because the current conservative readership of British is now voting may do, but I don't think it will. If it will only happen Brexit process actually will be stopped in some way.

RQ6. There is a great disparity between the voter turnouts of young voters and these of elderly voters. This. is more apparent in the UK and in Japan. Why do you think a voter turnout is so low among young people? Why do you think young people are so apathetic or hostile to political engagements?

Dunn; Well I think there are a lot of difference. I mean the performance of politics has been very poor for long time, young people have been exposed nothing bad the very forms. So it's not true that just think even worse of politics as preoccupation as it is for older people who don't something despite. But I think

another quite separates of all process is to do with the way young people now spend the time, their free time, and are compared with how I might contemporary stick 60 years ago. So I think there are a lot to do with the patterns of the sociology really amongst the young people opposed to people like my age. I think obviously imagining of time. I've got children, I'm too old, I'm very very ages, but I've got two, 21 year-old and 16 year-old's daughters. And it is definitely true of both of them, or even more definitely true of the 16 years old. And actually her life is quite large degrees conducted on her own in the interaction with her colleagues. And that is the way of life which can actually do something very fast. But it's a way of life which is not actually focused on understanding the large structures acutely. It is very distracting that's is very short term in focus on. And I think that is very intensely obviously it's selfish and threatening. And what is I think definitely true is that the revel of concentration on sharing the private lives is much higher than it was in my day. I mean in my day there were greatly pledges much more, much less clearly first of all, much less intense in time and much less opened to the pictures of the wider world in which we were living. So I think it just is true that my generation had less partly even city views of the world. It's natural habit of the moment. For a generation which is not actually been educated on, this hasn't been educated at all well about the way to work.

RQ7. Japanese political education is unreliable. There are rules in Japan regulating how politics must be taught. Teachers have to give an impartial overview of different political opinions. Unfortunately, this has unintentionally resulted in teachers being reluctant to talk about politics at all. How can this be addressed?

Dunn; In my opinion it can be addressed by that Japanese teacher have been labored and less harass by Japanese state. I mean it is true obviously there are a lot of roles for anti-teach politics. I teach people who come here, 18 or 19, and they spend three years here. I teach them three years in some cases of how to think about politics. If you do think about politics, you don't end up saying just nice things about any feature of politics. Politics has overwhelming important aspects of human lives, but it's not particularly effective aspects of human lives. And the aspects in which the assertion of a values is very very unreliably connected to the actual activated values. I mean politics is a lot of bad, people are claiming to be acting intelligently, honorably and trustworthy. Well actually they are acting stupidly, disrespectfully and complete young trustworthy. That has just always been true about political life. And it's a disconcerting fact about political life in people particular they're excepted it's true when they are your age. I mean it's not nice to be true. And the natural affect of its been true. I'm not sure the fact it's been true in a world economically and socially, and political organized way our lives are organized now in natural effects to make people discuss and vote by it. But it's very very dangerous for people just to be discussed to vote by it. I mean it's important for them to be well informed and confident in their sense of what is bad about it and a determine to try to make it less bad. And only a part of citizens which do have those qualities can really, I think, in the democracy, cope with what is unnecessarily, treacherous and dangerous about politics. You can't have a good democratic stage unless it's actually kept good by the understanding energy of its own citizens. It can't to be kept good by trusting it to a small set of professionals. And of course democracy is not in anywhere. I mean representative overseas anywhere which its society can be government, I mean it's not general its government. There are some advantages in which Chinese government I was at the moment but there

are terrible disadvantages too. And the picture overseas very old pictures come into actually quite a long different political societies across the world. What is really good is to have a small number of truly good people everywhere else. That picture isn't exactly wrong but it relies on it and has been too small number of the people who are doing routine really are good, and really understand very well. And it couldn't ever be to they understood very very well just because they are good and clever. They every do say because actually relations between huge number of other people could too. So that is the very very dangerous way of organizing corrective right even if it is, on pointing time, more less miraculously. So the advantage of electoral democracy is really important advantage. But its advantage which actually is (recwards) of ordinary people of citizens at large, a greatly of more than, I mean any society of which I know, they are may reliably aware.

