Women in Political Party Recruitment in Japan: A Comparative Study of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and the Constitutional Democratic Party (CDP)

Ardhana Ulfa Azis[1*], Mossadeq Bahri[2], Chusnul Mar'iyah[3,] EVA ACHJANI ZULFA

ardhana.ulfa@ui.ac.id

[123]Faculty of..... , University of Indonesia, Indonesia

School of Strategic and Global Studies, University of Indonesia, Indonesia

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Abstract

This research will shed light on the role of women in political parties in Japan. Japanis still in 125th position out of 146 countries in the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index (GGI) Report 2023. This puts Japan at the bottom among developed countries. Even though various policies related to gender equality have been taken by the Japanese government. Politics as an instrument of democracy should ideally play a role in the promotion and campaign of gender equality in Japan. The ruling LDP (Liberal Democratic Party) and the opposition CDP (Constitutional Democratic Party) also played the issue of gender equality as part of efforts to respond to women's public. The response of political parties can certainly be traced to how political parties recruit and place women in party and parliamentary structures. This is the purpose of this study, to find out how the LDP and CDP recruit and candidacy women in their respective parties as an effort to realize gender equality. Using qualitative methods and party recruitment perspectives, it was found that both LDP and CDP provide space for women's involvement in their political parties. Although the LDP in the recruitment of women still uses a conservative and exclusive approach, the CDP is more progressive and inclusive. And also both, the LDP and CDP both consider the capital and political motivations of each female candidate. However, neither of them has made the affirmative quota policy effective within his party.

I. Introduction

In political parties that have committed to formally equalizing opportunities between men and women, in fact, women still tend to be underrepresented as members or as activists in parties. There are reasons why women are less accommodated in parties, including that parties still rely on men in building support for the party because they consider men to be the best decision makers whose influence has been built from family institutions. In addition, parties do not want to create party management problems by making it easier for women to enter certain positions because it will cause hierarchical conflicts. And because they are rejected by influential people in the party, women have little incentive to get involved in the party.[1]

Japan in 2020, shows the number of women exceeds the number of men, namely women 64.797 million people (51.17%) while men 61.35 million people (48.83%), women are 3. 447,000 more than men,[2] but the number of men in political parties and in parliament is consistently greater than the number of women. Women's participation in politics makes Japan the 9th worst gender gap country in the world.[3] The status and dynamics of relations between men and women in the Japanese economy and politics confirm that Japan is characterized by patriarchy as the dominant culture.[4]

Women in Japan began voting in general elections in 1946 at a much higher rate than men. However, the struggle for voting rights had been initiated long before that time.[5] In 1919, the first women's political organization called the Shin Fujin Kyookai was formed to advocate for women's political rights, and later women were allowed to join political organizations although they remained

[1] Alan Ware, 1996, *Political parties and party systems*, New York: Oxford University Press, p. 81
[2] Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2021, *"令和２年国勢調査 人口等基本集計"*, Available on: https://www.stat.go.jp/data/kokusei/2020/kekka/pdf/summary_01.pdf, Accessed.....th, 2023. , October 5, 2023
[3] World Economic Forum, 2023, *Global Gender Gap Report 2023*, Geneva: World Economic Forum
[4] Mikiko Eto, "Women and Representation in Japan", International Feminist Journal of Politics, Vol. 12 No. 2, 2010, p. 177-201, DOI: 10.1080/14616741003665227; Chie Nakane, 1970, *Japanese Society*, Harmondsworth: Middlesex, England Peguin book, ltd; Emma Dalton, 2015, *Women and politics in Contemporary Japan*, London; New York; NY: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group
[5] H.J. Jones, "Japanese Women and party Politics", Pacific Affairs, Vol. 49 No. 2, 1976, p. 213. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2307/2756066

disenfranchised until 1946.[6]

Japanese women's political participation in the category of election participation can be said to be high, but it is not followed by sufficient representation in parliament. According to data from the Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU) as of July 1, 2022, Japan ranks 165th in the ranking of women in its national parliament, with 46 seats out of 465 seats (9.9%) in the lower house (2021 election results) and 56 seats out of 248 seats (25.8%) in the upper house (2022 election results). The position of women in parliament in 2022 is as shown in the following table:

Table 1
Japan's Diet/Parliament as of July 8, 2022

Party	House of Representatives (HoR)		Party	House of Concillors (HoC)	
	Women	Men		Women	Men
Liberal Democratic Party	20	241	Liberal Democratic Party	23	95
The Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan and the Independent	13	84	The Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan and Social Democratic Party	18	21
Nippon Ishin (Japan Innovation Party)	4	37	Komeito	4	23
Komeito	4	28	Nippon Ishin(Japan Innovation Party)	4	17
Democratic Party For the People	1	10	Democratic Party For the People and The Shin-Ryokufukai	3	9
Japanese Communist Party	2	8	Japanese Communist Party	5	6
Yushi no Kai	0	5	REIWA SHINSENGUMI	1	4
REIWA SHINSENGUMI	2	1	Hekisuikai	2	0
Independents	0	4	NHK Party	0	2
			Okinawa Whirlwind	0	2
			Independents	4	5
Vacancies	1		Vacancies	0	
Total	46 (9,9%)	419	Total	64 (25,8%)	184 (74,2%)

[6] Susan J. Pharr, 1981, *Political Women in Japan ; the search for a place in Political Life,* California: University of California Press

		(90,3%)			
Total	465		Total	248	

Source: Processed from the official websites of the Lower House and Upper House of Japan https://www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/itdb_english.nsf/html/statics/english/strength.htm https://www.sangiin.go.jp/japanese/joho1/kousei/eng/strength/index.htm

The table above shows the low position of women in the lower house (House of Representatives) and the upper house (House of Concillors). Even the two major parties, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and the Constitutional Democratic Party (CDP), do not have many female cadres in the Diet.

