

文部科学省特別経費(国立大学機能強化分)

『グローバル女性リーダー育成カリキュラムに基づく教育実践と新たな女性リーダーシップ論の発信』
グローバル女性リーダー育成研究機構 グローバルリーダーシップ研究所 ジェンダー研究所 国際シンポジウム

MEXT Special Expenditure for Educational Practice based on Global Women's Leadership Curriculum and
Generating Knowledge for New Women's Leadership (FY 2015-2018)

International Symposium of the Research Organization for the Promotion of Global Women's Leadership

女性政治リーダーは いかにして「育つ」か？

Promoting Future Women Leaders in Politics



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お茶の水女子大学
Ochanomizu University

女性政治リーダーは いかにして「育つ」か？

Promoting Future Women Leaders in Politics

【実施概要】 2018年6月30日(土)、お茶の水女子大学グローバル女性リーダー育成研究機構主催による国際シンポジウム「女性政治リーダーはいかにして『育つ』か？」が開催された。グローバル女性リーダー育成研究機構は、グローバルリーダーシップ研究所(IGL)とジェンダー研究所(IGS)により構成され、両研究所は、2015年の改組により新設された本機構下に設置されて以来、それぞれが主催するシンポジウムやセミナー、研究会への相互参加や協力、日常的な情報交換などの形で協働を続けてきた。その協働関係をさらに深化させ、両研究所のこれまでの事業成果が交差する企画を実現させる目的で、本シンポジウムの準備委員会が2017年3月に組織され、実施に向けた検討が進められた。

世界経済フォーラムが毎年発表している「グローバル・ジェンダー・ギャップ・レポート」が明示するとおり、女性の政治参画の推進は、世界各国において重要な課題となっている。草の根レベルで女性たちの政治に対する関心を高めることと併せて、特に取組が必要とされているのは、政治的リーダーと位置付けられる国会および地方議会議員の女性割合の増加、すなわち女性政治リーダーの増加である。関連テーマの研究に取り組んでいる研究者が両研究所に所属していること、本学が女性リーダー育成をミッションとしていること、そして女性の政治参画の推進が喫緊の社会課題であることを総合し、シンポジウムの主題は「女性政治リーダー」に決定された。そして、カレン・シャイアIGL特別招聘教授(ドイツ デュースブルク・エッセン大学教授)、申琪榮IGS准教授、大木直子IGL特任講師の尽力により、国内外から、現役閣僚、国会議員、政党幹部、女性政治家育成スクール代表らをゲストスピーカーとして招聘し、また、本学講堂(微音堂)に400名を超える聴衆を集めて、充実した内容のシンポジウムを開催することができた(プログラム詳細は5頁参照)。

本シンポジウムでは、現役の政治家そして女性政治家育成と支援にあたる実務家たちの話を聞き、それぞれの現場での、これまでの成果や困難、そしてこれからの課題について学ぶことができた。大学という場でこの企画を実現させることの意義は、本シンポジウムでの議論を、「では大学では何ができるのか」という議論に発展させ、今後の本学および両研究所における研究教育にこれを活かすことにある。かつ、そうして生み出された、優れた教育プログラムや先進的な研究などの成果が、ジェンダー平等社会の実現に資するものとなることであろう。両研究所では、そのような成果に向けた努力が続けられている。

また、このシンポジウムの成果としては、当初の目的とされていた両研究所間の協働関係の深化に加え、両研究所がひとつの機構として活動することの意義を、所属員各々が再認識した点も挙げられよう。本シンポジウム開催直後より、2019年1月開催の次回シンポジウムに向けた準備委員会が新たに編成され、機構全体での事業活動が展開されている。

【趣旨】 女性の政治リーダー育成は、日本に限らず世界各国・地域で大きな課題となっている。高校生や大学生を含む若い世代の政治参加を促し、その中からリーダーとなる人材を育成することは、解決の一手となるであろう。

本シンポジウムの第1部の基調講演では、日本と韓国の現職国会議員から、女性政治家としての現在に至るまでのキャリアパスについて伺う。第2部では、日本における女性政治リーダー育成の実績とこれからの課題、ドイツの政党における若手リーダーシップ育成などについて、パネリストから報告を受け、政治分野における女性リーダー育成の課題について議論する。

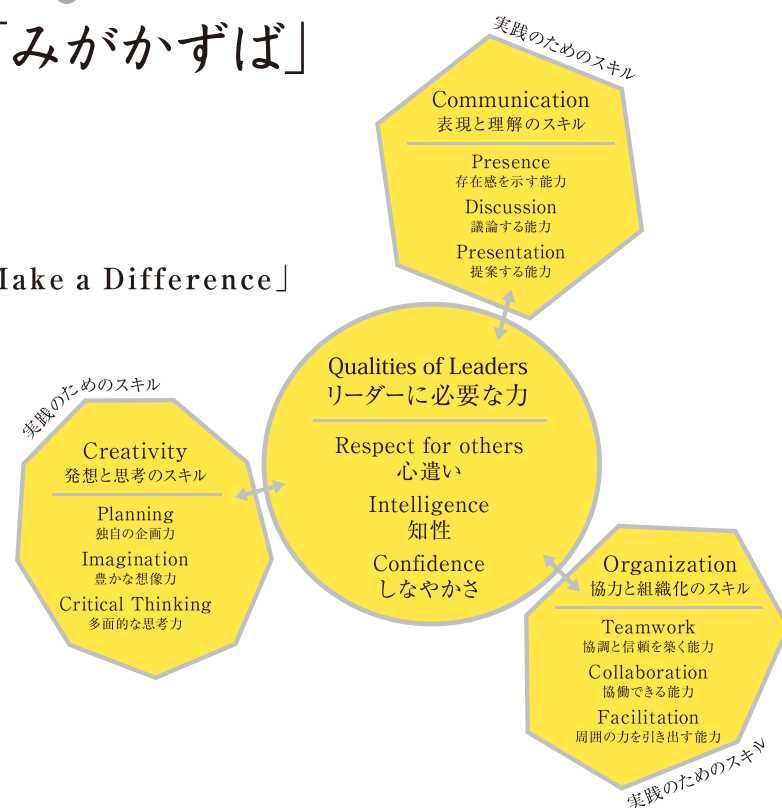
Promoting Future Women Leaders in Politics

Development of women's political leadership has been an important social agenda not only in Japan but also in countries and regions all over the world. Encouraging the young generation, such as high school and university students, to participate in politics and providing leadership training for them can be an effective way to achieve this. In the first session of this symposium, two female national parliament members from Japan and South Korea will deliver keynote speeches about their career experiences. The following panel discussion session takes up issues of women's political leadership education, starting with the panelists' reports on the achievement and challenges of Japanese women's political leader education and on young political leader training in the German Social-Democratic Party.

migabazuba

「みがかずば」

「Make a Difference」



If you neglect to polish a gem or mirror, the radiance will surely disappear. So true is also with learning.

みがかずば 玉もかがみも なにかせん
学びの道も かくこそ ありけれ

※This time-honored alma mater song has been sung since 1876, when it was bestowed by the Empress Dowager Shoken upon the school soon after its founding.

※創立直後の1876年に昭憲皇太后より下賜されたこの歌は、日本最古の校歌として今も歌い継がれています。

国際シンポジウム
International Symposium

女性政治リーダーは いかにして「育つ」か？

Promoting Future Women Leaders in Politics

2018年6月30日(土) お茶の水女子大学 大学講堂(微音堂)
30th June, 2018 (Saturday) Auditorium (Kiindo), Ochanomizu University

実施概要・趣旨	3	Aim and Summary of Symposium
開会挨拶	8	Opening Remarks
室伏 きみ子 お茶の水女子大学 学長		Kimiko MUROFUSHI President, Ochanomizu University
趣旨説明	12	Introductory Remarks
猪崎 弥生 お茶の水女子大学 理事・副学長、 グローバル女性リーダー育成研究機構長		Yayoi IZAKI Trustee, Vice President, Ochanomizu University
基調講演	14	Keynote Speech
野田 聖子 総務大臣 女性活躍・男女共同参画担当大臣、 内閣府特命担当大臣、衆議院議員		Seiko NODA (Minister for Internal Affairs and Communications, Minister in charge of Women's Empowerment, Minister of State for the Social Security and Tax Number System, Member of the House of Representatives)
陳 善美 韓国国会議員、弁護士		Sun-Mee JIN (Member of National Assembly of the Republic of Korea)
●パネリスト発表		●Panel Presentation
円 より子 (女性のための政治スクール校長、元参議院議員)		Yoriko MADOKA (Head of "Political School for Women", Former Member of the House of Councillors)
ヨハンナ・ウッカマン (ドイツ社会民主党常任理事、同バイエルン州副代表、 元Jusos(社会民主党ユース団体)全国代表)		Johanna UEKERMANN (Executive Board Member/Member of the Headquarters of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD))
●ビデオメッセージ		●Video Message
ヴィクトリア・A・バドソン (ハーヴァード大学ケネディスクール「女性と公共政策プログラム」事務局長)		Victoria A. BUDSON (Harvard Kennedy School Women and Public Policy Program Executive Director)
●パネルディスカッション		●Panel Discussion
司会: 申 琪榮 お茶の水女子大学ジェンダー研究所准教授		Moderator: Ki-young SHIN (Associate Professor, Institute for Gender Studies, Ochanomizu University)
●質疑応答		●Audience Discussion
閉会挨拶	92	Closing Speech
小林 誠 お茶の水女子大学教授、 グローバルリーダーシップ研究所長		Makoto KOBAYASHI (Professor, Head of the Institute for Global Leadership, Ochanomizu University)
総司会 大木 直子 (お茶の水女子大学グローバルリーダーシップ研究所特任講師)		Master of the Ceremony Naoko OKI Project Lecturer, Institute for Global Leadership, Ochanomizu University



野田 聖子 Seiko NODA

総務大臣 女性活躍・男女共同参画担当大臣 内閣府特命担当大臣 衆議院議員

1983年上智大学外国語学部卒業後、株式会社帝国ホテルに入社。1987年に岐阜県議会議員当選。1993年、第40回衆議院議員総選挙(岐阜1区)で初当選。以来連続9期当選。1996年郵政政務次官、1998年7月郵政大臣、2008年内閣府特命担当大臣・消費者行政推進担当大臣・宇宙開発担当大臣、2012年自由民主党総務会長、2016年衆議院災害対策特別委員長などを歴任。現在は、自由民主党岐阜県支部連合会会長(2016年5月以降)、総務大臣・女性活躍担当大臣・内閣府特命担当大臣(2017年8月以降)などに就いている。

Minister for Internal Affairs and Communications, Minister in charge of Women's Empowerment, Minister of State for the Social Security and Tax Number System, Member of the House of Representatives

After graduating with a degree in Comparative Cultural Studies from the Faculty of Foreign Studies at Sophia University in 1983, Seiko Noda began her career with the Imperial Hotel, Ltd. in 1987. She was later elected as a member of the Gifu Prefectural Assembly. The 40th lower house general elections of 1993 marked the first of her nine elections as a member of the House of Representatives (HR) from Gifu First District. In her second term, she was appointed as State Secretary for Posts and Telecommunications (1996) and Minister of Posts and Telecommunications (1998). Overall, she has held various posts in the Cabinet, the HR, and within the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), including Minister of State for Science and Technology Policy and Food Safety, Consumer Affairs, and Space Policy (2008), Chairperson of the General Council of the LDP (2012), and Chairperson of the Special Committee on Disasters, HR (2016). Seiko Noda currently serves as Minister for Internal Affairs and Communications, Minister in charge of Women's Empowerment, Minister of State for the Social Security and Tax Number System, and Chairperson of the Federation of Gifu Prefecture LDP Branches.



陳 善美(チン ソンミ) Sun-Mee JIN

韓国国会議員 弁護士

成均館大学校法科大学(韓国)卒業後、人権派弁護士として活躍。民主化のための弁護士グループ女性人権委員長。『共に民主党』の前身団体である『新政治民主連合』政策副議長。第20代国会議員選挙ではソウル特別市江東区(甲)地区初の女性国会議員になった。国会において予算決算特別委員会、女性児童への性暴力対策特別委員会、低出産対策特別委員会、国会安全行政委員会に所属。『共に民主党』において院内代表、『共に民主党』選挙対策委員会委員、乙支路委員会法律支援団長、幹事などを歴任。現在、『共に民主党』第一政策調整委員会委員長、『共に民主党』幹事。

The 19th and 20th South Korean National Assembly Member, Member of the Democratic Party of Korea, and attorney

After graduating from the College of Law, Sungkyunkwan University, Sun-Mee JIN worked as a human rights lawyer and served as Chairperson of the women's rights committee of the Lawyers for a Democratic Society. She also served as the Vice Chairperson for Policy at the New Politics Alliance of Democracy (predecessor of the Democratic Party). In the 20th legislative election, she became the first female representative of the Gangdong-gu district, Seoul. She has held various posts on parliamentary special committees, like the Budget and Accounts Committee and those dedicated to birth rate improvement and preventing sexual violence against children. She has also held key positions in the Democratic Party, serving as a board member, floor leader, and legal advisory leader of the Euljiro Committee. Currently, Sun-Mee JIN is a member of the Public Administration and Security Committee, the First Policy Research Council chairperson, and a board member of the Democratic Party.



円 より子 Yoriko MADOKA

元参議院議員、女性のための政治スクール 校長

津田塾大学英文科卒業後、『ジャパントゥタイムズ』編集局勤務を経て、フリージャーナリスト・作家となる。多くのテレビ番組のレギュラーおよびゲスト・コメンテーターを務め、幅広い支持を得る。1993年から2010年の17年間、参議院議員(全国比例)を務め、民主党副代表、民主党「次の内閣」財務大臣、参議院財政金融委員会委員長などを歴任。現在は、ハンド・イン・ハンドの会(母子家庭の母親の支援ネットワーク)代表、女性のための政治スクール校長など。

Head of “Political School for Women”, Former Member of the House of Councillors

Yoriko Madoka graduated from the Department of English at Tsuda University in 1969. After working in the editorial department at *The Japan Times*, she began a career as a freelance journalist and author. She received immense public support for her appearance on TV as a commentator. Yoriko Madoka was elected as a member of the House of Councillors for 17 years (1993–2010), and also served as a deputy leader of the Democratic Party of Japan, the Minister of Finance of the Democratic Party of Japan's “Next Cabinet”, and a chairperson of the House of Councillors’ Committee on Financial Affairs. Her current activities include work for “Hand in Hand Association”, a supportive network for single mothers and the “Political School for Women”.



ヨハンナ・ウッカマン Johanna UEKERMANN

ドイツ社会民主党常任理事、同バイエルン州副代表、元 Jusos(社会民主党ユース団体)全国代表

ユリウス・マクシミリアン大学ヴュルツブルクとジュネーヴ大学にて政治学専攻(2006～2013年)。2002年にドイツ社会民主党(SPD)党员となり、2011年から2013年は党青年局(JUSOS)全国副代表、2013年から2017年は同全国代表を務める。現在は、党常任理事および本部メンバー、バイエルンSPD副代表、シュトラウビング＝ボーゲン郡代表の地区協議会メンバーおよびSPD派副代表として活動。

Executive Board Member/Member of the Headquarters of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)

Johanna Uekermann studied in Political Science at University of Würzburg and University of Geneva (2006–2013). She joined the SPD in 2002 and served as the Deputy Federal Chairperson (2011–2013) and Federal Chairperson (2013–2017) of the party's Working Group of Young Socialists (Jusos). Her current leadership activities include member of the SPD executive committee and the SPD-presidium, Deputy National Chairman and member of the state board of Bayern SPD, and Deputy Chairwoman and district councilor of the district of Straubing-Bogen.



申 琪榮(シン キヨン) Ki-Young SHIN

ジェンダー研究所准教授／パネルディスカッション 司会

お茶の水女子大学ジェンダー研究所・大学院人間文化創成科学研究科准教授。政治学博士。ベティ・ノスベルド女性と政治分野の論文最優秀賞受賞(北米西部政治科学学会、2004年)。研究分野はジェンダー・クォータ、東アジアにおける女性運動とジェンダー政策の国際比較など。*International Political Science Review*などの国際的学術誌で近著論文を発表。*Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory*(Oxford Univ. Press 2015)などの共編著書のほか、多くの日本語および韓国語書籍に執筆。2017年より、日本国内で刊行されている学術誌『ジェンダー研究』(お茶の水女子大学ジェンダー研究所刊)の編集長を務めている。2018年、三浦まり氏(上智大学)と、若い女性たちの政治的リーダーシップ養成を目的とした「バリテ・アカデミー」を開設。

Associate Professor, Institute for Gender Studies

Ki-young Shin is Associate Professor in the Institute for Gender Studies and the Graduate School of Humanities and Sciences at Ochanomizu University. Ph.D. in Political Science. Winner of Betty Nosveld Best Paper on Women and Politics (Western Political Science Association, 2004). Her research interests include gender quotas, comparative women's movements and gender policies in East Asia. She is the organizer of the collaborative research network on women's representation in East Asian States. Her recent works are published in International Journals such as *International Political Science Review*, *Politics & Gender*, *Pacific Affairs* and *Pacific Review*. She also contributed to the edited volumes including *Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theory* (Oxford Univ. Press 2015), *Gender and Power* (Palgrave Macmillan 2015), and *Handbook of Japanese Politics* (Routledge 2011) as well as many Japanese and Korean books. From 2017, she serves as editor in chief of Japan-based academic journal, *the Journal of Gender Studies*. In 2018, she co-founded the Academy for Gender Parity for young women's political leadership training with Mari Miura.



●ビデオメッセージ

ヴィクトリア・A・バドソン Victoria A. BUDSON

アメリカ ハーヴァード大学ケネディスクール
「女性と公共政策プログラム」事務局長

Harvard Kennedy School
Women and Public Policy Program Executive Director



大木 直子 Naoko OKI

グローバルリーダーシップ研究所特任講師／総司会

お茶の水女子大学グローバルリーダーシップ研究所(IGL)特任講師。博士(社会科学、2011年、お茶の水女子大学)。研究分野は女性の政治参加、リクルートメント研究。公益社団法人程ヶ谷基金「第2回 男女共同参画・少子化に関する研究活動の支援、並びにこれに関する懸賞事業」最優秀賞受賞(2011年)。IGL「リーダーシップ育成プログラム」リーダー。2018年より日本学術振興会科学研究費基盤C「政治塾のリクルートメント過程に関する研究—女性の政治参加の観点から」研究代表。近年の論文に「政党による『女性活用』—県議会議員を事例に」(2016年)、「『政治塾』と女性の政治参加—リクルートメントの観点から」(2018年)など。

Project Lecturer, Institute for Global Leadership

Naoko Oki is Project Lecturer at the Institute for Global Leadership (IGL), Ochanomizu University. She serves as section leader of Leadership Training Program at the IGL. Ph. D. in Gender and Politics in 2011. She received the prize of the commendation program of the Hodogaya Foundation for academic research about Gender Equality and the Declining Birthrate in 2011. From 2018 she is the principal investigator of the research project “Seiji Juku (Politics Academies) in the Candidate Recruitment Process: Implications for Women's Political Participation” of Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C), JSPS. Her recent works on academic journals are “Promoting Women's Participation in Local Election by Political Party Candidate Recruitment : A Case of Prefectural Assemblies in Japan” in 2016 and “Do the Seiji Juku (Politics Schools) Promote Women's Political Participation in Japan? : An Examination of their Recruitment Systems” in 2018. Her current research interests include women participation in local politics and political recruitment.



室伏きみ子

お茶の水女子大学 学長

Kimiko MUROFUSHI
President, Ochanomizu University

本日は大変お暑い中、「お茶の水女子大学グローバル女性リーダー育成研究機構」が開催いたします国際シンポジウムにお運びくださりまして、まことに有難うございます。国内外から著名な女性リーダーの方々をお招きいたしまして、「女性政治リーダーはいかにして『育つ』か?」のテーマの下、政治分野における女性のリーダーシップについて、ご講演をいただき、その後パネルディスカッションを開催いたします。後ほど、機構長の猪崎弥生理事・副学長より、本シンポジウムの趣旨説明をさせていただきますので、私からは、本日のご登壇者と、「お茶の水女子大学グローバル女性リーダー育成研究機構」の簡単なご紹介をさせていただきます。

第一部の基調講演には、野田聖子総務大臣と、大韓民国より陳善美(チン ソンミ)国会議員をお迎えしております。

野田聖子大臣は1993年に衆議院議員に初当選されて、数少ない女性国会議員としてご活躍され、今年、在職25年の永年在職表彰をお受けになりました。郵政大臣、消費者行政推進担当大臣、宇宙開発担当大臣、衆議院災害対策特別委員長、自由民主党総務会長などを歴任されまして、現在は、総務大臣と、女性活躍・男女共同参画担当大臣・内閣府特命担当大臣を兼務され、男女共同参画社会の実現のためにご尽力くださっています。また、野田大臣は、超党派の国会議員による「政治分野における女性の参画と活

躍を推進する議員連盟」でも幹事長をお務めになられ、今年の4月からは、地元の岐阜県で「岐阜女性政治塾」を開講されて、政治分野で活躍し、リーダーを目指す女性人材の育成に積極的に取り組んでいらっしゃいます。

私も、男女共同参画会議などで、野田大臣にお目にかかってお話しさせていただくことがございますが、いつも、女性や子ども達が幸せに暮らせる社会の実現のために、困難な問題に果敢に取り組まれて、様々な角度からご努力くださる毅然としたご様子に力を頂いています。

本日、野田大臣からは、ご自身の女性政治リーダーとしてのキャリアパス、そして、女性の政治参画の促進や政治分野における後進の育成の取組についても、お話をお聴きできると思います。野田大臣、どうぞよろしくお願い致します。

お二人目の基調講演者は、大韓民国の陳善美議員でいらっしゃいます。陳議員は、成均館(ソングンガン)大学校法科大学を卒業された後に、人権派弁護士として活躍されました。民主化のための弁護士グループ女性人権委員長などをお務めになられ、2012年国会議員選挙で初当選され、2016年の国会議員選挙では最も激戦区と言われるソウル特別市江東区(カンドング)(甲)地区で初めての女性国会議員に選出されて、予算決算特別委員会、女性児童への性暴力対策特別委員会、低出産対策特別委員会などに所属されて、活躍していらっしゃいます。所属政党であ

る「共に民主党」では、政策副議長、院内代表などを歴任されて、現在は、第一政策調整委員会委員長などを務めていらっしゃいます。

昨日、駐日大韓民国特命全権大使でいらっしゃる李洙勲(イ スフン)様とお会いしたのですが、李大使は、陳議員ほど素晴らしい活躍をされている議員は他にはいらっしゃらない、と仰っていました。

本日はご自身の女性リーダーとしてのご経験や、韓国のクオータ制のこと、また、弁護士としての豊富な実務経験を議員活動にどのように活かしていらっしゃるのかなどについても、お話をお聞かせ頂けるとと思います。

陳議員、ご多忙の中、本学のシンポジウムのために、わざわざお運びくださりまして、まことに有難うございます。どうぞ宜しくお願い申し上げます。

第二部のパネルディスカッションには、陳議員に加え、ドイツ社会民主党常任理事として、若い世代の政治参画支援を進めていらっしゃるヨハンナ・ウッカマン様をお迎えし、また「女性のための政治スクール」の校長として、女性の政治参画推進に取り組んでいらっしゃる円より子元参議院議員に、ご登壇いただきます。

ご登壇くださいます皆様、ご多用のところ、また遠くからお出で下さりまして、まことにありがとうございます。心から感謝申し上げます。



また、スケジュールの関係で、本シンポジウムへのご参加は叶いませんでしたが、アメリカのハーヴァード大学ケネディスクール「女性と公共政策プログラム」のヴィクトリア・パドソン事務局長よりビデオメッセージを頂戴しております。

第二部パネルディスカッションの司会はお茶の水女子大学ジェンダー研究所の申琪榮准教授、総合司会はグローバルリーダーシップ研究所大木直子特任講師が務めさせていただきます。

お茶の水女子大学は、1875年に、わが国初の女性のための国立の高等教育機関として設立されました。その後、優れた女性人材を育成し、社会に輩出して参りました。そして、「学ぶ意欲のあるすべての女性にとって、真摯な夢の実現の場」として、年齢や国籍等に関わりなく、女性たちが学びを深め、それぞれの夢を実現できるよう支援してきました。21世紀の社会に必要とされる高度な教養と専門性を備え、広い見識と豊かな創造性を持った女性リーダーの育成に努めております。

2015年4月に、グローバルに活躍できる女性リーダーを育成する機能を強化するために、本シンポジウムの開催元でございます「グローバル女性リーダー育成研究機構」を新設いたしました。

それに伴いまして、長年に亘って本学の男女共同参画推進の実施組織であった「リーダーシップ養成教育研究センター」を「グローバルリーダーシップ研究所」へと、また日本におけるジェンダー研究の拠点として、国際的学術ネットワークを構築して参りました「ジェンダー研究センター」を「ジェンダー研究所」へと発展的に改組し、機構内に設置いたしました。

現在、大きな変動の中にある時代の要請に応えるために、リーダーシップ教育と真のリーダーの育成が強く求められて居ります。

本日のシンポジウムが、21世紀のリーダーシップ教育を考察し、構築するための、有意義な機会となりますことを、また、ご来場くださいました皆さまお一人お一人にとって、その職場や大学、学校、組織等で、女性たちがなお一層活躍できる環境を創るためのヒントとなりますことを願ひまして、開会の挨拶とさせていただきます。

I would like to thank everyone for attending this international symposium hosted by the Research Organization for the Promotion of Global Women's Leadership of Ochanomizu University.

Well-known female leaders from both Japan and overseas have been invited to discuss the promotion of future women leaders in politics. Following my remarks, Vice President Yayoi Izaki will explain the aims of this symposium.

Before that, I would like to introduce our guest speakers and share some information about our Research Organization.

It is our honor and pleasure to invite Minister Seiko Noda from Japan and National Assembly Member Sun-Mee Jin from South Korea to deliver the keynote speeches.

Minister Noda was first elected to the Lower House in 1993. Since then, she has been working very actively. This year, she was commended for her 25 years of service to the parliament. This is particularly remarkable for a woman politician. Among other positions, she has served as the Minister of Post and Telecommunications, Minister of Consumer Affairs, Minister of Space Policy, Chairperson of the House of Representatives Special Committee on Disasters, and Chairperson of the General Council of the Liberal Democratic Party. At present, she is the Minister of Internal Affairs and Communications, the Minister in Charge of Women's Empowerment, and the Minister of State for the Social Security and Tax Number System. She is working hard to create a gender-equal society. Minister Noda is also the head of the inter-party "All-Party Parliamentary Group for Gender Equality in Politics". Furthermore, in April of this year, she launched a school of politics for women called "Gifu Josei Seiji Juku" in her home prefecture of Gifu. In this manner, she is working actively to promote women who wish to participate and play a leading role in politics.

On occasion, I have had the opportunity to speak with Minister Noda at meetings of the Council for Gender Equality. I am always inspired by her

determination and multi-faceted efforts to address challenges boldly to create a society where women and children can live happily.

Today, Minister Noda will speak about her career as a female political leader as well as her efforts to promote women's political participation and educate future generations in the field of politics. I look forward to her presentation.

Our second keynote speaker is South Korean National Assembly Member, Sun-Mee Jin. After graduating from the College of Law of Sungkyunkwan University, she worked as a human rights lawyer. She served as the Chairperson of Lawyers for a Democratic Society's Women's Rights Committee. She was first elected to the South Korean National Assembly in 2012. In 2016, she became the first female representative of the Gangdong-gu district of Seoul, which is recognized as one of the most competitive districts. She has held various posts on parliamentary special committees, including the Budget and Accounts Committee and committees on sexual violence against children and on birth rate improvement. Ms. Jin has served as the Vice Chairperson for Policy and the Floor Leader for the Democratic Party of Korea, and presently, she is the first Chairperson of the Policy Research Council.

The other day, I had the privilege of meeting Su-Hoon Lee, who is the South Korean Ambassador to Japan, he shared that none of the assembly members excel in their work to the extent that Ms. Jin does.

Today, she will talk about her experience as a female leader, the quota system, and how she has applied her rich experience as a human rights lawyer to her activities in the assembly.

I would like to thank her for taking time out of her busy schedule to attend the symposium today, and I look forward to her presentation.

Part 2 of the symposium will feature a panel discussion. The participants will include Ms. Johanna Uekermann from Germany, Ms. Yoriko Madoka from Japan, and Ms. Jin. Ms. Uekermann is an Executive Board member of the Social Democratic Party of



Germany and is working to support the political participation of the youth. Ms. Madoka is a former Member of the House of Councilors and has worked to promote the political participation of women in her role as the head of the "Political School for Women".

I would also like to thank them for taking time out of their busy schedules to be present here today.

We will also watch a video message from Ms. Victoria Budson, Executive Director of the Harvard Kennedy School's Women and Public Policy Program. Unfortunately, she is unable to join us today, but she has kindly shared a video message with us.

Dr. Ki-young Shin, Associate Professor at the Institute for Gender Studies, will serve as the panel discussion moderator and Dr. Naoko Oki, Project Lecturer at the Institute for Global Leadership, will be the master of ceremonies.

Ochanomizu University was founded in 1875 as Japan's first national higher educational institution for women. Since then, it has educated many outstanding women and sent them out into society and provided support for all motivated women to deepen their learning and realize their dreams, regardless of their age or nationality. The university works to promote female leaders to serve the 21st century society equipped with an advanced intellect and expertise, a

wide-ranging knowledge base, and rich creativity.

In April 2015, we established the Research Organization for the Promotion of Global Women's Leadership, which is hosting this symposium, to enhance the education of women who will be active on the global stage.

At the same time, the Center for Leadership Education and Research, which had for many years worked to promote gender equality, was reorganized to become the Institute for Global Leadership. It was restructured into this new research organization along with the Institute for Gender Studies, which has served as a gender studies research hub in Japan with wide-ranging international academic networks.

In this ever-changing global society, there is a considerable need for education in true leadership to address new challenges.

I hope this symposium will provide a fruitful opportunity to discuss and design 21st century leadership education methods as well as generate ideas about how to create environments where women can excel in their workplaces, universities, schools, and organizations.

Once again, thank you very much for your participation.