RQ8. We have some serious social problems such as the aging population and the falling birth rates in.

Japan. These problems have resulted in a vicious cycle of low a voter turnout among young people and policies geared towards benefitting the elderly. What can be done to equalize the political influence on different generations?

Dunn; I'm afraid of giving you answer I've already given you. I mean if you have the demography exactly like Japan of the moment. It's came to turn out to be true, and if you have political class which is, Japanese political class is, I mean professional assertion is very very bad for people. If there are not conservative affective challenge, and I say in our structure is like that, the only way in which its reasonable to expect political outcomes come out in a way which is so fair between generations. If young people actually exercise with a lot of more political energy, I mean they are part of more of political intelligence of older people. I mean it can only break the balance by pushing hard and intelligently. So I wouldn't want to say, I mean I teach people but understand politics, that's the main activity in my life so it's very important for me to think about these questions. I think if you do understand well, you went to the influence you'll do thing that isn't just hoped us) But the influence you should do often doing so it's very difficult under the Japanese circumstances. And it requires more energy in the intelligence of your generations than it was necessary in 50 years ago just does otherwise things will get worse and worse and worse. I think there are some other thought. I think quite a numbers of things of bad of Japanese politics need to change in a way of independently of distribution between age its in society. I think it's quite clear that the less Japanese demography change their shape radically. Japan is going to need to allow a larger amount of internal migration. It is going to have to and obviously, that would be a deferent social political threat for some political forces in Japan and their brothers. I mean the Conservative position in Japan. The Idea of extensive migration of non Japanese is a potentially permanent basis in Japan. That is the very threatening and attractive idea. I think Japan is extraordinary wonderful society in many ways. And I think it's much prouder what really is much less frightened of that being valuable. And I think it's bit like Brexit referendum. I think it's political history of Japan since 1945 has a very very strange shape, it's shaping which in way of the society of mannish carried for very very bad time. Into past period in the see all thoughts of political shape in spite of conflict, the way of governing the country which actually economically worked very well in quite a long time. I think it's the actually improve of the life situation of a rise in population. And it's actually in some ways in which was we'll eager to tell compared to a lot of other countries. I

think that is, in a sense stopped being so exactly pointed economic expansion model so that stopped working they worked for their long period of time. And I think it wasn't surprising that the political shape lasted for such a long time. Because it was carried upwards in a sense economic success. But it's not ain't to be carried upward in that way ever again. And what was true about the depending that say 1990. In many respects obviously still true about Japan, it's still our society extraordinary deepened personally. What I was basically saying is that I think Japan is some new thinky It isn't get to come from prime minister. And I don't think to becoming from the circles of the people around the country. It could be actually principle in public true and have had a lot of young people around him, thinking about how to be successful over time. I think Japan is to be proud of its extraordinary richness and spreading of this area as historical society in many different way. But it also has to recognize that it can't go on as that society without changing well drastically. For example a history 50 years ago there has been a collapse of all political regime and the beginning of the new political regime. And it is the main character. If things again to remain as they are, things will have to change, that is true in Japan too. And I mean if all the good about Japan can be preserved, it's going to have to change quite a lot.

RQ9. In 2016, the voting age in Japan was lowered from 20 to 18 years old. What do you think are the most convincing justifications for lowering the voting age?