Similar to other countries in the world, Japanese women are also struggling to increase their involvement in politics, such as in political parties and parliament. The Japanese government itself supports this struggle by issuing a number of policies to encourage women's involvement in various fields including politics. In addition to the 1947 Japanese constitution which has gender equality in it, Japan has also ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination (CEDAW) convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women in 1985. And in 1999, the national government enacted the Law for a gender-equal society, which for the first time articulates the paradigm of a gender-equal society and requires the state to create institutional mechanisms that promote equal gender participation and gender equality.

The involvement of women in political parties, in general, gets a way from existing political parties. The phenomenon of the emergence of women activists in political parties is not new. In the 1986 election year, Takako Doi, a female politician who became chairwoman of the Social Democratic Party of Japan, managed to seize the dominance of seats in the Upper House which shook the position of the LDP as the ruling party and managed to place 22 women in the Upper House.[7] In contemporary Japanese politics, a number of women have also advanced in the competition for the position of party leader and even prime minister. For example, in 2008 Yuriko Koike of the LDP, who is currently the governor of Tokyo, attempted to become the country's first female prime minister. Then there are two women from the LDP party out of four who are competing in

[7] Lynne Y. Nakano, "Women in politics in Japan: beyond housewife activism", Asian Anthropology, Vol. 17 No. 2, 2018, p. 71-84, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/1683478X.2018.1458405; Vera Mackie, 2003, *Feminism in Modern Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

the prime ministerial election on the September 29, 2021 vote, namely, Sanae Takaichi and Seiko Noda. Takaichi is a former interior minister, while Noda is a former minister of post and gender equality they are competing to replace Prime Minister Yoshihide Suga. Previously, Seiko Noda in 2015 had competed with Shinzo Abe for the chairmanship of the LDP party.[8] In the recent July 10, 2022 Upper House election, women broke the record for the highest number of women in the Assembly with the entry of 35 women compared to 28 in the 2019 election. And with the number of candidates at 33.3% surpassing 30%, it was the first time in post-war Japan in both the Upper House and Lower House. This number of candidates was largely contributed by parties outside the LDP, such as the CDP, SDP and CJP parties fielding over 50% of their candidates as women.[9]

Japan still ranks 125 out of 146 countries in the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Index (GGI) Report 2023, which measures the gap between men and women in political representation, economic empowerment, education and health. This puts Japan at the bottom of the rankings among developed countries. Likewise, in the gender development index (GDI) measure compiled by UNDP in 2021, Japan is included in the moderate equality group, even though Japan belongs to the very high human development group.

The presence of women in political parties is the role of women present in political institutions as a representation and articulation of women's interests, in addition to socializing, mobilizing, participating, recruiting and influencing political policy.[10] The dominant party system prevailing in Japan, perpetuating the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) to become the ruling party, but always overshadowed by opposition parties in the parliamentary system of government. Since 1955, the LDP has ruled the Diet and the government, but in 1986, the Socialist Democratic Party of Japan, the largest opposition party, defeated the LDP in the Upper House and put 22 women in the Upper House from only 12. It was also noted that in the 2009 election the LDP lost to the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) and placed 40 women out of the DPJ's 160 female candidates, making the

[8] Rehia Sebayang, April 2th, 2019, *"Srikandi Ini Siap Geser Shinzo Abe dan Jadi PM Jepang"*, Avavilable on Website: https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20190402150738-4-64324/srikandi-ini-siap-geser-shinzo-abe-dan-jadi-pm-jepang, Accessed th, 2023. October 7, 2023

[9] Mellani Eka Mahayana, July 11th, 2012, *"Rekor, 35 Perempuan Raup Kursi Majelis Tinggi Jepang"*, Available on Website: https://rm.id/baca-berita/internasional/131961/rekor-35-perempuan-raup-kursi-majelis-tinggi-jepang, Accessed .....th, 2023. October 7, 2023

[10] Mirriam Budiardjo, 2008, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta: Gramedia

Lower House 54 women. The 2012 election was again won by the LDP and has been in power until now, but is still overshadowed by the opposition parties.[11] The CDP (Constitutional Democratic Party) is the largest opposition party today and has also recorded a representation of women in the party and parliament that is quite competitive with the LDP women. A comparison of the number of women in the Diet between the LDP and CDP as of July 2022 reported that in the Lower House, the LDP has 20 women out of 261 members (7.66%) while the CDP has 13 women out of 97 members (13.4%), and in the Upper House, the LDP has 23 women out of 118 members (19.4%), while the CDP has 18 women out of 39 members (46.1%).[12]

Although the number of women's representation in politics is still low, there are efforts to increase the representation of women in political parties and continue it to parliament. The presence of women in Japanese political parties, especially in the LDP as the dominant party and the CDP as the opposition party, is interesting to be further explored. How the LDP and CDP encourage women's involvement in their respective political parties, in this case how the LDP and CDP recruit and candidate women for positions in political parties and in parliament.

