

Voluntary Extension of Franchise: Demeny Voting in Japan

Reiko Aoki, Erwann Sbai, Rhema
Vaithianathan

if a woman could be brought in under Lord Romilly's Act ,
so might a cow!

MP, Britain, 1850

"The women's suffrage movement is only the small edge of the wedge, if we allow women to vote it will mean the loss of social structure and the rise of every liberal cause under the sun. Women are well represented by their fathers, brothers, and husbands."

Winston Churchill (undated)

Japan has Poor Family Support Policies

- Japan has experienced below replacement fertility
- Cross-country comparisons show that low fertility is correlated to low levels of Government support for children with particularly strong effects on child support policies.
- Japan's has the lowest rates of pro-family transfers
- "pro family transfer" is defines as the average additional disposable income (after taxes and cash transfers) of a one-earner-two-parent-two-child family as compared to the disposable income of a childless single earner (expressed as a percentage of the disposable income of the childless single earner.)

Japan Requires Pension Reform

- Japan is considered the most inter generationally unequal society in the world (Kotlikoff and Leibfritz, 1999)
- Demeny argued that providing proxy voting for the young would improve intergenerations equity
- E.g. the percentage of voters who were at pension age by 2050 would drop from 46.4% to 39.8% or 28.9% (if behavioural response taken into account)

PAYG and subsidisation of fertility

- social security independent of whether one has children
- If children are costly, people will free-ride on other's
- => child rearing should be subsidized
- Fertility will be sub-optimal
- Requires an instrument where subsidy (or pension) should be increasing in the number of children
- But... Japan has very poor pro-family transfers

Top Issues for LDP Manifesto in National Elections

2007 Pension
Civil Service
Education

2005 Privatisation

International Competitive
Civil Defence

2003 Pension & Health
National Security
Privatisation

Hypothesis

- Only those who get the franchise will support Demeny Voting
 - No possibility of “voluntarily” expanding franchise
- Only people who support pro-family policies will support Demeny
 - Better to lobby for the specific policy than for Demeny

Survey of Adults about Demeny Voting

- Conducted on December 27 and 28, 2011 by an internet survey company
- Have at least one child 19 years old or younger : 1027 respondents
- Have children all 20 years old or older : 515 respondents
- No children: 514 respondents

How representative is the sample?

Age	Survey data (%)			Population Census (2011 estimates from Japan Stats, over 20 year)		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
20 – 24	2.49	3.75	3.11	6.4%	5.6%	6.0%
25 – 29	4.21	5.52	4.86	7.2%	6.4%	6.8%
30 – 34	8.62	10.06	9.33	8.1%	7.3%	7.7%
35 – 39	16.67	18.05	17.35	9.8%	8.8%	9.2%
40 - 44	14.94	19.43	17.15	9.2%	8.3%	8.7%
45 - 49	13.79	15.19	14.48	7.9%	7.3%	7.6%
50 - 54	11.4	9.76	10.59	7.6%	7.0%	7.3%
55 - 59	11.02	6.8	8.94	8.3%	7.8%	8.0%
60 - 64	9.87	6.31	8.11	10.4%	10.0%	10.2%
65 - 69	3.45	3.45	3.45	7.5%	7.6%	7.5%
70 - 74	2.2	1.08	1.65	6.6%	7.1%	6.9%
75 - 79	1.15	0.2	0.68	5.3%	6.4%	5.9%

Voting intentions: Results vs. Survey

	<i>Election Results</i>	<i>Survey</i>
LDP	35%	43%
Kometi	14%	5%
Democratic	13%	10%
Ishin	12%	13%
JCP	10%	10%
Min-na	9%	13%
Social	2%	1%
Seikatsu	2%	2%
Daichi	1%	0%
Midori	1%	1%

From 2013
Survey

Methodology

- Use regression discontinuity to identify whether there is an impact on support for voting
- Estimate the following equation to test if people favour DV if they favour pro-child policies
- $Opp = \beta_0 + \beta_1 DE + \beta_2 Prochild + \beta_3 DE.Prochild + \beta_3 MinAge + u$

Descriptive Statistics

	Family Status			Total
	At least one child aged below 20 years	No children	All children are older than 19 years	
Age	41.68 (.22)	37.82 (.46)	60.19 (.32)	45.36 (.26)
Oppose Demeny Voting	0.32 (.01)	0.56 (.02)	0.68 (.02)	0.47 (.01)
Education or child support identified as a policy priority	0.45 (.02)	0.15 (.02)	0.12 (.01)	0.29 (.01)
Education identified as a policy priority	0.17 (.01)	0.08 (.01)	0.09 (.01)	0.13 (.01)
Child-support identified as a policy priority	0.32 (.01)	0.07 (.01)	0.03 (.01)	0.19 (.01)
Number of Respondents	1027	515	514	2060

