

〔Topic〕

Makiko, Madonnas and Political Melodramas: Researching Women, Elections and the Media in Japan.

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Abstract: This paper looks at the relationship between political women and the media in Japan in the context of elections. The results of a content analysis of the 2003 Lower House election special television programs, which focused on how political women are represented in election TV programs and the unique structure of the programs themselves, are discussed. The rise of ‘theater politics’ in Japan and the unprecedented relationship between politics and the media has consequences for democracy, gender equality and justice. Analyzing media and politics in Japan from a gender perspective raises a number of issues for the researcher. Particularly, in light of the recent 2005 Lower House election, it appears that a remarkable number of changes have occurred in the media and political environment in Japan over the last two years. This paper argues the need for a greater research focus on the area of media, gender and politics in Japan and calls for more attention towards the wider implications of sensational media attention that only focuses on a few select political women, and at the same time ignores the view and concerns of the voting public.

Key words: women, media, politics, election television programs, gender representation, news as entertainment, celebrityisation of politics, media literacy research approach.

1. Introduction and Context

The relationship between political women and the media in Japan is a case of all or nothing: they receive either sensationalized coverage or are completely ignored. Japan has one of the lowest levels of female parliamentary participation in the economically developed and democratized world. The disproportionate and uneasy relations between political women and the media, in such a media-saturated society as Japan, has until recently received very little critical attention. Gender rarely appears in the research literature on media and politics. Although the number of women elected to political office at the local and regional level has slowly increased, at the national level few women have political power (Funabashi 2004: 50).

In the 2003 Japanese Lower House election, less than 13 percent of the candidates were female and just 7.1 percent of seats (34 out of 480) were won by women, fewer than the previous election in 2002. In the 2005 election, just over 13% of candidates were female, with the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) more than doubling the number of women fielded compared to the 2003 election. 9% of seats were won by female candidates (43 out of 480) resulting in a record increase overall, and also for the LDP, which won a landslide victory. In terms of women’s international parliamentary participation, Japan is now ranked 101st out of

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187 countries, and the number of women in the lower house is still significantly lower than the Asian regional average of 15.7% (IPU 2005).

The Japanese media have repeatedly focused on a select few political women since the '*Madonna Boom*'¹ of the late eighties. In 1987 Takako Doi of the Socialist Democratic Party (SDP) became the first woman to lead a political party in Japan. Doi called for more female candidates and received unprecedented media attention for a political woman (Iwamoto 2001: 225, Mackie 2003: 196). A record number of women were elected to the Diet in the 1989 and 1990 elections, fuelling media coverage of the *Madonna Boom*. The term *Madonna* became a marker for political women, differentiating them from their male colleagues (Okuno 1996: 145)

Between 2001 and 2003, Makiko Tanaka was Japan's best-known political woman (McCargo 2003: 72). She received media coverage both domestically and abroad – from her role in campaigning for Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi to be elected as the president of the LDP, to her posting as Japan's first female foreign minister, followed by her sacking from the post and exit from the cabinet and the party. In the same time period only a few other political women² received media attention. However, it was disproportionate, intense and sensational.³

The 2005 election media coverage followed this pattern with the term *Madonna* re-emerging as a media label, but in reference to female LDP candidates in a totally different political context. The usage of *Madonna* this time was not concerning the increase of women participating in politics. Instead, it referred to the large number of high profile female candidates, many of them running for the first time, fielded by the party in support of Prime Minister Koizumi's reform program. This elite group of women included a bank economist, a former diplomat, a TV Chef and a Finance Ministry bureaucrat. The use of the term *Madonna* identified these candidates as a special type of political woman.

The LDP were keen to promote the idea through the media that these prominent female candidates had been personally asked by the Prime Minister to battle the party rebels, especially those against his privatization plan. The media focused on this relationship between the Prime Minister and the female candidates, constructing the election along celebrity and gender lines. These women were Koizumi's '*Madonnas*', '*shikaku*' (assassins) and '*kunoichi*' (female ninja). Moreover, these candidates were also labeled '*Koizumi's children*'⁴ by the party and the media. Over a fifteen year period the term '*Madonna*' has changed in usage. In the two year period since the last election, anachronistic terms such as '*shikaku*' and the patriarchal concept of candidates as 'children' have emerged. Analytical research is certainly needed to ascertain the meaning and importance of this development.⁵

A major concern of this paper is what the results of a content analysis of the 2003 election programs⁶ show about how the situation of political women is constructed by the media. Japanese election television programs have also received scant attention from researchers. Japan has very strict electoral media laws in effect during the election campaign period that stipulate neutrality and equal broadcast time. However, the election programs appear at the end of an election period, after voting has taken place, when it is not required by law for the media to be fair and balanced. These programs are the subject of this research.

The celebritisation of politics and the trend towards news and politics as entertainment is

one aspect of the relationship between media and politics in Japan that is beginning to receive attention from researchers. This occurrence has been labeled '*wide show politics*', in reference to Japan's daytime infotainment and celebrity gossip programs and how they are interacting with politics. Politicians such as Koizumi and Tanaka have utilized these programs for the purpose of political communication, especially since the time of the 2001 LDP presidential election. '*Theater politics*' emerged as a term in the lead up to the 2003 election (McCargo 2003: 69). It can be defined as the situation where citizens have become an audience watching politics through the media (Oishi 2005). However, by the time of the 2005 election this term had become an explicit reference - '*Koizumi's theater*'. This situation indicates a crisis in democracy and a dysfunctional relationship which has developed between citizens and the media in Japan. The media is not functioning as a mediator in public/private life but, instead, reproducing the separation between both areas (Abe 2004). Gender representation in Japanese election programs will be examined in this context.

1.1. Researching Political Women, the Media and Elections

This paper will present the findings of an analysis of the election programs of Japan's five major national television networks – one public and four commercial.⁷ In the case of the commercial broadcasters, the programs are a unique combination of live election results and pre-recorded segments (*VTR Documents*)⁸ in an entertainment program style format.

The methodological approach of this paper is centred on two important terms which will be defined as follows. Firstly, the term 'political women' encompasses women involved in politics at all levels – voters, candidates, elected politicians, cabinet ministers and party leaders (Pharr 1981: 7, Vavrus 2002: 188). 'Female politician,' on the other hand, is used by the media as a special category, limiting the definition of and women's participation in politics by implying that 'politician' is a role automatically equated with men (Ross & Sreberny 2000: 93, Iwai 1993: 104, Gallagher 2001: 80). By using the term political women, broader roles and levels of participation can be recognised.