猪崎 弥生

お茶の水女子大学理事・副学長
グローバル女性リーダー育成研究機構長

Yayoi IZAKI

Trustee, Vice President,
Ochanomizu University

さきほどの室伏学長の挨拶にもありましたとおり、お茶の水女子大学は、1875年に創立されて以来、優れた女性人材の育成に力を入れてまいりました。21世紀を迎え、多くの女性が「リーダー」と呼ばれる立場で活躍する姿を目にする時代となりましたが、女性の政治リーダーに関しての日本の現状を申し上げますと、残念ながら、厳しい状況にあります。例えば、日本の衆議院での女性議員割合は、列国議会同盟 (IPU) が報告している2018年6月時点の国別ランキングで、193か国中158位です。また、2017年10月に世界経済フォーラムが発表したジェンダー・ギャップ指数の国別ランキングでは、144か国中114位です。国際的に見て、日本では政治、経済の分野での女性のリーダーが著しく少なく、そしてその状態の改善が進んでいないことが、この順位の低さに表れていると思います。

世界では、女性に一定の議席または候補者の枠を割り当てる、いわゆるジェンダー・クォータ制が、1990年代から導入されはじめ、現在では、100か国以上で導入されています。導入した国には女性議員数が飛躍的に増えたところもありました。本日、ご登壇いただくウッカマン様のドイツ社会民主党では1990年に、陳様の韓国では2000年にクォータ制が導入されました。日本はその流れに乗らない形で男女共同参画政策が進められてきたわけですが、女性の政治参加を促す様々な活動の成果により、ようやく、2018年5月16日に政治分野における男女共同参画を推進する法律、

いわゆる候補者男女均等法が成立し、同日施行されました。これは、国と地方の議員選挙で、男女均等の候補者数を目指すという原則を掲げ、女性の政治参画を拡大する取組を政党に求める法律です。罰則や強制力のない理念法ではありますが、これを基礎に、今後どのような方策を取れば女性政治リーダーを増やすことができるかは、私どもの機構そして大学にとって、取り組むべき重要な課題と受け止めております。

女性の政治リーダー育成は、日本に限らず世界各国・地域で大きな課題となっています。高校生や大学生を含む若い世代の政治参加を促し、その中からリーダーとなる人材を育成することは、その解決の一つの方法となるでしょう。日本では、2016年より公職選挙の投票年齢が18歳に引き下げられました。ちょうど大学に進学する時期と重なります。大学における政治教育が重要であることはもとより、本学は、女性リーダー育成の拠点として、政治分野での女性リーダーの育成という面でも、研究および教育の役割を担っていく必要があると思っています。野田大臣、陳議員、円様、ウッカマン様のお話から、多くのご示唆をいただけることを期待しております。また、ご来場の皆様を交えての議論も含めて、本日のシンポジウムが政治分野における女性のリーダーシップ育成に貢献できることを祈念し、趣旨説明を終えさせていただきます。

As stated in President Murofushi's opening remarks, Ochanomizu University has educated outstanding women since its foundation in 1875. We have now entered the 21st century, and many women are active in leadership positions. However, the degree of women's advancement in politics remains insufficient in Japan. For example, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) report on the percentage of women in the House of Representatives indicated that Japan was 158th out of 193 countries as of June 2018 in the "women in national parliament" rankings. Furthermore, the October 2017 Global Gender Gap Report, published by the World Economic Forum, ranked Japan as 114th out of 144 countries. These international rankings suggest that there is a pronounced lack of women leaders in the fields of politics and economics in Japan. These annual surveys have also revealed that little progress has been made to improve the condition of women in politics and economics.

Gender quota systems, where a certain number of seats or candidate slots are assigned to women, were introduced in various countries in the 1990s. More than a hundred countries have made use of the quota system, and in some of these countries, the number of female representatives has increased drastically. In Germany and South Korea, gender quota systems were introduced in 1990 and 2000 respectively. In Japan, however, gender equality measures have taken a different path without the introduction of a quota system. Various efforts were made to achieve gender equality in politics in Japan, and finally, on May 16 of this year, the Law to Promote Gender Equality in Politics was passed and brought into effect. This law calls for an equal number of male and female candidates for representative bodies in national and regional elections and requires political parties and groups to make positive efforts to expand women's participation in politics. Unfortunately, the law does not impose penalties or exert any coercive force. Nevertheless, it indicates remarkable progress and may initiate active discussions on how to develop

effective systems to strengthen women's leadership in politics. We anticipate that the Research Organization for the Promotion of Global Women's Leadership and Ochanomizu University will take a crucial role in that development.

Cultivating female leaders is important not just in Japan but in all countries around the world. One way is to promote the political participation of young women such as high school and university students and train them to become leaders. In Japan, the voting age was lowered to 18 years in 2016. This is the same age that people enter university, meaning political education at universities has become more important than ever before. Moreover, we believe that Ochanomizu University, an established institution for women's leadership education, should fulfil the role of a research and educational hub in the promotion of women leaders in politics.

Today, I am looking forward to learning a great deal from the presentations of Minister Noda, National Assembly Member Jin, Ms. Madoka, and Ms. Uekermann as well as from the discussion with the audience. I hope this symposium will contribute greatly to the promotion of future women leaders in politics.





野田 聖子

総務大臣
女性活躍・男女共同参画担当大臣
内閣府特命担当大臣 衆議院議員

Seiko NODA

Minister for Internal Affairs and Communications
Minister in charge of Women's Empowerment
Minister of State for the Social Security and
Tax Number System
Member of the House of Representatives

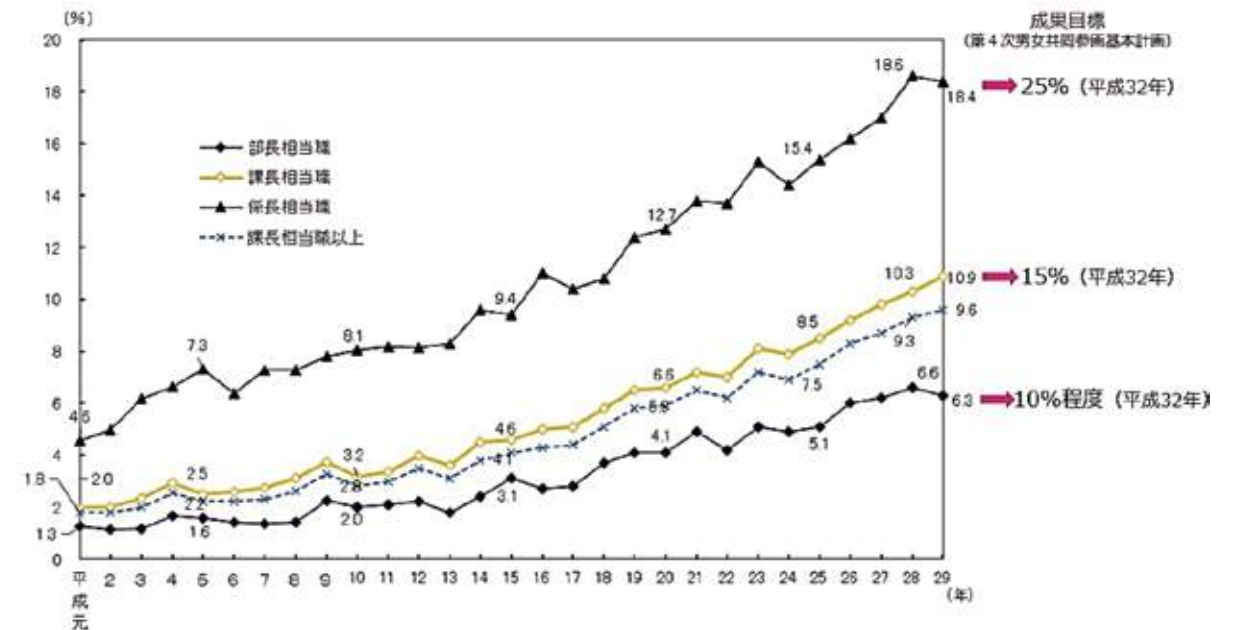
最初に、このようなシンポジウムを催してくださいました室伏先生に、心から敬意を表したいと思います。室伏先生には大臣になってからずいぶんお願いをしています。女性の科学者や理系の人材がまだまだ少ないこの国で、是非、お茶の水女子大学には先頭を走っていただきたい、とりわけ男性の多い工学系について、これまでの風習を打ち破っていただきたい、ということをお願いしてきました。こちらからただお願いするだけでは申し訳ないと思いましたが、「STEM Girls Ambassadors(理工系女子応援大使)」¹というプロジェクトを立ち上げました。小学校・中学校の女子を対象にしています。「私は女子だから理科や算数は無理」という偏見に囚われないように、ロールモデルとなる理工系の女性の先輩たちをアンバサダーに任命して、全国の小学校、中学校で、できれば幼稚園でも、講演などをしていただく企画です。そこから、将来お茶の水女子大学を目指す生徒さんが現れるかもしれません。

そして、私がなぜ、女性活躍・男女共同参画担当大臣に就任したかということですが、安倍総理に頼まれたからではなくて、自分から希望したのです。というのは、国会議員になってから25年経ちますが、男性社会の中のマイノリティ、それどころか「絶滅危惧種」のような状態で仕事をしていく中で、女性に関わる問題は、女性特有の問題として小さくまとまってしまっていると感じ、「もっとしっかり取り組まなければならない」、「この問題の解決は日本の発展、世界平和にも貢献する」、「もっとダイナミックに、大局的な見地から、いま

私たちが抱えている女性ならではの問題を解決していかななくてはいけない」と思うようになったからです。25年もの間、国会で、しかも数少ない女性議員として、これまでやってきたわけですから、「今こそ自分の力を発揮せねば」との思いでこの大臣ポストに就任しました。

私が行きついたかったことはただひとつです。今は「活躍」とか「輝く」という言葉が先行していますが、本来、私たち女性が望んでいることは「キラキラする」とことか「飛び跳ねてこぶしを振り上げる」ことではなく、安定した、フェアな環境で、当たり前のこととして、社会人として地に足をつけて歩んでいきたい、といったことだと思います。「そのような願いですら叶えることができていない中で、活躍と言われても……？」という素朴な疑問がありました。ですから、「活躍すること」、「輝くこと」もいいのですが、それらにばかり焦点を当てるのではなく、多くの女性たちが立ち止まってしまう原因となる、目に見えない様々な障壁をしっかりとクリアにすることが大事ではないか、という思いから、この女性活躍担当大臣の仕事を務めております。本当の意味で、私たち女性が、社会のために、人のために活躍できるためには何をするべきか、ということ、女性として生きてきた57年間の集大成ということで、ここにいる皆さまと、問題意識をシェアして、私たちらしい答えを見つけていければいいなと思っています。

図1：民間企業の管理職等に占める女性割合の推移(1989～2017年)



(備考)

1. 各年6月時点、厚生労働省「賃金構造基本統計調査」より作成。

2. 常用労働者100人以上を雇用する企業に属する労働者のうち、雇用期間の定めがない者における役職者。

3. 課長相当職以上は、課長相当職+部長相当職の値。

4. 管理職の定義について

・部長級：事業所で通常「部長」又は「局長」と呼ばれている者であって、その組織が2課以上からなり、又は、その構成員が20人以上(部(局)長を含む。)のものの長

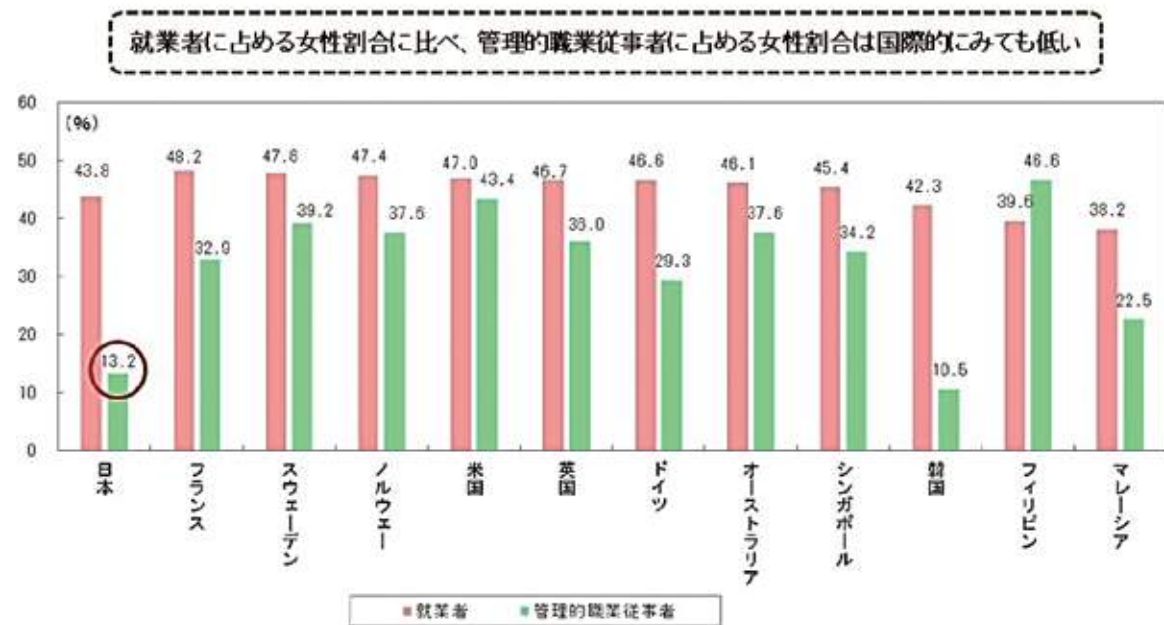
・課長級：事業所で通常「課長」と呼ばれている者であって、その組織が2係以上からなり、又は、その構成員が10人以上(課長を含む。)のものの長

誰もが最初から「政治家になりたい」とか「大学の教授になりたい」と考えるわけではないと思います。私自身も社会人としてのスタートは、帝国ホテルという会社の社員でありました。その後いろいろな縁があって、今は国会議員という特殊な仕事をしています。大多数の女性にとっては、民間企業に就職して自分の能力を発揮していく、そして、自分が働きたいだけ働いて、社会に貢献しながら、自分の生活を安定させていくというのが、働くことの第一義的な目標だと思います。民間企業の管理職の女性比率を見てみると、年々上昇してはいます。特に、係長相当職は非常に伸びています。しかし、経営の中核ポストとなると、その入り口である部長相当職でさえ、10%以下です。日本の衆議院の女性議員割合は世界的に見て非常に低い、と言われていますが、その割合と変わらないわけです(図1)。



1 STEMとは科学(Science)、技術(Technology)、工学(Engineering)、数学(Mathematics)などのいわゆる理工系分野のこと。理工系の研究者や学生に占める女性の割合が依然として低い日本の現状に鑑み、女子生徒等の理工系分野への進路選択促進のための多様なロールモデルとして、理工系分野で活躍する女性6名が「STEM Girls Ambassador(理工系女子応援大使)」に任命された。詳しい内容は内閣府男女共同参画局ウェブサイト(http://www.gender.go.jp/STEM_Girls_Ambassadors/index.html)、官邸ウェブサイト(https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/98_abe/actions/201806/25stem.html)などを参照。

図2：就業者、管理的職業従事者に占める女性割合（国際比較）



（備考）

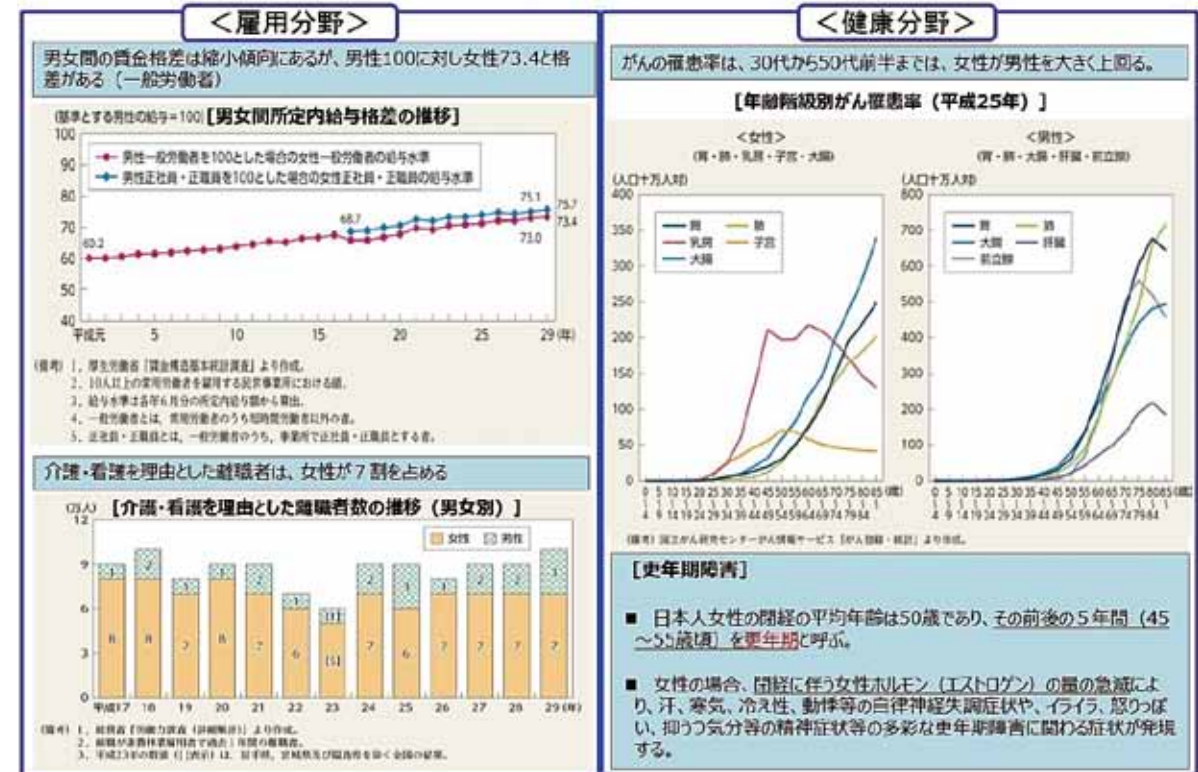
- 総務省「労働力調査（基本集計）」（平成29年）、その他の国はILO「ILOSTAT」より作成。
- フランス、スウェーデン、ノルウェー、英国及びドイツは2016（平成28）年、米国は2013（平成25）年、その他の国は2015（平成27）年の値。
- 総務省「労働力調査」では、「管理的職業従事者」とは、就業者のうち、会社役員、企業の課長相当職以上、管理的公務員等。また、「管理的職業従事者」の定義は国によって異なる。

また、今日は、韓国の陳さんが来てくださって本当にうれしいのですが、韓国も日本も、それぞれに様々な政治的な問題を抱えています。こと女性の就業の環境については、共通点も多いのです。例えば、どちらかというと、女性は補充労働力だとみなされた長い歴史があり、そういった状況の中で、いかに女性たちの労働の価値を正当に、国なり、企業なり、組織なりが評価するようにもっていきけるのかということ、日韓の共通課題だと思います。一方で、G7の国々はすでに女性の就業面でははるかに先を進んでおり、日本が国際社会の一員、先進国の一員ということを手を自ら語るのであれば、他の国のデータにキャッチアップすることも大事です（図2）。

ところで、先ほどの話題に戻りますが、私が女性活躍担当大臣を自分から希望した理由は、「活躍」以前の女性たちが相当数なのだとすることを訴えたかったからです。これ

がなぜ問題なのかというと、やはり、政策の決定の場である国会に、衆議院では1割、そして参議院でも2割しか女性がいないということで、女性ならばわかっている、想像できるような女性特有の様々な問題について、その解決がほとんどなされていないからです。国会、つまり、政治、政策決定の場に女性がいないことで、どういうことが起きてしまうのか。まず、健康分野のフェアネス（公平なこと）についてです（図3）。がんは年を取るとともに罹患の可能性が高くなる病気ですから、高齢化社会である日本では、現在、2人に1人ががんにかかる可能性があると言われています²。今は、かつてのように、「がん＝死に至る病」と捉えるのではなく、多くの患者の方々がご自分のがんをカミングアウトして、「サバイバーとして第二の人生を生きていくためにどういうサポートが必要か」といった議論がどんどん行われるようになってきました。また、「高齢化社会だから、その前に、体が老化しな

図3：フェアネスをめぐる課題（雇用分野、健康分野）



いうちに予防しましょう」という観点の、新しいがん対策が取り入れられるようになりました。そこで新たな問題となったのが、本来ならば、病気になった人に使われる保険が、病気になっていない人のためにも使われるようになったことです。例えば、メタボ³対策や禁煙外来といったものですが、そこには男女差があります。メタボ対策や禁煙外来の対象は男性の方が多いです。喫煙率やメタボの人口⁴は圧倒的に男性の割合が高く、結果的に女性よりも男性の方がメタボ予防や禁煙外来で保険の恩恵を受ける割合が高くなることが予想されます。

一方、女性のがん罹患率のデータを見ると、女性に多いがんは乳がんと子宮がんであることがわかります。これらの特徴は、他のがんと違って若年層での発症が多いことです。例えば、子宮頸がんだと20～30代、乳がんだと30～40代の罹患率が高くなっています。ですから、さきほど言及し

た「年を取るとがんになりやすい、だから予防をする」というがん対策には、子宮頸がんと乳がんは当てはまりません。子宮頸がんのリスクは2つあります。若い女性が罹患して命を落とす可能性があることと、患部を摘出してがんは克服したとしても、妊娠・出産が難しくなる可能性があるということです。子宮頸がんの対策として、ワクチン接種が導入・推奨されている国も多い中、日本はその是非についての議論があり⁵、ワクチン接種推進が滞っています。その代わり、女性には検診を受けてもらわなくてはならないのですが、残念なことに、子宮頸がん検診の受診率は50～70代で高くても、肝心の20～30代は低くなっています⁶。ワクチンの接種もがん検診も進まないということが政策課題にならないのは、やはり、政策決定の場に、男性、すなわち自ら子宮頸がん検診を受けなくていい人たちが9割いることではないかと思っています。

2 例えば、全国健康保険協会「気になる病気辞典」(<https://www.kyoukaikenpo.or.jp/g4/cat450/sb4502/p024>)を参照。

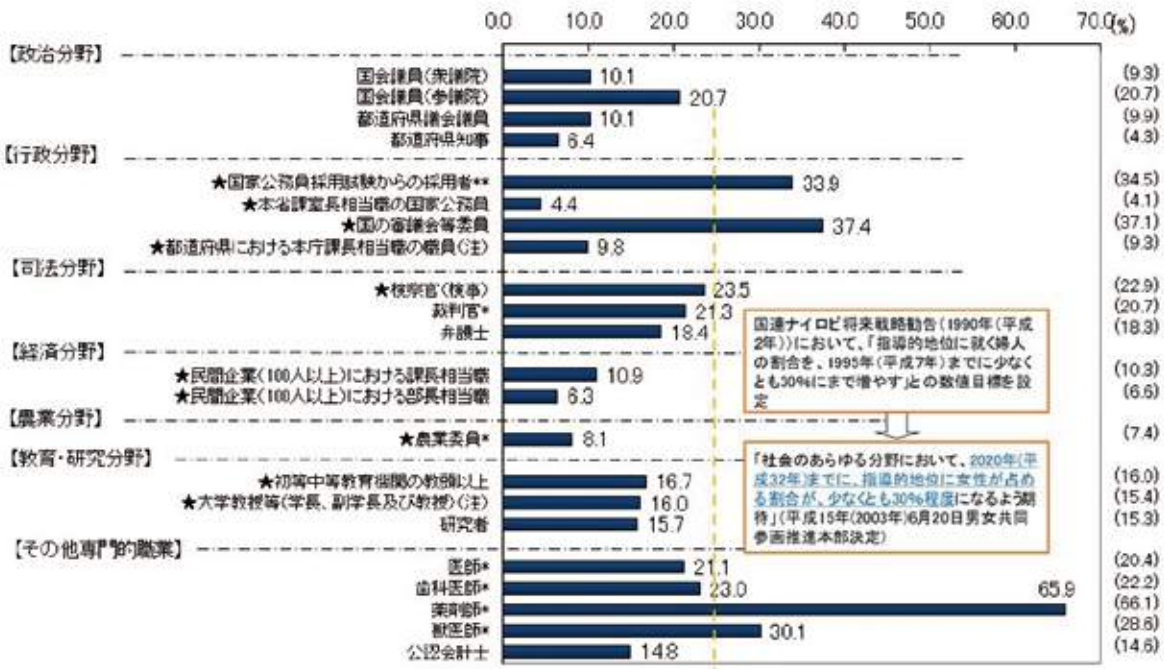
3 メタボリックシンドロームまたはメタボリック症候群の略。「内臓肥満に高血圧・高血糖・脂質代謝異常が組み合わさり、心臓病や脳卒中などの動脈硬化性疾患をまねきやすい病態」で、近年、日本人にも肥満の人が増えてきているが、内臓脂肪型肥満（内臓脂肪蓄積）が動脈硬化（日本人の死因の上位を占める心臓病と脳卒中にも大きく関連）を進行させる原因のひとつであることがわかってきたとされている（厚生労働省e-ヘルスネット（情報提供）「メタボリックシンドロームとは」(<https://www.e-healthnet.mhlw.go.jp/information/metabolic/m-01-001.html>)より）。

4 成人喫煙率の男女別の推移については「厚生労働省のTABACCO or HEALTH 最新たばこ情報」を参照 (<http://www.health-net.or.jp/tobacco/product/pd090000.html>)。肥満の人（BMIが25以上の人）の割合の推移（男女別）は厚生労働省「国民健康・栄養調査」結果（最新版は2016年実施、2017年9月発表）を参照 (<https://www.mhlw.go.jp/stf/houdou/0000177189.html>)。

5 「朝日新聞デジタル」2018年2月15日配信「子宮頸がん 接種めぐり議論なお」(https://digital.asahi.com/articles/ASL2G5RQ0L2GUBQU01Y.html?iref=pc_ss_date)によれば、子宮頸がんは性交渉によってヒトパピローマウィルス（HPV）に感染することで起き、国内で年間約1万人が罹患し、約2,700人が死亡、30代後半～40代で多く発症するが、最近はやい女性で増える傾向にあるとされている。ワクチンはHPVの感染を防いで患者を減らす狙いで接種を推奨され、日本でも2013年4月、小学6年～高校1年の女子を対象に原則無料の定期接種が行われた。しかし、接種後に健康被害を訴える人が相次いだため、ワクチン接種勧奨は中止され、希望者のみ無料接種する方式となり、接種する人が激減したと言われている。

6 日本医師会ウェブサイト「知っておきたいがん検診」には2013年実施の厚生労働省「国民生活基礎調査」(<https://www.med.or.jp/forest/gankenshin/data/japan/>)の各がんの検診率の男女別、年代別のデータが掲載されている。

図4:政策・方針決定過程への女性の参画の拡大【出典:「女性の政策・方針決定参画状況調べ」(平成29年12月)】



(備考)

- 原則として平成29年のデータ。ただし、*は平成28年、**は平成30年のデータ。()は前回調査時のデータ。また、(注)がついている項目は速報値。
- ★印は、第4次男女共同参画基本計画(平成27年12月25日閣議決定)において当該項目が成果目標として掲げられているもの。

もっと深刻なのは、雇用分野です。ようやく「同一労働同一賃金」という言葉が重要政策の中に出てきましたが、男女間の賃金格差は非常に大きいです。雇用分野の数値を見ると、例えば、正社員として同じ仕事をしても、女性は男性の7割しか給料がもらえないのです⁷。せめて、大卒男女の所得は同じ水準になっていなければ、本来の女性活躍の目的は果たせないと思います。

他に、働いている、いないに関わらず、女性が家事、育児の分担の多くを担っていることや、最近顕著となってきた問題として、介護、看護の問題があります。介護看護離職者は女性が約7割を占めています。

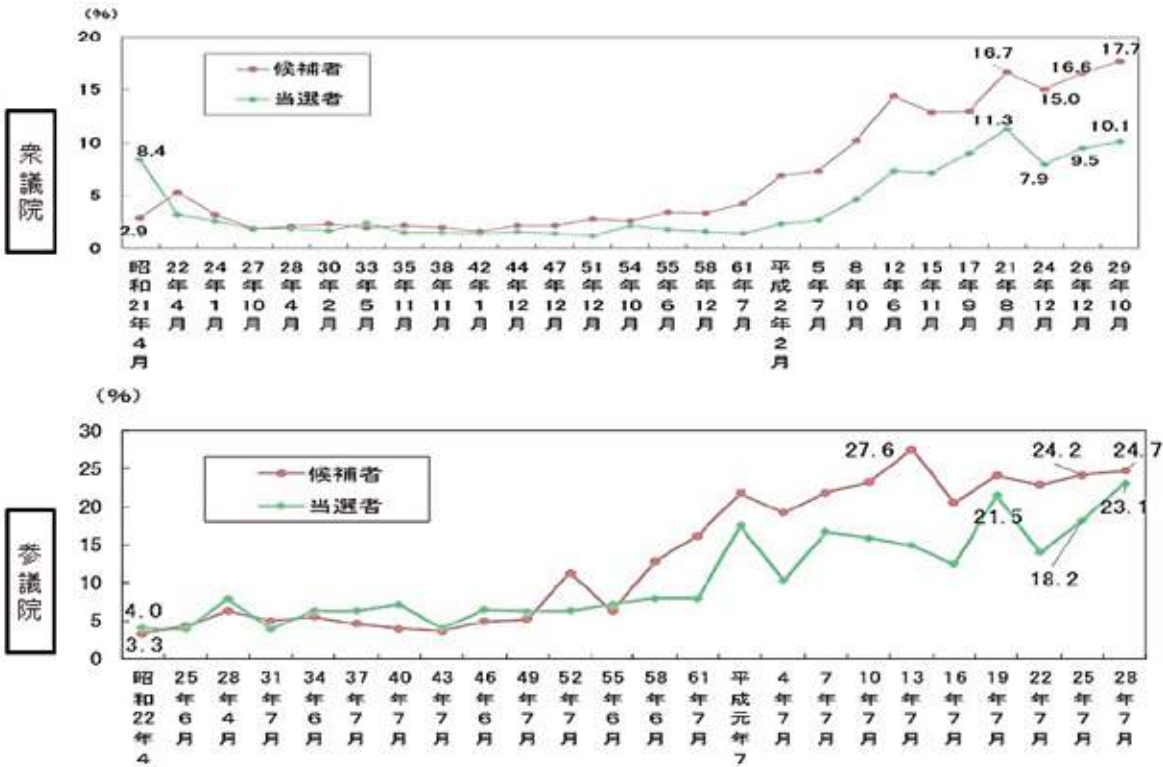
先ほど申し上げた、政策決定の場にどのくらい女性がいるのかについてですが、1990年の国連ナイロビ将来戦略勧告で「3割」⁸というのが世界的な目標値とされました。日本は残念ながら、いまだにその目標に達していません(図4)。その一方で、薬剤師のように、女性が66%を占めている分野も

あります。そして、やはり今、セクシュアルハラスメントや性暴力、性犯罪の問題が女性にとっての障壁となっていますが、その相談先である司法分野も女性が少ないので、相談に行きたい女性にその一歩をためらわせてしまっているのではないかと思います。そして、教育・研究の分野ですが、国会と似たような状況です。アカデミアにもいろいろ構造的な組織の問題があるのではないのでしょうか。男女平等の共学の学校にお願いすることも大事ですが、やはり、女子教育の先頭を切っているお茶の水女子大学で問題解決に向けてがんばっていただくことが、突破口のひとつになるのではないかと、というのが、私が固く信じているところです。ちなみに私は、小中高と女子校出身で、一人の人間としてやるべきことは全部やるという「女子校魂」で過ごしてきました。だから25年も国会議員を続けてこられたのかな、と思っています。