Theoretical Framework

The party perspective in political science emphasizes the similarity of political ideals, political ideology, and political orientation of citizens.[13] Organizing citizens on the basis of these similarities has political bargaining power in the political process, such as political conversion involving all political structures. The demands and support put forward by political parties and other political infra-structures are converted into political policies and political decisions.[14] In the view that political parties are institutions that unite people for the purpose of exercising state power, representing more than one interest,

[11] Lynne Y. Nakano, "Women in politics in Japan: beyond housewife activism", Asian Anthropology, Vol. 17 No. 2, 2018, p. 71-84, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/1683478X.2018.1458405
[12] The House of Representatives Japan, Oct 24th, 2023, *"Strength of the In-House Groups in the House of Representatives"*, Available on: https://www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/itdb_english.nsf/html/statics/english/strength.htm; House of Councillors The National Diet of Japan, Nov 8th, 2023, *"Strength of the Political Groups in the House of Councillors"*, Available on:https://www.sangiin.go.jp/japanese/joho1/kousei/eng/strength/index.htm, Accessed .....th, 2023 October 24 th 2023
[13] Alan Ware, 1996, *Political parties and party systems*, New York: Oxford University Press
[14] Mirriam Budiarjo, 2008, *Dasar-Dasar Ilmu Politik*, Jakarta: Gramedia

political parties will consist of many people from any element as long as they have the same beliefs, values and attitudes that will represent any interest, including women in political parties.

The involvement of women in political parties as a form of expression of liberal feminism is a form of social mentality reform for women to be able to obtain equality in all aspects of life, without being limited by customary constraints, so that all forms of discriminatory treatment of women can be protected by law. Which raises several agendas such as urging political and social institutions to give voting rights in general elections, considering and providing space for gender studies and feminism in the academic sector, and considering equal rights for women in the economic and labor sectors.[15]

The presence of women in political parties is seen starting from the recruitment process by political parties. Political recruitment is a selection to find talented people who will be seated in political positions or positions. According to Pippa Norris (1997), a good recruitment process is based on the candidate's achievements and history. To analyze the recruitment process, Pippa Norris divides it into 4 levels of analysis, namely 1) analysis at the level of the political system consisting of the electoral law system and the party system, 2) the recruitment process that analyzes internal party democracy, 3) analysis of candidates, and 4) level of analysis on selectors.[16]

Japan's political system is a parliamentary democracy, which operates a free, open and competitive electoral system that establishes a dominant one-party system. Japan has had two party lines since the 1880s that originated from two oligarchic groups demanding a greater political role, namely the Jiyuto group (liberal group) and the Minseito group (government group). The former became the Liberal Party and the latter the Democratic Party. These two party lines eventually formed the ruling party and the opposition party from the election results since the 1947 election until now. The LDP (Liberal Democratic party) was the ruling party from 1955 until now (2022) and is a right-wing conservative party. It was briefly defeated in the 1986 Upper House election by the Democratic Socialist Party of Japan and in 2009-2012 by the opposition DPJ (Democratic Party

[15] Rosemarie Tong, 1998, *Feminist Thought; A More Comprehensive Introduction*, Second Edition. Edisi Indonesia. Yogyakarta: Jalasutra

[16] Pippa Norris, 1997, *Passages to Power; Legislative Recruitmen in Advanced Democracies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 1-14

Japan). The LDP has responded to women in its party policies, both presenting them in political parties, contesting them in elections and also making policies related to meeting women's needs.

Partai Constitusional Demokrat (CDP) saat ini (20017- 2022) menjadi partai oposisi terkuat membayang-bayangi LDP. CDP yang terbentuk tahun 2017 adalah partai liberal atau sosial-liberal, dan mendukung konstitusionalisme. Partai ini digambarkan sebagai partai progresif dan kiri-tengah, karena para tokohnya berasal dari partai tengah atau kiri-tengah. CDP tentunya melihat isu kesetaraan jender adalah factor yang bisa menarik perhatian dan simpati masyarakat Jepang. Dalam hal pemberlakuan kuota afirmasi perempuan, dikatakan bahwa partai-partai kiri lebih cenderung mengadopsi kuota daripada partai-partai liberal atau konservatif, dan partai-partai yang lebih baru cenderung memperkenalkan kuota lebih cepat daripada partai-partai yang lebih tua.[17]

II. Research Method

This research uses a qualitative method to explain how the LDP and CDP recruit women in their respective parties. Data was collected by the author through official sources such as websites, books, journals and news articles as sources of the literature method and then analyzed to draw conclusions.

III. Results and Discussion

Gender Equality Policy in Japan

After Japan ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1985, the Japanese government followed up with a number of pro-gender equality policies.

In 2016 Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of the LDP implemented a pro-gender equality policy popularly known as Womenomics. In an effort to support his womenomics policy, Shinzo Abe established five gender equality-based programs, namely; (1) The Fourth Basic Plan; (2) Equal Employment Opportunity Laws; (3) Intensive Policy; (3) Childcare and Family Care Leave Law; and (5) Act on Promotion of Women's Participation and Advancement in the Workplace. Matsui

[17] Mikiko Eto, "Women and Representation in Japan", International Feminist Journal of Politics, Vol. 12 No. 2, 2010, p. 177-201, DOI: 10.1080/14616741003665227

(2014) notes that the four programs are measured against three indicators of success, namely; (1) an increase in women's representation by 30% to fill leadership positions by 2020; (2) an increase in the percentage of the female workforce between the ages of 25-44 to pursue the target of 73% by 2020 from 68% in 2012; and (3) an increase in the percentage of women returning to work after having their first child to meet the target of 55% by 2020 from 38% in 2010.[18]

In the political field, increasing women's representation is related to the electoral system mechanism implemented. In Japan, three types of electoral systems have been implemented, namely the Lower House electoral system is independently combined, consisting of single-member districts and PR lists; the Upper House is a combination of multi-member districts and PR lists; and local assemblies are multi-member districts. The Japanese case confirms that PR districts and multi-member districts are more women-friendly than single-member districts. In multi-member districts, larger district sizes improve women's access to the Upper House and local assemblies.