Dunn; I think probably mostly justification is to people 18 now are much freer and potentially much better informed than they were at the time of voting age was decided. I take it that there was some points, I don't know about the history of Japan. But anyway I think it's clear that the ways of people's lives are organized in age of 18 now in Japan. It requires us to take much higher degree personal responsibility for the way they live in, it is true in 1945. I mean there might have been emergency reasons for doing in 1945. But then they were the part of the structuring Japanese lives. I think the argument for having a high age of entitlement to vote are never be very strong. I think in principal, if you're lowered voting age at certain degree, and you also are temped to educate, I'm also saying attempt educated people politically, absolutely there is a reason why young people can make as good political choices as people of my age. I mean voter make bad political choices easily and I mean bad political choices for the bad reasons are not because they could not understand, because they don't wish to understand. So I think of my 16 years old's daughter, and I think of my 20 age's of son, I would say I think my 16 years old daughter is just reliable of political choice of my 20 year old son. And I think of a number of other people, I think both of them are more reliable than people quite older than them. Because they now have the better sense of what will mattering on electoral choices. I think maybe 16 or 15 depends very much on the natural their educational process and the quality of public media. It's important for people to be in position to understand.

RQ10.What is the difference between the countries (like Japan and the UK) which have low a voter turnout and the countries, like Sweden which have a high voter turn out?

Dunn; Well there are a lot of differences between these three countries. And even more differences between them and in there also have very high voter turnout. I think that is the international comparative evidence of the voter turnout. It is very very differentiated by historical times. I mean its

dangerous and interesting case in that point because in there voter turnout is going up. And in the election a number of people vote. It's because in fact the in there electors are more poor compared to Japanese and British. And they have a more sense that politics is having effect on their lives at the moments of election that they do it in any other time. And in Scandinavia, the society has for a long time now run very much through the way the electoral process came out. So all everyone between the Swede are better educated potentially than British and Japanese and also India. And they also have had their political process which is been much easier to understand the consequences and much clearer than the cases in Britain or Japan or India. In some ways Sweden has been the most politically successful state in the world. And it's been successful because of the extent to which the society has been coordinated politically and the extent to which the organization has been designed to take care of the all citizens. So I think it's bad of British political experiences which are, for example, there are also news strange on it some ways. But it's not working by its own understanding, but it's not understanding of particularly anywhere else, it is still actually very impressive political society. And in Britain the reason why the voter turnout is in general low is, I think because we've already experienced about, because of the inferior performance of political class, and because of the younger population are particularly irritated and contemptuous of that performance. But it's not true that electoral voter turnout is always low in Britain, the voter turnout in referendum is well high actually. And it's ordinarily true that the voter turnout has been very low in Europium Unions elections. But that's not because most of British always despise the European Union, the most of British care only of about Europium Union 4 years ago. It was a particular moment that they are focus on that question. The voter turnout of European elections 2 months ago, that was very low and even though in a way the election has political significance. And they may respect turnout with more political significances they would not have known. If the parties really advanced actually, it is actually competing of Conservative party in next election, I it would be an opposition to be big affect of what are didn't those elections.

## 2. Interview to Ms. Lin "How to improve the voter turnout among young generation"

Date: 4th August, 2019

At Downing College, University of Cambridge

Answer: Ms. Maggie Lin (A graduate of University of Cambridge)

I asked her RQ6, RQ2, RQ3, RQ4.

RQ6. There is a great disparity between the voter turnout of young voters and elderly voters. This is the. more apparent in the UK and Japan. Why do you think voter turnout is so low among young people? And why do you think young people are so apathetic or hostile to political engagement?

Maggie: We just mention it's a really big and complex question because there is a plethora of reasons why young people may not vote. I think probably they get disillusioned with politics especially in Britain because the houses of parliament isn't representative of the society, it be and stand for white, male, quite old, so young people feel like their experiences are on voiced by policymakers, so they feel like even if I vote for a party in an election or general elections or local elections. They even feel like for the percent they will represent my view. And I think that it is especially true for young people from the

ethnic minority or women. But a lot of other issues, I think education is lacking in terms of how we should be good citizens and how should we participate in the democratic process because I think democracy is very precious but we kind take it for granted because we've had it for so long time and we feel like there's no threat to it. So I think it's not true. Right now we have Boris Johnson as a Prime Minister that no one voted before. It like the small number in the Conservative party stand for the new Prime Minister of the country. No one else in the country had to say who goes to be a leader. Also because we have a parliamentary system of where government is cleared from Parliament, I think it is same in Japan. America where there is a separation of powers you can vote directly for the president. You cannot even vote indirectly for the next for example Boris Johnson.