7 例えば、「日本経済新聞」2018年2月19日付朝刊「経済教室 女性活躍なお残る課題(上)大卒者の年収 極端な低さ」によれば、2015～2017年の総務省「労働力調査」の個票を基に、大卒男女の年収構造を所得分位別に推計したところ、大卒男性の年収の中央値は30歳代半ばで500万円弱、50歳代前半では800万円がピークの値だった一方、大卒女性の年収の中央値のピークは26～27歳で260万円程度で、その後は下がり続け、30歳代半ば以降は200万円を超えることがないとの分析結果が示された。

8 1990年、国連の経済社会理事会が採択したナイロビ将来戦略勧告では、「指導的地位に就く婦人の割合を、1995年までに少なくとも30%にまで増やす」とされており、「30%」は国際的な目標値とされた(内閣府男女共同参画局「平成19年度 男女共同参画白書」http://www.gender.go.jp/about_danjo/whitepaper/h19/zentai/danjo/html/column/col01_01_03.htmlより)。

図5:国政選挙における候補者・当選者に占める割合の推移(1946～2017年)



(備考)

総務省「参議院議員通常選挙結果調」より作成。

※半数改選のため参議院議員に占める女性の現状値は242人中50人 20.7%(平成30年1月21日現在)。

衆議院における女性議員の割合は、戦後初めての選挙で8%でしたが、2017年末でも10%です。70年間でたった1%程度しか増えていないのです(図5)。これは決して、進化したとは言えない、恥ずかしい数字です。しかし、1946(昭和21)年の女性議員割合が高かったのは、連記制⁹という投票システムがあったことが関わっています。当時の選挙制度は、市町村単位の小選挙区ではなく都道府県単位の大選挙区¹⁰で、有権者は投票用紙に候補者の名前を2名書く方式でした。女性候補者は、1位を取れなくても2位、3位になることはできたのです。ですが、翌1947(昭和22)年の総選挙からは単記制になりました。選挙制度のやり方を変えれば、女性当選者が増える可能性があるのです。

衆議院では、1947(昭和22)年以降、女性割合がずっと低迷していましたが、いくつか女性割合が増加した年があります。例えば、女性候補者が増えた2000(平成12)年は、

実は自民党が人気のなかった時で、野党の女性の皆さんが奮起して、女性の候補者数が増えました。とはいえ、選挙の結果は自民党が与党に留まり、実際の女性当選者数は急激には増えませんでした。2005(平成17)年には、女性候補者数はあまり増えませんでした、女性当選者割合が少し上がっています。これは何の時だったかという、いわゆる郵政民営化選挙の時です。私が大変な目に遭った選挙でしたが、これについては後でお話します。2009(平成21)年には、女性当選者割合が飛躍的に伸びました。これは、自民党から民主党への政権交代の選挙です。つまり、自民党の人气が下がると女性議員が増えるという、私にとっては非常に皮肉な現象なのです。いずれにしても、2012(平成24)年のように、自民党が政権に戻ると女性割合が下がるということを繰り返し、ようやく女性議員割合が10%にまで増えてきましたが、70年経っても全然だめだということです。

9 「連記投票」とは、「一回の選挙につき、一人の選挙人が二名以上の候補者に投票すること。特に、定数だけの候補者の氏名を連記して投票すること」、「単記投票」は「一人の選挙人が候補者のうち一名だけに投票すること」を言う(三省堂「大辞林 第三版」)。

10 1選挙区から1名の議員を選出する制度の選挙区を小選挙区、2名以上の議員を選出する選挙区を大選挙区といい、小選挙区は死票が多くなり、多数党に有利になるとされているのに対し、大選挙区は死票が少なくなり、少数派も選出される利点がある(小学館「デジタル大辞泉」)。

女性の有権者には、「女性議員が少ないと、自分たちが損をする」と思っしてほしいのです。民主主義の国家で、自分の仲間が10人のうち1人しかない議会で、自分の意見が通せると思いますか？ 通らないんですね。そう考えれば、10%というのは私たち女性を滅亡に追いやってしまう厳しい数字なんだということが理解できると思います。

さて、先ほど申し上げたように、郵政民営化選挙の時に、非常に面白い事が起きました。あとで、クオータの話をしていただくと思いますが、日本ではクオータ制を採用していません。これはやはり、男性から賛同を得ることが難しいからなのです。政治というのは、男性にとって、最大の既得権益なのでしょう。「政治は男性のもの」という認識がほとんどの有権者にあるなか、クオータ制で女性を入れてしまうと、それが蟻の一穴になって、女性がどんどん増えていくと思っている男性は多いのではないのでしょうか。当然、男性は、自分の議席がなくなることを危惧します。議会では男性9対女性1の闘いになりますから、「クオータ制なんてとんでもない」という前提がまず足元に横たわっていることを踏まえた上で、何ができるかを考えなくてはならなかったわけです。

ところが、2005（平成17）年には、クオータもどきのことが起きました。それは何かというと、私のように郵政民営化に反対して追い出された議員の選挙区に、自民党が対立の公認候補を立てたのですが、そこに女性候補者をたくさん擁立したのです。ただ、選挙区に馴染みのない、後援会もない女性候補者は、小選挙区では当選できません。そこで何をしたかというと、その女性候補者を比例選挙の名簿の単独1位に置くわけです¹¹。そうすると、小選挙区の選挙でその候補者が落選したとしても、法定得票数¹²以上の票さえ取っていれば、比例代表で確実に当選することができますという仕組みです。ですから、議席を確保した上で、「疑似クオータ」のような形で、小泉総理は、全く政治経験のなかった女性をたくさん当選させました。つまり、クオータという制度を入れれば、女性の議員が与党の中にも確実に増えることが、この2005（平成17）年の総選挙で明らかにされたのです。

表1：町村規模別の女性議員割合（町村議会のあり方に関する研究会報告書（2018年3月）より）

人口段階	H27統一地方選挙結果		議員定数 (人)	平均 年齢(歳)	女性議員 割合(%)
	執行 団体数	無投票当選団体数 (執行団体数に占める割合)			
1,000未満	17	11 (64.71%)	7.07	62.23	2.86
1,000以上10,000未満	216	59 (27.31%)	10.43	63.59	7.56
10,000以上30,000未満	140	24 (17.14%)	14.54	62.66	10.14
30,000以上100,000未満	170	9 (5.29%)	19.64	60.57	13.17

女性議員を増やすためのアプローチのひとつは、足元の政治から変えていくことです。議会の規模は、国会、都道府県議会、市議会、町議会、村議会の順で小さくなるわけですが、小さな議会ほど、小さな予算で、生活に密着した議論が行われるわけです。国の予算だと、何十兆円という話ですから、とても普通の感覚ではその規模がわかりませんが、村議会レベルだと、何十万円とか何百万円という単位です。普通の暮らしの金銭感覚と照らし合わせて、その政策の予算が多いのか妥当なのか、を想像できるような予算規模です。ですから、本当のところ、女性が政治への第一歩として関わりと良いのは、やはり村や町といった人数の少ないところです。しかし、現状はまるで逆転しています（表1）。一番身近な、10人以下で、いわば身内ばかりでやっているような議会ほど女性割合は低く、3%未満です。日本の政治で何が問題かというと、地方レベルですら、女性にとって政治が身近になっていないことです。規模の小さい議会からより大きい規模の議会になるにつれて、選挙区が広くなり選挙が厳しくなってきますから、女性の割合は50%、40%、30%と段階的に少なくなるくらいが自然だと思いますが、日本の場合、一番身近なところの政治が女性からかけ離れているのです。

さて、先ほどご紹介いただきましたように、「政治分野における男女共同参画の推進に関する法律」を作りました。今から3年前に私が言い出したものです。有権者教育の成果とか、党の努力を待っていても、女性議員は増えません。そして、日本にとって今、国難と言われているのは人口減少、その元にあるのは少子化です。「少子化と高齢化が国難だ」と総理もおっしゃっていますが、それらの問題に主体的に関わっているのは女性なのです。現場の声である女性の意見が、男女の割合が9対1の議会では全く生かされません。日本の国会には、全く介護をしない、育児をしない、出産の経験もない層の代表者たる男性が多く、そのような男性たちが色々考えてくれたところで、その結果は現場の機微に触れません。むしろ、エンジンがかからず空回りするようなことがままあります。ですから、国の政策を大転換するためには、プレーヤーを変えていかなくてははいけません。しかし、そのプレーヤーを変えるのも、現行の選挙制度の下では、大胆なクオータはできません。韓国とは違って、今、参議院選挙の比例代表制は非拘束式名簿なので、人気順になります。そのため、名簿の上位半分を女性にすることは、法律上できませんし、衆議院も重複立候補が認められているので同様の状況です。

そこでまず、理念として、「有権者の皆さん、政治は男の仕事じゃありませんよ、政治の仕事は、性別関係なく、年齢関係なく、とにかくみんなで関わっていく仕事ですよ」と示す。とてもベタな話ですがけれども、このことがしっかり有権者教育の中でできていないのです。あとは政党に努力義務を訴えていくことです。直近だと、来年4月、統一地方選挙があります。その後7月には、参議院通常選挙があります。その時、「この政党はどれだけの女性候補者を擁立しているのか」、「あの政党は私たち女性にとってフレンドリーかどうか」といったことが、有権者が政党を選ぶ目安、ジャッジの基準のひとつになるような動きを仕掛けるのが、この法律が大きく目指すところですよ。何しろ、候補者が出てこないというのが日本の今の問題で、これをどうにかして改善しようということ、立法化に取り組みました。

実は、この法案についてはよく女性議員が反対します。なぜかというと、理由は2つあって、ひとつは「女性はやはり社会にいたるべきではない」と考える女性議員がいることです。「あなたはなぜ議員をやっているの？」と聞くと、「人助けみたいなものです。職業ではありません」と答えた人もいました。もうひとつは、「自分の能力があったから議員になった」という強い自負です。だから、「クオータみたいに下駄をはかされ

ると、国会の中での女性の地位が低くなる」といったことを言っていました。クオータ制であれ何であれ、1票は1票ですから、それは関係ないのではないかと、個人的には思います。そういった女性の反対意見もありながら、3年前、自民党から共産党まで集まって超党派の議連ができ、私たちが起案して法案を国会に出しました。色々すったもんだがありましたが、なんと法案が衆参を通り、それを受け取ったのが男女共同参画推進大臣の自分だったということです。「自分でボール投げて自分で受け取っちゃった」というのが今年の国会でした。

これは大きな変化です。今まで、政治分野における男女共同参画の推進を日本は言うってきませんでした。しかし、これを全国津々浦々で言うようになります。それで、常に男性の候補者しか見ていなかった多くの女性有権者が、はっと気がついて、今までのアンフェアなところを改善していくためには、自分たちの仲間を応援しなくては、いや、自分が出なければいけないのかもしれない、ということまでモチベーションをあげていければ、この法律は成功かなと思っています。



11 現行の小選挙区比例代表並立制では、小選挙区と比例代表の両方の選挙に立候補することが認められている。当選者は、事前に政党が選挙管理委員会に提出した名簿の順番で決まるが、小選挙区と比例代表のどちらにも立候補する重複立候補が複数いる場合、政党は比例名簿の同じ順位に複数の候補者を並べることができる。同じ順位の候補者から当選者を選ぶ場合は、小選挙区の選挙における「惜敗率」で決められる。（以上、「NHK選挙WEB 衆院選2017 開票結果」<https://www.nhk.or.jp/senkyo/database/shugiin/2017/kisochishiki/index.html>）なお、「惜敗率」とは「当該選挙と同時に行われた小選挙区の当該選挙区における最多得票数に対する当該候補者の得票数の割合」（栃木県選挙管理委員会「選挙Q&A」<http://www.pref.tochigi.lg.jp/senkyo/24shugi/qanda/qanda-10.html>）である。

12 「公職選挙法で定められた、当選人となるために必要な最小限度の得票数」のことで、「これに達しない候補者は定員内に入っても当選人になれない」（小学館『デジタル大辞泉』）。

I would first like to express my sincere respect to President Kimiko Murofushi, who has put forward her best efforts for hosting this symposium. I have been asking for her advice and assistance since I became the Minister in 2017. I would also like to emphasize Ochanomizu University's leadership role in breaking the traditional customs in male-dominated fields, especially engineering, in this country where there are still very few female scientists or professional women in the science and engineering personnel. We also thought it would be important to take the initiative and action, and we launched a project titled "STEM Girls Ambassadors".¹ We appointed female students and researchers of science and engineering to act as role models for girls in elementary and junior high schools. Visiting primary schools, secondary schools, and kindergartens and giving lectures, these students and researchers can encourage young girls to be from the cultural gender stereotype, such as "I do not have the aptitude for the sciences or for mathematics because I am a girl". I look forward to that some of school girls experienced this program to enter Ochanomizu University to study science.

First, I would like to explain why I took office as the Minister in charge of Women's Empowerment and Minister of State for Gender Equality. I wanted this particular position rather than simply wanting to be appointed to a minister by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. It has been 25 years since I became a member of the Diet and I have been working essentially as a minority member, or even working as if I were an endangered species, in the male-dominated society. I have often felt that problems related to women have been belittled in the sense that gender issues and women's policies have not been paid adequate attention. I have come to believe that I must work more resolutely and that resolving the problem of inequality would contribute to the development of Japan and to world



peace. I think that we must take a more dynamic, global perspective to unravel problems that Japanese women and society face. At the culmination of 25 years of working in the Diet with just a handful of women legislators, my determination to take up this post became definite, and I began to think, "It is either now or never for me and for women to demonstrate our power".

I merely wanted to accomplish one task. Though the terms "achieving potential" or "shine" have existed in the forefront, we do not really want to "dazzle" or to jump up with raised fists. On the contrary, we would like to steadily advance in a fair environment, with our feet firmly grounded. This

desire naturally raises a simple question: "If I am not even guaranteed this small sense of assurance, how am I supposed to start thinking of achieving my potential?" Thus, although "achieving potential" or "shine" are also good expressions, exclusive focus on such terms actually risks the imposition of yet another barrier for women. The removal of the glass ceiling is my primary aim for serving as the Minister of State for Gender Equality. In the interests of finding solutions that are appropriate to everyone here today, I hope to share my consciousness of the problem as well as my 57 years of experience living life as a woman.

I do not think people conceive of their preferred careers from the very start. No one can say from the outset that "I want to be a politician" or "I want to be a professor at a university". I began my service to society as an employee of the Imperial Hotel. Before winding up in the auspicious position of member of the Diet, I established a variety of connections and work relationships over the course of my career. The majority of Japanese women take jobs at private enterprises to demonstrate their abilities and to work as much as they want to work with the primary goal of stabilizing their life while contributing to society. Although the proportion of women in private sector management positions is rising every year, especially at the middle management level, this proportion is still below 10%. In fact, this percentage is not so different from the extremely low (by world standards) percentage of female legislators in the Japanese House of Representatives.

I am pleased to meet Ms. Jin Sun-mee from South Korea here today. There are some commonalities between Japan and South Korea with regard to female employment. For instance, both countries have a long history of women being regarded as supplementary labor. Under such circumstances, how women's labor

can be legitimately recognized in a manner that is appropriate to country-specific, company-specific, and organizational needs is a common theme for both Japan and South Korea. Meanwhile, G7 countries have demonstrated considerable progress on this issue. Catching up with these countries is a priority if Japan is to be considered a member of the international community or a developed country.

As I said, my primary reason for taking the position of the Minister in charge of Women's Empowerment was that I had felt the necessity to appeal that the considerable number of Japanese women were not currently achieving the point to demonstrate their working potential. Why is this lack of accomplishment persistent? As you see, in the Diet, where important policy decisions are made, women occupy only 10% of the positions in the House of Representatives and only 20% in the House of Councilors. This reality evinces that no substantial initiatives have been taken to find a viable solution even for issues that any woman would easily perceive to be a significant problem because an insufficient number of women undertake policy-making roles.

For example, the matter of gender equity and unfairness can be observed in the field of healthcare. Since the onset of cancer is more likely as a person gets older, it is now possible for cancer to strike one out of two people in Japan because of its rapidly aging population.² Since cancer is no longer considered a "deadly illness", many patients are now becoming more open about contracting this disease, thereby shifting the focus to the kind of support necessary for survivors to live a productive second life. However, other policy problems then arise. Living in an aging society, it seems to be better to use the insurance money to prevent cancer in order for comprehensive cancer control, and this leads gender inequity in healthcare which pertains to outpatient treatment

¹ STEM is short for Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics. Given the current situation in Japan of a low percentage of women researchers in science and engineering, as a diverse role model to encourage female students' choosing to major in science and engineering fields, six women active in science and engineering fields were appointed as "STEM Girls Ambassadors (Ambassador for Support of Women in Science and Engineering)". For more information, please see the Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office website (http://www.gender.go.jp/STEM_Girls_Ambassadors/index.html) and the Official Residence website (https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/98_abe/actions/201806/25stem.html).

² For example, see the National Health Insurance Association's "Diseases of Interest Dictionary" (<https://www.kyoukaikenpo.or.jp/g4/cat450/sb4502/p024>).



related to weight control³ and smoking cessation. There are significant gender differences in access to such healthcare services and a higher proportion of men receive treatments to combat obesity and to stop smoking. Also, the percentage of men is overwhelmingly higher with regard to the smoking rate and to the number of people fighting weight problems.⁴ Thus, men are more likely to benefit from insurance in these areas than women.

Speaking of the cancer rate for women, women most likely suffer from breast and uterine cancer. Unlike other cancers, and these types are common in

younger people. For example, cervical cancer has a high incidence in the 20–30-aged generation, and breast cancer is relatively more common in women aged 30–40. Therefore, the aforementioned notion that cancer is more likely to transpire with age and that prevention is thus pivotal to its control does not apply to cervical and breast cancer. At the same time, women face two major risks from cervical cancer: first, a young woman who contracts the disease could lose her life; second, even if the affected area is removed and cancer is overcome, pregnancy and childbirth can be complicated. Although Japan is among those countries of the world where vaccines have been introduced and are suggested as measures against cervical cancer, medical recommendation to implement the inoculations is on hold right now, due to certain discussion questioning its effect.⁵ Instead, women are required to undergo medical examinations. Unfortunately, the success rates for cervical cancer screening are the highest for women aged 50–70, and it is the lowest for women in their 20s and 30s.⁶ The fact that there is no drive to adopt the inoculation program or that cancer screening is not a major policy issue is probably because 90% of the people working to create policies are men, who do not themselves require screening for cervical cancer.

³ Definition of metabolic syndrome: “Conditions that are likely to cause arteriosclerotic diseases such as heart disease and stroke through a combination of hypertension, hyperglycemia, and lipid metabolic abnormality with internal obesity”. Recent years have seen an increase in the number of obese people in Japan. It has been known that fat type obesity (accumulation of visceral fat) is one of the causes of progress of arteriosclerosis (significantly related to heart disease and stroke which occupy the top causes of death among Japanese) (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare e- Health net (information service) “What is metabolic syndrome?”)

⁴ For changes in adult smoking rate by gender, refer to “TABACCO or HEALTH latest tobacco information of the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare” (<http://www.health-net.or.jp/tobacco/product/pd090000.html>). See the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare “National Health and Nutrition Survey” results (the latest version was implemented in 2016, announced in September 2017) for the proportion of obese people (people with BMI > 25) (<https://www.mhlw.go.jp/stf/houdou/000017189.html>).

⁵ According to *The Asahi Shimbun Digital* delivered on February 15, 2018 “Discussion over cervical cancer inoculation” (https://digital.asahi.com/articles/ASL2G5RQ0L2GUBQU01Y.html?iref=pc_ss_date), cervix infection with Human papillomavirus (HPV) occurs through sexual intercourse, affecting about 10,000 people a year in the country, causing about 2,700 deaths, often among people in their late 30s to 40s, with young women being especially susceptible in recent times. The vaccine was recommended for vaccination to prevent HPV infection to reduce the number of cervical cancer patients and in April 2013 in Japan, regular free vaccination was carried out free of charge in principle for girls from 6th grade to first year high school. However, the recommendation for vaccination was retracted because vaccination resulted in many health complaints. Thereafter vaccination was carried out only on those who wished it, and as a result the number of inoculated have drastically decreased.

⁶ The Japan Medical Association web page “Things you want to know about cancer checkups” includes the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare “National Life Basic Survey” (<https://www.med.or.jp/forest/gankenshin/data/japan/>) conducted in 2013, containing cancer examination data by gender and age group.

The gender unfairness is even more serious in the field of employment. The phrase “equal pay for equal work” has finally been incorporated into important policy statements. However, the wage gap between men and women remains significantly large. For example, that for the same job as a permanent worker, women only receive 70% of the salary commanded by men.⁷ It is my belief that unless the income of university graduates, at the very least, is set at the same level regardless of gender, the full potential of women cannot be achieved.

Whether or not they work outside the home, women are largely responsible for the major portion of child care and housework. Recently, as the problems associated with aging have increased sharply, nursing care has also become an added responsibility for women. About 70% of the people quitting jobs for care work at home comprise women.

The 1990 United Nations Nairobi Future Strategy Recommendation indicated 30% as the global target for women’s participation in decision-making.⁸ Unfortunately, Japan has still not reached this goal although there is variation of women’s presence depending on the domain. For instance, women account for 66% of pharmacists. On the other hand, there are very few women in the judiciary, and I think this condition prevent women from asking for legal advices from judicial professionals when they experience sexual harassment and sexual violence. The situation in the field of education and research is similar to that of the Diet. There are a variety of structural and organizational problems in academia. Co-educational schools featuring gender equality are

important, but I believe that it is heartening that Ochanomizu University is taking a pivotal position on this point. One of the reasons why I have been able to remain a member of the Diet for 25 years is that I am a graduate of a girls’ schools, from elementary school to high school; thus, maintaining independent-minded stance and pride in my gender was instilled into me at separate education environment.



⁷ For example, according to an article in the Nikkei, “The still lingering women’s employment-related issue of extremely low annual incomes of college graduates”, dated February 19, 2018, based on the Ministry of Internal Affairs 2015 to 2017 “Labor Force Survey”, the annual income structure of male and female college graduates estimated by income division showed the median annual income for college graduate males peaked at less than 5 million yen in their mid-30s and 8 million yen in their early 50’s. Analysis of the results also show that the median peak of university graduate women’s annual salary is about 2.6 million yen at 26 to 27 years old and it keeps falling thereafter, not surpassing 2 million yen after their mid-30s.

⁸ According to the Nairobi Future Strategy Recommendation adopted by the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1990, the proportion of women in positions of leadership would increase to at least 30% by 1995. Thirty percent was considered the international target (Cabinet Office Gender Equality Bureau “2007 Gender Equality White Paper” http://www.gender.go.jp/about_danjo/whitepaper/h19/zentai/danjyo/html/column/From_col01-01-03.html).

In the first election immediately after the war, the ratio of women in the House of Representatives climbed to 8%. It has increased only to 10% until the end of 2017. In other words, the relative percentage of women's representation has increased by only about 1% in 70 years. In no way can this phenomenon be considered evolution; it is a shameful figure. It is said that the existence of an electoral system called the "multiple vote system" was, in fact, the reason of the proportion of female legislators was so high in 1946.⁹ In the electoral system at the time, the candidate's constituency was based on a prefectural unit, not on the small single-seat constituency unit,¹⁰ and voters had to indicate two candidate names on the ballot paper. If female candidates were unable to secure the first place, they could take the second or the third. However, in the general election of 1947, the system was converted to a single-entry system. Thus, the number of female winners could be increased simply by changing the format of the electoral system.

The proportion of women serving in the House of Representatives has remained low since 1947, but there have been years in which some female ratios have increased. The Liberal Democratic Party's (LDP's) lack of popularity, for example, became the reason for the 2000 swell in the number of female candidates. The number of women candidates increased as a result of the opposition becoming inspired. However, the LDP still remained the ruling party after that ballot, and the actual number of elected women did not increase sharply. Thereafter, in 2005, the number of female candidates failed to rise even though the overall proportion became slightly enhanced. This election was the so-called "Postal Privatization Election", and, as you may know, it was not a happy time for me. After the number of female members of the Diet was slightly boosted, in 2009 the percentage of female winning candidates multiplied

dramatically. It was also known as the time of the LDP-to-Democratic administration turn-over election. It was very ironic for me that as the popularity of the LDP fell, the number of women members increased. In any case, as in 2012, when the LDP returned to the administration, the proportion of women decreased again. Though the numbers of women in the Diet finally climbed to 10% after 70 years, this share is still paltry.



I believe that it would be beneficial for women voters to start thinking in terms such as "the fewer the female lawmakers, the more we lose". What do you think are the chances that your opinion will get any airing in a democratic nation if only one in ten members is of your own kind? Even a cursory consideration can only lead to the conclusion that such a dismal figure will ultimately drive us women to the ground.

As have I mentioned earlier, a very interesting phenomenon occurred during the postal privatization election. In Japan a quota system is not still introduced. It is difficult to get approval from men because it impinges their greatest vested interests. After all, most voters hold the preconception that politics is a male vocation. Instituting quotas for women will only prompt men to consider it to be the case of a little leak that will eventually sink the entire ship, thereby leading male legislators to worry that

their seats will gradually disappear. Therefore, the male attitude that a quota system based on the premise of nine men vs. one woman is "outrageous" is the first stumbling block, and this is definitely something we have to think about.

Actually, in 2005, a pseudo-quota system was implemented. For every Diet member who opposed the postal privatization and was consequently thrown out of the party, the LDP proffered another official candidate; as a result, many female candidates were supported. However, women candidates who were unfamiliar with the constituencies and who had no support groups could not win in electoral districts. Such women candidates were then placed separately on top of each list for proportional representation elections.¹¹ In these cases, even if the candidate was defeated in the single-seat constituency, she was guaranteed to win if she obtained more than the legal number of votes.¹² Former Prime Minister Koizumi created seats through a "semi-quota" system and then allotted seats to many women who had no political experience at all. If Japan introduces a semi-quota system such as the one with which Koizumi experimented, the number of women in parliament will definitely increase even within the ruling party as it did in 2005.

There are two methods of increasing the number of female legislators. The first is to change the current political situation from the grass-root level. The size of an organizational unit gradually reduces depending on the level of government, in the order of the Diet, Prefectural Assemblies, Municipal Assemblies, and Town and Village Assemblies. The smaller-sized the assembly, the smaller the budget required. The

deliberations at these assemblies are also related closer to our daily life. The national budget is usually conceived of in tens of trillions of yen. These elevated figures are difficult for ordinary people to handle. However, at the level of the village assemblies, the budget must extend to hundreds of thousands or millions of yen at most. The smaller amounts represent numbers that ordinary people can potentially budget and apply. Thus, if our aim is to get women involved in politics, it is recommended as the first step that they should enter the smaller-sized assemblies at the village or town levels. However, the reverse situation prevails at the present moment in Japan. The proportion of women representatives is as low as 2% in the smallest-sized assemblies that comprise ten legislators or less. The problem in Japanese politics is that even at rural areas politics is not a familiar ground for women. Usually, as the size of an assembly becomes larger, the constituency broadens and elections become tougher. Hence, the proportion of women decreases step by step, from 50% to 40%, then to 30%, etc. In contrast, it is a characteristic of Japanese politics that women become further removed from politics as the municipality size becomes smaller.

This line of thought prompted me to try to draft the "Act on Promotion of Gender Equality in the Political Field" three years ago. Even if we would wait patiently and expect the party to take some action, such as undertaking campaigns to raise voters' awareness, the number of women would probably still not increase. This circumstance is further exacerbated in the context of the crisis caused by the decline of the Japanese population, which, in turn, is the result of

⁹ "Multiple voting" means to vote (especially take the fixed number of ballots at each district) for more than two candidate per election. "Single vote" means one voter will vote for only one of the candidates (Sanseido, *Daijirin*, 3rd edition).

¹⁰ The electoral districts of systems, wherein one member is selected from one electoral district is a small constituency district; electoral districts in which two or more members of parliament are selected are called large constituencies; there are a larger number of dead votes in the small constituencies. Large constituencies are said to be advantageous to the majority party since they have fewer dead votes but there is also the advantage that a minority group can be elected (Shogakukan, *Digital Daijisen*).

¹¹ In the current mixed electoral system comprised of single-seat constituencies and proportionally represented multiple-seat constituencies, it is permitted to run for elections at both types of the constituencies. Winners are determined by the order of the roster submitted to the election management committee in advance by the political parties, but in the case where there are multiple overlapping candidates to run for both the single-seat constituencies and the proportional representation constituencies, the political parties can list multiple candidates at the same rank on the proportional representation list. When choosing a winner from the candidates of the same ranking, it is decided using the "losing rate" in the single-seat constituency election. ("NHK election WEB House of Representatives election 2017 result" <https://www.nhk.or.jp/senkyo/database/shugiin/2017/kisochishiki/index.html>) The "losing rate" means the ratio of the number of votes of the candidate to the highest number of votes of the winners in the electoral district election (Tochigi Prefecture Election Committee "Election Q&A" <http://www.pref.tochigi.lg.jp/senkyo/24shugi/qanda/qanda-10.html>).

¹² "The minimum number of votes required to become an elected person, prescribed by the Public Offices Election Act". "Even if the candidate who does not reach this number is within the capacity, he/she cannot become a winner". (Shogakukan, *Digital Daijisen*)

the declining birth rate. As much as the Prime Minister admits the problem of the declining birth rate and aging population, it is women who actually face these problems in a direct manner in their everyday lives. If women are asked for their opinions at the Diet where the ratio of men to women of 9:1, the opinions would not be reflected. The men who currently act as the representatives at the Diet do not have a baby or are not at all involved in caring for childcare and nursing . Thus, even if they sincerely try to conceive of policies and regulations that are conducive to women, they can never actually know firsthand what the realities of women are. The only way to bring real change in the policy-making process of the central government is to change the players, and even if we try to do this, we cannot boldly implement a quota system under the current election system. Unlike South Korea, the proportional representation system for the House of Councilors is based on open list system, it operates in the order of personal popularity. Therefore, it is not legal for women to dominate the upper half of the list, and the same applies to the House of Representatives.

So, first of all, the operating principle that politics is not just a man's job and that political work should involve everyone regardless of gender or age must be accepted by all. Although it seems so basic, this idea has not yet permeated through all levels of the Japanese society as it has rarely been projected by voters' awareness campaigns or other means of public education. We have to appeal to our political parties to exert some effort in this area. In the near future, the Nation-wide Local Elections and the regular election for the Upper House are held next April and July respectively. At that time, voters should make it a central criterion to know how many female candidates are being nominated by a party, and whether or not a party is really responsive to women's issues. The dearth of female candidates is one of Japan's major current problems. We have endeavored to create a legislation that will improve this situation in some manner.

In reality, female legislators often oppose "Act on Promotion of Gender Equality in the Political Field" for two reasons. First, some female Diet members think that women should not hold public office. When people ask these women, "So why are you working as legislators?," they usually reply, "Because it is not a profession, it is more like helping people". Second, others do not agree with this act for the reason that they think they are elected for the Diet because of their own abilities. Those women believe that the introduction of a quota system would lower women's position in the Diet. I personally think that the introduction of the quota system, regardless of its function, does not matter because one vote is counted as one vote.