Japan has also adopted gender quotas to increase women's representation in politics, as mandated by the 1995 Beijing conference which required member states to intensify efforts to ensure women's equal participation in all national and local legislatures, aiming to increase the proportion of women in decision-making positions to at least 30 percent. However, Japan has not yet streamlined the implementation of the gender quota system, including in the LDP and CDP.

Recruitment of Women in LDP and CDP

Recruitment is the selection of talented people who will be seated in political positions or positions by political parties. In the first election after the Second World War in 1946, 39 women won seats in the Lower House and 11 in the Upper House. This indicates an open door from political parties for women to participate. The LDP and CDP have consistently represented women in parliament to date. Here are the LDP and CDP women in diet, Japan's 2022.

Table 2
LDP and CDP Women in Diet

[18] Emma Dalton, 2015, *Women and politics in Contemporary Japan*, London; New York; NY: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group; Mark Crawford, "Abe's Womenomics Policy 2013-2020: Tokenism, Gradualism, or Failed Strategy?", The Asia-Pacific Journal, Vol. 19 No. 4, 2021

Party	House of Representatives (HoR)		House of Concillors (HoC)	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Liberal Democratic Party	20	241	23	95
The Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan and the Independent	13	84	18	21

Source: Processed from the official websites of the Lower House and Upper House of Japan
https://www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/itdb_english.nsf/html/statics/english/strength.htm
https://www.sangiin.go.jp/japanese/joho1/kousei/eng/strength/index.htm

The LDP placed 20 women or 7.66% in the Lower House and 23 women or 19.5% in the Upper House. While the CDP in the Lower House placed 13 people or about 13.4% and as many women or 46% in the Upper House. With all the dynamics, these two parties are still trying to place women in parliament.

The attention of political parties to the presence of women can also be seen through how these parties seat women in the party's core management. From the core party management structure, the LDP only places 1 (one) woman in 12 core party management structures, while CDP places 8 (eight) women from 14 core party management structures. CDP seems more confident in women's leadership. However, even though the CDP has more structures in its organization than the LDP, both still show a smaller number of women than men.

The recruitment process is an indicator of democratization in internal political parties measured by three factors that influence the recruitment process, namely organization, rules and culture. Organization is related to the existence of a special body formed by the party for cadre and member development. Both LDP and CDP parties have the existence of a women's bureau in the party structure, facilitation of political education for female cadres through party cadre schools (Central School of Political Science), and nomination in elections. In the LDP there is a Women's Bureau and in the CDP there is an Office for Gender Equality Promotion whose activities include schools or education to prepare female cadres, courses to build female candidates, child abuse prevention activities, improvement of women's health, disaster prevention efforts. Membership in this women's bureau includes not only women but also men. In addition to the women's bureau established in the LDP party structure,

the party also has the Central Graduate School of Politics, which is also managed by women and open to female members/cadres. While the CDP does not have a school, there is a committee that teaches leadership in elections, the CDP Leadership Election Committee, which presents female candidates. The existence of these women's bureaus and cadre centers shows the political will of the two political parties in an effort to present and develop women's capacity, as well as showing concern for women's issues.

Recruitment rules related to the issue of whether or not the recruitment process is open are also an indicator of democratization in political parties. In general, women who are involved in politics are women who have long been involved in political parties and community organizations, women's movements, and women who have connections with men in this case related to men who have a strong position in politics.[19]

The LDP has two main criteria for selecting its cadres: people with connections in local district governments and people with a large amount of money to finance campaign activities, both of which are important in Japan's district elections. The strongest LDP candidates come from local district politicians, descendants of politicians, and retired bureaucrats.[20] Such as Seiko Noda and Sanae Takaichi, both members of the House of Representatives who are senior female figures of the LDP. Noda won ten elections from Gifu Prefecture's 1st district, and Takaichi won nine from Nara Prefecture's 2nd district. Noda graduated from Sophia University and is the granddaughter of a former construction minister. Takaichi is an alumnus of Matsushita Institute of Government and Management, coming from a family in Nara, Western Japan. Both served as ministers under prime minister Shizo Abe and both are candidates for Prime Minister of Japan in the September 2021 election.

In the declaration of the 50th Anniversary of the LDP Party, one of the party's policy directions is to create a society where men and women support each other, where women participate actively in all fields, recognize each other's characteristics with men and share responsibilities.[21] With its new party philosophy as a true liberal and democratic political party that respects the dignity and human rights of all people.

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[19] Emma Dalton, 2015, *Women and politics in Contemporary Japan*, London; New York; NY: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group

[20] Manon Tremblay (ed), 2012, *Women and Legislative Representation; Electoral Systems, Political Parties, and Sex Quotas*, New York: Palgrave Macmilland, p. 226

[21] The Liberal Democratic Party of Japan, *"Party declaration/platform"*, Available on Website: https://www.jimin.jp/aboutus/declaration/, Accessed.....th, 2023. October 20, 2023

It can be seen in the party's goal of creating citizens who have a sense of belonging to family, society and country, are self-reliant and help each other, create beautiful nature, warm human relations, and a harmonious and bonded life. This philosophy directs the position of women to care for the family in order to create a natural balance that remains harmonious.[22] This indicates that there is still an influence of the Confucian and Buddhist culture that has been claimed to hinder women's freedom. Nagaoka Keiko, for example, is a housewife who is active as a Diet member, and she values her origins as a mother. In 2016, her 5th term, she devoted herself to improving her hometown with the Liberal Democratic Party.