Secondly, the term 'representation' can be defined in terms of the aims of this paper. Since it focuses on research in Japan from a media literacy perspective, Suzuki's definition (2003) is most suitable; "representation is an encoded and constructed version of reality. The media do not simply present people, events and the point of view of the real world, they construct and re-present it. Reality is re-presented by the media" (2003: 18). Representation is also, notes Suzuki, deeply connected to stereotypes and the way we see gender, social class and human rights, for example (2003: 18). How the Japanese media 're-present' political women on television and to what extent stereotypes are employed as part of this construction of reality will be discussed in the findings of the analysis that this paper puts forward.

The election TV programs discussed in this paper were coded, quantified and classified according to standard content analysis methods. The purpose of content analysis can be defined as "to quantify salient and manifest features of a large number of texts.....Statistics are used to make broader inferences about the processes and politics of representation" (Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock 1999: 116).

Whilst it is recognised that there are a number of limitations in employing a quantitative content analysis, it is still considered effective as a systematic process to answer research

questions on the macro level (*ibid*) – in this paper; the question of how political women are represented in the Japanese Media. The way in which these election programs were constructed, as well as patterns in the programs, were able to be identified through this method. However, as this research is an ongoing project with the aim of comparing (and contrasting) the election programs of two Lower House elections, it was necessary to include an additional analysis approach to this research. Thus a media literacy approach was incorporated in order to augment and broaden the use of a content analysis method. Media literacy can be defined as “the term used to denote people’s ability to critically analyse and evaluate media in a socio-cultural context, to access media, and to create communications in a wide variety of forms” (Suzuki 2003: 13).

A media literacy approach means using the media literacy research model (Suzuki 2003: 24), which shows the interconnected and triangular relationship between media texts, audiences and production, and the language of media literacy to discuss the visual and sound techniques used in the construction of television programs, as a basis from which to conduct research. Further, media literacy emphasises the importance of a gender approach when analysing the media, because the media are deeply connected to the construction of gender (Suzuki 2003: 17).

The use of the term political women is consistent with the media literacy research approach. Both pay attention to and include the experiences and perspectives of citizens, as participants in the democratic process and active audiences. Citizens rarely appear in these election programs. Although the research this paper puts forward does not include audience research, the link between these two terms indicates the need for future study in this area and the importance of recognising the role of citizens.⁹

2. The Election Night Special TV Programs

The special election night programs of the 2003 Lower House election were broadcast by five major national broadcasters; the public broadcaster - NHK (Nihon Hoso Kyokai – Japan Broadcasting Corporation), and the four commercial broadcasters - TBS (Tokyo Broadcasting System), TV Asahi, Fuji Television and NTV (Nippon Television), simultaneously on the evening of Sunday November 9th 2003. Most of the networks began their broadcasts at 8pm, when the polls had closed.

The special election night television programs occupy an unusual space in the context of media and politics in Japan. They appear at the end of an official election campaign period (which for the Lower House lasts 12 days),¹⁰ after voting has taken place and so cannot be considered part of election campaign news coverage which is subject to Japan’s strict electoral laws. Election campaign news coverage is supposed to follow rigid codes of neutrality, providing equal broadcast time or column inches to opposing candidates in a constituency. In fact, it has been argued that these regulations are not only the strictest in the world, but also limit freedom of political expression (Yamada 2004: 32).

The main purpose of these programs is to broadcast the election results, but the programs of the 2003 election also included many other segments not normally associated with the broadcasting of election results. This was particularly evident in the programs of the

Table 1: Programs Analysed

BROADCASTER		PROGRAM	BROADCAST	
NATIONAL NETWORK	KANSAI AFFILIATE	TITLE	SCHEDULED	ANALYSIS PERIOD
NHK (Japan Broadcasting Corporation)	NHK	<i>Dai 43-kai Shugi-in Gi-in Sosenkyo Kaihyo Sokuho</i>	20:00-05:00 (9 hours)	20:00-24:00 4 hours
TBS (Tokyo Broadcasting System)	MBS (Mainichi Broadcasting System)	<i>Shugi-insen Kaihyo Tokubetsu Bangumi "Hyoketsu! Live 2003"</i>	19:59-03:30 (7 hrs 31 mins)	19:59-24:00 4hrs 1 min
TV Asahi (Asahi Broadcasting Company)	ABC (Asahi Broadcasting Company)	<i>Senkyo Station 2003</i>	19:54-02:00 (6 hrs 6 mins)	19:54-23:30 3hrs 36 mins
Fuji TV (Fuji Television Network)	KTV (Kansai Television)	<i>Odoru Dai Senkyo-sen 2003</i>	20:54-23:45 & 00:15-01:50 (5 hrs 26 mins)	21:24*-24:15 2hrs 51 mins
NTV (Nippon Television Network)	YTV (Yomiuri Television)	<i>Shuinsen "Gekisen" Bankisha! Special</i>	19:58-00:30 & 0:45-01:50 (5 hrs 35 mins)	19:58-24:15 4hrs 17 mins

* Broadcast was delayed due to the 2003 World Cup Volleyball Championship running overtime

commercial broadcasters because of the entertainment-style program format they used. In this context, data on whom the media chose to focus on and the way in which the media constructed the reality of political women in the 2003 election campaign will be presented.

2.1. Programs Analysed

The programs of the five major national broadcaster networks, all based in Tokyo, were chosen for analysis. These programs were broadcast and recorded in the Kansai (Western Japan) region. The population of the Kansai region is 24 million, amounting to 19 percent of the total population of Japan. These programs therefore attracted large audiences during the time period chosen for analysis. The national network of each broadcaster as well as Kansai affiliations are noted in Table 1.

The analysis sample consisted of the first part of each program because the programs lengths varied.¹¹ For NHK, TBS and NTV this was clearly a four-hour period. For TV Asahi and Fuji TV, it was approximately 3 hours. The first part of the election night programs were broadcast simultaneously, from approximately 8pm till midnight, except for Fuji TV, which started 90 minutes after the other programs. These samples were also chosen because the first four hours had the highest audience viewing rates. NHK topped with 18.7 percent audience share in Kansai at 9.19pm. TBS and TV Asahi started their programs with just over 11 percent. Fuji TV and Nippon TV started with just over 10 percent (Video Research Ltd 2004).