Three years ago, an all-party caucus comprising Diet members from various parties, including the LDP and the Communist Party, drafted and presented a bill on the promotion of gender equality in the political field to the Diet. Despite much discussion and controversy, the bill passed through the Diet and I received it as the Minister of State for Gender Equality. This year, I finally felt that I had managed to catch the ball that I myself had thrown.

This legislation represents a big change in Japan. Japanese government and society have not openly promoted gender equality in politics but now we have the act. Going forward, I plan to do it all over the country. Many female voters, who have always had to choose their elected officials from a list of male candidates, are finally taking note that, in order to bring improvements that will usher in a new Japan and to eliminate the existing unfairness, women have to motivate themselves to go forward and to run for elections. If this happens, it is certain that this new act will be successful.

基 調 講 演
Keynote speech



陳 善美

韓国国会議員
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女性の政治参画拡大のために必要な新しい改革

韓国における女性の政治・経済・社会的地位を端的に表す国際指数があります。世界経済フォーラムが発表した2017年のジェンダー・ギャップ指数は、0.650と144か国中118位でした。イギリスの『エコノミスト』(*The Economist*)誌が発表した「ガラスの天井指数」でも韓国は5年連続で最下位です。韓国の女性議員の割合は17%と過去最高値となったものの、列国議会同盟の報告書によると、世界平均値の23.8%にも達していません。そこでの順位も1997年の94位から2018年の118位へ下落しています。韓国は2004年に比例代表選挙候補者名簿の女性割合を50%とする義務規定と、小選挙区の各政党候補の女性割合を30%とする努力目標規定を制定しました。このようなジェンダー・クォータ制度の導入は女性議員の割合増加に寄与しましたが、未だに制度運営上多くの問題があります。この比例代表女性クォータの義務規定には法的強制力がないこと、小選挙区の女性候補者クォータ制が努力目標にとどまっていること、女性の政治家としてのキャリアの断絶、などです。女性の政治参画の活性化のためには、公共部門における女性管理職割合の達成目標設定、クォータ制度実効性確保のためのインセンティブ付与、政党内における女性政治家育成のシステム構築などの制度改革が必要です。

I. 女性政治リーダーとしての成長の経験と抱負

1. より良い社会を目指した不断な挑戦： 家父長的家族制度の廃止を求めた違憲訴訟

私が弁護士として引き受けた初めての大きな裁判は、戸主制違憲訴訟でした。戸主制とは、男性戸主をトップに据えて残りの家族たちをその下に偏在させる、家父長的な家族記録方式で、21世紀初めに廃止させることにこぎつきました。戸主制は、実際には被植民地時代に導入された制度でしたが、家父長制と繋がった古くからの伝統のように思われてきました。家族は互いに平等でなければなりません。戸主制は、家族構成員の間に序列をつけ、その頂点である家長には男性を置くという、時代遅れの制度でした。

戸主制違憲訴訟は単に大きい訴訟というだけではなく、社会に深く根づいた男性中心の家父長制という慣習と慣行を打破して、新しい社会を作るための社会改革運動だったと思います。

1999年に戸主制違憲訴訟をおこしてから、憲法裁判所違憲判決を受けて新しい制度が2008年に実施されるまで、10年かかりました。10年という長い時間は、私にとって、毎日挑戦と失敗を繰り返しながら成長する時間でもありました。戸主制違憲訴訟の勝利は、その後の、挑戦を続ける生き方を支える原動力になりました。また戸主制訴訟を通じ、私の大きな資産ともいえる、生涯を通じて共に歩める友に多く出会いました。

2. 弁護士活動を通じて共に生きることを学ぶ

以後、社会問題に関係する弁護活動をしなが、様々なマイノリティの方々の弁護や、韓国社会における歴史的な事件で弁護をするようになりました。このような活動をしている私を人権派弁護士、社会派弁護士と呼ぶ人もいました。これらの弁護を通じて、多様な生き方や状況があることをはじめ、多くのことを学ばせていただきました。

性的マイノリティの方々の弁護では、多様な性のあり方を理解し、共感いたしました。また私自身、地方出身の女性というマイノリティの立場であり、社会の不条理を解決するためには、他の多くのマイノリティの方たちと連帯しなければならないということに気づかされた、大事な経験でした。

ドイツ在住の哲学者、宋斗律(ソンドゥユル)教授の国家保安法違反容疑に対する弁護を引き受けた時には、「自分の考えに従って行動する」という、人生に対する強い意志を学ぶことができました。

私が弁護士をしながら得た最大の教訓は、世の中の慣習、世の中が期待する役割、世の中が感じさせる恐怖にまどわされず、「私」が思うように、「私」が感じ願うとおりに生きていくという、清新で澁刺とした意志が、世の中を少しずつ変化させていくということでした。



3. 可能性の芸術である政治に挑戦する

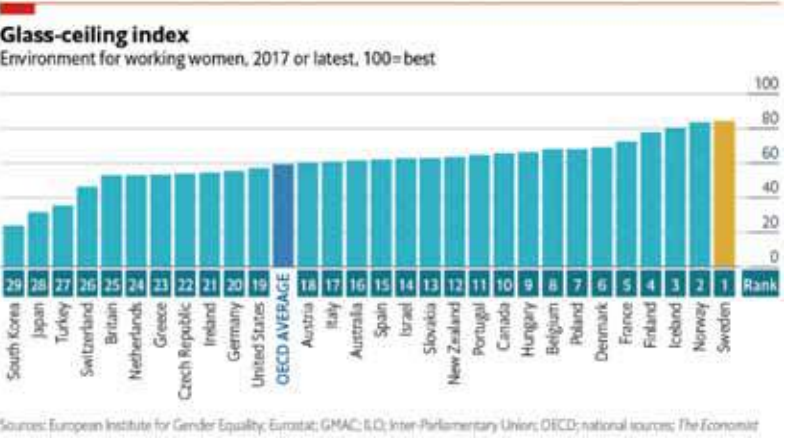
私は、政治は芸術のようでないといけないと思います。重力に絶えず逆らい挑戦することが舞踊を美しくするように、自然に流れようとする世の中を変えようと挑戦する政治は、可能性の芸術と呼ばれたりします。芸術家が全身を捧げて逆らって、固まった慣習の世界にとっても小さな隙間を作り出すように、政治家も、全身を投じて世の中の権力秩序に亀裂を生じさせなければならないのです。ですから私は、私の澁刺さを、私の政治の最大の武器にしようと思います。世の中の慣習がどうであろうと、世の中のどんな脅しにも屈せず、私が正しいと思うことのために忍耐強く、世の中の既存秩序と慣行を改善する馬鹿正直で生意気な政治的信念が、女性政治家には必要だと思います。

私は、2012年の第19代国会議員選挙で、「民主統合党」の比例代表候補になり当選し、2016年には「共に民主党」所属として、ソウル特別市江東区(甲)地区で再選いたしました。国会における議員活動と立法活動では、女性、児童、高齢者、労働者など、多様な社会的弱者の保護・支援分野での実績を挙げてきました。また、政党内外で、不公正な社会慣行と制度を改善するための実践的な活動を広げてきました。激しい利権争いと価値観の衝突がある政治の世界に身を置き、人々が温かい気持ちを持って共に暮す政治共同体の形成に寄与することを、現代の女性政治家の使命と受け入れて、活気あふれる挑戦の姿勢を心がけております。後に続く女性政治家を増加させるための制度改善にも尽力しています。最近行われた6月13日の第7回統一地方選挙でも、全国60余りの地区へ候補者支援の遊説に出向きました。選挙の結果は、「共に民主党」の圧勝でした。今回の地方選挙で女性地方議員の割合は以前より少し増加しましたが、女性の広域自治体(日本の都道府県、政令市に当たる)の首長は0人、地方自治体の長は8人と、相変わらずガラスの天井が厚い状況です。

図1:2017年韓国のジェンダー・ギャップ指数
(指数が1なら完全平均、0なら完全不平等を意味する)



図2:2017年ガラスの天井指数



II. 女性の政治・経済・社会的地位の現状

1. ジェンダー・ギャップ指数とガラスの天井指数

世界経済フォーラム(WEF)は2006年から毎年、経済・政治・教育・健康の4つの分野についての男女格差を測定した「ジェンダー・ギャップ指数(Gender Gap Index: GGI)」を発表しています。

2017年のグローバル・ジェンダー・ギャップ・レポートによると、韓国のジェンダー・ギャップ指数は0.650で、調査対象144か国の中で118位に留まっています(図1)。調査初年の2006年は92位でしたが、2017年は118位に下落していま

す。分野別では、政治参画と経済参画で平均を大きく下回っています。

イギリスの『エコノミスト』誌は、毎年3月8日の世界女性の日に「ガラスの天井指数(Glass-ceiling index)」を発表しています(図2)。

ガラスの天井指数は、OECD先進国を対象に、女性たちの高位職進出を阻む要素を数値化した指数です。男女間の高等教育進学格差と賃金格差、企業の女性役員と女性国会議員の割合など10項目を総合して、100点満点で算出します。2017年の調査結果では、韓国は主要29か国中29位でした。韓国は2013年の調査から5年連続最下位となっています。

女性の高等教育進学率は男性の進学率を上まわるまでになりましたが、高学歴女性の増加が女性の経済活動参画の増加につながっていないという点が問題です。公務員全体で女性の比率は45%を越えています、上級職公務員の女性比率は6.5%にすぎず、課長級以上の管理職の女性比率も15%に留まっています。政治家の女性比率も似たような状況です。

2. 韓国女性議員比率17%に届かず、193か国の中で118位

列国議会連盟(Inter-Parliamentary Union)の調査では、2018年5月現在、193の国と地域の国会における女性議員比率の世界平均は23.8%となっています。1997年は12.0%、2007年は17.1%で、女性議員比率は継続して増加傾向となっています。大陸別では、上から、北欧、アメリカ大陸、アフリカ大陸の順で女性議員の比率が高くなっています(表1)。

国別の値を見ると、2018年5月時点で、ルワンダの女性議員比率は61.3%の世界1位となっています(表2)。これは、2003年に制定された憲法で、すべての公的組織の意思決定機関の30%以上を女性にするクォータ制度を取り入れた結果だともいわれています。

フランスでも、女性議員比率は1997年の6.4%から2018年の39%へと大幅に増加しました。これは、2000年に、政党が選挙候補者を男女同数にすることを義務化する「パリテ(Parité)」法を制定した結果です。

女性議員比率の継続的増加と国別順位の劇的な変化を起こした制度的要因は、まさにジェンダー・クォータ制度です。世界的に、女性議員の比率が30%を越える国の8割以上が、女性代表者数向上を目的としたクォータ制などの特別措置を施行しています。

一方、韓国の女性議員比率は、1997年の3%から、2018年の17%に増加していますが、世界平均の23.8%にはおよびません。順位も、1997年の94位から2018年の118位へと下落しました。韓国でも、2000年に国会議員比例代表候補の30%を女性にするクォータ制を導入し、2004年にはその割合を50%に引き上げたことが、女性議員比率の増加に寄与したことは事実です。しかし、女性の政治・経済・社会的地位は、相変わらず世界比較の下位圏に留まっています。女性の代表制水準が低いままであるため、女性議員比率上昇の成功評価も低く留まることになります。

表1：国会の女性議員比率地域別平均(二院制の場合は下院／代議院)

地域	1997年1月	2007年1月	2018年5月
世界平均	12.0%	17.1%	23.8%
北欧諸国	36.4%	40.8%	41.4%
アメリカ大陸	12.9%	20.0%	29.0%
サハラ砂漠以南のアフリカ	10.1%	16.6%	23.7%
アジア	13.4%	16.5%	19.7%
アラブ諸国	3.3%	9.5%	18.5%
太平洋諸国	9.8%	12.4%	15.5%

http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif010518.htm

表2：国会の女性議員比率国別(二院制の場合は下院／代議院)

1997年1月			2018年5月		
順位	国名	女性(%)	順位	国名	女性(%)
1	スウェーデン	40.4	1	ルワンダ	61.3
2	ノルウェー	39.4	2	キューバ	53.2
3	フィンランド	33.5	3	ボリビア	53.1
4	デンマーク	33.0	4	グレナダ	46.7
5	オランダ	31.3	5	ナミビア	46.2
6	ニュージーランド	29.2	6	ニカラグア	45.7
7	セーシェル	27.3	7	コスタリカ	45.6
8	オーストリア	26.8	8	スウェーデン	43.6
9	ドイツ	26.2	9	メキシコ	42.6
10	アイスランド	25.4	10	フィンランド	42.0
11	アルゼンチン	25.3	11	セネガル	41.8
12	モザンビーク	25.2	11	南アフリカ	41.8
13	南アフリカ	25.0	13	ノルウェー	41.4
14	スペイン	24.6	14	モザンビーク	39.6
15	キューバ	22.8	15	スペイン	39.1
16	中国	21.0	16	フランス	39.0
17	エリトリア	21.0	17	アルゼンチン	38.9
18	スイス	21.0	18	エチオピア	38.8
19	北朝鮮	20.1	19	ニュージーランド	38.3
20	グレナダ	20.0	20	アイスランド	38.1
24	ルワンダ	17.1			
72	フランス	6.4			
83	日本	4.6			
94	韓国	3.0			
			118	韓国	17.0
			160	日本	10.1

http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif010518.htm

表3：韓国におけるジェンダー・クォータ制導入状況

	国会議員	地方議員
2000年政党法改正	比例代表候補者30%を女性に	比例代表候補者30%を女性に
2002年政党法改正	比例代表候補者30%を女性に	比例代表候補者50%を女性に 比例代表名簿の2人に1人を女性に
2004、2005年公職選挙法改正	比例代表候補者リストの50%を女性に、奇数番号に女性(義務規定) 小選挙区候補者合計の30%を女性にする努力目標	

Ⅲ. 女性政治参加制度現況及び限界

1. 韓国のジェンダー・クォータ制現況

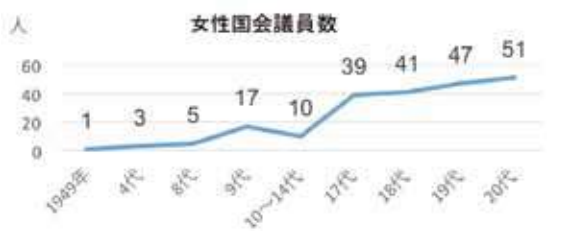
ジェンダー・クォータ制は、世界100か国以上で導入されている制度です。韓国では、1995年に「女性発展基本法」で暫定的優遇措置を規定し、2000年には「政党法」に女性候補公認割り当てを明示するという形で、段階的にクォータ制を発展させてきました。クォータ制は、女性の政治参加を阻害する様々な差別を乗り越えるための制度で、機会の平等というより結果の平等を強調する制度です。法制による候補者クォータ制(legislative quotas)、議席割当制(reserved quotas)、政党による自発的クォータ制(party quotas)があり、韓国は法制による候補者クォータ制を採用しています。

女性の政治的的代表性向上を目指したクォータ制の発展の軌跡は上記の通りです(表3)。

2. 女性の政治参画状況

韓国国会の女性議員の割合は、ジェンダー・クォータ制導入後、緩やかに増加し、第20代国会では300人中51人で、17%になりました(図3)。

図3：韓国国会の女性議員数推移



地方議会での女性議員の割合は、広域自治体議会では14%、基礎自治体で25%です。しかし、地方自治体の首長の女性比率は、広域自治体の首長では0%(17広域自治体中0)、基礎自治体首長では3.5%(226基礎自治体中8)と、非常に低い水準です(表4)。

表4：韓国の歴代地方選挙女性当選者状況(単位：%)

区分	広域自治体議員			基礎自治体議員		
	小計	地方区	比例	小計	地方区	比例
1995年	5.8	1.5	44.3	1.6	1.6	-
1998年	5.9	2.3	36.5	1.6	1.6	-
2002年	9.2	2.3	67.1	2.2	2.2	-
2006年	12.1	4.9	73.1	15.1	4.4	87.2
2010年	14.8	8.1	71.6	21.7	10.9	93.6
2014年	14.3	8.2	65.5	25.3	14.6	95.8

出典：中央選挙管理委員会

3. 現行制度の問題点

1) 比例代表のジェンダー・クォータ制に法的強制力がない

2004年の公職選挙法改訂で、国会議員の比例代表候補の50%を女性にすることを義務化し、各政党の候補者名簿の奇数番号を女性にする男女交互名簿制を取り入れながらも、奇数番号女性割当を守らない事例が頻繁に発生しています。

義務規定であるにもかかわらず強制力がないため、政党にこの規定を順守させる効力はありません。

2) 低い比例代表議席の割合

女性が政治分野においてリーダーシップを発揮できるようにするには、選挙制度が重要です。一般的に、小選挙区制は女性を含めた新人候補には不利であるのに対して、比例代表制は女性政治家の議会進出に有利といわれます。女性の政治的表現性を高めるには、小選挙区制よりも比例代表制ということです。実際に、女性議員の割合の高い北欧諸国や西ヨーロッパ諸国の大部分は比例代表制を取り入れており、因果性が高いことが示されています。韓国は、比例代表と小選挙区の混合制を採用しています。

表5：韓国の選挙制度

区分	国会	広域自治体議会	基礎自治体議会
地方区	小選挙区制 (議員定数 253人)	小選挙区制	中選挙区比較多数代表制
比例代表	政党名簿制 (全国統一名簿、拘束式、 議員定数 47名)	比例拘束名簿制	比例拘束名簿制
比例代表比重	15.6%	議員定数の10%	議員定数の10%

問題は、国会や地方議会の全体議席のうち、比例代表議席の占める割合が非常に低いという点です。第20代国会の場合、比例代表議席は全議席数300のうち47で、15.8%に過ぎません。地方議会の比例代表議席割合も、10%程度に留まっています(表5)。ジェンダー・クォータ制が義務適用される比例代表の議席割合を増やす政策が、女性の代表性向上のための有力な方法です。比例代表議席割合を増やすためには、総議席数を維持したまま小選挙区選出議席の割合を減らすか、比例代表議席数を増やして総議席数を増やすか、の二つの方法が考えられます。いずれにせよ、複雑な利害関係が絡み合っている、難しい課題です。

3) 小選挙区ジェンダー・クォータ制の努力目標規定の限界

韓国のジェンダー・クォータ制の規定における最大の問題点は、小選挙区候補者の30%を女性にするクォータ規定が努力目標であるように、その実現が政党に任ねられているという点です。2016年に実施された第20代国会議員選挙では、小選挙区女性候補者割合は10.3%でした。最近行われた第7回統一地方選挙でも、その割合は20%を越えませんでした。

4) 公認候補者決定過程での女性排除と女性政治家のキャリアの断絶

女性候補者は、経歴や支援組織、認知度などの面で、男性候補者たちに比べて相対的に不利だと評価され、韓国の政党は女性候補の公認に消極的です。そして、女性政治家のキャリアの断絶を防ぐためのサポート体制が整っていないことは重大な問題です。

女性国会議員の割合は、第16代国会以後増加し続けたにもかかわらず、再選されて議員経歴を継続できる率は高くありません。第19代国会議員選挙結果を見ると、女性国会

議員の再選の割合は25.6%(12人)で、同じ選挙の比例代表を含む全体議員再選割合50.6%(202人)に比べて、かなり低くなっており、政治家としてのキャリア断絶が深刻なレベルで発生していることがわかります。

比例代表で当選した女性国会議員が小選挙区で出馬したり、同じく、地方議会の比例代表女性議員が選挙区から立候補しやすくする対策が必要です。

Ⅳ. 女性の政治参画活性化方策と女性政治家増員のための提言

女性の政治参画を活性化して女性政治家を増やすためには、政治・経済・社会全般における男女平等実現のための制度改革と意識改革が必要です。そしてまた、女性政治家人材の発掘と育成方法を大きく変化させるための戦略と政策的歩みよりが必要です。

1. 公共部門の女性管理者比率の持続的拡大が必要

まず、政府レベルでの男女平等教育支援や、政党と連携した女性政治家育成機関の設置などの、男女平等のためのインフラ構築支援が必要です。喫緊の課題として、政府や公共機関など、公共部門の女性管理者の割合を持続的に拡大すること、女性の政治家の人材を蓄え増やすことに取り組まなければなりません。

2017年に「ろうそく革命」¹により誕生した文在寅(ムンジェイン)政権は、公共部門における女性代表性を向上するために、2022年までに上級職公務員の10%、本部課長級の21%という、女性採用目標を打ち出しています(図4)。

図4：上級職公務員など女性管理職の任用拡大目標



2. ジェンダー・クォータ規定の実効性確保

次の段階は制度改革です。ジェンダー・クォータ規定を改善して、制度の実効性を確保する必要があります。現在は、比例代表区候補では女性候補者50%を義務とし、小選挙区候補では30%を努力目標とするクォータ制度があります。まず、比例代表の50%クォータ義務違反政党に対する制裁規定を導入する必要があります。クォータ規定に違反する政党には、政党別に算定された選挙補助金支給総額から、違反レベルに則した割合の金額を削減することを提案します。

次に、小選挙区の30%クォータ努力目標の実効性を確保するためには、インセンティブを提供するか、努力目標を義務規定に切り替えるなどが考えられます。インセンティブ提供の案としては、30%クォータ達成政党には補助金を追加で支給する方法があります。2006年から女性候補者公認補助金制度を導入していますが、女性候補者数の割合によってこの補助金額を増やすようにすれば、政党が自発的に女性候補者を増やすよう促すことが出来ます。小選挙区の30%クォータを義務化する場合には、違反があった場合には、その政党の候補者登録を取り消すというような罰則を併せて整備すると良いでしょう。

3. 比例代表制拡大及び女性候補者擁立の推進

国会議員と地方議員ともに比例代表議席割合は20%前後と低いのが現状ですので、その割合を上昇させる制度改革は、女性議員の割合を早期に確実に高めることができる効果的な方法です。しかし、比例代表議席割合の変更は、選挙区再編や総定員調整の問題と絡み合い、様々な政治的利害を生み出します。女性議員の割合拡大という目的のためにこれを推進することができるかどうかは難しく、利害



関係者たちの共感を得ながら、慎重に進めていく必要があります。

4. 政党内における女性政治家育成制度の構築

政党の女性候補者の公認割合を高めるためには、まず政党内部での努力が必要です。新人の女性政治家人材を発掘し、中堅の女性政治家が育成に携わることができるような、政党内の制度を構築しなければなりません。候補者選出担当と候補者に一定の割合以上の女性を入れることを明文化するなど、党則改訂を含めた、女性候補者の数を増やす努力が必要です。女性候補者の発掘と女性向けの政治教育、女性政治家たちのネットワーク形成などを通じて、女性候補者たちが政治家としての根を広げて、政治キャリアを継続できるようにしなければなりません。

女性の政治参画拡大のためには、単に女性議員の数を増やすことだけでなく、中堅女性政治家の数を増やしていくことも必要です。比例代表選出の国会議員や地方議員が小選挙区に進出する機会を広げたり、女性党員が地方議員に立候補したりできるような、政党内プログラムと制度的措置も必要です。

女性議員が増えることで女性の希望が通りやすくなるはずだ、という単純な見方には警戒しなければなりません。「女性クォータ制は男女共同参画社会実現のために必要な制度である」と、市民たちからの共感を得られるよう、女性政治家たちが、女性の代表性を向上することに実質的に寄与する議員活動と立法活動を展開するなど、積極的な努力を続けることが必要です。

社会における女性政治リーダーシップは、一夜にして成るものではありません。男女共同参画社会を実現し実践していくには、多くの社会的な関心と努力が必要なのです。

1 前任の朴槿恵(パク クネ)大統領の不正に抗した市民の抗議デモ。韓国全国で5か月間続き、朴大統領の弾劾を導いた。
(http://alfpnetwork.net/e-magazine001_06/を参照)

New reform necessary to increase women's participation in politics

There is an international index that indicates the political, financial, and social position of women in South Korea. South Korea scored 0.650 in the global gender gap report published by the World Economic Forum in 1997, which put us 118th out of 144 countries. The glass-ceiling index published by the British Magazine, *The Economist*, evaluated us the last five years in a row. The percentage of female assembly members in South Korea is 17%, which is the highest in the past. Still, however, according to a report by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, we have not reached the world average of 23.8%. South Korea dropped from 94th in 1997 to 118th in 2018. South Korean election laws stipulated in 2004 that the percentage of women on the candidate lists of proportional-representation elections must be 50% and set a goal of reaching 30% female candidates from each party for single-seat constituencies. The introduction of the gender quota system helped increase the percentage of female assembly members, but there are still many problems with the implementation of the laws. The quota system for proportional representation of female candidates has no punishment for the parties that do not comply with the quota system, and the quota system for female candidates in single-seat constituencies remains a duty of efforts without any enforcement measures. There are also disruptions in the careers of female politicians. To increase women's participation in politics, further system reforms are necessary, such as setting a goal for the percentage of women in management positions in the public sector, providing incentives to ensure the practice of the quota system, and creating a system to foster female politicians within political parties.

I. Growth, experiences, and ambitions as a female political leader

1. Constant challenge to create a better society: A law case that abolished the unconstitutional and patriarchal householder system

The first large case I had as a lawyer was a suit against the unconstitutional nature of the Householder System. The Householder System is a patriarchal household registration method in which a male householder is placed on top and other family members are placed under him. We achieved to make this out-of-date system abolished in the early 21st century. Even though, the Householder System was actually introduced during the colonial period and had relatively short history, it was considered as an important ancient tradition based on patriarchy. The suit against the Householder System was not only a big case but also an act of social reform to create a new society by breaking through the patriarchal customs and practices that were ingrained in society.

It took 10 years, starting from when the lawsuit against the Householder System began in 1999 until the new system was implemented in 2008 after the Householder System was deemed unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court. For me, these long years were also a time of growth through the repetition of daily challenges and failures. Winning the case against the Householder System gave me a drive to keep on challenging injustice. Through the Householder System suit, I met lifelong friends, whom I can call my assets.



2. Learning to live in harmony through activities as a lawyer

Subsequently, while working as a defense attorney on social issues, I came to defend various minorities, including in historical cases in South Korean society. Some people called me a human rights attorney or socialist attorney. Through these cases, I learned that there are many different lives and situations.

By defending people who are sexual minorities, I came to see the many different genders and felt sympathetic. I am also a minority—a woman from a rural area—and learned that to solve social injustice, I must cooperate with many different types of minorities. It has truly been a valuable experience.

When I was asked to defend a philosopher and professor Song Du-yul (residing in Germany), who was accused of violating the national security law, I learned a strong lesson for life: Act according to your own ideas.

The best lesson I learned as a lawyer was that regardless of any customs, the roles expected of me by society, or fear put in me by society, I must live the way I think, I feel, and I wish. Such fresh and lively ideas will change the world slowly.

3. Facing challenges in politics as an art of potential

I believe politics must be like art. Just as constantly challenging gravity makes dancing beautiful, politics

that takes on the challenge of changing the natural flow of the world is sometimes called an art of potential. Just as artists giving everything they have to create a small gap in the world of fixed customs, politicians must also make a crack in the order of power in the world by giving everything we have. Therefore, I plan to make my lively nature the biggest weapon of my politics. For female politicians, honest and impertinent political conviction to improve the order and practices of the world, regardless of customs or threats, and with patience for our beliefs, is necessary.

I was elected to a proportional-representation candidate for the Democratic United Party in the 19th National Assembly Election in 2012. In 2016, I was re-elected as a member of the Democratic Party of Korea in the Seoul Gangdong District (A). Through my legislative activities as an assembly member, I achieved protecting and supporting socially vulnerable populations such as women, children, seniors, and laborers. Both as part of and outside of the political party, I have been making efforts to improve unjust social customs and systems. I regard that contribution to creating apolitical community where people can live in peace is a mission of modern female politicians. Although the nature of political sphere seems to be more like disputes over rights and clashes of values, I am determined to keep a positive and bold attitude. I also work hard to improve the system to increase the number of female politicians in the future. During the 7th local elections held on June 13th, I campaigned to support candidates in nearly 60 districts across South Korea. The election resulted in a landslide win by the Democratic Party of Korea. The percentage of female local members increased somewhat in the 7th local elections, but there are no female leaders of upper-level local governments (the equivalent of prefectures and government ordinance cities) and there are only eight female leaders of lower-level local governments. The glass ceiling remains thick.

II. Current state of women’s political, financial, and social position

1. Gender gap index and glass-ceiling index

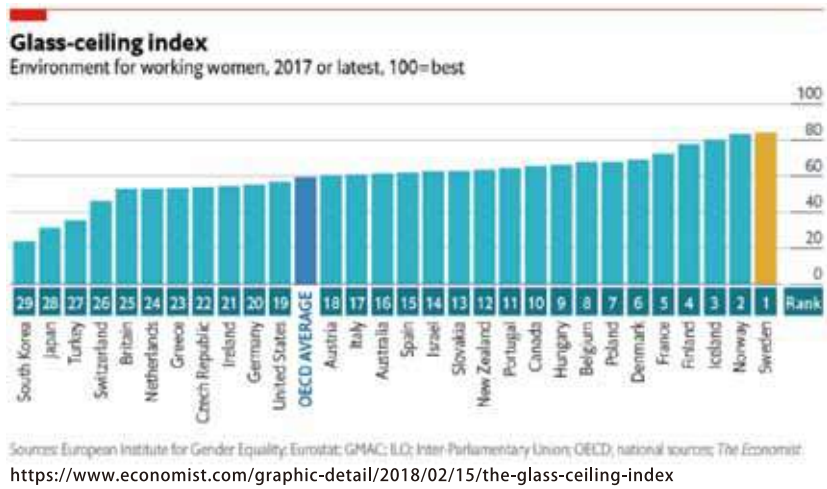
Every year since 2006, the World Economic Forum (WEF) has published the Gender Gap Index (GGI), which measures the gap between men and women in four areas—economics, politics, education, and health.

According to the 2017 Global Gender Gap Report, the GGI for South Korea was 0.650, which puts the country 118th out of 144 countries (Figure 1). It was ranked 92nd in the first year of the survey but dropped to 118th in 2017. South Korea is well below the international average for women’s political and financial participation.

Figure 1: Gender Gap Index, South Korea, 2017



Figure 2: Glass-ceiling Index 2017



The British magazine *The Economist* publishes the “Glass-ceiling index” every year on March 8th, which is International Women’s Day (Figure 2).

The glass-ceiling index quantifies elements that inhibit women from entering executive positions in high-income OECD countries. It integrates 10 aspects such as the gender gap in higher education, gender gap in wage, and percentages of female executives in companies and female members of Parliament, for a score out of 100. The results of the 2017 survey showed that South Korea was 29th out of 29 countries. We have been ranked at the bottom for five years in a row since 2013.

The rate of women advancing to higher education has now surpassed the rate of men, but the increase in highly educated women has not led to an increase in women’s participation in economic activities. The percentage of civil servants who are women exceeds 45%, but the percentage of women in the senior civil servant positions remains at 15%. The numbers for female politicians are similar.

2. Proportion of female members of Parliament in South Korea does not reach 17%, 118th out of 193 countries

The Inter-Parliamentary Union survey showed that as of May 2018, the world average for the percentage of female members of Parliament (national and regional) in 193 countries was 23.8%. It was 12.0% in 1997 and 17.1% in 2007, showing a continuous

increasing trend. By regional averages, the highest percentage is found in Scandinavia, followed by the Americas, then Africa (Table 1).