RQ2. Politician in the UK and Japan tend to make policies that advantageous to older generations.

However our democracies are based on the notion of "one person, one vote" and understanding of that every vote is equal. So how can we ensure that the voices of young people are heard?

Maggie: Vote. because it is "one person, one vote" But if you are not voting, then you do not get that vote and one person does not count, so young people have to vote. Well, I think we are very lucky in this country because the EU has very strict regulation on finance. So we really is "one person, one vote". In the world if you look somewhere like the US where there are very lax restrictions on company finance and a lot of lobbying, you actually have a system almost "one dollar, one vote". Money is more important than individual people. But here, we have very strict campaign finance rules thanks to the EU. So here we just need to encourage people to vote. There are so much policies on older people because if they don't have that they can be voted out. By the people who do vote, who are not elderly, so young people just need turnout. Simple that.

RQ3. Young people are often disillusioned with politics. How can the government help engage young people in politics since young people are our future leaders?

Maggie: I think because of parliament and the idea that politics is stuffy, old and boring so they do need to try and make the whole process more modern. I think it is really good case of that the UK supreme court because they recently moved to a new building. I believe it was in 2010 or 2011 and you should check that. (It was in 2009) And new building is very modern, and there is a lot of glass. We think it was just trying to encourage more transparency. And in a lot of the cool cases on the live stream, people can watch it on the website, smart phones or on the laptops to know what they do, but they can't. So they are really gone out of their way to make sure that they are using technology in a way that allows young people see what's going on and see just recent work from everywhere. Parliament does that in a way does have cameras and net, but often have so much tradition and so much political jargon and so many rituals that it's difficult for an ordinary citizen to follow what is going on. And actually if you watch a commons debate, it is not productive. They shout each other, they laugh, they bully, and that kind of discourse it isn't encouraging to watch. A normal person watching that would be like they never gonna get anything done, this is all just for show. It is grandstanding there is no productive policymaking here. So no any people are not watching what is going on, when they do watch it is pretty bad. It is just looks like children fighting during politicians do their debates.

RQ4. Voter turnout is often low as people do not think their vote can bring about change. What can be done to change this misconception and improve voter turnout?

Maggie: I think part of the answer of few questions, it depends on and based on responsibility of increasing voter turn out. If you think it is the government's responsibility, that perhaps that, it should be publicly funded other votes or raising awareness. Otherwise it should be the minister for education implementing, adequate political education in schools or you could even have something a bit more cohesive. You can make voting compulsory, you may fine if you do not vote. Which is having in Australia. And northern countries voter turn out is over 90%. So you could always make voting compulsory.

#### 3. Interview to Mr. Jones "How to improve the voter turnout among young generation"

Date: 6th August, 2019

At Downing College, University of Cambridge

Answer: Mr. Luke Belmar – Jones

I asked him RQ4, RQ3, RQ6, RQ2.

RQ4. Voter turnout is often low as people do not think their vote can bring about change. What can be done to change this misconception and improve voter turnout?

Luke: I think, obviously I cannot really speak about the UK system because that where I know for it. But I think for the UK what has lot influence on a misconception that young people have a great apathy of not carrying about the future and they say that I do not want be bothered or I am not interested in politics. I think in general it is more than the apathy, it is kind of a distinction between the people of power and the way like politician's conduct voting's things and conduct themselves, and between what students like young people. So in the real I think particular in Britain the idea that politician have not things that is playing on the radio or on the television for young people to see. They are very absurd because a lot of politicians are from public school, that is the school for the 1% of the country, the richest people rather than for the rest of country, like Eton, that it can give us atmosphere where the people that has taken people's lives, not very seriously, in that you said insult each other and low turnout but there is the lest of the counting that they do. And it can be very nonproductive for young voter audience to see that the politicians do not really care about them so they reflect that same apathy. So maybe trying to encourage, what can be done to encourage is that the people politicians empower to take the lives young people and people in from different background more seriously, I think. And I think education has a lot to do with it. So in my opinion we should do more incentive education from younger age maybe it start high school. In terms of explain the people different, political alignments encouraging people to what are right opinions to things and how to run views on topics. I think the way of school is, it is more conservative school, so it is taught that the other side of disrespecting and we were not really shown those ideas we have to the school and them. And some students obviously, who captures the political news more, in my opinion are more informed, but other