	Estimated coefficients
Minimum Age of Children	0.0031 (0 .0002)
AgeDummy ²⁰	0.300*** (0.0491)
Constant	0.292*** (0.0222)
Observations	1545

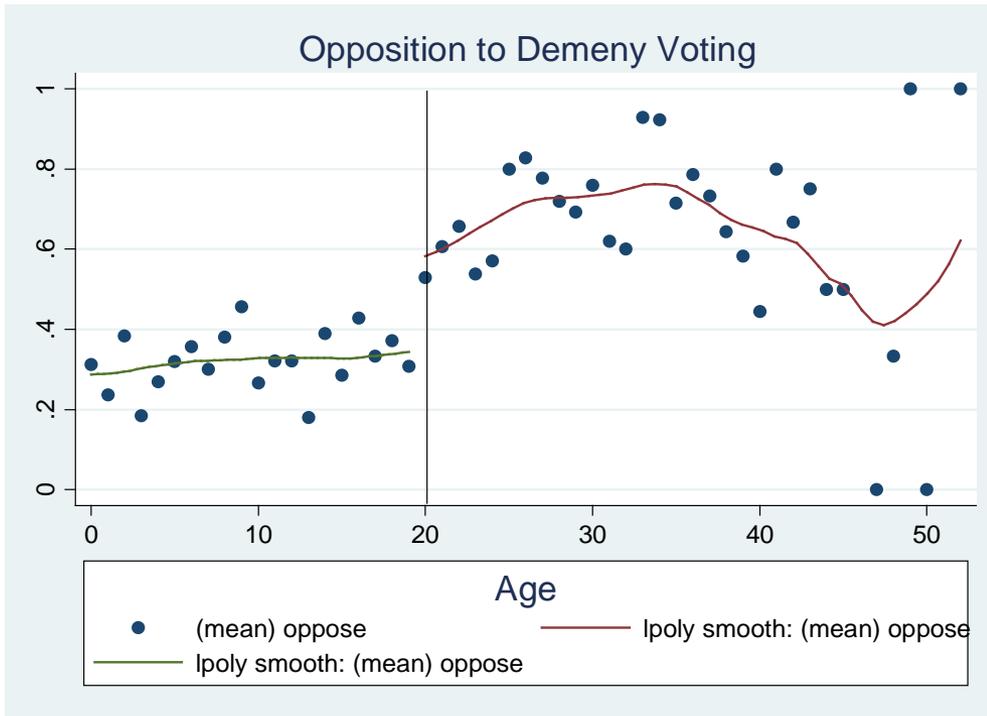
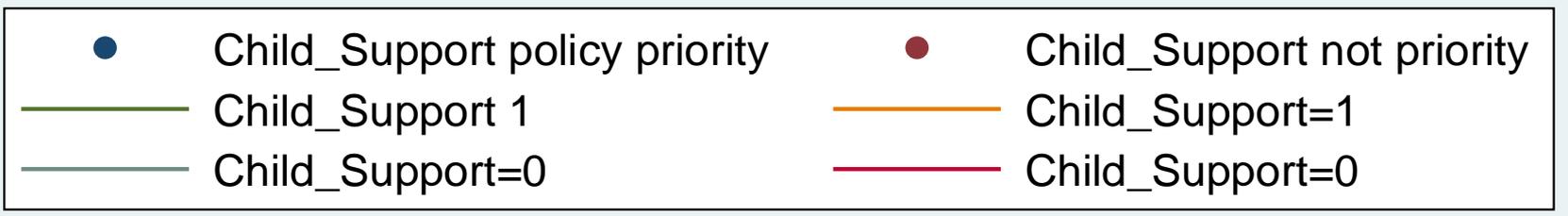
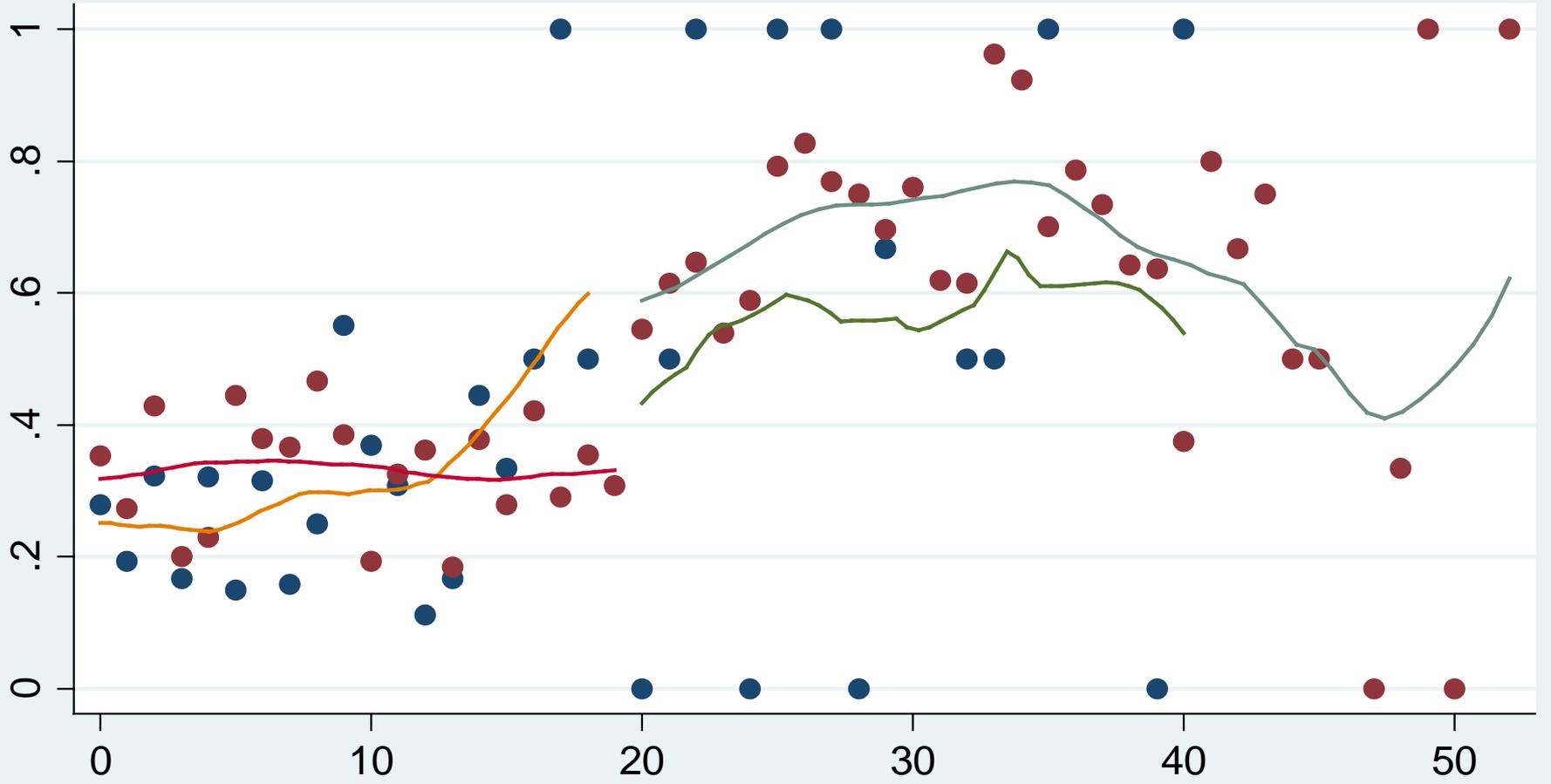