Table 1: Women in National Parliaments (World and Regional Averages, Single House or Lower House)

	January 1997	January 2007	May 2018
World Average	12.0%	17.1%	23.8%
Nordic Countries	36.4%	40.8%	41.4%
Americas	12.9%	20.0%	29.0%
Sub-Saharan Africa	10.1%	16.6%	23.7%
Asia	13.4%	16.5%	19.7%
Arab States	3.3%	9.5%	18.5%
Pacific	9.8%	12.4%	15.5%

<http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif010518.htm>

By country, as of May 2018, the highest percentage of female members of Parliament was 61.3%, in Rwanda (Table 2). It is said that this is a result of Rwanda’s quota system, since the constitution enacted in 2003 stipulates that all decision-making bodies of public organizations must have 30% or more women.

Table 2: Women in National Parliaments (By country)

January 1997			May 2018		
Rank	Country	% W	Rank	Country	% W
1	Sweden	40.4	1	Rwanda	61.3
2	Norway	39.4	2	Cuba	53.2
3	Finland	33.5	3	Bolivia	53.1
4	Denmark	33.0	4	Grenada	46.7
5	Netherlands	31.3	5	Namibia	46.2
6	New Zealand	29.2	6	Nicaragua	45.7
7	Seychelles	27.3	7	Costa Rica	45.6
8	Austria	26.8	8	Sweden	43.6
9	Germany	26.2	9	Mexico	42.6
10	Iceland	25.4	10	Finland	42.0
11	Argentina	25.3	11	Senegal	41.8
12	Mozambique	25.2	#	South Africa	41.8
13	South Africa	25.0	13	Norway	41.4
14	Spain	24.6	14	Mozambique	39.6
15	Cuba	22.8	15	Spain	39.1
16	China	21.0	16	France	39.0
#	Eritrea	21.0	17	Argentina	38.9
#	Switzerland	21.0	18	Ethiopia	38.8
17	Dem. People's Rep. of Korea	20.1	19	New Zealand	38.3
18	Grenada	20.0	20	Iceland	38.1
24	Rwanda	17.1			
72	France	6.4			
83	Japan	4.6			
94	Republic of Korea	3.0			
			118	Republic of Korea	17.0
			160	Japan	10.1

<http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif010518.htm>

In France, the percentage of female members of Parliament dramatically increased from 6.4% in 1997 to 39% in 2018. This is a result of establishing Parité in 2000, which obligates political parties to have equal numbers of male and female candidates.

The institutional factor that led to a continuous increase in the percentage of female members of Parliament and dramatic changes in the ranking of nations was indeed the gender quota system. Globally, 80% or more of countries with at least 30% female members of Parliament have special measures to increase the number of female representatives, such as quota systems.

In contrast, the percentage of female members of Parliament in South Korea increased from 3% in 1997 to 17% in 2018, but it is still well below the world average. The ranking dropped from 94th in 1997 to 118th in 2018. It is a fact that introducing the quota system, which stipulated in 2000 that proportional-representation candidates must be at



least 30% women (raised to 50% in 2004), contributed to the increase in the percentage of female members of Parliament. However, women’s political, financial, and social positions remain below the global average. As the level of female representation remains low, the evaluation of the achievement in increasing the percentage of female members of Parliament remains low as well.

III. Current state and limits of systems to promote women’s participation in politics

1. Current state of the gender quota system of South Korea

A gender quota system has been introduced in more than 100 countries around the world. In South Korea, the Act on Women’s Development stipulated tentative preferential treatment in 1995, and the Political Parties Act clearly specified an allocation for female candidates in 2000. In this manner, the quota system has been developed in stages. The quota system is designed to overcome various types of prejudice that inhibit women’s participation in politics. Instead of equal opportunities, the system emphasizes equal results. There are legislative quotas, reserved quotas, and party quotas, and South Korea employs legislative quotas.

The developmental course of the quota system to improve women’s representation in politics is as follows (Table 3).

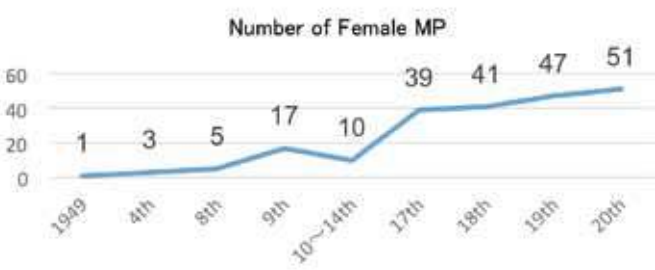
Table 3: Introduction of the gender quota system in South Korea

year	National Assembly	Subnational Assemblies
2000	30% of candidates for the proportional representation should be women.	30% of candidates for the proportional representation should be women.
2002	30% of candidates for the proportional representation should be women.	50% of PR candidates should be women, 1 in every 2 PR candidate should be a woman.
2004 2005	50% of PR candidates should be women, to every odd number of positions in the candidate list (mandatory regulations for subnational elections) Parties are encouraged to recommend females in 30% of the total number of district candidates nationwide (recommendation regulation)	

2. Current state of women’s participation in politics

After the introduction of the gender quota system, the percentage of female members of the National Assembly of South Korea gradually increased, and by the 20th National Assembly, it reached 17% (51 out of 300 members) (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Changes in the number of female Members of Parliament in South Korea



The percentage of female members in local governments is 14% for upper level local autonomies, while it is 25% for lower level local autonomies. However, the proportion of females among leaders of local governments is 0% for upper level local autonomies (0 out of 17) and 3.5% for other lower level local autonomies (8 out of 226). These are very low levels (Table 4).

Table 4: Percentages of female elected officials in local elections in South Korea

Year	Upper Level Local Autonomies			Lower Level Local Autonomies		
	Total	Electoral District	Proportional Representation	Total	Electoral District	Proportional Representation
1995	5.8	1.5	44.3	1.6	1.6	-
1998	5.9	2.3	36.5	1.6	1.6	-
2002	9.2	2.3	67.1	2.2	2.2	-
2006	12.1	4.9	73.1	15.1	4.4	87.2
2010	14.8	8.1	71.6	21.7	10.9	93.6
2014	14.3	9.2	65.5	25.3	14.6	95.8

Source: National Election Commission (South Korea)

3. Problems with the current system

1) Parties do not comply with the proportional-representation quota system

The 2004 revision of the Public Official Election Act made it mandatory for 50% of the proportional-representation candidates for the National Assembly to be women. Though a system of listing male and female candidates alternately was incorporated, there were many cases that failed to comply with the rule that the odd numbers must be allocated to women.

However, as the regulation does not have a power of enforcement, there is no way to make political parties follow it.

2) Low ratio of proportional-representation seats

To promote women’s leadership in the political sphere, the electoral system plays an important role. Generally, a single-seat constituency system is disadvantageous for new candidates, including women. However, a proportional-representation system is advantageous for female politicians to advance to the assembly. This means that the proportional-representation system is better than single-seat constituency to promoted women’s representation in politics. A majority of Scandinavian countries and Western European countries with high ratios of female members of Parliament incorporate a proportional-representation system, indicating a high degree of causality. South Korea employs a mixed system of proportional representation and single-seat constituency.

The problem is that the ratio of proportional-representation seats within the National Assembly and local assemblies is extremely low. In the 20th National Assembly, the proportional-representation seats accounted for 47 out of 300 seats, which is a mere 15.8%. The ratio of proportional-representation seats in local assemblies remained at around 10% (Table 5). A policy to increase the proportion of seats for proportional-representatives, which obligates a quota

system, would be an effective method to increase female representation. There are two ways to increase the proportion of proportional-representation seats: reducing the percentage of seats for single-seat constituency while maintaining the total number of seats or increasing the number of proportional-representation seats and the total number of seats. Either way, it is a difficult issue with complex interests.

Table 5: Election System in South Korea

区分	National Assembly	Upper Level Local Autonomies	Lower Level Local Autonomies
Electoral District	Single-Seat Constituency System (Number of Seats: 253)	Single-Seat Constituency System	Multiple-Seat Constituency System
Proportional Representation	Fixed List System (Number of Seats: 47)	Region-Based Fixed List System	Region-Based Fixed List System
Proportion of Proportional-Representatives Seat	15.8%	10%	10%

3) Limitation of the goal set for the single-seat constituency gender quota system

The biggest problem with the regulations of the quota system in South Korea is that the implementation is in the hands of political parties, such as the goal of achieving 30% women among single-seat constituency candidates. In the 20th National Assembly Elections held in 2016, the percentage of female candidates in single-seat constituencies was 10.3%. The percentage did not exceed 20% in the recently held 7th local elections.

4) Exclusion of women in the decision process for approved candidates and disruption of female politicians’ careers

Female candidates are considered to be at a disadvantage compared to male candidates in terms of their careers, support, and the level of recognition. South Korean political parties are hesitant to approve female candidates. It is a major problem that there is no support system to prevent the disruption of female politicians’ careers.

The percentage of female members in the National Assembly has been increasing since the 16th National Assembly, yet women’s rate of being reelected and



continuing as members of Parliament is not high. The results of the 19th National Assembly Elections show that the percentage of female members of the National Assembly being reelected was 25.6% (12 members), and compared to the percentage of reelected members among all members including proportional-representatives in the same election (50.6%: 202 members), it is much lower. This illustrates that disruption of women's political careers occurs at a serious level.

Measures are necessary to make it easier for female members of the National Assembly who were elected through proportional representation to run in a single-seat constituency and for proportional-representation female members in local assemblies to run from a constituency.

IV. Proposal for measures to improve women's participation in politics and increase the number of female politicians

To increase the number of female politicians by promoting women's participation in politics, it is necessary to reform the system and awareness in politics, finances, and society to achieve equality for men and women. We also need strategy and policies to drastically change the way potential female politicians' talents are discovered and fostered.

1. Sustained increase in the percentage of female managers in the public sector is necessary

First, it is necessary to support the building of infrastructure for gender equality, such as equal educational support at the government level, and the establishment of training organizations for female politicians that are linked with political parties. As an urgent issue, we must continuously increase the percentage of female managers in the public sector such as the government and public organizations, and seek to foster female politicians' talents.

The Moon Jae-in administration that was born from the Candlelight Revolution¹ in 2017 set a female employment goal of achieving 10% women in senior civil servant positions and 21% women in senior positions of departments by 2022 to improve female representation in the public sector (Figure 4).

Figure4: Goals to Increase the Appointment of Women in Management Positions



2. Ensuring the implementation of gender quota regulations

The next step is system reform. The gender quota regulations must be improved, and the implementation of the system must be ensured. Presently, the quota system stipulates that there must be 50% women among proportional-representation candidates, while single-seat constituencies must attempt to achieve 30%.

First, penalties must be introduced for political parties that fail to meet the 50% proportional representation. I propose that political parties that fail to meet the quota regulations should have an amount appropriate for the level of violation deducted from the total campaign funds allocated for the political party.

Next, to ensure that the 30% goal for single-seat constituencies is met, we could provide incentives or change the goal to a legal obligation. As incentives, we could provide additional funding for political parties that achieve the quota of 30%. Female candidate nomination subsidies were introduced in 2006, and if we could increase the amount of this subsidy based on

the number of female candidates, we could encourage political parties to voluntarily increase the number of female candidates. To enforce the 30% quota for single-seat constituencies, penalties such as the cancellation of candidate registration for the violating political party should be considered as well as it is the case with the subnational election.

3. Expanding the proportional-representation system and promoting the nomination of female candidates

Currently, the percentage of proportional-representation seats in the National Assembly and local assemblies is low (around 20%). System reform to increase this percentage would be an effective method to also increase the percentage of female members of Parliament in a short period of time. However, changing the percentage of proportional-representation seats is entangled with problems such as the reorganization of constituencies and the number of total seats, creating various political interests. It may be difficult to promote such a change in order to increase the percentage of female members of Parliament, and the change must be advanced carefully while gaining the sympathy of stakeholders.

4. Building a system to foster female politicians in political parties

To increase the percentage of approved female candidates in political parties, first, efforts within political parties are necessary. A system must be created in political parties that allows for the discovery of new female political talents, where mid-level female politicians can become involved in fostering such talents. Efforts must be made to increase the number of female candidates, including revisions of party rules such as stipulating a certain ratio of female candidates, and that a certain percentage of females should have positions to choose candidates. We must allow female candidates to spread their roots as politicians and continue in their political careers through the discovery of female

candidates, political education for women, and the formation of networks for female politicians.

To increase women's participation in politics, not just the number of female members of Parliament, we also need to increase the number of mid-level female politicians. For example, programs and systems could be established within political parties that would allow for opportunities for proportional-representation members of the National Assembly and local assemblies to run in single-seat constituencies and for female party members to run in local assemblies.

We must be careful with the simple way of thinking that increasing the number of female members of Parliament will make it easier for women's wishes to be granted. To get support from citizens, the quota system for women is necessary to actualize a society that allows for equal participation by men and women. We must continue to make active efforts, such as female politicians developing parliamentary activities and legislative activities that substantially contribute to improving women's representation.

Political leadership of women in the society cannot be achieved overnight. To actualize and implement a society in which men and women participate equally, interests and efforts of society are needed.



¹ Citizens' protest against corruption of the predecessor, President Park Geun-hye. It lasted nationwide for five months, leading to the impeachment of President Park. cf. http://alfpnetwork.net/e-magazine001_06/



오차노미즈여자대학 특강
여성정치 참여 확대를 위한 새로운
대안 제시가 필요하다.

안녕하세요. 저는 ‘오늘 여성정치리더는 어떻게 성장하는가?’에 대한 기초연설을 맡은 대한민국 국회의원 진선미입니다. 우선 여성정치리더로 성장하게 된 개인적인 경험을 말씀드리고, 한국의 여성 정치 참여 현황과 문제점을 살펴보고 여성정치리더십 확대를 위한 현실적인 대안들을 제시하겠습니다.

I 여성 정치리더로 성장 경험과 포부

〈의원님 관련 사진〉	· 1984년 성균관대학교 법학과 입학 · 1996년 38회 사법고시 합격
	1999년~2005년 호주제 위원소송변호인단 환경운동연합 공익법률센터 운영위원
	· 2004년~2006년 민주화를위한변호사모임 여성인권위원장
	· 2005년 ‘올해의 성 평등 디딤돌 상’ 수상
	· 2011년 ‘미래를 이끌어갈 여성지도자상’ 수상

1. 보다 나은 세상을 위한 겁 없는 도전 :
호주제 위원 소송

제가 변호사로서 처음 맡았던 큰 사건은 바로 호주제 위원소송이었습니다. 호주제는 21세기 초까지 있던 남성호주를 중심으로 그 밑에 나머지 가족들은 그 밑에 편제하는 가부장적인 가족 기록 방식입니다. 호주제는 실제로는 피식민 시절 도입된 제도인데 가부장적 가족제도와 연결되면서 유구한 전통처럼 여겨졌습니다. 호주제는 서로 평등해야 할 가족구성원 사이에 서열을 부여하고, 그 우두머리에 남성을 두는 말도 안 되는 제도였습니다.

호주제 위원소송은 단순히 큰 소송이 아니라 사회에 깊숙하게 뿌리박힌 남성중심의 가부장제인 관습과 관행을 타파하고 새로운 사회를 만들기 위한 사회개혁운동이었다고 생각합니다. 1999년 호주제 위원소송을 제기하여 헌법재판소 위원판결을 받고 새로운 제도가 도입되기까지 꼬박 10년이 걸렸습니다.

10년이라는 긴 시간은 제게 매 순간 하루하루가 도전하고 실패하고 성장하는 시간들이었습니다. 호주제 위원소송의 승리는 도전하는 삶을 지탱하는 원동력이 되었습니다. 또한 호주제 소송을 하면서 평생 믿고 함께 갈 수 있는 정치적 동지들을 정말 많이 만났고, 지금도 저에게 가장 큰 자산이 되고 있습니다.

2. 변론을 통해 더불어 사는 삶을 배우다.

이후 공익변호 활동을 시작하면서 다양한 소수자들을 위한 변론, 한국 사회의 역사적인 변론을 하게 되었습니다. 어떤 사람들은 이런 활동들 때문에 저를 인권변호사, 공익변호사라고 하지만 저는 제가 오히려 사건을 통해 다양한 삶과 다양한 사연들을 배울 수 있어서 많은 걸 얻었다고 생각합니다.

성소수자들의 변론을 맡으면서 다양한 사람들의 삶의 맥락을 이해하고 공감하였습니다. 또한 여성으로서, 지방 출신인 사회의 소수자 입장에서 사회의 부조리를 해결하기 위해서는 많은 소수자들과 연대해야 한다는 점을 각성하게 된 소중한 경험이었습니다.

제독 철학자인 송두율 교수님이 국가보안법 위반 혐의에 대한 변론을 맡을 때는 자신의 생각을 지키려는 삶의 의지를 배울 수 있었습니다.

결국 제가 변호사를 하면서 얻은 가장 큰 교훈은 세상이 알려주는 관습, 세상이 기대하는 역할, 세상이 주는 공포에 눌리지 않고 내가 생각하는 대로, 내가 느끼고 원하는 대로 살겠다는 그 발랄한 의지가 결국은 세상을 조금씩 변화시켜 나간다는 것입니다.

3. 가능성의 예술인 정치에 도전하다.

저는 정치가 예술과 같아야 한다고 생각합니다. 끊임없이 중력을 역행하여 도전하는 자체가 무용을 아름답게 하듯이 자연스럽게 흘러가려는 세상을 바꾸려 도전하는 정치는 가능성의 예술로 불리기도 합니다. 거슬러 굳어진 관습의 세계에 예술가가 온 몸을 바쳐 아주 작은 틈을 내는 것처럼, 정치인도 온 몸을 던져 세상의 권력질서에 균열을 내야 하는 것입니다. 그렇기에 저는 제 ‘발랄함’을 제 정치의 가장 큰 무기로 삼으려고 합니다. 세상의 관습이 어떻더라도, 세상이 어떻게 겁을 주더라도 끊임없이 제가 옳다고 생각하는 바를 위해 밀고 나아가 세상의 기존 질서와 관행을 개선시키려는 우직하고 고집스러운 정치적 신념이 여성 정치인에게 필요하다고 생각합니다.

〈의원님 관련 사진〉

· 2012년 민주통합당 국회의원(비례대표)
국회 여성아동대상 성폭력대책특별위원회 위원

· 2013년 민주당 국정원 국기문란 대선개입 진상조사위원회 위원
민주당 을(乙)지킴이위원회 위원
· 2013년~2014년 경실련 선정 국정감사 우수의원

· 2015년 국회 안전행정위원회 · 여성가족위원회 위원
새정치민주연합 아동 학대 근절 특별위원회 위원
새정치민주연합 정치혁신위원회 위원
더불어민주당 을지로위원회 법률 지원단장
· 2015년 대한민국 충효대상- 아동복지혁신공로 대상
대한민국을 빛낸 한국인물 대상
대한민국 유권자 대상

· 2016년 더불어민주당 국회의원(강동구 갑)
제20대 국회 전반기 행정안전위원회 간사
· 2016년 유권자시민행동이 선정한 대한민국 유권자 대상
2016 INAK 사회공헌대상_인권공로대상

· 2017년 대한민국 비전 리더 대상

저는 2012년 제19대 민주통합당 국회의원 비례대표에 도전하고, 2016년에는 더불어민주당 서울 강동구 지역구에 출마하여 당선된 재선 국회의원입니다. 국회에서 여성, 아동, 노인, 근로자 등 다양한 사회적 약자를 보호하고 지원하기 위한 실질적인 의정활동과 입법활동을 진행해 왔습니다. 또한 정당내·외부에서도 불공정한 사회 관행과 제도를 개선하기 위한 실천적 활동을 펼쳐왔습니다. 첨예한 이익갈등과 가치가 충돌하는 정치의 영역에서 더불어 사는 따뜻한 정치 공동체를 만드는 데 기여하는 것을 여성정치인의 시대적 소명으로 받아들이고 발랄한 도전을 이어가고 있습니다. 후배 여성정치인의 참여를 확대하기 위한 제도 개선에도 힘쓰고자 합니다.

II. 여성의 정치·경제·사회적 지위 현황

1. 성 격차지수와 유리천장지수

세계경제포럼(WEF)은 2006년부터 매년 경제·정치·교육·건강 4개 분야에 대한 성별 격차를 측정한 성 격차지수(Gender Gap Index: GGI)를 발표해 오고 있습니다.

2017년 세계 성 격차 보고서에 따르면 대한민국은 성 격차 지수(GGI)가 0.650으로 조사대상 144개국 중 118위에 머물고 있습니다(참고로 성 격차 지수가 “1”이면 완전 평등, “0”이면 완전 불평등을 의미합니다). 2006년 92위에서 2017년 118위로 오히려 국가 순위가 하락했습니다. 부문별로는 정치권한 부여와 경제참여 및 기회 부문에서 평균을 크게 밑도는 것으로 나타나고 있습니다.

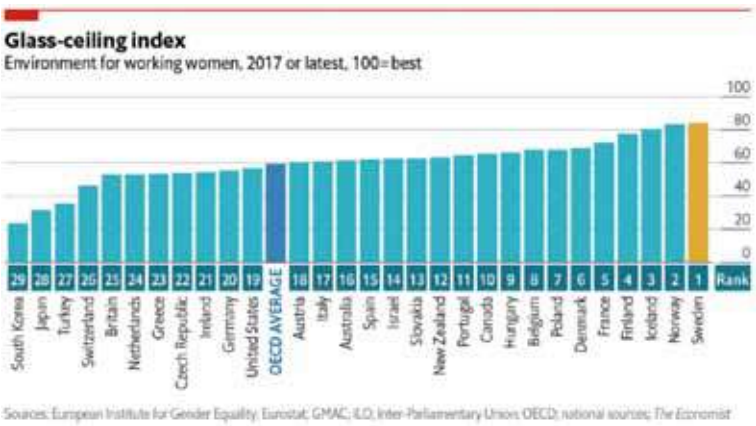
영국 주간지인 이코노미스트(*The Economist*)가 매년 3월 8일 <그림 1>2017 한국의 성 격차 지수



Source: The Global Gender Gap Report 2017

세계 여성의 날을 맞아 매년 유리천장지수(Glass-ceiling index)를 발표하고 있습니다.

2017년 유리천장 지수는 남녀 간 고등교육과 임금 격차, 기업의 여성 임원과 여성 국회의원 비율 등을 종합해 점수로 낸 것으로 여성 차별의 정도를 살펴보는 척도로 인용되고 있습니다. 유리천장 지수는 OECD 선진 국가들을 대상으로 여성들의 고위직 진출을 가로막는 방해 요소를 수치화한 지수입니다. 남녀 간 고등교육과 임금 격차, 기업의 여성 임원과 여성 국회의원 비율 등 10개 항목을 종합해 100점 만점으로 산출합니다. 2018년 유리천장 지수 발표 결과를 보시면 일본은 28위, 한국은 주요 29개국 중 29위를 차지했습니다. 한국은 2013년 조사 이래 5년째 최하위를 지키고 있습니다.



여성 진학률이 남성 진학률을 역전했음에도 고학력 여성의 증가가 여성의 경제활동 증가로 이어지지 못하고 있다는 점이 문제입니다. 전체 공무원 중 여성 공무원의 비중이 45%가 넘지만, 고위공무원단 비중은 6.5%에 불과하고 과장급 이상 여성관리자 비중은 15%에 남지 못하고 있는 것이 문제입니다. 유리천장이 문제인 것입니다. 여성 정치인의 현황도 상황은 유사합니다.

2. 한국 여성의원 비중 17%에 불과, 193개국 중 118위

국제의원연맹(Inter-Parliamentary Union)에 따르면 2018년 5월 현재 193개 국가의 전체 국회의원 중에서 여성의원의 평균 비중은 23.8% 수준입니다. 1997년 12.0%, 2007년 17.1%에서 여성의원 비중은 꾸준히 증가추세를 보이고 있으며, 대륙별로는 노르딕 국가와 아메리카 대륙, 아프리카 대륙 순으로 여성의원 비율이 높은 것으로 나타나고 있습니다.

Table 1: Women in National Parliaments (World and Regional Averages, Single House or Lower House)

	January 1997	January 2007	May 2018
World Average	12.0%	17.1%	23.8%
Nordic Countries	36.4%	40.8%	41.4%
Americas	12.9%	20.0%	28.0%
Sub-Saharan Africa	10.1%	16.6%	23.7%
Asia	13.4%	16.5%	19.7%
Arab States	3.3%	9.5%	18.5%
Pacific	9.8%	12.4%	15.5%

<http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif010518.htm>

다음은 여성의원 비중 상위 20위권에 속하는 개별 국가별 자료입니다. 르완다는 여성의원 비율이 1997년 17.1%에서 2018년 61.3%로 3배 이상 증가하여 세계 1위를 차지하고 있습니다. 이와 같은 극적인 변화는 2003년 모든 조직의 의사결정구조에 최소 30% 이상을 여성으로 구성한다는 할당제 규정을 헌법에 도입한 결과로 볼 수 있습니다.

프랑스도 여성의원이 1997년 6.4%에서 2018년 39%로 큰 폭으로 증가했는데, 선거에서 정당들이 남녀 후보를 동일한 비율로 공천하도록 의무화하는 ‘남녀 동수 후보법’인 이른바 ‘파리티테(Parité)’ 법을 2000년 도입한 결과입니다.

의회 내 여성 비율의 꾸준한 증가와 국가별 순위의 극적인 변화를 가져온 제도적 요인은 바로 여성 할당제도입니다. 세계적으로 여성의원 비율이 30%가 넘는 국가의 80% 이상이 여성대표성 제고를 위해 여성할당제를 포함한 특별조치를 시행하고 있는 상황입니다.



Women in National Parliaments (Single House or lower House)

January 1997			May 2018		
Rank	Country	% W	Rank	Country	% W
1	Sweden	40.4	1	Rwanda	61.3
2	Norway	39.4	2	Cuba	53.2
3	Finland	33.5	3	Bolivia	53.1
4	Denmark	33.0	4	Grenada	46.7
5	Netherlands	31.3	5	Namibia	46.2
6	New Zealand	29.2	6	Nicaragua	45.7
7	Seychelles	27.3	7	Costa Rica	45.6
8	Austria	26.8	8	Sweden	43.6
9	Germany	26.2	9	Mexico	42.6
10	Iceland	25.4	10	Finland	42.0
11	Argentina	25.3	11	Senegal	41.8
12	Mozambique	25.2	*	South Africa	41.8
13	South Africa	25.0	13	Norway	41.4
14	Spain	24.6	14	Mozambique	39.6
15	Cuba	22.8	15	Spain	39.1
16	China	21.0	16	France	39.0
*	Eritrea	21.0	17	Argentina	38.9
*	Switzerland	21.0	18	Ethiopia	38.8
17	Dem. People's Rep. of Korea	20.1	19	New Zealand	38.3
18	Grenada	20.0	20	Iceland	38.1
24	Rwanda	17.1			
72	France	6.4			
83	Japan	4.6			
94	Republic of Korea	3.0	118	Republic of Korea	17.0
			160	Japan	10.1

<http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/classif010518.htm>

반면, 대한민국은 1997년 여성의원 비율이 3%에서 2018년 17%로 증가했지만, 평균 여성의원 비율 23.8%에도 미치지 못하고 있으며 그 순위도 1997년 94위에서 2018년 118위로 더욱 하락했습니다.

한국도 2000년 비례대표 국회의원 30% 여성할당제를 도입하고 2005년 비율을 50%로 확대하는 여성할당제 도입이 여성의원 비율이 증가에 기여한 점은 사실입니다. 다만 여성의 정치·경제·사회적 지위는 여전히 세계 하위권에 머물러 있고 여성의 대표성 수준도 낮은 수준이기 때문에 절반의 성공에 머무는 것으로 평가됩니다.

III. 여성 정치참여 제도 현황 및 한계

1. 한국의 여성할당 제도 현황

여성할당제는 ‘정치는 남성의 영역’이라는 전통적인 인식과 남성 중심 기득권 정치 구조로 인하여 여성들의 정치 진입 및 정치 경력 지속이 어려운 현실을 토대로, 여성 정치 대표성 확대와 정치 영역에서의 성 주류화 (gender mainstreaming) 실현을 위한 적극적 조치로 도입되었습니다.

현재는 세계 100개국 이상에서 실시되고 있는 보편적인 제도이며, 한국에서는 1995년「여성발전기본법」에 잠정적 우대조치를 규정하고 2000년「정당법」에 여성후보공천할당을 명시한 이래 단계적으로 여성 할당제가 발전해왔습니다. 여성할당제는 여성의 정치참여를 방해하는 다양한 형태의 차별을 극복하기 위한 제도로 기회의 평등보다는 결과의 평등을 강조하는 제도입니다. 각국이 시행하는 할당제 유형은 법적 의무 할당제(legislative quotas), 의석할당제(reserved quotas), 정당자율 할당제(party quotas)로 나뉜다. 우리나라는 법적 할당제를 채택하고 있습니다.

여성의 정치적 대표성 향상을 위한 여성할당제도 발전 연혁은 다음과 같습니다.

2000년 정당법 개정으로 각 정당이 비례대표 후보자 30% 이상을 여성으로 추천할 것을 규정하였습니다.

2002년 정당법 개정으로 각 정당이 시도의회의원 비례대표 후보자 50%를 여성으로 공천하고 후보자명부 순위에 따라 2인마다 여성1인이 포함되도록 규정하였습니다.

2005년 공직선거법 개정으로 비례대표 국회의원 선거 여성할당 비율을 50% 이상으로 하면서 동시에 후보자명부의 순위의 매홀수에 여성을 추천할 것을 의무로 규정한 반면 지역구 국회의원 선거는 30%이상을 여성으로 추천하도록 노력할 것으로 규정하였습니다.

〈표〉여성 할당제도 도입 현황

	국회의원	지방의원
2000년 정당법 개정	비례대표 30% 여성 공천	비례대표 30% 여성 공천
2002년 정당법 개정	비례대표 30% 여성 공천	비례대표 50% 여성 공천, 후보자명부 순위에 따라 2인마다 여성1인 포함
2005년 공직선거법 개정	비례대표 50% 여성 공천, 후보자명부의 순위의 매 홀수에 여성을 추천할 것(의무 규정) 전국지역구총수의 30% 여성 추천하도록 노력할 것(권고 규정)	

※<참고사항>더불어민주당 당헌·당규

20대 총선에서 더불어민주당 당헌·당규는 공직선거법의 규정을 준수하면서도 여성이외의 사회적 약자에 대한 고려를 강조하고 있어 성별 기준과 다양한 사회적 약자 배려 규정이 경합하거나 상충될 가능성이 있습니다. 실질적으로 여성충원제도를 운영하는 데 어려움이 있습니다. 그래서 관련 당헌·당규를 위반한 사실이 있습니다. 예를 들어, 18대 총선에서 통합민주당은 31번째 후보를, 제19대 총선에서 민주통합당은 37 번째 후보를, 제20대 총선에서 더불어민주당은 15번째 후보를 남성으로 공천하면서 매 홀수번째 여성후보를 할당해야 한다는 규정을 위반하였습니다.