The more progressive CDP, in its party policy on Promoting Gender Equality, formulates that it will expand choices for women in various aspects of life (education, employment, marriage, childbirth, childcare, etc.), promote lifelong gender equality education for men and women, and fully demonstrate individuality and ability regardless of gender.[23]

CDP works to realize a coexistence society with gender equality where people can live together. Eliminating all forms of discrimination against women, economic and social disadvantages, and irrationality, improving the status of women in society, increasing women's participation, reflecting their opinions, and leading to the realization of a dynamic improvement of society.

The CDP appears more dynamic in developing a vision of modern women brought by the Western feminist movement, which is able to persuade Japan's partiarchal culture to adapt to the three basic values of democracy, namely freedom, equality, and political equality. Through its commitment to women's empowerment, the opposition CDP has become the vanguard of Japanese women in responding to the women's movement in Japanese politics.

At the third level, the analysis of candidates classifies selectors based on highly inclusive selectors, namely voters who also have a voice in the election, and exclusive selectors, namely determining candidates based on party leaders.[24] Hasan and Rahat also analyzed representation control, which can be (representation control) that can

[22] Ibid.

[23] Kazutaka Kamizawa, December 7th, 2021, *"CDP approves new executive lineup of 6 men and 6 women"*, Available on Website: https://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/14497158, Accessed.....th, 2023. October 25, 2023

[24] Gideon Rahat and Reuven Y. Hazan, 2010, *Democracy within Parties Candidate Selection Methods and Their Political Consequences*, Oxford University Press

actually occur when the recruitment process is carried out in the form of appointment or appointment.

In the LDP, party membership is linked to intra-party competition, namely competition between factions and competition between individuals.[25] Especially with the district election system where each voter has one vote, each candidate must be strong. For this reason, each candidate has his own campaign organization (koenkai) and his campaign is devoted to winning votes for himself. Within the LDP there are two main paths that aspiring national politicians can take. One is to start a local political career and attach oneself to an LDP member with the intention of gaining that member's support and eventually becoming a member of the same LDP faction. This path is usually taken by novice politicians. The second path is for politicians who already have the direct support of a strong LDP faction. This usually applies to senior bureaucrats.[26]

In the LDP, nominations are initially made at the prefectural level (equivalent to districts) but the final determination of the candidate list has been made by the party's Executive Committee.[27] At all levels, the main objective is to provide a balance between factions. Likewise, the election of party leaders in the LDP reflects faction- and elite-based party politics. The picture of intra-party competition in the LDP also applies to female candidates. With male dominance still strong, female candidates have a tougher challenge. Starting a political career in a local that is close to the countryside which is still very conservative where the community is still strong with a Confucianist culture that reinforces patriarchy is a tough challenge for women. Women who manage to advance are certainly not ordinary women. She must be someone who has jibang, kabang and kambang. Women who have a strong family background socially, economically and have intelligence. The LDP as a conservative party has made rural voters its voting ground. The CDP is trying to accelerate this by encouraging more women to become party officials than the LDP. CDP's efforts include maximizing the

[25] Alan Ware, 1996, *Political Parties and Party Systems*. New York: Oxford University Press
[26] Ibid.; Hans Baerwald, 1986, *Party Politics in Japan*, NY : Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group; Nick Stores, September 17th, 2020, *"In Japan's Post-Abe Era, Addressing Political Gender Inequality is Essential"*, Available on Website: https://www.proquest.com/magazines/japan-s-post-abe-era-addressing-political-gender/docview/2443421267/se-2?accountid=17242, Accessed October 27 .th, 2023; Masrullah et al, "Pengarusutamaan Gende di Jepang Untuk Mencapai SDG'S (Sustainable Development Goals) Dalam Perspektif Feminisme", Liberal Journal of Feminism and Gender Studies, Vol. 1 No. 2, 2021, URL: https://jurnal.unej.ac.id/index.php/FGS/index
[27] Alan Ware, 1996, *Political Parties and Party Systems*. New York: Oxford University Press

use of party instruments, such as party organs and party schools to improve the quality and encourage women's ability to be equal to male politicians in formulating open and comprehensive policies,[28] and inviting all parties to fully cooperate in their implementation. CDP's opposition, a number of women who sit in the party's executive ranks and become candidates in elections are evidence of this diversity.

Regarding the CDP's efforts to participate in increasing the number of women in politics and promoting gender equality, Seiji Osaka, a former special advisor to the Prime Minister and former CDP leadership candidate, said during his campaign that it would be easier for women to become members of parliament if female candidates ran for the Lower House proportional representation seats on top of the party lists for seats in all regional blocs. However, according to Ogawa, such a move requires understanding from male candidates. Chinami Nishimura also acknowledged by saying that such a move could cause conflicts within the party, so caution should be exercised. Chinami Nishimura, former state minister of health, labor and welfare and the only woman among the four CDP leadership candidates chose the middle ground by asserting that only wanted her party (CDP) to have an equal number of male and female candidates in the Upper House election.[29] The sensitive issue was addressed by Junya Ogawa, former Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs and Parliamentary Communications, during the CDP leader election campaign by saying that we need to think about substantial support for female candidates.

Izumi Kenta himself, before being elected to lead the CDP, while being the CDP's policy chief, in his party platform, in addition to promising to build gender equality, will also increase the number of female MPs in the Lower House election.[30] In the CDP supreme leader election debate, Izumi Kenta emphasized the importance of gender equality and promised to prepare an environment where mothers with children can easily take part in the election campaign.