2.2. Analysis Steps

The content analysis of the programs followed a systematic process starting with the coding of the sample from each program. From that the following data was collated:

- the number of live interviews with candidates by gender and political party.
- the number and time amount of *VTR documents* in the programs by broadcaster.
- the *VTR documents* were classified into topic categories by broadcaster including number and time amount.
- the number of times female and male candidates appear by age group and political party.

– two *VTR documents* from each commercial broadcaster were chosen for comparison.

2.3. Analysis Method

The content of the samples were recorded on program structure sheets.¹² The sheets were divided into four sections; the broadcast time, segment, contents and time amount. The major components in the construction of the programs and differences between the broadcasters could be identified from this coding method.

The segments and segment contents were coded to record the following data;

- (a) Location: all the broadcasters alternated between their Tokyo and Osaka studios. They each had different announcers and, in the case of the commercial broadcasters, different panel guests for each studio.
- (b) Program Openings: all the programs had specially constructed opening sequences.
- (c) Campaign Office Interviews and Reports: Live or recorded footage from candidates' campaign offices was used extensively by all networks. The coding distinguished between three ways the campaign office locations were used – for reporters to confirm results, to describe the mood as the candidate and/or supporters waited for the results, or to interview the candidate. The names of the candidates, their electoral district and their political party were recorded on the construction flow sheets. It was also noted when candidates were interviewed or shown giving a victory or defeat speech.
- (d) Party Headquarters: The headquarters of the political parties appeared in a similar manner. In this case, however, party leaders or their deputies were interviewed as representatives rather than individual candidates. Their names and political parties were also recorded.
- (e) *VTR Documents*: these pre-recorded segments appeared in the programs of the commercial broadcasters. The length of the *VTR documents* was recorded as well as the places they appeared in the programs.
- (f) Results: confirmation, analysis or projected forecasts were coded, as well as commentary or discussion. Voter turnout rate and exit poll results were also noted.
- (g) Discussion segments: announcers, reporters and studio guests discussed the election. Where these discussion segments occurred in the program was also recorded.
- (h) Commercials were shown on the four commercial broadcasters and the place where this occurred in the program was also recorded.

2.4. Comparing NHK and the Commercial Broadcasters

There were few major differences between the programs of the commercial broadcasters, but certainly some distinctions between NHK's and that of the commercial broadcasters. NHK produced a program almost entirely centered on reporting the election results, including short interviews with candidates and extensive commentary and analysis of the results by its own reporters. On first glance, NHK's program appeared to be politically neutral with its focus on the results. However, as Table 2 shows, there were political and gender biases.

The commercial broadcasters produced programs which extensively used computer graphics and had thematically decorated studio sets. Studio guests from well known television

Table 2. Number of Live Interviews* with Candidates on Election Day

	LDP		DPJ		SDP		JCP		NC		NK		IND		TOTAL
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
NHK	1	13		12		1				1	1	1	1	0	31
TBS		1	1	3	1					2				1	9
TV Asahi		6		4							2			1	13
Fuji TV		2		8	1					1			2		14
NTV		0	5	7	1					2				1	16
SUB TOTAL	1	27	1	34	3	1	0	0	0	8	1	1	5	1	83
TOTAL	28		35		4		0		8		2		6		83

*Including semi-live interviews. Political Party leader interviews not included.

LDP: Liberal Democratic Party, DPJ: Democratic Party of Japan, SDP: Social Democratic Party, JCP: Japanese Communist Party, NC: New Conservatives, NK: New Komeito, IND: Independent.

entertainment programs, as well as professional political commentators, retired politicians, academics and journalists appeared on the programs. One of the major characteristics of the commercial broadcaster's election programs was the focus on entertainment. This was achieved also through the use of the *VTR documents* in the programs, studio discussions with celebrities and the presentation of election results similar to the announcement of lottery results. In contrast to NHK, there was no attempt to appear neutral – the commercial broadcasters chose which candidates, political parties and topics they wanted to focus on without regard to fairness or balance.

There was no audience or voter participation in NHK's election program. Voters were not interviewed and there was no chance for the television audience to interact with the studio during the announcement of the election results. TBS and Fuji TV had fax and email lines open for viewers to send in their comments, which they then announced on air at specific times. Fuji TV had a special 'e-mail survey' where questions were sent out to viewers and then collated in statistical form to be presented. NTV had an audience of one hundred members in their Tokyo studio. They mainly featured in the program opening when they were asked to click hand counters to show how many of them had voted. However, none of these opportunities provided voters/audiences with a significant role in the programs.

The titles of the programs reflect the approach of the broadcaster. NHK's program title is simply descriptive *Dai 43-kai Shugi-in Gi-in Sosenkyo Kaihyo Sokuho* (The 43rd House of Representatives General Election Ballot Count). TBS's title was *Hyoketsu! Live 2003* (Voting! Live 2003) and TV Asahi used name recognition by linking their program title, *Senkyo Station* (Election Station) to their well-known nightly news program *News Station*. Fuji TV's title, *Odoru Dai Senkyo-sen 2003* (Step to the Big Election Battle 2003) is connected to their popular police suspense drama and movie series, *Odoru Dai Sosa-sen*. NTV's title, *Shuinsen "Gekisen" Bankisha! Special* (Lower House 'Manifesto Election' Political Reporters! Special) combined the manifesto election catchphrase with 'Bankisha! Special,' a reference to NTV's infotainment program *Shinso Hodo Bankisha* (Truth Report Bankisha).¹³ It can be clearly seen that the commercial broadcasters used program titles similar to programs already existing on the networks. It appears that they were attempting to connect name recognition and entertainment programs to the election special.

One of the major differences between NHK and the commercial broadcasters was the number of live interviews shown during the programs, as shown in Table 2. The highlighted

columns of the table show that there were an extremely low number of live interviews with female candidates. Out of the 83 live interviews shown by the five broadcasters, female candidates were only interviewed eleven times, amounting to 13.2 percent. Five of these interviews were with Independent candidate Makiko Tanaka in Niigata. The two major parties, the LDP and the DPJ, dominate, but only one female candidate from each party was interviewed. Comparing the number of interviews in proportion to the number of candidates, by gender, it is very clear who was chosen by the media to appear and who was ignored. The Japanese Communist Party (JCP) fielded 77 female candidates, the highest number amongst the parties, yet not one of the JCP candidates, irrespective of gender, was interviewed.¹⁴

Live interviews with candidates closely preceded or followed result confirmations. In the case of NHK there was a consistent pattern: result confirmation, cross to the campaign office of the winning candidate, a live interview or victory speech, back to the studio for commentary by announcers and reporters, followed by forecasts of results for each party.