students who maybe would be interested in politics, but they didn't get the chance to study it and never to do.

RQ3. Young people are often disillusioned with politics. How can the government help engage young people in politics since young people are our future leaders?

Luke: I think, like I said before, we have taken things a bit more seriously in terms of the fact that politicians have to recognize the people's lives and deciding on that to them compete of a power or the status. I think as well getting so speakers into schools like maybe politicians who living in areas where there is some maybe disadvantages schools or the schools where the students have a bit of a laugh financial background going in and do talk and get people interested in big question of politics. It will be good event in schools organized entirely. But preferably a external thing were people maybe the local politicians or local so delegates from the council came in and talk about the real things that affect that will be affecting them in political work and just making them very real for them that. Politics is something that affects everybody and it is something that they should want to have a safe.

RQ6. There is a great disparity between the voter turnout of young voters and elderly voters. This is the more apparent in the UK and Japan. Why do you think voter turnout is so low among young people? And why do you think young people are so apathetic or hostile to political engagement?

Luke: I think similar to what I said before there could be a very big distinction between what seems like the world politics and what the life of young person is really like. I feel like there is to be things don't to make the political affect more real to young people but I think in general there's a soft conception that young people don't really have and say their opinions, it doesn't matter. I think because at the moment in the UK experience, really historically in the UK, younger generations of voted more left-leaning and older generations tend to be more conservative and I think it is because of the climate that it has been, you know, Conservative party has been in power since 2008. And like you know Labor have had said for the long, also that Brexit were with the younger generation it was a lot more percentage of remain than percentage of leave but the older generation obviously it was more a high percentage of leave. I think because of these points in recent history where the decision of the young people has been opposed to the decision that the most of the young people have made are really sore and had a knock on effect on how young people think their opinion nonsense, because they lost in general and they lost the past few elections. And I think they have believed in that they were not voted in in the UK, I think.

RQ2. Politician in the UK and Japan tend to make policies that advantageous to older generations.

However our democracies are based on the notion of "one person, one vote" and understanding of that every vote is equal. So how can we ensure that the voices of young people are heard?

Luke: It's such a hard thing because obviously I think politicians are smart that they recognize that the voter turnout is higher for the older generations. Then they appeal to the older generation more than young. You can see very clearly in Conservative manifested things, there are much clearing to older Conservative generation and clearing, thinking back to a time when things were better obviously in the

right time. These older generations are similar to how in the Trump's America the fact of "Make America great again", it is very hawk in the back to time that the older generation can remember which may the young generation is not really invested in. So it is really quite tough to be able to make policy very advantageous to young people. Because there is not desire to do that in the political field. I think the main hope is that as so generations flow and as more young people start becoming politicians and get interest in politics that hopefully this course of progress, the course of globalization things. And I've been hoping starkly over the past of 50 years or so. My hope is that this continues and that the older generation of politicians slowly start having less of impact and younger generation would have more impact. I mean it is tough to say because a long time when younger generation glow they do become more like the older generations interviews when I stop to glow but I think in general the incline is favoring towards what new people think because like obviously 50 years ago the world is a very different place, different intolerances and different views that would be consider none. I think just the general flow of time makes it so that the younger people now even know it feels more of helpless, it doesn't have to say, so they will have the time in the line in the future, I hope.