〈더불어민주당 당헌〉

제102조 3항: 제1항과 제2항에도 불구하고 당대표는 후보자 중 당선안정권의 100분의 20이내에서 선거 전략상 특별히 고려가 필요한 후보자(순위를 포함한다)를 선정하고, 그 외는 중앙위원회의 순위투표로 확정한다.

제102조 4항: 비례대표 우선순위를 정함에 있어서 여성, 노인, 장애인, 직능, 농어민, 안보, 재외동포 국가유공자, 과학기술, 다문화 등의 전문가를 고르게 안분하여야 한다.

제102조 5항 6항: 청년, 노동분야, 당 취약지역에서 지역구도 극복을 위해 활동해 온 후보 등에 대한 우선적 고려할 것을 당규로 정하도록 규정하고 있다

2. 여성 정치 참여 수준

국회의원 여성 비율은 여성할당제 도입을 전후로 제16대 59%에서 제17대 13.0%, 제 18대 13.7%, 제19대 15.7%, 제20대 17%로 꾸준히 증가해 오고 있습니다.



여성의 정치적 대표성 차원에서 보면, 광역자치단체장 0%, 기초자치단체장 40%, 광역의회 의원 14.3%, 기초의회 의원 25.3% 수준입니다.

〈표〉역대 지방선거 여성 당선자 현황

구분	광역의원			기초의원		
	소계	지역구	비례	소계	지역구	비례
1995년	5.8	1.5	44.3	1.6	1.6	-
1998년	5.9	2.3	36.5	1.6	1.6	-
2002년	9.2	2.3	67.1	2.2	2.2	-
2006년	12.1	4.9	73.1	15.1	4.4	87.2
2010년	14.8	8.1	71.6	21.7	10.9	93.6
2014년	14.3	8.2	65.5	25.3	14.6	95.8

출처: 중앙선거관리위원회

3. 현행 제도 문제점

1) 비례대표 여성할당 규정 강제할 규정 미비

2005년 공직선거법 개정으로 비례대표 후보 50%를 여성으로 공천하고 ‘후보자 명부의 순위의 매 홀수번마다 여성을 공천해야 한다’는 비례대표 남녀교호순번제 규정을 의무규정으로 도입하고 있으나 정당들이 홀수번 여성 공천을 제대로 지키지 않는 사례가 빈번하게 발생하고 있습니다. 특히 지방의회 비례대표 여성할당제 적용에 있어 여성 후보 공천에 관하여 요식적이거나 위법적인 태도로 정치관계법에 명시된 할당제 규정을 피해가거나 여성 후보와의 어떤 계약으로 여성 후보가 선출된 후 사퇴하게 하는 관행 형성 등 다양한 변칙 사례들이 발생하고 있습니다.

의무규정임에도 불구하고 강제이행을 위한 추가적인 규정이 없어서 정당이 법 규정을 위반할 경우에도 강제하거나 제재할 수 있는 방법이 없는 상황입니다.

2) 낮은 비례대표 의석 비율

정치제도의 측면에서 여성 정치리더십의 등장에 있어 선거제도가 중요한 요인으로 간주되고 있습니다. 일반적으로 소선거구 다수대표제는 여성을 비롯한 신인정치인에게 불리한 반면, 비례대표제는 여성 정치인 배출에 유리한 제도로 알려져 있습니다. 다수대표제보다는 비례대표제가 여성의 정치적



대표성을 높인다는 것입니다. 실제로 각국의 여성의원 비율이 노르딕 국가와 서유럽 국가들은 대부분은 비례대표제를 채택하고 있어 이들 간의 상관성이 높은 경향을 보입니다. 대한민국은 비례대표제와 소선거구 다수대표제가 혼합된 선거방식을 채택하고 있습니다.

〈표〉한국의 선거제도

구분	국회의원	광역의원	기초의원
지역구	소선거구 다수대표제 (의원정수 253)	소선거구 다수대표제	중대선거구 비교다수 대표제
비례대표	정당별 득표비례구속 명부제 (47)	정당별 득표비례구속 명부제 (지역구 10%)	정당별 득표비례구속 명부제 (지역구 10%)
비례대표 비중	15.6%	지역구의 10%	의원 정수의 10%

문제는 국회나 지방의회에서 전체 의석 가운데 비례대표가 차지하는 비중이 매우 낮다는 점입니다. 제20대 국회의 경우 비례대표의원은 전체 300명 가운데 47명으로 15.8%에 불과합니다. 지방의회 비례대표도 대략 10% 수준에 머물고 있습니다. 여성할당제가 의무 적용되는 비례대표의 의석 비율을 늘리는 여성의원 대표성 제고를 위한 유력한 대안입니다. 비례대표 비중을 늘리기 위해서는 지역구 비중을 줄이거나 의원 총 정원을 늘려야 하는데, 두 대안 모두 복잡한 이해관계가 맞물려 있는 상황입니다.

3) 지역구 선거에서 여성할당 권고 규정의 한계

여성의 대표성 제고를 위한 한국의 여성할당의 규정의 가장 큰 문제점은 지역구 선거의 경우 30% 여성 할당 규정이 권고조항으로 규정되어 있어 전적으로 정당 자율에 맡겨져 있다는 점입니다. 따라서 우리나라와 같이 80% 이상의 국회의원이 지역구로 선출되는 경우 비례대표의 비율이 높은 국가에 비해 여성할당제의 효과가 상대적으로 적을 수밖에 없습니다. 2016년 실시된 제20대 국회의원 선거에서 지역구 여성후보자 추천비율은 10.3%에 불과한 실정입니다.

〈표 3〉제20대 총선 지역구 여성후보자 및 당선자의 정당별 현황

	후보자수	여성 후보자수	여성 후보자비율	여성 당선자수	여성 당선자비율
새누리	248	16	6.5	6	37.5
더민주	235	25	10.6	17	68.0
국민의당	171	10	5.8	2	20.0
정의당	50	5	10.0	1	20.0
기타	229	40	17.5	0	0
총합	933	96	10.3	26	27.1

자료원: 중앙선거관리위원회 선거통계시스템 제20대 국회의원 선거

지역구 선거에서 여성할당 규정을 강제하는 것은 한계가 있으며 해외에서도 지역구 선거에서 여성 할당을 강제하는 경우는 찾아보기 어려움. 다만 여성추천보조금을 통해 위반 시 보조금을 삭감하거나 여성 후보 추천비율에 따라 보조금을 차등지급하는 등의 규정을 두고 있습니다.

우리나라의 경우 여성추천보조금제는 2006년 도입되었으나 이후 선거에서 정당의 지역구 공천과정에 큰 영향을 미쳤는지는 의문입니다.

4) 공천과정에서의 여성배제와 여성정치인의 경력단절

정당의 공천기준은 당선가능성과 당의 공헌도 및 당원의 지지가 적용되는데, 지역구선거의 경우 소선거구 다수대표제를 채택하고 있는 현실과 맞물려 정당은 여성을 낮게 평가하고 있는 것이 현실입니다.

각 정당은 여성이 경력이나 조직, 인지도 등에서 남성 후보자들에 비해 상대적으로 불리하다고 평가하고 여성후보의 공천에 소극적입니다. 특히 공천과정에서 여성정치인의 경력단절을 막을 수 있는 제도적 보완책이 없는 현실입니다. 여성 국회의원의 비율은 제16대 국회 이후 계속 증가¹했음에도 불구하고 다선의 의원경력이 지속되는 비율이 낮게 나타나고 있습니다. 제19대 총선 결과를 보면 여성 국회의원의 경우 재선이상 비율은 25.6%(12명)로 경력단절 현상이 심각합니다. 이는 제19대 국회에서 비례대표 포함 전체의원 재선비율 50.6%(202명)에 비해 훨씬 낮은 상황입니다. 국회의원 여성 비례대표가 지역구로 진출하거나 지방의회 여성 비례대표가 지역구로 진출할 수 있는 여건을 조성하는 대책이 필요합니다.

IV. 여성 정치 참여 활성화 방안 및 여성정치인 확대 방안

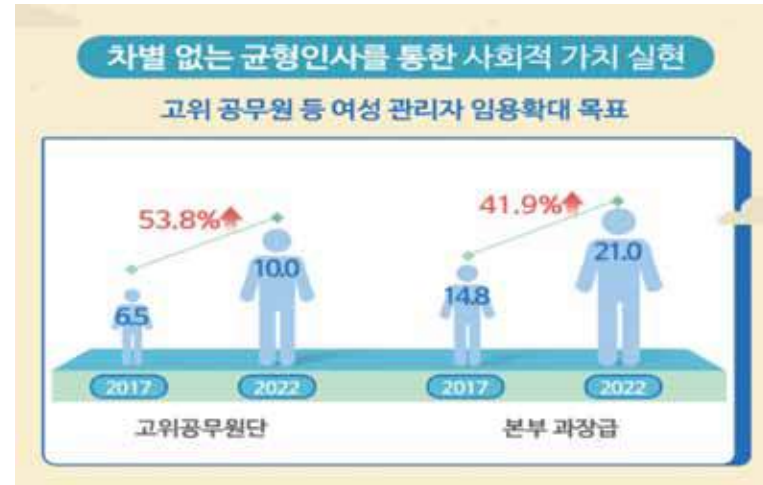
여성 정치 참여를 활성화하고 여성정치인을 확대하기 위해 정치·경제·사회 전반의 양성평등을 위한 제도 개혁과 의식 개선이 필요합니다. 그리고 여성 정치인 충원 구조를 다변화시키는 전략과 정책적 접근이 필요합니다.

1. 공공부문의 여성관리자 비율 지속적 확대 필요

먼저 정부차원에서 양성평등 교육 지원, 정당과 연계한 여성 정치인 육성기구 설치 등을 통해 양성평등을 위한 인프라 구축을 지원해야 합니다. 여성의 정치참여 활성화가 여성의 정치적 대표성을 확보와 실질적인 양성 평등사회에 기여한다는 시민의식의 공감대를 형성해야 합니다.

또한 공공부문의 여성관리자 비율을 지속적으로 확대하여 여성정치인 충원 인재의 풀을 확대하는데 노력해야 할 것입니다.

2017년 촛불혁명으로 등장한 문재인 정부에서는 핵심 국정과제의 하나로 차별 없는 균형인사를 통한 사회적 가치 실현을 제시하고 있습니다. 공공부문의 여성대표성 제고를 위해 여성관리자 임용확대 5개년 계획 수립하여 2022년까지 고위공무원단의 10%, 본부 과장급의 21% 여성 임용 목표를 제시하고 있습니다.



다음으로 제도개선 차원에서 여성할당 규정의 개선을 통해 제도의 실효성을 확보하는 개선이 필요합니다.

2. 여성할당 규정의 실효성 확보

여성의 정치참여 확대를 위해 비례대표선거에서 50% 할당의무규정과 더불어 지역구선거에서 30% 여성 할당을 권고규정을 두고 있습니다.

우선, 비례대표 50% 여성할당 의무 규정을 위반하는 정당에 대해 제재 규정을 도입할 필요가 있습니다. 선거보조금을 삭감하는 방안으로 할당제 규정을 위반하는 정당에게는 정당별로 산정된 선거보조금 지급 총액에서 할당제를 위반한 비율에 따라 일정 금액을 삭감하는 방안을 제안해 볼 수 있습니다.

다음으로, 지역구 30% 여성할당 권고 규정의 실효성을 확보하기 위해서는 인센티브를 제공하는 방안과 권고규정을 의무규정으로 전환하는 방안 사이에서 다양한 대안을 모색해 볼 필요가 있습니다. 먼저 인센티브를 제공하는 방안은 지역구 30% 여성할당 규정을 준수한 정당에게 보조금을 추가로 지급하는 방안입니다. 2006년 여성추천보조금제도를 도입하여 제19대 국회의원 선거에서도 지역구 전체 후보자의 5% 이상을 추천한 정당에 추천 보조금을 지원하였습니다. 즉 여성후보추천비율에 따라 여성후보 추천보조금 등을 차등적으로 지급하고 지원 금액을 대폭 확대하여 정당의 자발적인 여성후보 추천을 독려하는 방안입니다.

지역구 30% 여성할당 권고 규정을 의무규정으로 개정하고 위반할 경우 해당 정당의 후보자등록을 취소하는 방안입니다.

3. 비례대표제 확대 및 여성후보자 추천

다수대표제에 비해 혼합제나 비례대표제를 채택하는 국가에서 여성의원의 비율이 더 높은 것으로 나타나고 있습니다. 국회의원 선거와 지방의원 선거에서 비례대표 비중이 20% 내외로 낮은 상황에서 비례대표 비중을 확대하는 제도 개선은 여성의원의 비율을 단계적으로 확실하게 높일 수 있는 효율적인 방안입니다. 다만, 비례대표 비중 확대가 지역 선거구 개편과 총정원 조정 문제와 맞물려 다양한 정치적 이해관계가 얽혀있기 때문에 여성의원 비율 확대 목적으로 도입될 수 있는지는 이해관계자들의 공감대 형성을 통해 신중하게 추진해야 할 대안이라고 판단됩니다.

4. 정당 내 여성 정치인 육성 메커니즘 구축

정당의 공천과정에서 여성후보자의 추천비율을 높이기 위해서는 먼저 정당 차원의 노력이 필요합니다. 여성정치인 및 신인 정치인을 충원하고 중견 여성 정치인으로 육성할 수 있는 제도적 메커니즘을 구축해야 합니다. 당헌·당규에서 일정 비율 이상의 여성을 당직과 선출직에 추천하도록 하는 명문 규정을 통해 여성 후보자의 수를 늘리려는 노력이 필요합니다. 여성후보자의 발굴과 여성대상의 정치교육, 여성 정치인들의 네트워크 형성 등을 통해 여성 후보자의 풀을 확대하고 여성의 정치경력을 유지하기 위해 노력해야 합니다. 여성의 정치참여 확대를 위해서는 단순히 여성의원의 수를 늘리는 것 못지 않게 중견 여성 정치인을 확대하는 것이 필요합니다. 국회의원과 지방의원 비례대표가 지역구로 진출할 수 있는 기회와 제도적 통로를 확대하고, 여성 보좌진이 지방의원으로 진출할 수 정당내 프로그램과 제도적 장치 마련도 필요합니다. 여성의원이 늘어나면 여성의 이익이 더 잘 대표될 것이라는 낙관론은 경계해야 합니다.

여성 정치인들이 여성의 대표성을 제고하는데 실질적으로 기여하는 의정활동과 입법활동을 전개하여 여성할당제가 양성평등 사회 실현을 위해 필요한 제도라는 시민들의 공감대를 형성해가려는 적극적인 노력이 필요하다고 봅니다.

우리사회의 여성정치 리더십은 하루아침에 만들어지지 않습니다. 양성평등 사회를 공감하고 실천해나가려는 전사회적인 관심과 노력이 필요한 때입니다.

이상으로 기초연설을 마치겠습니다. 경청해 주셔서 감사드립니다.



1 여성 국회의원의 비율은 5.9%(제16대)에서 13.0%(제17대), 13.7%(제18대), 15.7%(제19대), 17%(제20대)로 증가



円 より子

女性のための政治スクール校長
元参議院議員

Yoriko MADOKA

Head of "political School for Women"
Former Member of
the House of Councillors

私は、1993年から2010年まで3期17年間参議院議員を務め、民主党では副代表や東京都連会長を務めました。また、「女性のための政治スクール」を25年間続けてきて、その間100人近い議員を誕生させてきました。こうした経験から、今日は、女性リーダーをどう育てたらよいかということを、皆さんと一緒に考えていきたいと思います。

まず、2枚の写真を見てください。写真1は、新進党¹が解散した翌月、1998年1月に撮影された民政党²結党時の写真です。その後、すぐに民主党に合流しましたが、私を含め女性はたった3人でした。写真2は、1998年から2016年まで続いた当時の野党第一党民主党の常任幹事会で撮影した執行部の方たちの写真です。小沢一郎さんが当時幹事長でした。こちらの写真にも女性は私を含めてたった2名しか写っていません。

組閣の際、総理官邸の階段で大臣が並ぶ記念写真をテレビや新聞でご覧になって女性の大臣が少ないなとお気づきの方もいるかと思いますが、実は政党の執行部にも女性が非常に少ないのです。政党の執行部は候補者の公認権を持っています。つまり、どの人を候補者にするかを決めます。公認候補になったからといって当選するわけではないのですが、女性が候補者に選ばれなかったら、女性議員が増えるはずありません。政党の執行部に女性が少ないということは、女性が候補者として選ばれない、つまり女性議員が増えることはありえないということです。それが女性議員の少ない一つの要因と言っても過言ではありません。そのため、まず政党の執行部に絶対にクオータ制を取り入れなくてはいけないということが、私が政治の世界に入って最初に思ったことでした。



写真1：民政党結党大会（1998年1月23日）



写真2：民主党執行部

1 1994年12月10日、細川護熙内閣、羽田孜内閣の与党だった新生党、公明新党、日本新党、民主社会党、自由党、新党みらいなどが合併し、衆議院議員178人、参議院議員36人、計214人で発足した政党。初代党首に海部俊樹、幹事長に小沢一郎が就任。1995年7月参議院議員通常選挙比例区では自民党を上回る票数を獲得した。同年12月に小沢一郎が党首となり、1996年10月、衆議院議員総選挙で政権交代を目指したが、自民党に敗れ、議席数を減らした。その後、離党者が相次ぎ、1998年12月31日に解散、小沢氏主導の自由党、旧民主社会党の新政友愛、旧公明党系の新党平和、国民の声などに分党した(以上、『ブリタニカ国際大百科事典』より)。

2 国民の声(鹿野道彦代表)、太陽党(羽田孜党首)、フロムファイブ(細川護熙代表)の野党三党が合流した「民政党」の結党総会が1998年1月23日夕方、東京都内のホテルで開かれ、衆院30人、参院9人の計39人が集まった(『朝日新聞』1998年1月21日夕刊、同1998年1月23日朝刊)。

私は、1992年に、長年続いている自民党政治を打破し、生活者主権と地方主権を打ち立てることを標榜して「日本新党」を立ち上げた細川護熙さん(後に総理となる)に誘われて結党に参加し、初めて政治の世界に足を踏み入れました。

日本の新聞社の政治部には女性が少ないからでしょうか、新聞の政治面を見ても、政局の話などが中心で、あまり私たち女性に関係のある話がかかれていません。「政治は私たちには関係のないことなのだ」と女性たちは考えていました。私が細川さんに誘われたことを友人に話すと、「あなた政治なんかに興味があったの?」「政治の世界なんかに行きたいの?」「そんな人だと思わなかった」とものすごく否定的でした。それはなぜかという、政治が信頼されていない、政治不信がとても大きいからです。「そんな世界に行きたいという人はどこかおかしいのではないか」と。残念ながら、子ども達のなりたい職業に政治家は入っていません。先日読んだ新聞の読者欄にあった18歳の方の投稿には、今の政治不信を何とかしない限り、18歳になって投票権を得たところで投票には行きたくありません、といったことが書かれていました。ですから、政治不信を払拭しない限り、女性が政治家として立候補するのは難しいでしょう。まずこれがとても大事なポイントだと思います。

「女性のための政治スクール」には、これまでに1千人近い方が参加していて、そのうち約10分の1が議員になりました。しかし、地方でいろいろな活動をしたりNPOで頑張っていたりする女性に、「この人なら」と立候補を勧めても、まず、その方の家族が反対します。「雌鶏が時を告げると家が滅びる」(女が政治に口を出すと国は滅びるの意)ということが

古くから言われています。「女性は政治に向かない」という固定的な性別役割分業の意識から反対意見が出るのです。私はいろんな女性に「一緒にやりましょう」と声をかけましたが、二の足を踏む人が少なくありませんでした。性別役割分業意識を払拭しない限り、女性が政治の世界に足を踏み入れるのは困難だと思います。

それではなぜ私は政治家になったのか、についてお話しします。政治家になる前の私は、ジャーナリストとして30冊以上の単行本を出し、コメンテーターとして毎日のようにテレビに出ていました。迫りくる少子高齢化の問題だけでなく、エネルギーの問題、金融財政の問題、外交の問題など、実は全て私たちの生活に密着している課題であり、政治と深い関わりがあります。それなのに、私たちはこんなに政治の世界から遠のいていて、政治は無関係だと思っていていいのだろうか、とも考えていました。また、ジャーナリストとしての活動のかたわら、1979年からニコニコ離婚講座などの活動 continue、全国から寄せられた3万人の人たちからの相談を受けてきました。あまりに相談件数が多いので、電話相談員の養成をしたり、「ハンド・イン・ハンド」というネットワークを作ったりするなどして応じてきました。そうした中で、民法上の問題や、再就職の年齢制限の問題(35歳を過ぎると大卒者でも就職は困難だった)など、様々なことを変えたいと思いました。本を書くだけではなく、政治の世界に入って法律を変えていきたい、そう思ったのが政治の世界に入ったきっかけでした。

そして、政治の世界でまず取り組んだことは、1992年の所属政党の党則にクオータを入れることです。立候補者にクオータをという案は、残念ながら却下されました。立候補する女性が本当に少なく、この人ならと思う女性に声をかけても断られるので、候補者クオータを入れると(候補者が集まらず)約束違反になる、と常任幹事会のメンバーから言われたのです。そこで、まず執行部に女性のクオータを入れようということになりました。どちらの性も20%を下回らないようにする、という規定です。これによって、執行部に女性が20%以上入り、様々な政策や党の運営について、女性の声 that reflects was reflected. この実績から、執行部に女性を入れることの重要性を実感しました。

その時、「女性のための政治スクール」も作りました。100人の定員に対して約1400人の応募があり、レポートを書いてもらって100人選考しました。スクールは今でも続いています。3年前の統一地方選挙では、スクール生から62人の候補者が出て、55人が当選しました。89%の当選率でした。

女性リーダーを育てる12の方法

- ①意思決定機関(政党・経済界・労働団体等)に女性を増やす
- ②クオータ制の採用
- ③政治不信の払拭
- ④固定的性別役割の払拭
- ⑤ブレーン、サポーター、ネットワークの必要性
- ⑥メディアの政治部改革
- ⑦候補者養成スクール
- ⑧幼い頃からの政治教育
- ⑨男女の経済格差・昇進格差の是正
- ⑩選挙資金の是正
- ⑪選挙制度の改正
- ⑫議会運営のあり方の見直し

女性たちは政治の世界から縁遠くなっています。今の日本では世襲議員が多くなっていますが、親戚縁者に政治家がいる人はごくわずかだと思います。しかし、周りにロールモデルとなる政治家はいないけれども、志があり、「社会を変えていきたい、法律を変えていきたい」という女性のために、政治家養成スクールはあります。そしてそこがネットワークの基盤になることも大事です。地方議員は報酬が十分ではないのでなり手が少なく、供託金が高いなどの資金面での苦勞も含め、様々な問題があります。

もちろん政治教育も大事です。日本では、子どものころからの政治教育をしていません。ディベート力もありません。議論をしたり意見を言ったりするよりは、和していたほうが良いという雰囲気があります。「女性のための政治スクール」では、ディベートもやり、様々な教育をやり、ネットワークを組んでいますので、現職の議員も大勢参加しています。

そしてやはり、男女の経済格差・賃金格差が大きすぎます。女性政治家を支援支持してくれる人も少ない、ブレーンも少ない、となります。政党が女性議員を育てようという気運も、残念ながらありません。ですから、女性たちが自らネットワークを作って、外交も金融も、皆で勉強していこうということが大事なのではないかと思いますし、周りの人たちが、様々な形で支えていくことが必要だと思います。



選挙の供託金の高さも是正すべきです。地方議員に関していうと、報酬の低さにとてもやっていけない地域が多くあります。私のスクールにも、「自分の出身地で立候補したいと思っていたが、収入が、今東京で勤めて得ている給料よりもがくと下がるのでとても無理だ」と話している人がいました。

選挙制度の改正も大事です。クォータやパリテ、フランスのように男女ベアの候補者に投票する形も考えられますが、それとは異なる方法を提案します。スクールの初代名誉校長の加藤シヅエさんは、昭和21年4月10日の第一回衆議院議員選挙に当選した39人の女性の1人です。その時は、大選挙区で、連記制でした。連記制というのは、人口によって、二人または三人に投票できる制度です。この方法により、「女性は政治に向かない」と考えただろうと思われる人たちのなかにも、「二人目、三人目なら女性でもいいか」と投票する人がいた可能性があり、39人も当選したのです。現在の女性議員比率が10%前後に留まっている要因のひとつに、選挙制度の問題があると思います。「まあ女性でもいいか」と言われて当選するのはうれしいことではありませんが、連記制の導入を含めて、現状を変えていくことはとても大事です。

ニュージーランドの首相が育児休暇を取り話題になりましたが³、現在の日本では、本気で議員として仕事をしようと思ったら、残念ながら、子育てとの両立は難しいと思います。議会で質問するだけが議員の仕事ではありません。例えば、法案一つ通すにも、反対するにも、また自分が必要と思う議員立法を進めるにも、多大なエネルギーと時間が必要です。議員としての党運営や選挙応援などもあります。そうしたハードワークと子育てとの両立が可能になるような議会運営の見直しも、女性議員を増やす上で重要です。

人は一人で議員・政治家になれるのではありません。当選するまでの支え、そして当選して議員になってからの支えがあって、議員・政治家として育っていくのだと思います。本日ここにご参加の、女性の政治リーダーを増やそうと思っていらっしゃる皆様にも、それを理解して、候補者、議員を支援していただきたいと思っています。

I was a member of the House of Councillors for three terms over 17 years, from 1993 to 2010. Within the Democratic Party of Japan, I served as Vice President, and I was Chairperson of Federation of Tokyo Metropolitan Branches. I have worked with “Political School for Women” for 25 years, training nearly 100 members of Parliament. Based on such experiences, today, I would like to think about how we can nurture female leaders.

First, please look at these two photographs. Photograph 1 was taken in January 1998, a month after the New Frontier Party¹ was disbanded, and when the Good Governance Party² was founded. Shortly after that, we joined the Democratic Party of Japan. At that time, there were only three women in the party, including me. Photograph 2 shows the executive members at the board meeting of the Democratic Party of Japan (1998-2016), which was the largest opposition party at the time. Mr. Ichiro Ozawa was the secretary-general in that period. There are only two women including myself in this photograph. When you see the photographs of ministers on television or in the newspapers, lining up on the stairs of the official residence of the Prime Minister at the time of a cabinet formation, some of you may notice that there are few female ministers. Actually, there are very few women among the executive members of political parties. The executives of political parties have the rights to approve candidates, which means they can decide who the candidates running for office should be. Of course, if you become an approved candidate, it will not necessarily mean that you will be



elected. But if no woman is chosen as a candidate, the number of female members of the Diet and local assemblies will not increase. The fact that there are a small number of women among the executives of political parties means that women are not chosen as candidates, and the number of female members will not increase. It is not too much to say that this is one of the reasons there are few female members of Parliament. Therefore, the first thing I felt in the political sphere was that a quota system must be adopted for the executives of political parties.

In 1992, I was invited to join a new party by Mr. Morihiro Hosokawa (who later became the Prime Minister), who swore to beat the long-lasting

3 「日本経済新聞」(電子版)2018年1月19日配信「N Z首相が妊娠、6週間育児へ 副首相が代行 【パートナーが専業主夫に】」
<https://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXMZO25885900Z10C18A1EAF000/>
 「朝日新聞デジタル」2018年1月19日配信「N Z首相が妊娠、6週間産休へ 副首相が代行務める」
<https://www.asahi.com/articles/ASL1M2CDXL1MUHBI00G.html>など。

1 A political party founded on December 10, 1994, by opposition parties during the Hosokawa cabinet and the Hata cabinet—the Japan Renewal Party, the New Komeito, the Japan New Party, the Democratic Socialist Party, the Liberal Party, and Shinto Mirai—joining together with 178 members of the House of Representatives and 36 members of the House of Councillors, totaling 214 members. The first leader was Mr. Toshiki Kaifu, and Mr. Ichiro Ozawa was the secretary-general. In July 1995, the party won more votes than the Liberal Democratic Party in the proportional representation block in the regular election of the House of Councillors. In December 1995, Mr. Ichiro Ozawa became the party leader and hoped for a regime change in the general election of members of the House of Representatives in October 1996, but the New Frontier Party lost some seats and the Liberal Democratic Party got the largest number of seats Subsequently, the party dissolved on December 31, 1998, into the Liberal Party led by Mr. Ozawa, the New Fraternity Party (previously the Democratic Socialist Party), the New Peace Party (previously Komei Party), the Voices of the People, etc. (from Encyclopedia Britannica).

2 A general assembly for the founding of Minseitō—a coalition of the Voices of the People (representative Michihiko Kano), the Sun Party (party leader Tsutomu Hata), and the From Five (representative Morihiro Hosokawa)—was held on the evening of January 23, 1998 at a hotel in Tokyo, attended by 30 members of the House of Representatives and 9 members of the House of Councillors, for a total of 39 politicians (*The Asahi Shimbun*, the afternoon edition of January 21, 1998, and the morning edition of January 23, 1998).

domination by the Liberal Democratic Party and to support the rights of citizens and rural regions by establishing the Japan New Party. This was my first step into the political sphere.

Perhaps because there are few female news writers who work at the politics sections of Japanese newspapers companies, most of the news articles on politics are about political situations unrelated to women. Many women believe that “politics are not our business”. When I told my friends that I had been invited by Mr. Hosokawa to join the Japan New Party, their reactions were quite negative with comments such as, “You are interested in politics?”, “You want to get into politics?”, and “I never knew you were that kind of a person”. This is because people do not trust politics. That is, they think, “There is something wrong with anyone who wants to get into politics”. Unfortunately, being a politician is not one of the jobs children dream of. In the newspaper I read yesterday, there was an opinion of an 18-year-old, saying that unless the distrust of politics in Japan is cleared, the author would not want to vote even with the right to vote acquired at the age of 18. Unless we eliminate this mistrust of politics, it will be difficult for women to run for office. This is a very important point.

Nearly 1,000 people have participated in “Political School for Women”, and about 10% of these participants have become members of the Diet and local assemblies. However, when I see women in rural regions working in various activities and with NPOs, and encourage them to run for office, their family opposes my suggestion. There is an old saying that “women in state affairs are like monkeys in glass shops”. Families oppose women running for office based on the idea of gender roles that women are not suited for politics. I have asked many women to go into politics together, but most of the women hesitated. It is difficult for women to become involved in politics unless the idea of gender roles is eliminated.

Let me now talk about why I became a politician. Before becoming a politician, I published over 30 books as a journalist and appeared on television every

day as a commentator. Not only the urgent issue of the declining birthrate and aging population, but energy issues, financial issues, and diplomatic issues are all closely involved with our daily lives and related with politics. Yet we stayed away from the political sphere and assumed politics was not our business. I was wondering whether it was right to think so about politics. While working as a journalist, I ran activities such as “Niko Niko Divorce Seminar” starting in 1979, receiving questions from 30,000 people from across Japan. To deal with so many questions, I trained telephone counselors and created a network called ‘Hand in Hand’. While doing all that, I wanted to change so many things such as civil laws and the age limit for re-employment (finding a job after age 35 was difficult even with a university degree). In addition to writing books, I wanted to change these laws. That was the reason I entered the political sphere.