For the commercial broadcasters, a common pattern centered around the broadcasting of the *VTR documents*, which were often shown before a candidate was interviewed live, or soon after a confirmed win or loss result. In the *VTR documents* where the candidates were identified as either popular or unlikely to win, the *VTR document* functioned as a means of perpetuating the status quo, i.e. who the media had decided were famous or infamous enough to receive attention. Therefore, representations of the candidates or the parties hardly varied at all between the broadcasters.

Confirmed results, live interviews and studio discussions usually came after the showing of a *VTR document*. The *VTR documents* also had the function of introducing the candidate as a topic of discussion in the studio. A considerable number of comedians were guests on the programs and some of these discussions were conducted in a jovial and humorous manner, similar to '*wide shows*,'¹⁵ which presents news in an entertainment style format.

It has been argued that without NHK's 'turgid' style there would be no market for the more sensational and opinionated coverage of the commercial broadcasters (Krauss 2000: 271). This explains the distinction between the election programs of the public broadcaster and the commercial broadcasters to some extent. The seemingly factual style of NHK's program was certainly accentuated by the entertainment style of the commercial broadcasters. However, further research which includes a political economic approach, for example, is needed in this area to fully understand this distinction.

3. The *VTR Documents* in the Programs

The coding and analysis of the programs indicated how important the *VTR documents* were on election night. There were a total of 49 *VTR documents*. Even though they are fairly short segments, a significant amount of time was allocated to them in the programs of the commercial broadcasters, as can be seen in Table 3. The commercial broadcasters appeared to have decided in advance who and what would be the subject of the *VTR documents*, as well as where they would appear in the programs. The coding showed that live interviews with the candidates and the broadcasting of the *VTR documents* were constructed as a 'set' in the programs – one usually followed the other.

Tabl.3: Number and Time Amount of VTR Documents by Broadcaster

BROADCASTERS		ANALYSIS PERIOD	VTR DOCUMENTS		
			NUMBER	TIME AMOUNT	% OF PROGRAM
Public Broadcaster	NHK	4:00:00	0	0:00:00	0.0%
Commercial Broadcasters	TBS	4:01:00	18	0:35:56	14.9%
	Asahi	3:36:00	6	0:05:09	2.4%
	Fuji TV	2:51:00	11	0:28:46	16.8%
	NTV	4:17:00	14	0:46:09	18.0%
	TOTAL	14:45:00	49	1:56:00	13.2%

Table 4: Criteria for Classifying the Categories:

CATEGORY THEME	CRITERIA
Candidate/s	A profile of the candidate as she/he campaigns in the election, mentioning recent successes or failures, significant moments and including personal information as well as the appearance of family members.
Political Party	Focuses on issues particular to the party in the election, such as obstacles to electoral success, or other difficulties. Party leaders appear as representative of or responsible for the predicament of the party.
Politician & Political Dynasty	Either retired politician or Upper House member appears, therefore not a candidate in the Lower House election. Appears in relation to the theme of political dynasties. Specifically focuses on the issue of political dynasties in Japan with interviews/comments from candidates and politicians on the topic.
Voter	The comments and opinions of voters through interviews, mostly on the street, or the situation of voters in the election.
Others	e.g. technical details about the design of ballot boxes and election history.

All the programs showed election results which were constantly being updated on the edges of the screen. Depending on the broadcaster, a headshot of a candidate or political party leader was also included on the screen. When the *VTR documents* were shown, the title was displayed on the screen as well as other *telep*,¹⁶ such as keywords and captioned speech. Notably on TBS, when the studio guests were watching the *VTR documents*, an inset headshot of each guest appeared on the screen. The continual flow of results and the extensive use of screen *telep* meant that audiences received a large amount of information but little time to read or comprehend it. This was especially noticeable on the commercial networks where it was exacerbated by the inclusion of *VTR documents*.

3.1. Analysis Method for the *VTR Documents*

The *VTR documents* were classified into the following theme categories; candidate, political party, politician and political dynasty,¹⁷ voter and others, in order to see which topics were focused on by the commercial broadcasters. The criteria used for classifying the categories are detailed in Table 4.

The 49 *VTR documents* were listed according to broadcaster, category, title, subject, production site, time amount, in the order they appeared in the programs, as well as the candidates' sex, age, and political party. From this classification the number of *VTR documents* focusing on female and male candidates, political parties, political dynasties, voters and other themes could be clearly identified. The amount of time spent on each category was also calculated and it could be seen which candidates and which parties received the most attention. Classifying the *VTR documents* in these categories by gender also made it possible to see, given the low number of female candidates, exactly who was focused on in the *VTR documents*.

Table 5: VTR Documents by Broadcaster: Number/Category/Time Amount

	Candidate/s		Political Party		Politician (retired etc) & Political Dynasty		Voters		Other		Total	
	No.	Time Amount	No.	Time Amount	No.	Time Amount	No.	Time Amount	No.	Time Amount	No.	Time Amount
TBS	11	0:21:09	2	0:03:51	3	0:08:37	2	0:02:19	0	0:00:00	18	0:35:56
TV Asahi	5	0:04:39	0	0:00:00	1	0:00:30	0	0:00:00	0	0:00:00	6	0:05:09
FujiTV	6	0:15:19	2	0:06:27	1	0:03:52	0	0:00:00	2	0:03:08	11	0:28:46
NTV	9	0:30:40	2	0:04:36	2	0:06:05	1	0:04:48	0	0:00:00	14	0:46:09
Total	31	1:11:47	6	0:14:54	7	0:19:04	3	0:07:07	2	0:03:08	49	1:56:00

Table 6: Number of Times Candidates Appear by Age Group.