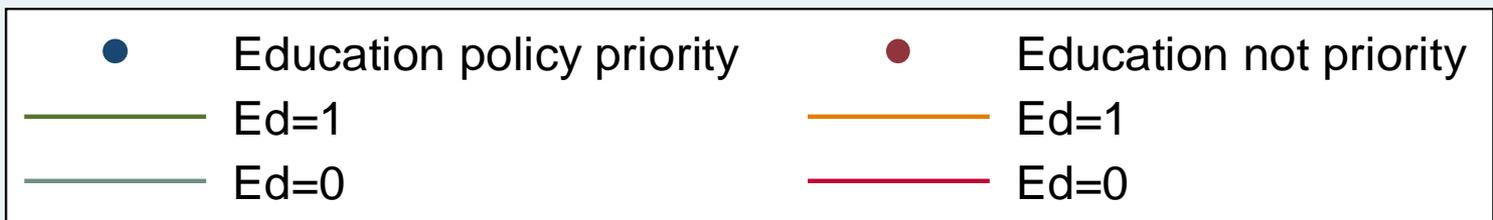
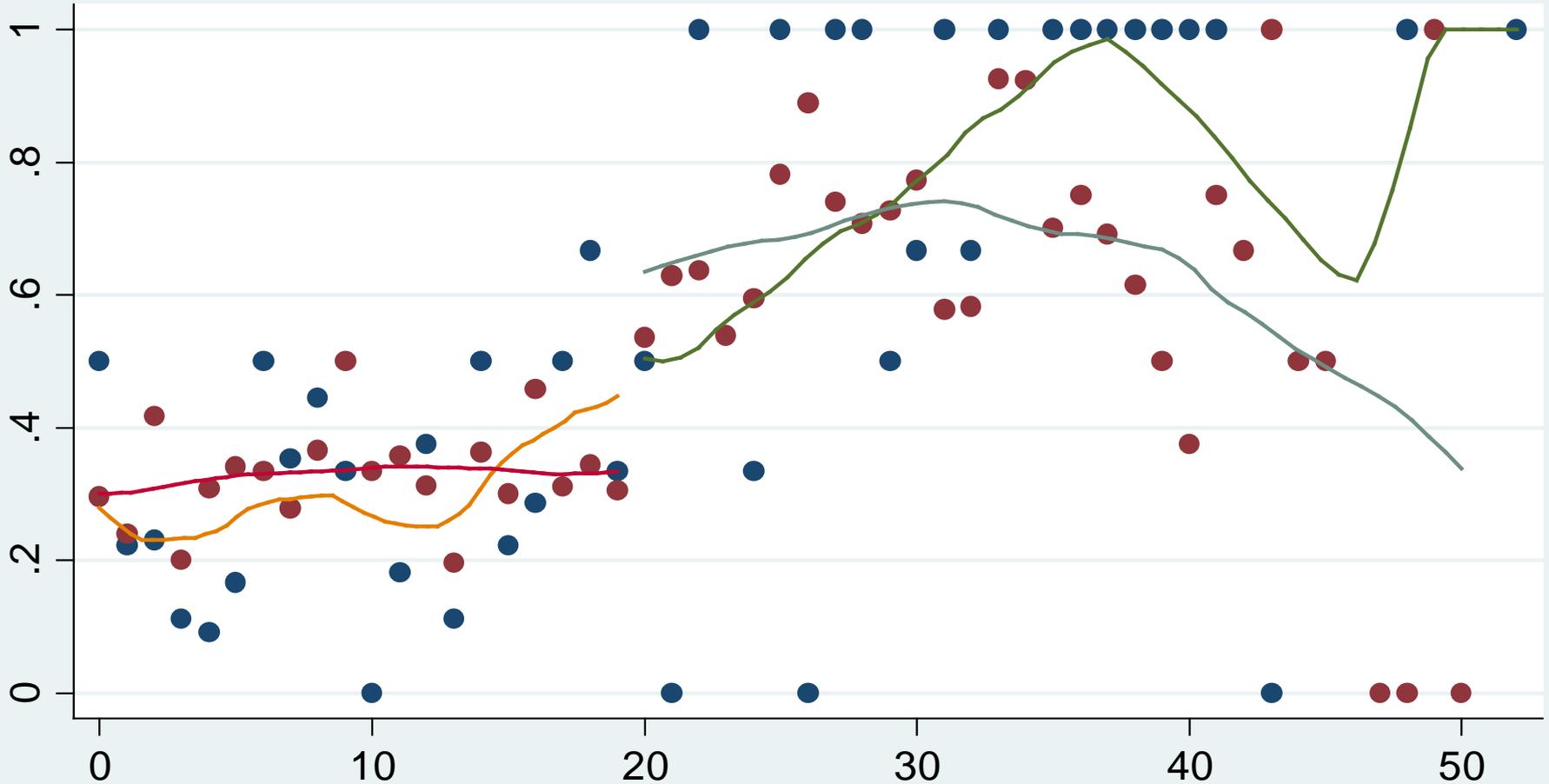
Table 1: Age-break coefficients and t-statistics

t-stats	6.12	5.97	5.42	5.00	4.58
Age	20	21	22	19	24

Opposition to Demeny Voting and Child Support priorities



Opposition to Democracy Voting and Education



Opposition to Demeny and policy priorities

Constant	0.569 (25.02)**
Demeny Eligible (b_1)	-0.301 (6.07)**
Po-child Policy Priority (b_2)	-0.091 (2.06)*
Minimum Age of Child if respondent is a Parent (b_4)	0.003 (1.23)
Demeny Eligible & Pro-child Policy Priority (b_3)	0.040 (0.76)
Observations	2060
R-squared	0.10

Conclusion

- Respondents did trade off between their own franchise and support for DV
- Those who favoured pro-child policies were more likely to favour DV
- Suggests that it is difficult to extend Demeny Voting via voluntary franchise
- Substantiates the objections to Demeny