12 ways to foster female leaders

- ① Increase the number of women in decision-making organizations (political parties, financial sphere, labor organizations, etc.)
- ② Employ a quota system
- ③ Eliminate distrust of politics
- ④ Eliminate gender division of labor
- ⑤ Build strategic leadership, supporters, and networks
- ⑥ Encourage coverage of women’s issues in political sections of the media
- ⑦ Establish candidate training schools
- ⑧ Offer political education for youth
- ⑨ Close the financial and promotional gaps between men and women
- ⑩ Reform campaign funding
- ⑪ Reform the electoral system

The first thing I did in the political sphere was to attempt to introduce a quota system into the rules of the political party I was affiliated with in 1992. Unfortunately, my idea of applying the quota system for candidates was rejected. There were so few women running for the office, and when I encouraged some women to run, they turned it down. Because of

that, the executive members thought that a quota system for candidates would lead to a breach of the promise (as there would not be enough candidates). Therefore, it was suggested to introduce a quota system for the executives, ensuring that the ratio of either sex should not drop below 20%. This increased the ratio of women among the executives to 20% or more, and women’s voices were reflected in various policies and operations of the party. With this achievement, I truly felt the importance of having women among the executives.

At that time, I created “Political School for Women”. For a capacity of 100 trainees, there were about 1,400 applications. I asked the applicants to write a report and, then, chose 100 applicants. The school is still in operation today. Three years ago, 62 trainees of the school ran in the nationwide local elections, and 55 were elected. This was an 89% success rate.

Women often keep themselves away from in the political sphere. The number of hereditary politicians is increasing in Japan today. However, not many people have politicians in their families. The politician training school is for women who may not have any politicians (role models) around them, but who aspire

to change the society and law. This should be the basis for a network. Becoming a local assembly member is unpopular for several reasons. For example, they do not get sufficient rewards and there is an expensive deposit to run for office, which leads to difficulty with fund-raising.

Political education is also important. In Japan, we do not receive political education when we are young. Children do not develop the ability to debate at school. There is still an atmosphere which urges us to keep silent, not to discuss or express opinions. At “Political School for Women”, we debate, provide various types of education, and build networks. Many incumbent members of the Diet and local assemblies participate in the programs.

Of course, the economic and wage gaps between men and women are too large. There are few people supporting female politicians, and there is little strategic leadership. Unfortunately, there is no trend of political parties training female leaders. Therefore, it is important that women create their own network and study diplomacy and finances on their own. Having various types of support from people around us is necessary.





The election deposit for candidates needs to be lowered. There are many local areas where one cannot serve as an assembly member because of the small income. For example, a trainee at our school said, “I wanted to run in my hometown, but the income would be so much lower than what I earn in Tokyo now, so it is impossible to do it”.

Electoral system reform is also important. There are quota systems and parity systems like *parité* of France (candidates run as a male-female pair), but I propose a different system. The first honorary principal of the school, Ms. Shizue Kato, was one of the 39 first women who were elected in the general election as members of the House of Representatives on April 10, 1946. At that time, there was a multi-member district and plural limited voting system. This voting system allowed the electorate to

vote for one, two or three candidates, depending on the population of the constituency. With this method, even some voters who felt that “women are unsuited for politics” might have thought that “It could be OK to vote for a woman as the second or third candidate”, and this led to the winning of 39 women. One of the reasons why the percentage of female members of the Diet remains at around 10% today is a problem with the electoral system. Female candidates may not be glad if they are elected as the second or third, not first, candidate. However, introducing a plural voting system can help change the current situation.

It made news that the prime minister of New Zealand took maternity leave. In Japan, if you want to work hard³ as a member of the Diet or local assemblies, unfortunately, it is difficult to balance with parenting. For example, Diet members have to spend so much energy and time to show their opinion and to pass or reject a bill at the Diet. Further, they engage in party administration and election campaign support. It is important to review the current Diet administration in order to allow female members for a balance between such hard work at the Diet and parenting and to increase the number of female members.

All of us cannot become members of the Diet and local assemblies or politicians on our own. Female candidates need support to be elected and continued support after being elected. With these supports, women can become members of the Diet and politicians. I hope those who are here today hoping to increase the number of female political leaders understand these points and offer support for female candidates and members of the Diet and local assemblies.

3 *The Nikkei* (digital version) reports on January 19, 2018, “NZ prime minister pregnant, takes 6-week maternity leave. Deputy prime minister to take over. ‘Partner to become a stay-at-home dad’”. (<https://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXMZO25885900Z10C18A1EAF000/>)
The Asahi Shimbun Digital reports on January 19, 2018, “NZ prime minister pregnant, takes 6-week maternity leave. Deputy prime minister to take over”. (<https://www.asahi.com/articles/ASL1M2CDXL1MUHBI00G.html>)



パネリスト発表
Panel Presentation

ヨハンナ・ウッカマン

ドイツ社会民主党常任理事
同バイエルン州副代表
元 Jusos (社会民主党ユース団体) 全国代表

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Executive Board Member/Member of
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2013年、26歳の時に、私は、ドイツ社会民主党ユース団体、ユーソス (Jusos) の議長に選ばれました。もちろん、それ以前から、党内でいろいろな役職を経験していたのですが、議長という立場は、これまでと大きく違っていました。全国メディア、一般市民、そして党内から、これまでにないレベルで注目されるようになったのです。ユーソスの前の女性議長、フランツィスカ・ドロヘルが自分の経験を踏まえて私にくれたアドバイスは、何を着るかに十分気を配るように、メディアのインタビューを受けるときには特に、ということでした。なぜでしょう？ フランツィスカが説明してくれました。男性の場合は、スパイダーマンの扮装みたいな恰好でもない限り、何を着ているかが批判されたり、話題になったりはしない。でも、女性の場合は違う。私も間もなく、このアドバイスの重要性を、身をもって知ることになりました。

トークショーのような公の場で話をする場合も、同じようなことが起きます。テレビ番組に出るにあたって、私は入念に準備をしました。相続税関連の課題やヨーロッパ内の金融財政問題について、時間をかけて勉強したのです。悪気の無いコメンテーターたちは、私が発言する姿を「新人らしく生き生き」していると評しました。しかし、私の政策提案の内容が論じられることはありませんでした。注目されたのは、私が何を言ったかではなく、私がどう見えたかだけだったのです。悲しいことに、公の場での政治討論に参加する女性たちの多くが、これと同じ経験をしています。

今年の初め、ドイツ社会民主党は、保守派との連立政権に再度参加するか否かの、難しい選択を迫られました。党内での議論は紛糾しました。中でも、ユーソスは、大連立参加反対の立場を強く主張していました。ユーソスのベルリン支部議長、アニカ・クローゼは、力強く、論拠をきちんと示し

た明確な姿勢表明のスピーチをしました。しかし、ある主要紙の編集長は、彼女についてこうツイートしました。「怒り狂ったユーソス・ガールがマーティン・シュルツよりも喝采を浴びていた」。マーティン・シュルツは、当時の社会民主党議長です。このスピーチをしたのが若い男性だったら、まったく違う言葉、勇ましい、確信に満ちた、自信あふれる、などが使われたはずです。私は党集会の会場でアニカのスピーチを聴きました。アニカのスピーチは、そうしたすべての美点が備わったものでした。

これは、アニカや私だけの経験ではありません。世界中の若い女性たちが政治の世界に足を踏み入れた途端、公の場で意見を述べた途端に、同じことが起きているはずです。この上に、ソーシャルメディア上で、若い女性政治家に向けられる敵意が存在します。私のパソコンのメールボックスには、侮辱や性差別、それ以上に酷い内容を含んだコメントが大量に届きます。

本当に問題なのは、女性たちが外見だけで評価され続けている限り、女性たちが見くびられ続けている限り、女性たちが軽視され続ける限り、女性たちが嫌がらせのメールを受け取り続ける限り、私たちの社会には問題があり続けるということなのです。これが、若い女性たちのやる気をくじいてしまうのです。多くの政治を志す若い女性が悩み、挫折してしまう理由は、自分の考えを実践に反映できないからではなく、持てる力を日常的な性差別と闘うことに注がなくてはいけないからなのです。

そしてこれは、私たち全員にとっての問題なのです。女性の政治参加を増やすことが必要です。世界をより良くするために、女性たちの経験、女性たちの考え、女性たちの視点が必要とされています。より良く、より公正な世界をもたらす

ためには、人口の半数を占める女性を無視することはできませんし、無視してはいけません。

とはいえ、過去数十年の間にも、大きな前進がみられました。日本において、女性参政権は、70年以上前に達成されました。ドイツでは、今年、女性参政権100周年を祝いました。ドイツ社会民主党は、女性運動と肩を並べて、女性参政権を求めて闘い、これを実現しました。参政権の獲得は、さらなる平等の実現に向けた道のりの、最も重要な節目と言って過言ではないでしょう。女性参政権に続くステップの例としては、夫の同意がなくとも就職できること、女性が高等教育を受けられること、DV被害女性のためのシェルターがあること、働く母親のための子育て支援があること、そして男性が占めていた企業の役員職にジェンダー・クオータ制が導入されたことなどが挙げられます。今日のドイツでは、これらは法制化された制度であり、社会民主党が成し遂げた成果でもあります。



他の多くの国々で、同様の成果が挙げられています。政治分野でも、女性たちは活躍の場を広げています。女性議員の数は増え、女性の閣僚も女性の首相も誕生しています。世界中で、さらなる平等を求めて、女性たちが声を上げています。男女同一賃金を求めるデモ行進もあれば、アイルランドのように進歩主義的な人工中絶法の制定を実現させたり、#MeToo運動で性的暴力の訴えを起こしたりしています。

もちろん、すべてが良くなったという訳ではありません。議会における女性代表性は、いまだに十分なレベルとは言えません。女性の賃金水準は男性と比べて低いままです。メディア業界で力を持っているのは男性です。ほとんどの家庭で、家事や子育てを担っているのは女性です。そして、忘れてはならないのは、異なる立場の女性たちは、それぞれの立場によって異なる問題を抱えているということです。移民や、同性愛者、障がい者の女性たちは、複合的な差別を受けることになります。

さらには、多くの国々で、保守的で国家主義的な右派のポピュリスト運動や政党が力をつけてきています。女性の基本的人権を疑問視する人たちがいます。彼らの考えでは、女性たちは、家にとどまり、キッチンで子どもたちと一緒に過ごすべきで、企業の役員室や国会にいないものではない。女性はいく生きべきであると決めるのは彼らであり、女性たちの真の役割は、男性を喜ばせ、伝統的な生活形態を維持することである。社会の進歩を元に戻したいと思っているのです。

ドイツ連邦議会¹の女性議員数は、再び減少しました。極右政党である「ドイツのための選択肢 (AfD)」の女性議員割合が10%止まりであることもその一因です²。これまでと同じように、女性たちの権利を護るために日々闘いを続けなくてはならないことは確かです。そして明らかなのは、だからこそ、より多くの女性たちが政治に関与し、政党活動に参加することが重要なのだ、ということです。では、女性たちがもっと政治分野で活躍し、政党活動に参加するようにするには、どのようなことをすればよいのでしょうか？政治に関心のある女性たちの支援をどのようにしたらよいのでしょうか？

第一に、私たちには、ロールモデルが必要です。音楽や、映画、メディア、科学の分野で活躍し、著名で、自身が経験してきたことを、率直に、皆の前で語ってくれる女性です。あらゆる分野で、女性にとっての可能性が開けていることを示してくれるロールモデルです。

ソーシャル・ネットワークの立ち上げは、自分が経験した差別について人に伝え、互いにつながり、家父長制に対抗する運動を、オンライン上や近年実施されたウイメンズ・マーチのようなデモ行進の形で展開することを可能にします。#MeToo運動のような活動は、意識や団結を高める上で重要です。性的差別、不平等、性暴力やセクシュアル・ハラスメントは、いかなるレベルであれ、いかなる社会背景であれ、決して容認してはいけません。

社会全般におけるロールモデルだけでなく、政治分野におけるロールモデルも必要です。連邦レベルであろうと市町村レベルであろうと、現在政治の世界で活躍している女性、重要な地位についている女性にスポットライトをあてる必要があります。女性たちは、女性が政治において変化を生み出すことができること、私たちの誰もが変化を生み出すことができること、私たちは影響力を持つことができるのだから政治に参加することには意味があることを目で見えて理解する必要があります。

つまり、男性リーダーしか取り上げないソーシャル・メディアはもう見ません、男性しか参加しない討論会はもうやりません。女性も子ども政策、男性は経済政策といった、1950年代的な時代遅れの分担は、もうやめましょう。今は多様化の時代です。能力や専門性は知識と経験に基づくものであり、性別とは無関係です。各政党は、こうした考え方を、政党内の役割や仕事の振り分けに反映させなくてはなりません。

第二に、政党活動に参加した女性たちが、そこでの活動を続けたいと思うような組織をつくる必要があります。女性たちが、「自分たちが実際に変化を起こすことができるんだ」、「自分たちの考えていることを真剣に受け止めてもらえるんだ」、「ガラスの天井に阻まれることなく上を目指すことができるんだ」と感じられる組織でなくてはなりません。また、仕事と家庭と政党活動を並立できるかどうか重要です。こうしたことはまさに、女性たちに政治活動への参加を促すためだけでなく、社会民主党とユーソス内の女性の立場を強化するための組織づくりとして、私がこの数年間取り組んできた事柄なのです。これは簡単に実現できることではなく、障害も多く、加えて、いろいろな方策を練る必要がありますが、取り組む価値のあることです。その過程で学んだことのひと

つは、公式なガイドラインなしに皆の自発的な協力に期待するだけでは、何も成し遂げられないということでした。求める文化的変化を実現させるには、次に例示するような、具体的な方策が必要なのです。

● 女性クオータ：政党内のすべての委員会に女性クオータ制を設定しなくてはなりません。社会民主党は40%、ユーソスは50%の女性クオータを制定しています。クオータ制は女性の政治代表制を向上させます。女性の意見がきちんと聴かれるようになり、支部や下部組織が党員や選挙の候補者として女性を増やさざるをえなくなります。この効果は、連邦選挙の際に顕著に現れました。比例代表選挙の候補者名簿に男女を交互に並べる「ジッパー方式」を導入したのです³。この方式採用は、女性を積極的に候補者に推薦する効果をもたらしました。

● 討論会における発言機会のクオータ：討論会で男性ばかりが発言していると、女性は思うように発言できずに終わってしまいます。発言の順番を男女交互にすることで、女性たちの発言機会を保証します。

● 託児サービス：子どもを持つ女性たちが政治的活動を続けられなくなる理由のひとつは、その時間だれが子どもの面倒を見るのかという、とても実務的なものです。そもそも母親にかかる育児負担が大きいことが、問題をより深刻にしています。この解決方法として、すべての党の集会で託児サービスを実施することにしています。

● リーダーシップの重要性：女性の登用を推進するためには、組織のトップが進んで協力することが欠かせません。党のリーダーたちが、率先して模範を示す必要があります。現在、社会民主党では、幹事長がジェンダー平等調査会の編成に取り組んでいます。党内できちんとジェンダー平等ガイドラインが守られているかを詳しく調査し、党内での女性代表性が男性と同等になるにはどのような制度が必要かの検討が進められる予定です。

第三に、女性たちが協力して党内活動を進めることは、党内ガイドライン以上の成果をもたらします。

数年前、社会民主党は女性のための教育プログラム「女性に政治力を(ウイメン・トゥ・パワー)」を立ち上げました。このプログラムは、「ジェンダーと政治」といったテーマのセミ

¹ 日本の衆議院に相当。

² 2013年結党のドイツのための選択肢 (AfD) は、2017年9月選挙で連邦議会に初議席を獲得し、定数709の内94議席を保有する野党第1党となった(ドイツ連邦共和国大使館「第19期連邦議会選挙(2017年9月24日)」(<https://japan.diplo.de/ja-ja/themen/politik/bundestagswahl2017/940798>)を参照)。

³ ファスナーの歯が左右交互にかみ合うように、男性候補者リストと女性候補者リストを組み合わせるイメージからの命名。



ナーや、リーダーシップや討論技術などのスキル開発で構成されています。

各種スキルのトレーニングのほかに、女性が政治の世界で活躍するために特に必要な要素が2つあります。女性同士が互いにエンパワメントし合うことと、ネットワーク構築です。「女性に政治力を」のプログラムが開始されたのは2010年のことですが、この初期のプログラムに参加した女性たちは、互いのつながりを維持し、切磋琢磨を続け、それぞれが直面している困難についての意見交換をし、立候補に向けて、または党大会の出席に向けて励ましあいます。特に若い女性たちは、こうした交流を通じて、大きく成長します。「このプログラムへの参加が地方議会や連邦議会へ立候補する決定的なきっかけとなった」と私に話してくれた女性の数は、決して少なくありません。そう言ってもらうたびに、私はとても嬉しく、また誇りに思います。そして、次に立ち上げたプログラムは、政界入りしてリーダーとなっている女性たちを対象とした「女性政治リーダーたち(ウイメン・イン・パワー)」です。この2つの教育プログラムに加えて、フリードリヒ・エーベルト財団⁴と協力して立ち上げた、ベルリンに拠点を持つ事業「女性たちのバーキャンブ(ウイメンズ・バーキャンブ)」もあります。この政治ディベートイベントには、どんな女性も参加できます。社会民主党関係者、財団関係者、NGOで活動している人、ただ単に政治に興味があるだけでも良いのです。誰でも、議題を提案したり、ワークショップを企画したり、自分の考えを発表したりできるのです。くつろいだ自由な雰囲気の中であり、発言を揶揄されることを怖がったり、質問するのは恥ずかしいと気後れしたりする必要はありません。たくさん革新的な提案が、バーキャンブのイベントで生まれ、たくさんの女性ネットワークが形成されています。素晴らしい成果を挙げているプログラムですので、他の政党や政治団体でも、是非実施してほしいと思っています。

そしてやはり、より多くの女性政治リーダーを生み出すための最も重要な拠点は政党組織です。とはいえ、他の可能性を探ることも大切です。社会民主党内では、選挙法改正についての議論を進めています。国会議員選挙へのクォータ導入を、フランスなど他国の事例を参考に検討しています。そうした改革を実現するのは、決して簡単なことではありません。

でも、難しいということと、できないということは違います。世界中の女性たちが、選挙権、被選挙権を得るまでには、長すぎるほどの道のりがありました。今は、その先の歩みを進めるときです。国会議員選挙における女性クォータの義務化は、着実に前進をもたらすでしょう。

今日私がお話した、意識を高めること、ロールモデルの重要性、女性登用増加を目的とした制度構築の必要性は、すべて男女平等実現への道のりの重要な道しるべです。しかし、私が最も重きを置かなくてはいけないと思っているのは、人々の意識を高めることです。男女平等は女性やフェミニストだけの懸案なのではなく、皆が共有すべき目標であり、共通の使命なのです。ジェンダー平等の恩恵は、私たち全員におよぶものなのです。その達成を目指し、変化をもたらすために女性支援をすることは、必要なことであり、責務でもあるのです。これは、皆で共有すべき課題であり、共に担うべき義務なのです。女性の権利は、多々ある街頭演説での話題のひとつなのではありません。ジェンダー平等は、あらゆる政治の核心なのです。

世界人口の半分を占める女性を蚊帳の外に置くことは、もう許されません。女性たちは、ケーキをひと切れ欲しいとねだっているわけではありません。すべてのケーキ屋の経営権の半分が欲しいと要求しているのです。世界は男性だけのものではありません。私たち女性のものでもあるのです。

In 2013, at the age of 26, I was elected as chairwoman of the Jusos (jungsozialistinnen und jungsozialistern in der SPD) – the youth organization of the Social Democratic Party in Germany (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SPD). Of course, I already had held different positions in my party and the Jusos. But now, as chairperson, I found myself in the focus of the nation-wide press, the public and the members of my own party for the first time. Knowing very well the public attention coming with my new role, the former chairwoman of the Jusos, Franziska Drohsel, gave me the advice to be very careful when I choose my clothes – especially at the interviews with the press. Why? A man, as she explained to me, could wear whatever he liked and nobody would criticize him or discuss his clothes, unless he wore a Spiderman suit or something like that. But for women, as I soon found out for myself, it would be a completely different story.

The same is true for public appearances – for example in talk shows. I was very meticulous about my preparations for TV broadcasts. I spent considerable time getting to grips with the issues involved, for example, inheritance tax or the financial and economic crisis in Europe. Well-intentioned commentators then wrote about my “lively and fresh” performance. But the proposals I had made were usually not taken into account. What was noticed was my appearance, not what I was actually saying. Unfortunately, I share this experience with many other women who have appeared and joined in political discussions in public.

At the beginning of this year, the SPD was faced with a difficult decision: whether or not to rejoin a grand coalition with the conservatives. The debate at the party congress was pretty intense – especially the Jusos clearly positioned themselves against a new Grand Coalition and were very present in the debate. Especially the chairwoman of the Jusos Berlin, Annika Klose, gave a strong,

authentic and committed speech. But the editor-in-chief of a major daily newspaper wrote on Twitter: “Very flustered Jusos-Girl gets more applause than Martin Schulz”. Martin Schulz was the chairman of the SPD at that time. I’m sure that if a young man had given the same speech as Annika did, the attributions used by the editor would have been very different: courageous, committed, self-confident. And as I can tell you, because I was at the convention, Annika displayed all of these qualities as a speaker on that day.

I’m sure that not only Annika and I have had to have these experiences. Young women around the world share them as soon as they become politically active, as soon as they express their opinions in public. So far, I have not even mentioned the hostilities that young politically active women experience in social media channels. I have a whole folder in my mail box containing insults, sexist comments, and worse.

The problem is that, as long as women are reduced to their appearance, as long as they are belittled, as long as they are not taken seriously, as long as they receive hate mails, our society has a problem. I know from my own experience how daunting this is for young women. I know how many other young political women were annoyed and gave up, not because they could not put their ideas into practice, but instead had to spend their time in a fight against everyday sexism.

And I know this is also a problem for all of us. We need more women in politics. We need their experiences, their ideas, their perspectives to change this world for the better. We cannot and we should not ignore half of the world’s population, if we want to make our world a better and more just place.

Nevertheless, we did achieve a lot in recent decades. In Japan, women have been able to vote for over 70 years. In Germany this year, we are celebrating 100 years of women’s suffrage. It was the SPD that fought and enforced this right,

4 ドイツの非営利政治財団。

side-by-side with the women's movement. The right to vote might have been the most important milestone which made many more crucial steps towards more equality possible. For example: the right to work without one's husband's consent; access to higher education for women; women's shelters that support women when they are victims of violence; the expansion of childcare so that women with children can actually go to work; and the quota for women on supervisory boards of corporations, which were previously firmly in men's hands. All these are legislated in Germany today and the legislation was enforced by the SPD.

In many other countries, similar improvements have been achieved. And in the domain of politics, women are also gaining more and more ground. More women are being elected to parliaments, and more women are becoming ministers and even Chancellor. Women all over the world are raising their voices for more equality. They take to the streets for equal pay, they successfully fight for more liberal abortion laws, as recently in Ireland. They address sexual assaults with the #MeToo debate.

Nevertheless, not everything is all right. Still, women are underrepresented in parliaments. On average they are still paid less than men. The media is dominated by men. In most families, household chores as well as care work are still done by women. And we should not forget that different women in different places are in different positions dealing with specific problems, with migrant, lesbian or disabled women experiencing multiple forms of discrimination at the same time.

What is more, conservative, nationalist and right-wing populist movements and parties are once again on the rise in many countries. There are many who are once again questioning women's basic rights. They prefer to see women at home in the kitchen and with children, rather than on the executive floors of corporations or in parliaments.

They think they can make decisions over the life choices of women, and they believe that the only true role of women is to please men and to pursue traditional lives. They want to turn back the wheel of time.

In Germany, the number of women in the Bundestag¹ has fallen again, partly because only 10 percent of the parliamentary members of the right-wing extremist party, Alternative for Germany (Alternative für Deutschland, AfD)² are women. As before, women's rights – this is much clear – must be defended and fought for each and every day. And that is also precisely why it is so important that more women get involved politically and enter political parties. So what can we do to empower women to become politically active, to join party politics, and how can we support them?

First of all, we need role models! We all need role models: prominent women from music, film, the media, and the sciences who are visible and who speak openly and publicly about their experiences. We need role models who show that women can achieve progress in all areas, that all possibilities are open.

Building social networks allows women to report on the kind of discrimination they have experienced, to network with each other and to demonstrate against patriarchy online and in the streets, as in the case of the recent women's marches. Movements like #MeToo are important for building more awareness and solidarity. Discrimination, inequality, sexual assault and harassment must never be tolerated at any level or in any area of society.



Alongside role models in society, we also need role models in politics! We need to spotlight women who are already involved in politics and who have made it to important positions, whether at federal or municipal level. Women need to see that women can make a difference politically, that we can all make a difference, and that it is worth getting involved, precisely because of the impacts we can have.

This means no more pictures in the social media channels that show only men leading; no more all male panels; no more traditional assignments of topics – women talking about children, while men take over economic policy. That's so 1950s! Our society is diverse. Competency and expertise are

matters of knowledge and experience, not of sex or gender. Political parties have to reflect this in how they assign roles and tasks.

Secondly, if women decide to get involved when they enter political parties, then the structures they find must also be of a kind that makes them want to stay involved. Women need to feel that they can actually make a difference, are taken seriously with their concerns, and are not going to just hit glass ceilings on the way up. Women also need to see that they can combine work, family and party activism. That's exactly what I've been fighting for in the last few years; not only to encourage more women to enter political activism, but also to create structures to strengthen women in the SPD and the Jusos. I can now say, that it is not always easy and there are obstacles, and there are also many measures that can be taken, but the fight is worth it. I also learned, that without formal guidelines, purely on a voluntary basis, nothing changes. The cultural change we want requires concrete measures:

● **Women's Quota:** All committees in the party must have a quota. The SPD has a gender quota of 40 percent. The Jusos have 50 percent. Why? The quota means that women are better represented that they are better listened to and that the subdivisions are forced to address more women, whether to recruit them as members or as candidates in elections. This becomes particularly clear in nationwide elections. We have introduced the so-called zipper system³ in party lists for the proportional representation elections. This means that men and women must always alternate on the electoral lists. The measure works as a good incentive to nominate women as candidates in elections.

¹ It corresponds to the House of Representatives in Japan.

² AfD, founded in 2013, won 94 seats among the allotted number of seats (709) in the General Election of Bundestag in September 2017, and then became the largest opposition party. It is the first time for the party to win a seat at the Bundestag. See the article on the website of German Embassy in Japan (<https://japan.diplo.de/ja-ja/themen/politik/bundestagswahl2017/940798>).

³ Female or male candidates are placed at every second place in the PR list. The name of this alternation system comes from zipper's blades.



● Quoted list of speeches: When men dominate the debate, it often discourages women. When men and women speak alternately at events and meetings, we ensure that women are also heard.

● Childcare: It is often the logistical problems women face that make them disappear from politics when they have children. The problem is made worse by the fact that women do a much greater share of childcare. For this reason, we must guarantee that there is organized childcare at all party events.

● And last but not least, party's leadership: The promotion of women must be supported from the very top, by the entire party leadership. The party leadership needs to set an example. That is why our SPD Secretary General is currently setting up a Unit for Gender Equality, which in the future will monitor even more closely whether our guidelines are being followed, and that will develop new instruments to ensure that women are actually represented on a parity basis with men in the future.

Third, often the common experiences that women make in their own party activism are much more important than formal guidelines.

A few years ago, we developed our own educational program in the SPD for women. It's called "Women to Power". The program includes seminars on topics, which engage in an analysis of gender and politics, as well as including programs for the development of the participants' own skill sets, such as leadership skills and argumentation.

In addition to the skills that are taught, two aspects in particular are decisive for women's success in politics: mutual empowerment and networking. We launched the Women to Power program in 2010, and the women who participated at the beginning are still in contact, strengthening each other, exchanging views on the obstacles they have to overcome, and encouraging each other to run for office or fight for positions at party conventions. Especially for young women, the exchange is enormously enriching. More than just a few times I met women who told me that this program was the crucial impulse for them to run for local parliament or even the German Bundestag. Hearing their stories makes me happy and proud every time. In the meantime, we have launched a second program: Women in Power, aimed at women who are now in leading positions.

In addition to these educational programs, we have developed an event format together with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation⁴. The Women's BarCamp has become an institution in Berlin, "Barcamp Frauen Berlin". It is open to all women – from the SPD, the foundation, NGOs or simply people interested in politics. Everyone can bring her own topic, make a workshop and spread her ideas. The atmosphere is relaxed and open, women need not be afraid to be ridiculed for their proposals, or be ashamed when they ask questions about certain topics. Many ground-breaking proposals have emerged from these events, many women's networks have been created. The success

is so strong that I highly recommend adopting the concept in every party and political organization.

Last but not least, political parties might be the most important starting point to get more women into leadership positions in politics. However, there are other possibilities. We have a discussion within the SPD about changing the electoral law. Something like a women's quota for parliaments – similar to what already exists in other countries, such as France. Such a reform is not easily done.

But once again, just because it is complicated does not mean we cannot do it. Women all over the world had to wait far too long until they were given the right to vote and to run for electoral positions. The time has come now to take the next step. Maybe legislative rules for mandatory women's quotas in parliament are the right instrument.

Everything I spoke about today, creating awareness, the importance of role models and the necessity for concrete measures to promote women are all important milestones on the way to equality. I believe, however, that the most important part is still raising awareness that equality is not just a concern of women or feminists. It is our common goal and our shared mission. Gender equality is a common goal, which will benefit everyone. To reach this goal, supporting women in their efforts for change is necessary and imperative. It is our common task and shared obligation. Women's rights are not just a topic for soapbox speeches. Gender equality should be at the heart of all politics.

We can no longer allow ourselves to leave half of the world's population out of the picture. We women are not just asking for a piece of the cake. We insist on owning half of all the bakeries. It is not a man's world, it is our world too!



⁴ It is an NPO in Germany.