	Female Candidate					Male Candidate				
	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s-	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s+
TBS	-	1	-	1	1	1	2	3	6	7
TVAsahi	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	5	4
FujiTV	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	8	2
NTV	-	-	-	3	-	1	2	3	6	7
SUB TOTAL	0	1	0	7	1	2	8	7	25	20
TOTAL	9					62				
GRAND TOTAL	71									

3.2. The Classified VTR Documents and Time Amount

The 49 *VTR documents* were classified into the five categories, according to the broadcaster, including the number of *VTR documents* and the time amount, as shown in Table 5. The candidates were overwhelmingly the main focus of the *VTR documents* by all of the commercial broadcasters - over 70 percent of the total broadcast time for *VTR documents*. Political parties, profiles of retired politicians and the issue of political dynasties were also a major focus. Only three *VTR documents* focused on voters,¹⁸ amounting to only four percent of the total broadcast time for *VTR documents*.

Examining the categories and time amounts by broadcaster, some variations can be seen. TBS and NTV, the two broadcasters with the highest number of *VTR documents*, covered the most categories. TV Asahi and Fuji TV did not include any *VTR documents* which exclusively focused on voters. The attention and time given to retired politicians and political dynasties is important. There were a record number of hereditary candidates in the 2003 election, which should have been worth noting but this was not mentioned at all. Rather, these *VTR documents* simply profiled who some of the hereditary candidates were, with no analysis or comment on this characteristic in current Japanese politics.

3.3. The VTR Documents Focusing on Candidates.

An in-depth analysis was conducted for the *VTR documents* which focused on candidates. The coding was extended to include not only the main subject, but also the two other most frequently appearing candidates. This is because prominent candidates from the same party, or rival candidates were often shown together in these *VTR documents*. The frequency of those who appeared, as well as their gender, age group, political party and electoral area were recorded. The number of times these candidates appeared by age group, political party and area, was grouped on the basis of gender, as shown in Table 6.

Female candidates are in the minority in terms of the number of times they appear and

Table 7. Number of Times Candidates Appear by Political Party.

BROADCASTER	LDP		DPJ		SDP		JCP		NC		NK		IND	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
TBS	-	11	1	6	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1
TV Asahi	-	6	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1
Fuji TV	-	8	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
NTV	-	6	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	3	1
SUB TOTAL	0	31	1	25	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	7	3
TOTAL	31		26		1		0		3		0		10	
GRAND TOTAL	71													

the age group in which they appear. The number of times female candidates appear is just over 12 percent. Male candidates dominate all age groups and men in their fifties and sixties appear the most often. Younger men appear less frequently. However, compared to female candidates there is much greater diversity in the ages of male candidates who appear in the *VTR documents*. For the female candidates, the same three women appeared each time - Miho Takai (DPJ), Makiko Tanaka (Independent) and Takako Doi (SDP). From this analysis it became important to identify the number of times the candidates appeared by political party, as shown in Table 7.

Candidates of the two major political parties, the LDP and the DPJ dominate, with 31 and 26 appearances respectively. The anomaly in this pattern is the Independent female category, with 7 appearances. However, these are all accounted for by a single candidate, Makiko Tanaka (former-LDP politician turned Independent candidate).¹⁹

This table also indicates which party's candidates were not chosen to appear in the *VTR documents* as subjects. LDP female candidates did not appear at all and only one DPJ female candidate was shown. The only SDP member to appear as the subject of a *VTR document* was party leader Takako Doi. Female JCP and New Komeito party candidates were completely ignored. The number of times candidates from the LDP and DPJ appears to almost mirror the election result. The LDP won more seats but the DPJ had a higher number of winning female candidates than the LDP.

The tables confirm that certain candidates were focused on collectively by the commercial broadcasters. There are two clear patterns – older, male LDP candidates appear the most frequently, whilst for female candidates, Independent candidate Makiko Tanaka, had almost the sole attention of the commercial broadcasters.

4. Comparing Gender Representations in the VTR Documents

As the above data and analysis shows, female candidates appear much less frequently than male candidates, with certain candidates such as Makiko Tanaka receiving the most attention. To further examine this finding, *VTR documents* were chosen from each of the broadcasters to demonstrate how female and male candidates were represented in the construction of the *VTR documents* (Table 8).

The selection of the *VTR documents* for comparative content analysis was based on them appearing in the same category and having a similar time amount. A female and male candidate were chosen from each broadcaster. In the case of TV Asahi and Fuji TV, the

Table 8: VTR documents chosen for Comparative Analysis

B'CASTER	Title	C'gory	TIME AMOUNT	G	SUBJECT NAME
TBS	<i>Jiban Kanban Tsukutte iru Hito</i> (A person making their support base and name value)	C	0:01:54	F	Miho Takai
	<i>Wakaki Challenger no Tatahaki</i> (The Youthful Challenger's Fight)	C	0:01:33	M	Taizo Mikazuki
TV Asahi	<i>Seiken Sentaku. Makiko-sama, Kyo wa Dochira e?</i> (Political Power Selection. Madam Makiko, where are you going today?)	C	0:01:27	F	Makiko Tanaka
	<i>Seiken Sentaku. Josei hyo ga ki ni naru Omono</i> (Bigwigs who are concerned about the female vote.)	C	0:01:59	M	Taku Yamasaki
Fuji TV	<i>Senkyo Trivia. Tanaka Makiko-hen</i> (Election Trivia. The Tanaka Makiko Version)	C	0:02:07	F	Makiko Tanaka
	<i>Senkyo Trivia. Ishihara Family-hen</i> (Election Trivia. The Ishihara Family Version)	C	0:02:00	M	Ishihara Family
NTV	<i>Shaminto Sonbo no Kiki</i> (The SDP's Life or Death Crisis)	PP	0:02:11	F	SDP
	<i>Minshu vs Jimin Manifesto Battle</i> (The LDP vs DPJ Manifesto Battle)	PP	0:02:25	M	LDP and DPJ

B'CASTER=broadcaster, C'gory=category: C=candidate, PP=Political Party, G=gender, F=female, M=male

Seiken Sentaku (Political Power Selection) and *Senkyo Trivia* (Election Trivia) titles indicated that *VTR documents* with these titles were part of a pair, and they were also broadcast one after the other. Except for the two NTV *VTR documents*, the other *VTR documents* chosen focused on candidates. However, as the leaders of the LDP and DPJ are men, and the leader of the SDP is a woman, it was possible to categorise these two *VTR documents* by gender for comparative purposes.