The last level of analysis, candidate supply, includes political capital and motivation.[31] Political capital includes political networks party experience career flexibility educational qualifications and legislative skills. Meanwhile, the motivation

[28] CDP of Japan, 2022, *"Gender Equality"*, Available on Website: https://cdp-japan.jp/visions/policies2022/07, Accessed .October , 25 th, 2023

[29] Kazutaka Kamizawa, December 7th, 2021, *"CDP approves new executive lineup of 6 men and 6 women"*, Available on Website: https://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/14497158, Accessed .October. 27 th, 2023.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Pippa Norris, 1997, *Passages to Power; Legislative Recruitmen in Advanced Democracies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 13

underlying candidates to participate can come from family traditions, personal political ambitions, the desire to become a party leader and support from the surrounding community or society.

In Japan, a politician's career is built on three main factors: jiban, kanban and kaban. Jiban means land and is defined as a local support base rooted in the organization and protected by a strong political legal basis. Kanban is defined as the ability of an individual who is supported by the community because of his or her actualization in the community. Competence that is formed from experience and acceptance in the community. It can be seen from the traces of the organizations he follows, the social investments he has made, his ability to participate in building his social. From this jiban ability, it is only appropriate then that people who enter the world of politics are people in old age, because they have to collect their jiban abilities which require a short time. Women politicians, if you look at their career trajectories, are politicians who have jiban abilities.

Kanban or 'nameplate', is a strong degree of popularity. This is related to family origin or family background. Candidates are considered from families with previous achievements and a big family name. And kaban or bag. It is the possession of funds or materials for campaigning as well as to convince the public that a politician does not seek money from politics, so that he will not abuse his authority.

Women in the LDP's legislative qualifications and skills can be seen from their career trajectories. The following are the careers and educational backgrounds of women party members and MPs from the LDP:

Table 3
Career and Educational Background of LDP Parliaments

No.	Name	Career	Educational Background
1	Abe Toshiko (63) of the abe family clan	Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Deputy Secretary General of the Party Director of the House Health, Labor and Welfare Committee Vice President, Japan Nurses Association	Graduate School of Health Sciences, Tokyo Medical and Dental University Completed doctoral program at Illinois State University, Chicago

2	Horiuchi Nariko (58)	Parliamentary Deputy Minister of the Health, Labor and Welfare Party, Secretary of the Dietary Members League for the Promotion of Heat Stroke Countermeasures	University of Gakushuin
3	Inada Tomomi (63)	Chairman of the House Consumer Issues Special Committee Minister of State for Special Missions (Regulatory Reform), Administrative Reform Party, Deputy Director General of Women's Bureau, Fukui Prefecture House of Representatives Branch 1 Election District, Lawyer	Studied at Waseda University
4	Kamikawa Yoko (69)	Minister of Justice Minister of State for Special Missions (Birth Rate Reduction and Gender Equality) Deputy Chairman of the Party Policy Research Committee	Studied at University of Tokyo (International Relations). Harvard University Graduate School (Master of Political Administration).
5	Kato Ayuko (43) son of LDP politician Koichi Kato	Deputy Secretary General of the Party, Parliamentary Undersecretary of the Minister of Environment Deputy Parliamentarian of the Cabinet Office - Chairman of the Party Committee of Cabinet II, Member of the Cabinet Committee of the House of Representatives, House of Representatives Special Committee for Regions	Graduated from Columbia University Graduate School
6	Kunimitsu Ayano (43)	Doctor, National Hospital Organization Disaster Medical Center Physicians, National	School of Medicine

		Hospital Organization Tokyo Medical Center etc.), national hospital management (National Hospital Organization Kasumigaura Medical Center etc.), specialist system, countermeasures for doctor shortage etc.	
7	Makishima Karen (46) daughter of Junichiro Koizumi's assistant	Party Youth Bureau Director Party Youth Bureau Director Speech Bureau Director Party Youth Bureau International Director Party Director Disaster Prevention Women's Affairs Bureau)	the doctoral program at the Graduate School of Public Administration, International Christian University (ICU) , obtained a Ph.D
8	Matsushima Midori (66),	Asahi Shimbun reporter Parliamentary Undersecretary to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Land State, Infrastructure, Transportation and Tourism Chairman of the Special Committee on Youth Affairs of the House of Representatives	Faculty of Economics, University of Tokyo
9	Nagaoka Keiko, (68). Wife of LDP politician Yoji Nagaoka	Chairman of the Special Committee on Consumer Affairs Deputy Secretary of the House of Representatives -General of the Party Deputy Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of the Party	Legal Studies at Gakushuin University Faculty of Law
10	Nakagawa Yuko (63), wife of LDP politician Soichi Nakagawa	Party electoral branch 11 Hokkaido branch manager	Majored in Foreign Languages and Literature at the University of the Sacred Heart.

11	Noda Seiko (62), is the grandson of politician Uichi Noda, Minister of Construction.	Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Minister of State for Women's Empowerment, Minister of State for Special Missions, Minister of State for Special Missions	
12	Obuchi Yuko, second daughter of PM Keizo Obuchi	Parliamentary Deputy Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology Minister of State for Special Missions Deputy Cabinet Office Secretary General Party Deputy Minister of Finance	Seijo University Faculty of Economics Graduated Graduate School of Public Management, Waseda University
13	Omi Asako (61), daughter of LDP politician Koji Omi former finance minister in Abe's 2001-2007 administration	Parliamentary Deputy Foreign Minister Party Empowerment Reform Administration Headquarters Party Secretariat Deputy Director of the Women's Bureau	Faculty of Law, University of Tokyo
14	Shimajiri Aiko (57), second daughter of former PM Junichiro Koizumi	Naha City Councilor elected for second term Elected to the House of Councilors of the Okinawa electoral district general election for a second term Director of the party's women's bureau Parliamentary Vice Minister for Cabinet Office and Parliamentary Vice Minister for Reconstruction	Bachelor of Arts, Surat Kabar di Universitas Sophia, Tokyo Jepang

15	Sugita Mio (55),	Deputy Director of the Party Women's Affairs Bureau Party Chairman of the State Defense Division	Department of Forestry, Tottori University
16	suzuki Takako (36), daughter of LDP politician Muneo Zusuki, member of the House of Councillors 2019	Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Secretary General of the Student Affairs Division Youth Division	International Political Economy, Trent University
17	Takagai Emiko (58),	Vice Minister of Health, Labor and Welfare, Chairman of the Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology Committee	National Institute of Public Health. Tokyo University of Medicine and Medicine Graduate School
18	Takaichi Sanae (61), once married to fellow politician Taku Yamamoto	Matsushita Seikei Juku student, Deputy Director of Trade and Industrial Policy	Graduated from the Department of Business Administration, Faculty of Business Administration, Kobe University (Major in Business Mathematics) Professor, Faculty of Economics, Kindai University (Industrial Policy Theory, Small and Medium Enterprise Theory)
19	Tsuchiya Shinako (70), daughter of politician Yoshihiko Tsuchiya Gebernur of Saitama Prefecture	Vice Chairman of the Party's General Affairs Council Chairman of the Diet of the Party's Research Council Chairman of the House Environment Committee Chairman of the House Special Committee	Sacred Heart University, she studied at Kagawa Nutrition College
20	Yamada Miki (48), daughter of an engineer father and piano teacher mother	Parliamentary Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Director of the Finance and Finance Committee	Graduated from the Faculty of Law, University of Tokyo

Source : https://www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/index.nsf/html/index.htm

The career and education trajectory of MPs from the CDP can be seen below:

Table 4
Career and educational background of women parliamentarians from the CDP

No.	Name	Educational Background	Career
1	Abe Tamoko (74)	Faculty of Medicine, University of Tokyo	• Medical doctor (pediatrics) • Research/Teaching assistant, Faculty of Medicine, University of Tokyo (Dec. 1983-Mar. 1994) • Chief, Division of Pediatrics, Shonan Kamakura General Hospital (Mar. 1995)
2	Ishikawa Kaori (38) wife of DPJ politician (tomohiro Ishikawa)	Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Liberal Arts, University of the Sacred Heart, Tokyo	Announcer, Nippon BS Broadcasting Corporation Director, Youth Department, Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan (CDP) Deputy Secretary-General, CDP Deputy Chairperson, CDP Diet Affairs Committee
3	Kamata Suyuri (57)	Faculty of Economics, Tohoku Gakuin University	Member, Sendai City Assembly Member, Miyagi Prefectural Assembly
4	Kaneko Emi (55), daughter of politician Tokunosuke Kaneko, member of the House of Representatives.	Faculty of Letters, Hosei University, Japan Master's degree, Graduate School, California State University, USA Master's degree, Graduate School, Fukushima University, Japan	Member, Hobara Town Council Member, Date City Council Parliamentary Vice-Minister of Cabinet Office; Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Reconstruction Deputy Secretary General, Democratic Party of Japan Senior Deputy Chairperson, Policy Research Committee, Democratic Party
5	Kikuta Makiko (53)	Niigata Prefectural Kamo High School, Japan Studied at Heilongjiang	Member, Kamo City Council (two terms) Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Vice Chair, Policy Research

		University, China	Committee, Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ)
6	Komiyama Yasuko (57)	Faculty of Business and Commerce, Keio University Master's degree, Graduate School, Nihon University	Member, Saitama Prefectural Assembly Chairperson, General Affairs Committee, Saitama Prefectural Assembly Vice Chairperson, Health and Welfare Committee, Saitama Prefectural Assembly Official Secretary No.1 to a
7	Nishimura Chinami(55) istri dari politisi CDP juga	Master's degree, Graduate School of Law, Niigata University	Member, Niigata Prefectural Assembly (one term) Part-time university lecturer Secretary-General, Niigata International Volunteer Center (NVC) State Minister of Health, Labour and Welfare Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs
8	Okamoto Akiko (58)	Faculty of Education, Tohoku University	NTT, Inc. Member, Sendai City Assembly Executive Deputy Director, Office for Gender Equality Promotion, Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan (CDP) Director-General,CDP Project Team on Children and Child-Rearing
9	Okawara Masako (69)	International Christian University	Member, House of Councillors (one term) Member, Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly Director, Standing Committee on Audit and Oversight of Administration, House of Representatives (HR) Member, HR Special Committee on Consumer Affairs
10	Otsuki Kureha (39)	Hokkaido Otaru Choryo High School, Japan	Political Reporter, News Bureau, Fuji Television Network, Inc.