4.1. TBS *VTR Documents*

Miho Takai (female) and Taizo Mikazuki (male) are the same age, running as candidates for the same political party (DPJ), in the same region (Kansai). They also both have young families. However, the way the *VTR documents* are constructed emphasise very different aspects of their candidacy, mostly reaffirming gender roles in a stereotypical manner. For example, Takai's wedding photo is shown, but unlike Mikazuki, her spouse is not interviewed. Mikazuki's wife is interviewed and says she accepted his decision to leave his high-salary job and make an election bid. We don't know if Takai's husband supports her or not. There were also very few details given about her former employment in comparison to Mikazuki.

The images of Mikazuki with his children show him in the role of looking after his family. During the election campaign period his wife and children are shown as they are going off to stay with their grandparents. Takai, on the other hand, is shown leaving her daughter at a childcare centre so she can campaign. When Takai says good-bye her daughter cries. Takai is shown saying "*Ushiro gami hikereru. Kawaiso* (What a pity to leave her. It's heart-wrenching)."

The camera work used for Takai is also different. Notably, there are more close-up shots of her. We see images of her crying (Figure 1), when she failed in her first electoral bid in the previous election, and apologising to her supporters. The close-ups of Mikazuki show him talking about his political ambitions. Takai has actually more experience as a candidate than Mikazuki yet her situation is constructed as much weaker than his, mainly through the inclusion of negative images, such as crying and apologising, in the *VTR document*.

Figure 1



Figure 2



The focus on Mikazuki's previous employment implies that he will be well suited to political life, whereas in Takai's case it is more a matter of perseverance and her ability to juggle motherhood and politics. In the shots of Takai with her supporters and the constituents of her electoral district, she is mostly shown being encouraged by older men. Mikazuki is also shown campaigning but there are no images of him interacting with voters in the same way. His candidacy is constructed as confident and competent and without special need of encouragement (Figure 2).

4.2. TV Asahi VTR Documents

The two TV Asahi *VTR documents* both have the title *Seiken Sentaku* (Political Power Selection). Both focus on two LDP-related candidates: firstly, Makiko Tanaka, a former member of the party and Koizumi cabinet minister, and secondly, Taku Yamasaki, the party's vice-president whose candidacy has been damaged by a sex scandal. However, their past and current relationship with the LDP is constructed differently.

Images of Tanaka show her criticising the LDP in campaign speeches and stopping unpredictably on the campaign trail to greet voters, who are mostly elderly women, in this particular *VTR document*. Yamasaki is not shown interacting with voters at all. Instead, his wife is shown campaigning on his behalf. He is shown with Prime Minister Koizumi at a campaign event where Koizumi gives a speech supporting him. Although the title of the *VTR document* which focuses on Yamasaki mentions the "female vote," there are, however, no interviews with female voters or images of Yamasaki interacting with them.

Quite a large amount of time is spent profiling Tanaka and Yamasaki's respective rivals in their electorates. Tanaka crosses the campaign trail with her LDP rival, Yukio Hoshino, whilst Yamasaki faces serious competition from former professional tennis player and DPJ candidate, Junichiro Koga. Overall, Tanaka's campaign is represented as unpredictable, presumably because of her campaign style and her criticism of the LDP. Yet, she is shown receiving local support. Her relationship with 'power' (in this case, the LDP) is constructed as problematic.

In the case of Yamasaki, it is implied through the title and the commentary of the *VTR document* that the scandal will affect his candidacy. However, he is shown receiving the top support of his party and his wife. The opinions of his constituents are not included. This *VTR document* is another example of how the media construct relationships to power by gender differently.

Figure 3



Figure 4



4.3. Fuji TV VTR Documents

The two *VTR documents* selected from Fuji TV both have the title *Senkyo Trivia* (Election Trivia.) This title alludes to the network's weekly program, *Izumi no Trivia* (Fountain of Trivia) and is therefore quite a clear reference to television entertainment. Makiko Tanaka appears again as the main female subject in one. The most prominent members of the Ishihara political family are featured in the other *VTR document*. Tanaka and the Ishihara brothers, Nobuteru and Hiroataka, are all candidates in the election with fathers who are current or former prominent politicians-current Tokyo governor, Shintaro Ishihara and former Prime Minister, Kakuei Tanaka.

Both *VTR documents* focus on issues which are not pertinent to the election but are "trivia." The *VTR document* featuring Tanaka counts the number of times her car has to turn on the expressway from her Tokyo residence to her home in her Niigata constituency. The voice over and screen *telop* (Figure 3) conclude at the end of the *VTR document* that it is thanks to her father's influence that she can travel so "directly" from Tokyo to Niigata.²⁰

The Ishihara family *VTR document* explores the reason why it always pours with rain when Ishihara family candidates campaign in an election (Figure 4). A low camera angle is used for all these shots, making the candidates appear more powerful. Yoshizumi Ishihara, a Fuji TV weatherman and brother of candidates Nobuteru and Hiroataka, explains to the camera that the family believes that rain is a sign of support from their uncle, deceased movie star Yujiro Ishihara. The theme of these two *VTR documents* is the continuing influence of dead male relatives. In this context, the legacy and power of political families in elections is reiterated.

4.4. NTV VTR Documents

The two *VTR documents* chosen from NTV profile three political parties – the SDP, the LDP and the DPJ. The SDP are represented as a political party facing a "life or death crisis" because of several recent scandals.²¹ There are numerous close-ups of party leader Takako Doi as she campaigns in her constituency, including images of her shopping and chatting to constituents. The way in which the background music is used throughout the *VTR document* evokes a negative mood.

The DPJ and LDP, on the other hand, are portrayed much more positively in their "manifesto battle" which is shown as more of a game than a serious election issue. None of

the male DPJ and male LDP party leaders or candidates appear in close-up. In fact, the camera zooms in on the manifesto brochures, which carry a photo of each party leader on the cover. The background music used in this *VTR document* contributes to the construction of an image of two powerful political parties, represented by men, with an emphasis on “battle.”

Voters appeared in both *VTR documents* though not in equal numbers. In the *VTR document* about the SDP, two voters, a man and a woman, appear expressing doubt about the party, as an effective and trustworthy political force. In the *VTR document* about the “manifesto battle,” two women and three men give their opinion not on the parties, but on how much they understand the manifesto. Although most of the interviewees say they are not quite sure about each party’s policy, the main focus of the *VTR document* is on the “battle” and which party has managed to distribute the most copies of the manifesto. The background music used is upbeat and cheerful.

The parties’ chances of electoral success are constructed in terms of who is the most popular. The LDP and DPJ are represented as being more powerful and competent than the SDP. Their place in politics is not questioned. The SDP, however, is represented as weak and unpopular. The *VTR document* casts doubt on their very existence as a party.