		Birmingham City University, UK	
11	Tsutsumi Kaname (62)	School of Letters, Kyushu University Master's degree (Major in sociology), Graduate School of Letters, Kyushu University	Kokusai Denshin Denwa Co., Ltd.; KDD Professor of Sociology Founder of the Asian Women's Center (Non-profit Organization) Member, Fukuoka Prefectural Assembly Deputy Chairperson, Federation of Fukuoka Prefecture Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan General Branches
12	Waseda Yuki (63)	School of Law, Waseda University	Export-Import Bank of Japan (now Japan Bank for International Cooperation) Reporter of a hometown communications paper Member, Kamakura City Assembly (two terms) Member, Kanagawa Prefectural Assembly (two terms)
13	Yoshida Harumi (50)	College of Arts, Rikkyo University, Japan Master of Business Administration, Birmingham Business School, University of Birmingham, UK	Management consultant, KPMG Healthcare Japan Co., Ltd. Secretary (Political Affairs) to OGAWA Toshio, 88th Minister of Justice Lecturer, Hosei University Lecturer, Aoyama Gakuin University Associate Professor, Mejiro University

Source: https://www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/itdb_english.nsf/html/statics/member/e450.htm

The women members of the House of Representatives clearly have career and educational backgrounds. They show themselves to be from a social origin that is not arbitrary.

From the information in Tables 03 and 04, it can be seen that women members of the House of Representatives from both the LDP and CDP have the ability to be jiban, kaban and kanban. Her educational and career trajectory shows her ability to build her social life, her material capabilities and the kind of family she comes from.

It is known that many female MPs have previous political connections (see tables 3 and 4). Such as Kato Ayuko (43) daughter of LDP politician Koichi Kato, Makishima Karen (46) daughter of Junichiro Koizumi's assistant, Nagaoka Keiko, (68). LDP politician Yoji Nagaoka's wife, Noda Seiko (62), is the granddaughter of politician Uichi Noda, Minister of Construction; Shimajiri Aiko (57), second daughter of former PM Junichiro Koizumi; Obuchi Yuko, second daughter of PM Keizo Obuchi; Tsuchiya Shinako (70), daughter of politician Yoshihiko Tsuchiya, Governor of Saitama Prefecture. From the CDP, among others, Kaneko Emi (55), daughter of politician Tokunosuke Kaneko, member of the House of Representatives, Ishikawa Kaori (38), wife of DPJ politician Tomohiro Ishikawa, and Nishimura Chinami (55), wife of a CDP politician as well.

In general, Japanese women participate more in politics at the local level than at the national level, this is because the position of Japanese women is more active in the private sphere or household. Therefore, most of the women who participated in local politics were from local women's organizations and the leaders of the organizations were conservative housewives.[32] Those who later penetrated the national level were women whose careers originated locally. Such as Nagaoka Keiko (LDP), using local voices as policy in national politics.

The CDP party seems to be the same as the previous opposition party that also won the DPJ in 2009. Pressure and an active women's movement are important strategies for the opposition to gain public attention. Chinami Nishimura is a woman who became the secretary-general of the CDP and turned out to have had a career in the DPJ, known through her Instagram account also contains profile picture posts with the feel of a "housewife". Abe Tamoko, a senior female politician, who was also in the DPJ, is a doctor who has run humanitarian projects that save the lives of women and children.

For decades, female politicians have used the image of a housewife *(shufu)* of a local person who humbly goes about her daily life in the community *(seikatsusha)* as a way to gain votes. This strategy effectively differentiates female candidates from men, as female candidates emphasize that they are clean and fresh amateurs in contrast to the corrupt world of male politics.

The rise of women's activism in local-level politics is a very promising

[32] H.J. Jones, "Japanese Women and party Politics", Pacific Affairs, Vol. 49 No. 2, 1976, p. 219. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2307/2756066

development in Japan. It is conceivable that as more experienced female candidates become available, we will see more women elected at the regional and national levels. This movement is important not just because the candidates are women, but because they make a strong claim to represent the interests of voters and challenge a political system that is perceived as corrupt and unresponsive. Arguably, "housewife" candidates emerged because women and other outsiders were excluded from the male-dominated mainstream political process.[33]

IV. Conclusion

From the perspective of political participation and political culture of citizens, in the opposition party CDP and the ruling party LDP, it is relatively evident how the internal democratization of the party has made efforts in gender equality which can be seen from the recruitment process amidst strong male dominance. The CDP and LDP facilitate the improvement of the quality of party women through party organizational instruments such as the existence of a women's bureau, and the regeneration of women in political schools/education.

The LDP's policy on its gender equality commitment is conservative, referring to the party's philosophy of creating citizens who have a sense of belonging to family, community and country, being independent and helping each other, creating beautiful nature, warm human relations, and a harmonious and bound life. Meanwhile, the CDP is more progressive and more dynamic, committed to being the vanguard of Japanese women in responding to the women's movement in Japanese politics.

On the degree of inclusiveness and exclusiveness, the LDP is more exclusive where nominations are determined by party elites/leaders and faction leaders. While the CDP is more open/inclusive where the elite is committed to openly paving the way for female candidates to run and creating an environment where women can easily take part in election campaigns.

Both the LDP and CDP consider the political capital or candidate supply and motivation of female candidates, namely the conditions of jibang, kambang and kabang, which include experience, education, kinship/family relations and material capital.

[33] Lynne Y. Nakano, "Women in politics in Japan: beyond housewife activism", Asian Anthropology, Vol. 17 No. 2, 2018, p. 71-84, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1080/1683478X.2018.1458405; H.J. Jones, "Japanese Women and party Politics", Pacific Affairs, Vol. 49 No. 2, 1976, p. 219. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2307/2756066

From a number of comparative variables used, the LDP is slow to move in realizing gender equality because its recruitment is exclusive, with rules that are still conservative in the midst of a party that holds control and majority in parliament. Meanwhile, the CDP is more inclusive and progressive. However, the fact that women in both the LDP and CDP are still domesticated in the household is a sign of a strong culture of confusionism, and both the LDP and CDP do not implement effective quota/affirmation policies, so the issue of gender equality in the political sphere is still low.

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