4.5. Female and Male Candidates in the *VTR Documents* - Discussion

The *VTR documents* represent many different types of men, from the powerful and popular,²² the young and active²³ to those plagued by scandal and unlikely to retain their seats in the Diet.²⁴ However, only a few types of women are represented; the sensationalized,²⁵ those likely to lose power,²⁶ and in the case of the only young female candidate profiled,²⁷ as someone who needs to be encouraged. None of these women are shown as empowered candidates who have campaigned successfully. The male candidates, however, appear as a variety of types, and collectively overcome any negative attributes associated with them. In fact, scandal or not, their place in politics is constructed as natural.

No female LDP candidates are the subject of *VTR documents*. The only case where they appear are as the wives of male candidates.²⁸ Although Makiko Tanaka was formerly an LDP member, she is frequently shown attacking the party in the *VTR documents*. Her connection with the LDP is constructed as negative and problematic. As no female LDP candidates appear in the *VTR documents* we know nothing about how the media construct their situation in this context. Instead, we only see wives supporting their LDP candidate husbands. Even though the JCP fielded that highest number of female candidates, none of them appear in the *VTR documents* or the election programs. Similarly, no female candidates from New Komeito or the New Conservative Party appear. Aside from Makiko Tanaka, no other women standing as Independent candidates are focused on.

Makiko Tanaka is an anomaly among female candidates in the 2003 election for a number of reasons. Firstly, she is the daughter of former Prime Minister and has had media attention since she was a young woman. Secondly, when she campaigned closely with Koizumi in the 2001 election for the LDP presidency election and made many appearances on *wide-shows* (McCargo 2003: 71), Tanaka’s presence in the media increased. Tanaka’s husband is LDP Upper House politician, Naoki Tanaka. He has remained in the party even after her

exit from the post of Foreign Minister and her resignation from the LDP. In the 2003 Lower House election Tanaka ran as an Independent for the first time. The level of media attention she received for an Independent in a rural constituency²⁹ is unique. For these reasons Tanaka cannot be considered a regular candidate, she is an exception. However, unlike male candidates her status as a hereditary candidate is not constructed as 'natural' or in her favour. In the *VTR documents* that focus on Tanaka she is represented negatively - for example, criticising the LDP and Prime Minister Koizumi as well as other politicians.

In general, the candidates are rarely shown talking about local issues that would affect their constituents. The *VTR documents* focus on the personalities of the candidates or sensational and scandalous incidents and tend to highlight extremely general or trivial themes that could be categorized as entertainment, rather than election issues. In the *VTR documents* focusing on candidates, citizens are used as background images or for providing short sound bites. They tend to appear at the beginning or end of the *VTR documents*. They are never the main part of a *VTR document* focusing on a candidate. This structure represents citizens at the sidelines watching rather than interacting directly with candidates and participating together in the democratic process.

The *VTR documents* provide a topic of discussion for the assembled studio guests, many of them comedians or *talento* (celebrities). They express a range of reactions to the *VTR documents*, such as their astonishment or surprise at various themes, and much of the time they reinforce the entertainment value of the *VTR documents*. The commercial stations spent a great deal of time focusing on prominent candidates. To be fair, not every one of the 1159 candidates who ran in the election or even the 480 candidates that won seats could appear in the programs or the *VTR documents*. However, there was almost no variation in the choices of the broadcasters as to who was the subject of a *VTR document*.

The *VTR documents* trivialize, sensationalize and present politics as a form of entertainment. Very few women appear in them, as either candidates or voters, and those that do are not represented as having a natural place or equal role in politics. Gender roles and stereotypes about women and men in politics are perpetuated and reinforced.

5. Power and Gender Representations in Politics – Conclusions

The election night programs of the commercial broadcasters did not represent the election as a serious event where voters exercise their democratic rights. The programs of the commercial and national broadcaster constructed the election as a place where women do not have an equal presence to men. Stereotyping exists for both genders, but in this context it is detrimental for women because of their already marginal position in politics and the media's focus on a select few prominent political women. Not only do few women appear in programs, but there are limitations in their roles and representation. This is especially clear in the small numbers of female candidates interviewed live, and in the way in which only a few political women appear in the *VTR documents*. The media are complicit in perpetuating inequalities and biases. There is a lack of equality and diversity in the media representation of gender in the programs.

It can be concluded from analysing the construction of the programs and by comparing

the *VTR documents* that the representation of the candidates' relationship to power is also constructed differently for female and male candidates in the programs. Female candidates' relationship to power is shown as problematic and their minimal presence in politics is constructed as unnatural and uncertain. In comparison, men's place in politics is constructed as being assured, regardless of any scandals or controversy. In the entertainment-style election programs, the media constructed an election where women did not participate fully or equally, where negative gender stereotypes were reinforced and where their presence wasn't taken seriously.

5.1. Beyond Gender Representation

From the analysis of the 2003 election it appears that there is a need for media research from a gender perspective to move beyond the limitations of gender representation. A wider study of the meanings produced in the area of media, gender and politics and how they are connected to patriarchal values in modern Japanese society needs to be included. An examination of how the media construct gender and power relationships is one aspect that the analysis has identified.

Many studies done over the last twenty years have looked at the consequences of the stereotyping of women in the media and called for more accurate depictions of women's experiences (Tuchman 1978: 3, Carter et al 1998: 6). Section J of the Beijing Platform for Action from the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, deals directly with the issue of women and the media and calls for policy-making on all levels to "promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media (United Nations 1995)." However, Japanese media organizations have been reluctant to adopt guidelines on gender sensitivity and the industry is self-regulating in this respect (Suzuki 2005b: 286). Other researchers have argued that there are complexities and contradictions which affect the construction of gender in media texts (Van Zoonen 1994: 12), emphasising that gender is culturally and historically specific. They have also called for researchers to take a broader look at the multiplicities of gender beyond the conventional male-female gender binary, especially on television (D'Acci 2004: 380).

For the next step of this research there are specific cultural and historical complexities in Japan which should be examined in order to achieve a deeper level of analysis. As Suzuki (2005a: 65) has stated, Japan is a media-saturated society where traditional patriarchal values co-exist with highly technologically developed digital media, yet democracy is still developing. This point is particularly important for future analysis of media coverage of the 2005 election, because of the sensational media coverage of the LDP's female candidates, Prime Minister Koizumi's relationship with the media and the LDP's landslide victory. Such analysis may contrast sharply with the findings of the 2003 election programs which showed, for example, that LDP female candidates were not focused on at all in the election programs. In order to more deeply analyse and interpret such a change it will be necessary to move beyond gender representation in the media as the major research focus.

5.2. Current Gender Issues

The current climate in Japan in terms of gender issues is quite different to that in which

the 2003 election programs were analysed and researched. Prior to the 2005 election, proposed challenges to some articles of the constitution, including Article 24 (“equality of the sexes”), were reported in the media. In particular, the proposed changes and challenges to Article 24 sparked vehement opposition from women’s and human rights groups and a campaign was launched to counteract the ‘model plan’ of an LDP Constitution Revision panel (Kogure 2005). Article 24 states that “laws shall be enacted from the standpoint of individual dignity and the essential equality of the sexes” (National Diet Library 1946). However, as an attempt to combat Japan’s low birth rate the panel proposed de-emphasising individual freedoms and amending Article 24 to stress the importance of family values. In effect, the panel blamed Japanese women for the low birthrate because they have chosen individual freedom over their “traditional role” as wives and mothers (Reuters 2005).

At the same time, a five year plan to promote gender equality was being drafted by a government advisory panel. Members of the panel, some of them prominent male and female LDP members, voiced their concern in the media over what they termed the excessive sex education and gender equality education existing in Japan. Essentially the group confused two separate issues and ignored the premise of the plan – to abolish discrimination based on sexual differences. They also demanded that the word “gender” be removed from policy plans and that the value of marriage and family be promoted (Sieg 2005). In this context, the role of women in politics becomes more than a matter of media representation in modern Japanese society. It indicates a need to explore the cultural and historical reasons connected to the dominant paradigm of politics and media.

5.3. Directions for Future Research

There are a number of unique characteristics concerning the election programs that require further research and analysis. Whilst this paper has employed a media literacy approach to examine the programs and the *VTR documents* as media texts, it was not able to incorporate the entire media literacy research model, which includes audience and production angles. A more detailed analysis of the images used in the programs is necessary because the techniques used in the construction of the programs and the *VTR documents* are integral to how audiences read media texts. This is certainly an objective for future research.

The production codes and practices of the media, including the extent to which these organizations are structured by gender, must be given more attention in an analysis of the industry. However, the main goal of future research should be to illuminate the unprecedented relationship between politics and the media, outlined above, which has consequences for democracy, gender equality and justice. The landslide victory of the LDP in the 2005 election and the resulting news coverage, which centred on Prime Minister Koizumi and his “assassins,”³⁰ raises an important issue – to what extent have the media entered the political process?

Finally, the current state of journalism in Japan is also in need of investigation. It is crucial to examine, from a gender perspective, how and why news and politics have come to function as entertainment in the Japanese media.³¹ We must consider the current state of democracy in Japan and how journalism is mediating between citizens and government. Initiatives in this area must be pursued in order to obtain a more profound understanding of

the complexities in the relationship between media, gender and politics in Japan.

Notes

- 1 'Madonna' is used as a foreign loan word in the Japanese language. It has come to signify the existence of more women in Japanese politics. The origins of its usage are not exactly clear. Okano notes usage of the term from 1988 and says it refers to the iconic symbol of the Holy Mother as well as the male idea of motherhood (1996: 147). Iwamoto says that between 1987-1989 there were numerous by-elections and a female SDP candidate was named the 'Madonna of Niigata' (2001: 226).
- 2 Specifically, prominent SDP female politician and former policy chief Kiyomi Tsujimoto was arrested and later convicted for misusing the salaries of her government-funded secretaries. Tanaka was also accused of this but never charged.
- 3 Published research in this area is yet to emerge which could verify this statement.
- 4 The term also included male candidates who were young and politically inexperienced.
- 5 This will be the topic of a future paper.
- 6 This paper is based on part of the research for my Master's thesis.
- 7 See Table 1.
- 8 '*VTR (videotape recorder) Document*' is a Japanese English word, usually written in katakana script. This term will be used rather than the English translation of it - 'pre-recorded segment,' because it is unique to Japan and also a term widely understood by Japanese researchers.
- 9 This will be developed in a future paper.
- 10 The length of the campaign period, for both houses of the Diet, has been decreasing since the 1950s, when it was 30 days. The shortened campaign length is more advantageous for incumbent candidates who are already known to the electorate. Since pre-election campaigning is prohibited new candidates have very little time to communicate their policies. In particular, this is seen as being a disadvantage for female candidates (Yamada 2004: 32).
- 11 See Table 1 for full program lengths.
- 12 The design for sheets is based on the '*kosei nagare* (construction flow)' analysis sheet models for news program analysis in *Study Guide to Media Literacy: Gender Approach* (Suzuki 2003).
- 13 All program title translations from Japanese mine.
- 14 The relationship between the Japanese Communist Party and the media is certainly in need of research attention. This data shows it is not just a gender issue but also indicates political bias.
- 15 Refer to Introduction for definition.
- 16 *Telop* is an abbreviation of 'television opaque operator', which is used for screen captioning. This is a common term used for television analysis in Japan.
- 17 This an English translation of the Japanese word '*seshu*' which means hereditary or second-generation candidate.
- 18 Although they appeared in other categories only these three *VTR documents* specifically focused on voters.
- 19 See Introduction for more detail on this.
- 20 During Kakuei Tanaka's term as Prime Minister, he initiated a number of public works

- projects to improve transport to Niigata prefecture which benefited the area economically.
- 21 North Korea's admission of having abducted Japanese citizens was also a factor. The SDP had always dismissed this suspicion as lies and supported North Korea.
- 22 e.g. Junichiro Koizumi, Naoto Kan
- 23 e.g. Taizo Mikazuki
- 24 e.g. Taku Yamasaki
- 25 e.g. Makiko Tanaka
- 26 e.g. Takako Doi
- 27 e.g. Miho Takai
- 28 e.g. Taku Yamasaki's wife
- 29 Niigata, District 5.
- 30 The evening news programs of the day following the election (September 12th, 2005) are currently being analysed by fellow Ritsumeikan doctoral student, Hisako Nishimura, members of the Forum for Citizens' Television and Media (FCT) and myself.
- 31 This is an objective for my doctoral thesis.

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