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私たちの「女性と公共政策プログラム」の始まりは「ハーヴァード広場から大統領執務室へ」というものでした。このプログラムは、政治の世界での経験を持たない新しいタイプの候補者に、選挙戦を戦い公職を得るための、トレーニングや教育を提供しています。世界各地から多くの女性が参加し、必要なスキル獲得のためのトレーニングを受けています。私たちは、選挙のプロセスについて体系的に教え、支援ネットワークを提供しています。

トレーニング内容には、立候補の準備、選挙区調査、有権者の見極め、当選に必要な票の読み方や、候補者になるための他のあらゆる技術が含まれています。そうしたスキル教育のほかにも、私たちが重要視していることがあります。そのひとつめが、政治家としてのキャリアを続ける上で頼りになる、ネットワーク作りです。私たちは、同時期にプログラムに参加する女性たち同士のつながりを作るだけでなく、以前にプログラムに参加した先輩たちとのつながりも作ります。彼女たちのネットワークは世界中に張り巡らされていて、どこにいてもアクセスが可能です。

ふたつめは、米国内外から最先端の選挙スキルを持つ教員を集めることです。オバマ大統領の選挙データ分析チームの専門家や、「エミリーズ・リスト」（民主党の女性候補者の支援を目的とする選挙支援組織）などの実績ある選挙資金集めの実務家を招くなど、プログラム参加者が最上級の指導を受けられるよう努めています。

最後は、どうしたら自分たちが言いたいことを明確に言葉にすることができるか、どうやったら自分たちの志を目標設定に再構成できるかを、関係者に考えてもらおうということです。連邦議会についての説明で例えようとなります。「アメリカ合衆国の建国は1776年で、連邦議会は1789年に設立されていますが、今日に至るまでの積算でも、女性議員の数はわずか2.5%です。白人以外の女性についていえば、更に少ないのです。」

私たちは、具体的なロールモデルを提示して、政治プロセスは神秘的なものではないことを示し、立候補し選挙戦を勝ち抜くための技術を教えます。当初、私たちのゴールであり、夢であったのは、このプログラムに参加し、ここでの学びを経験した女性たちが、政治リーダーとなってここに講演をしに戻ってきてくれるということでした。今、私たちは、国会や州、地方議会などで活躍する卒業生をパネリストとして迎えられようになりました。フランス、ジョージア、オーストラリアの国会議員もいます。多くの卒業生が連邦議会に立候補しており、多くの卒業生が国や州、地方自治体に職を得ています。ですから、私たちのネットワークは、プログラム参加者にとって、生きて活動している、公職や公的機関へのパイプラインなのです。

加えて、私は、「正しい自問をする」ことを参加者に促しています。選挙に立候補するとき、人は「自分には十分な資質があるだろうか」「勝てるだろうか」「負けたらどうなるんだろう」と考えがちです。これは、妥当かもしれませんが、正しい問いではありません。自問すべきは「ここで選挙に出なかった場合に失われてしまうのは何か？」なのです。私たちのプログラムでは、参加者に、果たすべき役割があることを理解させます。選挙戦に勝つことも重要であり、そのためにスキルを教えているわけではありませんが、勝ち負けが彼女たちの能力や成功を測る基準ではないのです。自分たちの国についての議論を深めるにはどうしたらよいのか、自分たちの属する社会がより良い未来を築くためにはどうしたらよいのか、そして、このプログラムで学んだスキルやトレーニングの成果をどのように実社会で活かすことができるか、を学び考えられるようになることが大切なのです。

私たちのプログラムが、支援とリソース、ネットワークに加えて、ここで身に着けた最上級のスキルとそれを国やコミュニティのために役立てるというビジョンを与えることができるのは、大学という場に拠点があるからなのです。

It is my pleasure to join you. I am Victoria Budson. I am one of the founders of the Women and Public Policy Program here at Harvard University. A number of years ago, we began something called “From Harvard Square to the Oval Office”. It is a program I founded and chair, and we focus on helping to train and educate non-traditional candidates to run for and win public office. We have trained women from across the globe. Many programs give women the skills that they need. We also demystify the electoral process and provide a supportive network.

The trainings include learning about the hard skills required to run and win including preparing to run, field plans, voter identification, building the number of votes that they will need, and all of the other tasks that come with being a candidate. We train women from across the globe in these skills but much more importantly, we do several other things. First, we give them a network that stays with them over the course of their career. We connect them with women both from the cohort while they are receiving their education but also, they have access to and can connect with those students who have gone through the program before, so they have a network that they can access anywhere in the world.

Second, we bring in the best political trainers from the United States and abroad to train on cutting edge campaigning skills. This includes bringing in specialists from the Obama data room, fundraising best practices from organizations like EMILY’s list, and working to ensure that our students have the best speech training and other types of coaching.

Lastly, we focus on helping these individuals to understand how to get their messages out in an articulate and clear way and how to reshape their own benchmark of aspiration. For example, here in the United States, our country was founded in 1776. Congress, as we know it, was founded in 1789, but from that time up until today, only 2.5% of those members who have served our country in Congress have been women. And if we look at women of color, the percentage is far fewer.

We provide role models. We demystify the political process. We teach the skills needed to run and win. Originally, it was our goal, our dream, that eventually all of the political leaders who came to speak in the program would be individuals who actually had gone through the program, had sat in the actual seats of the students. Now we have panels of program alumni who are elected leaders who serve in public office at the local level, at the state or province level as well as at the parliamentary level. We have students who have been elected to the parliaments of the nations of France, Georgia, and Australia. We have a number of students running now for U.S. Congress and scores of students serving at the state, province or municipal level. So, we provide a living, breathing network and pipeline for our students into public office and the public sector.

In addition, I try to focus on what I call asking the right questions. When people think of running for office, they tend to ask the question, “Am I good enough?”, “Can I win?”, “What will happen if I don’t?”, and those are all reasonable questions but they are not the right question. The right question is what will be lost for my not having participated. And I have worked to build a program, so that our students can envision that they have a role to play and that winning -- though important and we give them the skills to do it -- isn’t the benchmark by which they should measure themselves or their success. It is how can they further the discourse of their country, how can they enable their community to have a ladder from where they are to their future, and how can they practically put to use all the skills and training that they are learning at our university.

University-based models of training provide students with support, resources, networks and a vision to take the best skills that they have gained and to put them to practical use in our countries and communities.

Panel Discussion

パネルディスカッション



● 司会

申 琪榮 (シン・キヨン)

ジェンダー研究所准教授

Ki-young SHIN

Associate Professor, Institute for Gender Studies

● 総合司会

大木 直子

グローバルリーダーシップ研究所特任講師

Naoko OKI

Project Lecturer, Institute for Global Leadership

申: 最初に、各国での女性の政治参画の状況を確認させていただきたいと思います。列国議会同盟¹が実施している各国議会の女性比率の調査の最新データ(2018年6月1日時点)によりますと、日本の衆議院の女性比率10.1%の順位は、193か国中158位、韓国は17%で117位です。ドイツは、昨年9月の総選挙前には37%(22位)でしたが、現在は30.7%で46位となっています。

選挙制度の面では、日本の衆議院、韓国の一院制国会、ドイツの連邦議会のいずれも、比例代表制と小選挙区制の混合制度を採用しています²。クォータ制については、韓国は法律で定めています。ドイツは、法律では定めていませんが、各政党が自主的にクォータ制を導入していて、それが各党の特色のひとつにもなっています³。日本は、今年の5月に、「政治分野における男女共同参画推進法」が国会決議

されたばかりで、一番遅れていると言えますが、今後、この法的枠組みの効果をどう出していけるかが課題となっています。

今日、ご登壇いただいた方々の国はそれぞれ異なる状況はありますが、先ほどの基調講演とプレゼンテーションの内容から、女性議員の置かれた立場や、女性の政治参画の状況については、共通の課題を有していることが浮き彫りになったと思います。それらを踏まえて、パネリストの方々に質問し、議論したいと思います。

まず、陳さんと円さんに質問です。お二人とも、弁護士やジャーナリストというキャリアから転じて政治家になられています。その時の心境はどのようなものだったのか、どのような難しさを乗り越えて政治家になるという選択に至ったかをお話いただけますか。

陳: 政治家になることについては、実は、今日この会場に来ている母にも反対されました。そして、弁護士という職業についても、ある人から「あなたは女性だから弁護士という仕事は向かないだろう」と言われたことがありました。しかし、そうした周りの認識が徐々に変わってきたのです。多くの女性、そして男性の努力により、韓国に女性の法務大臣が誕生しました⁴。すると今度は逆に、「あなたは女性だからきめ細やかな政治ができるはずだ」と言われるようになってきたのです。このとき、他の方々の努力によって、自分の人生も変わり得ることを確信しました。弁護士の仕事をする中で、戸主制の変化⁵を目の当たりにする経験もしました。そして、私もほかの人の人生に影響を及ぼし得るような仕事に就いてみたいと思ったのです。また、当時、私が所属する政党は野党でしたので、「私が推す人が大統領になれば、韓国には大きな変化の機会が訪れるだろう。その大きな変化に対して私なりに貢献したい」と考えたのが、私が政治の世界に足を踏み入れる、大きなきっかけでした。

円: 当時の状況について、まず、私は反対が強ければ強いほどやりたいと思うタイプだったということです。そして、自民党からのお誘いだったら断ったと思います。当時、日本新党は誰も当選しないだろうと言われるくらい小さな政党でした。当時の自民党はとても強くて、影響力がありました。私が日本新党の候補者になった途端に、それまで持っていたテレビ番組のレギュラーは全部なくなりました。その翌日に出るはずだった全国紙のコラムの掲載もなくなりました。自民党以外の政党から立候補するというだけで、大変な逆風を感じました。だからこそ、やろうと思ったのです。私は、ボラン

ティアで3万人の人たちからの離婚相談を受けてきました。そこで、政治の影響で経済がダメになって、企業が倒産したり、失業したりというケースを山のように見ていましたから、それを政治の世界から変えたいと思ったのです。だから、国会議員になって、とても生きがいを感じて働きました。議員は面白い仕事です。大変だという話ばかりすると、ロールモデルになりません。若い人たちが出てきてくれない。こんなに面白い仕事はありません。本当に世の中を変えていけます。その上、報酬がもらえるのです。ボランティアの時は報酬がなく、原稿料を全部つぎ込んでやっていたましたが、議員は有償の、素晴らしい仕事だと思います。

申: ウッカマンさんは14歳から政治活動を始めたそうです。陳さん、円さんと違って、政治家になることをとても自然に考えたのではないかと思いますけれども、そのきっかけについてお話しいただけますか。



1 Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)。1888年設立で、各国の国会議員による国際的な交流組織(小学館『精選版日本国語大辞典』)。

2 日本と韓国の小選挙区比例代表並立制は、小選挙区制、比例代表制という直接関連のない別々の選挙を同時に実施するものである(加藤秀治郎、2003、『日本の選挙制度—何を変えれば政治が変わるのか』、p. 98)。これに対し、ドイツの選挙制度は、同じく小選挙区制と比例代表制を組み合わせたものだが、全体の議席数は各党の比例代表区での得票率に応じて配分し、その中から小選挙区の当選者に優先的に議席を与えるようになっている(吉野孝他、2001、『誰が政治家になるのか—候補者選びの国際比較』、p. 67)。小選挙区比例代表「併用制」と紹介されることが多いが、議席の配分は比例代表制だけで決まるので、「比例代表制の一種」(加藤、2003、p. 99)や「候補者制度を加味した比例代表制」(梅津實他、2004、「比較・選挙政治—21世紀初頭における先進6カ国の選挙」、p. 83)などと説明するのが正しいと専門家は指摘する。

3 韓国、ドイツのクォータ制の導入の時期や女性議員割合の推移については、内閣府(2011)『平成23年版 男女共同参画白書』『第1部 第2節 世界のポジティブ・アクション』を参照 (http://www.gender.go.jp/about_danjo/whitepaper/h23/gaiyou/html/honpen/b1_s00_02.html)。

4 2003年2月、盧武鉉(ノムヒョン)政権発足時に法務、保険福祉、環境、女性の各部(日本の省に当たる)で4名の女性長官が誕生した。女性初の法務部長官 康錦実(カングムシル)氏は40代、弁護士出身で、それまでの政権では女性部や環境部、保健福祉部といった限られた部署の長官にしか女性が起用されなかったため、法務部長官に初めて女性が就くことになり、女性団体などからは高い評価を得たと報告されている(山本健太郎、2005、「韓国における女性の政治参加」、『レファレンス 2005.4』、p. 83)。

5 韓国では2005年3月2日、第17代通常国会で民法一部改正案が採択され、その中に戸主制度の全面的な廃止が含まれていた。戸主制度改正の歴史的経緯や意義については申琪榮(本当は榮だが、雑誌には栄と書かれている)(2006、「フェミニスト視点から分析した韓国戸主制度廃止運動」『国際女性』vol. 20)、吉川貴恵(2015、「韓国における戸主制度廃止と家族法改正—女性運動の観点をふまえて—」『立命館法政論集』第13号)などを参照。

ウッカマン：まず、私の家族はとても政治に関わりがありました。父も、母も、妹も政治に関わっています。食事の時の話題が政治であるのはいつものことで、議論をしたり、今何が起きているかを話し合ったりしていました。14歳の時に、授業料制度の導入がドイツで大きな議論になりました⁶。学校に行くのに授業料を払わなくてはいけないということは、お金持ちの子どもであれば、大学への進学も難しくないかもしれませんが、お金がない家の子どもはそうはいきません。これをきっかけに、政治に関わるようになりました。教育はだれにでもオープンでなくてはいけないと思ったのです。社会民主党とその青年局は、この問題にしっかり取り組んでいて、いろいろな会合やイベントを開催していましたので、私もそこに参加するようになりました。

申：先ほど円さんから、議員の仕事は面白いというお話がありました。陳さん、円さん、政治家になってよかったと思う点ややりがいに関して、もう少し具体的にお話いただけますか。

円：いろいろありますが、やはり野党ですから、与党が出してくる案に反対しても、それがうまくいかず空しく感じることもあります。私は、マイナンバー制度など、個人の自由を束縛する法律にはずっと反対してきましたし、テロ対策特別措置法

(テロ特措法)⁷にも反対しました。当時、党の政策審議会長という執行部のかなり上のポジションにいたにも関わらず、テロ特措法に反対するときは党に辞表を出して、他党の方と一緒に遊説をしました⁸。それだけでなく、最初は賛成していた法案を党全体で反対に持っていくため、党内で説得の努力もしました。いわゆる「盗聴法」⁹反対の時には、73日間頑張り続けて、強行採決に抗議する演説を3時間やりました。何でもかんでも反対ということではありません。しかし、「これだけは譲れない」という時は、どんなことがあっても反対します。私だけのことではなくて、大勢の女性たちや、女性に限らず真っ当に生きている人たちが、政治に潰されていくのを座視できない、無視できないからです。そういうことに対しては、絶対にやれるし、一人でも変えられることは思っている以上にあります。このようなことをやり続けてきた17年でしたから、議員とはとてもやりがいのある仕事だと思いました。

陳：私は野党でスタートし、前回の大統領選と地方選挙を経て、今は与党になりました。比例代表として4年間(第19代国会)、選挙区選出として2年間(第20代国会)という短い経歴ですが、その間、韓国ではいろいろな大きなことが起きました。女性の政治参画とも関係しているのですが、前大統領は、韓国史上初の女性大統領でした。在職中に弾

劾されるという、これも韓国政治史上初めての出来事がありました。そして、現職の文在寅(ムン ジェイン)氏が大統領になりました。こうした激変の時代を政治家として経験してきましたが、時に無力感を覚えたり、韓国国民に申し訳なく思い、なかなか眠れなかったりすることもありました。しかし、私たちが与党になって、社会が変わりました。北朝鮮との分断と、戦争の危機が長く続いてきましたが、今、新たな平和を構築するプロセスにあります。これは「夢なのでは」と思えるほどの出来事です。政治家として、今、最もやりがいを感じています。朝鮮半島の問題は、世界の問題につながっていると思っています。

申：ウッカマンさんはまだ議員になられてはいませんが、政党で活動をしている中で、これが良かったと思う点は何ですか。

ウッカマン：女性が議員や閣僚、首相になっていくことも必要ですが、それと同時に、女性、特に若い女性が、党の活動や、地域レベルで政治に関与していくことが大事だと思っています。私は地方議会でも活動をしています。地方議会では国家レベル、世界レベルの問題が話し合われる訳ではありませんが、地方レベルの事柄にも女性の視点が反映されることが大切です。党での活動では、スピーチのやり方や、若い人たちのための教育プログラム、例えば、イベントや会議をどうやって組織するのか、どうやって議論をするのか、といったことを学びました。党に参加し政治に関与することは、そうしたスキルを学ぶという点でも意義があります。

申：確かにその通りだと思います。全員が議員になるということでもなくとも、地域社会や政党の活動に積極的に参加することで、女性の声を政党に届けるというのは、とても大事です。

今伺ったやりがいにも関連することですが、政治家としてのキャリアをどうやって続けていくかも重要な点だと思います。韓国では、女性が、比例代表のクオータ制で1期目の議員になること、いわゆる「クオータ・ウーマン」になることはできて、2期目は比例代表制の候補になれないという暗黙のルールがあって、再選が非常に難しくなっています。このため、政治家としてのキャリアを続けられないという問題があります。陳さんは、これを克服した数少ない女性議員の一人です。どのようにして、「クオータ・ウーマン」から小選挙区で当選できる女性議員になったのか、お話しいただけますか。

陳：韓国の国会は、小選挙区からの当選が250人、比例代表当選が50人、合わせて300人の議員がいます。比例代表は50%が女性というクオータ制です。私が初めて議員になった2012年の選挙では男女合わせて54人の比例代表議員が選出されましたが、そのうち2016年に2期目当選を果たしたのは4人だけです。なぜそうなるかという、2期目は小選挙区から立候補しなくてははいけません。そのための選挙区を探すのが難しいのです。同じ党の同僚がいる選挙区には入りにくい。特に、激戦区の地域には、長くその地で活動している人がすでにいるわけです。比例代表制で選出された人が特定の選挙区に入り選挙活動を行っていこうとすると、その選挙区と同じ党の同僚からものすごい批判を受けま

6 国立国会図書館(2015,「諸外国における大学の授業料と奨学金」,「調査と情報」No. 869(2015.7.9),p. 5)の調査によれば、ドイツの高等教育の授業料に関する州と連邦との対立の経緯は以下の通りである。
1960年代 社会的公平性を理由に授業料が廃止。全州で高等教育が無償化。
1990年代 州財政の逼迫によって授業料導入の検討開始。対象は長期在学者(標準修業年限(学士課程で3~4年)を4学期以上超過して在籍する者)。
1998年秋 社会民主党(SPD)および緑の党による連邦の連立政権が発足。高等教育無償を訴えたため、連邦と州との間で高等教育に関する権限をめぐって対立。
2002年 連立政府が高等教育大綱法の改正で、第1学位(日本の学士に相当)取得課程までの無償の保障を規定。州は連邦に対し意見訴訟を提起。
2005年 連邦憲法裁判所が改正法に違憲判決を下し、無償規定は無効とされる。一般在学者まで授業料導入が各州に広がる。学生を中心とした抗議デモが各地で起こる。高等教育機関の授業料が政治的争点になった結果、州議会選挙で授業料廃止を公約に掲げた政党が勝利するケースが相次ぐ。再び授業料無償の州が6州に達する。
2014年 最後に残ったニーダーザクセン州でも冬学期から授業料廃止を決定。ただし、長期在学者や第2学位取得を目指す者から授業料を徴収する州はある。

7 「1. 《「平成13年9月11日のアメリカ合衆国において発生したテロリストによる攻撃等に対応して行われる国際連合憲章の目的達成のための諸外国の活動に対して我が国が実施する措置及び関連する国際連合決議等に基づく人道的措置に関する特別措置法」の通称》平成13年(2001)9月11日に起こったアメリカ同時多発テロ事件をきっかけに、国際的なテロリズムの防止・根絶のための国際社会の取り組みに積極的かつ主体的に寄与し、日本を含む国際社会の平和及び安全の確保に資することを目的として定められた法律。国連安全保障理事会の決議が、国際テロリズムの行為を非難し、国連加盟国に対しその防止のために適切な措置をとるよう求めていることを根拠に定められた。平成19年(2007)11月失効。テロ特措法。テロ対策特措法。2. 1に代わって制定された補給支援特別措置法の通称」(小学館「デジタル大辞泉」)。

8 当時の様子は「円より子公式サイト」内の活動報告(<http://www.madoka-yoriko.jp/topics/5211>)にも記載されている。

9 「犯罪捜査のための通信傍受に関する法律」の略称で、「組織的な殺人、銃器や薬物の取引などの捜査において、捜査機関が犯人間など犯罪にかかわる通信の傍受を必要とする場合の要件、手続きなどを定める。平成12年(2000)8月施行。盗聴法」(小学館「デジタル大辞泉」)のこと。2016年12月1日から通信傍受の対象が拡大されること(従来の「薬物」「銃器」「集団密航」「組織的殺人」の4類型の他に「爆発物使用」「殺人」「傷害」「放火」「誘拐」「逮捕監禁」「詐欺」「窃盗」「児童ポルノ」の9類型が追加)、通信傍受の際に必要なであった通信事業者の立会いも不要とされた(「産経ニュース」<https://www.sankei.com/affairs/news/160928/afr1609280004-n1.html>)。



す。それから、比例代表選出の候補者は専門性を認められて候補者名簿に掲載されるのですが、選挙区選出の候補者は人柄が重視されます。親しみを持って、丁寧に、腰を低くして、人に優しく語りかけ、人間的な魅力を発信することができなくてはいけません。専門職で経験を積んだ人が、そうした人柄を併せ持つことは容易ではありませんね。直接人と会う中で、侮蔑されたように感じることもあります。「なんであなたが候補者なのか」という目で見られたり、握手しようとした手を振り払われたり、手渡した名刺を目の前で捨てられたりもします。その繰り返しに耐えながら、「これをやるんだ」という使命感をキープするのは大変でした。

円：陳さんは、選挙区に他に候補がいたのに、なぜ公認候補になれたのですか。

陳：その候補と党内選挙を行いました。

円：私は参議院議員でしたけれども、民主党の東京都連の会長にもなりました。都連会長には、都内の25の小選挙区の公認候補を決める権限があります。女性の私が会長職に立候補することについては、ものすごく反対がありました。公認候補決定の権限があるといっても、もちろん一人で決められるわけではありません。党代表とよく話し合い、最終的には常任幹事会で決めます。そして、どんなに良い女性の候補者がいても、その選挙区に同じ党の男性、特に現職がいれば、まず立候補は無理です。日本には党内選挙をするという考え方はなくて、とにかく現職優先です。立候補させてもらえそうな選挙区は、与党のものすごく強い現職議員がい

るところです。ですから、最初は、全くネットワークもない、出身地でもない、親戚がいるわけでもないところへ、落下傘候補として行く覚悟があるか、ということになります。小選挙区で立候補する場合、現職候補に負けるのを前提に、2回目、3回目と挑戦し、何年もその地域で頑張ろうという覚悟で行かなくてはいけません。でも、資金が続かないので、ほとんどの人は諦めます。ただ、やはり、都連会長として公認権を持っているということは、「その選挙区には女性候補者を立てた方がいい」と言える権限がありましたので、都連会長になってよかったと思います。

そして、参議院の比例区についてですが、元は拘束名簿だったのです。名簿の順位を固定して、党の得票数に応じて当選者が決まる方式ですので、例えば、「女性・男性・女性・男性」と1位から4位まで順に並べて男女の数を揃えることもできました。しかし、2001年から非拘束式名簿に変わりました。この方式ですと、名簿上の特定の候補者に投票することもできて、個人の得票数が多ければ党の得票数と獲得議席数が増え、その個人も当選の確率が高まります¹⁰。例えば、医師会とか、官僚のグループとか、企業の労働組合とか、そういう大きな組織からの支持を得られる人しか当選できなくなっていました。組織もない、お金もない女性は、当選しにくくなりました。

陳さんが経験されたことと同じように、私も、選挙の時に自転車をわざとぶつけられたり、カミソリを持って握手をされて手を切ったり、ということは、もう山のようにあります。意地悪もいっぱいされました。でも、そういうことを気にしていたら、国会議員はできません。地方議員もできません。地方議員の方はもっと大変です。子どもたちまで色々なことを言われたりします。そういうことを気にせずやっていくには、ブレンが大事です。支持者が大事です。たった一人で反対するときも、自分の支持者や事務所のスタッフ、ブレンが応援してくれていれば頑張れます。

申：お話しいただいたような難しさを乗り越えて政治家になりたいという女性がいるときに、ゲートキーパー（門番）になるのは政党だと思います。志ある女性たちをすくい上げて、養成して、政治家にするのも、政党の役割でしょう。女性たちのリーダーシップ教育のためにどのような取組が必要だと思われるですか。

ウッカマン：女性はサポートを必要としています。他の女性たちからも、政党からもサポートが必要です。プレゼンテーションでもお話ししましたように、私の党では、これから政治の世界に入ろうという若い女性を対象にした、「女性に政治力を」という教育プログラムを作りました。政治のシステムがどのように機能しているかを教え、演説の仕方やディスカッションへの参加の仕方といったスキルを教えます。現職の議員や首長になっている女性を対象とした、「女性政治リーダーたち」というプログラムでは、スキルの伝授に加えて、ネットワーク作りをします。団結し、お互いをエンパワメントし、提案や戦略を一緒に考えることができます。そして、私たちが新しく作った「女性たちのバーキャンプ」というプログラムは、女性たちのためのオープンな議論の場です。自分の考えを発表したり、ワークショップに参加したり、好きな話題で自由に議論できる、若い女性たちが発言しやすい雰囲気のある場です。例えば議論の場に年配の男性がいると、「くだらない質問をするな」とか、「そんなことも知らないのか」と言われたりして、若い女性は発言を躊躇してしまふ。こうした障害のない場であることがとても重要です。

円：今のウッカマンさんのお話をとても羨ましく思いました。日本の政党で、こんなにしっかりと女性議員を増やすための枠組みを作っているところはほとんどないと思います。民主党の時には、女性を増やすための「種と水」(Water & Seed)¹¹というプログラムで、地方議会も含めた立候補者に資金の支援をしたり、養成したりしていました。ただ残念なことに、党がなくなると、何もやらない、できなくなってしまう。「女性のための政治スクール」は25年間続いています。そこには議員になった人がリピーターで参加していますが、いろいろな悩み事や政策のことなどについて、女性同士が情報交換をしたり議論が持たれたりしています。この間は、全国から集まってきたスクール関係者と、四ツ谷駅の前で、街頭演説を2時間やりました。スクールでは、ボイストレーニングもします。ディベートもやります。日本では学校でもディベートの訓練はしませんし、意見も言わない人が多いのですが、スクールを経験して議員になった人は、周りが男の人ばかりで発言しにくい雰囲気の時でも、ディベートの訓練がものすごく役に立ったと言っています。そうした実践的なことを、政党がやってくれると良いと思います。

陳：韓国では大きな変化が起きています。今ある政党の中で、「共に民主党」、「民主平和党」、「正義党」という3つの党の代表は女性です。党の代表たちは、自ら変化を起こしたいということから、例えば、党内のいろいろな委員会の構成員の50%を女性にしなくてはいけないと義務付けました。すると、一人の女性がいくつもの委員会に参加する、つまり一人で何役もこなさなくてはいけないという、ちょっと大変な事態も起きています。そういう問題点はありますが、女性の幹部の存在はやはり大きな影響力があると思います。弁護士だった時代には、新しくスタートした政府が、公的領域の諮問委員会の30%を女性にすることを義務付けました。担当者は適任の女性を探すのに苦労したようですが、弁護士だった私はその時に諮問委員会に参加しました。周りは経験豊富な年上の男性議員ばかりで、30代前半の私が50代の男性と議論をするという環境でした。それから20年余り経ち、そうした役職にも少しずつ女性が増えてきました。女性の数を増やすためには、制度的な仕組みやサポートは欠かせません。

ただし、このような変化も、直線的に進んできた訳ではありません。女性大統領が誕生し、そして弾劾されました。実は以前は、女性の政治家に対する不信感がとても強かったのです。女性大統領が弾劾されたことによって、「やはり女性はダメだ」という空気になることを心配しましたが、女性を党首とする政党が3つになったということで、良い方向への変化が続いています。政治の世界に女性が根付いてきています。ただ、すべてのレベルで、同じ速度で同じように変化するわけではありません。いま注目されているのは、日本の都道府県に当たる広域自治体の長です。17ある広域自治体の首長は、なんと100%男性です。このように、前進と停滞が入り混じりながら変化していくものだと思います。

ウッカマンさんが紹介されたような制度を、韓国でも導入したいと思いました。例えば、議論の場での発言についてのお話がありました。韓国では、最初に発言するのは経験のある男性です。下の立場の者はほとんど発言できません。文化的なものではありますが、男女交互に発言する、老若交互に発言する、そういう場を作るということを、韓国でもぜひやってみたいと思います。

申：広域自治体の首長のお話でしたが、前回の選挙で、「共に民主党」は女性候補を出していなかったことは、党首が女性であること、またムン大統領がフェミニスト大統領になると宣言したことを考えると、とても残念なことでした。

10 比例代表制非拘束式名簿では、各党の総投票数に応じてドント方式で当選人の数が決定し、さらに配分された当選人数の中で個人名での得票数が最も多い候補者から順次当選人が決まる（総務省「変わります21世紀の参議院議員選挙」(http://www.soumu.go.jp/senkyo/senkyo_s/news/senkyo/san_kaisei/pdf/senkyo_p4.pdf)）。

11 国会、自治体議会の女性の新人候補者を対象に、一定の選挙資金の提供、党国会議員らによる選挙応援などの必要な対策を行うもの（民進党男女共同参画推進本部ウェブサイト <https://gender.minshin.or.jp/water-and-seed>）。同サイトによれば、民主党WS基金支援実績（1999年～2015年）は支援者総数579名、当選者数326名、当選率56.3%となっている（<https://gender.minshin.or.jp/water-and-seed>）。

陳：私もそれについては残念に思っています。ただ、選挙は勝たなければ意味がないと言われます。国会議員については、すでにたくさんの女性がいるので、女性でもできるという認識があります。しかし、広域自治体の首長に対する期待は違います。行政、立法、人事、そして数千億から数兆ウォンという大きな予算を司る仕事をやり遂げられる女性がいるか、というところで、女性の候補者を見つけるのに失敗したのです。実は、女性候補もいるにはいたのですが、党内選挙の結果、女性に与えられる25%の加算点を足してもなお残らなかったのです。これは非常に苦い経験になりました。なので、これから候補者群を増やす準備をしようと思っています。

申：選挙の時に突然女性候補者を探すのではなく、それに向けた準備としての養成に党が取り組むべきということですね。ところで、私も、女性議員が増えるとどういう良い事があるのか、という質問をよく受けるのですが、この点についてお話しいただけますか。

円：私も同じ質問をよく受けます。1993年頃のことですが、国会でいろいろな質問をしようと準備をする時に、当時の厚生省や文部省から女性に関するデータを取り寄せようとしたら、データがなかったのです。女性に関する統計はほとんどありませんでした。この分野では女性がこんなに少ないというようなことの比較を見せて質問しようにも、データそのものがありませんでした。日本も女性を取り上げた統計を取らなくて、となってきたのは、1995年に北京で世界女性会議が開催された頃からです。では、私は実際どうしたかというと、秘書たちと一緒に手分けをして調べました。例えば、先ほど少しお話しした、女性が再就職することの障害となる年齢制限については、「教員免許は持っていても求人情報には35歳までと書いてある」とか「保育士の資格を持っても27歳までと書いてある」といったことを、政令指定都市や中核都市に片っ端から問い合わせました。それぞれの管轄機関である厚生省と文部省に問い合わせた時には、「地方自治体に任せているから知りません」と言われました。「調べたことはないんですか?」「ありません」「調べてくれませんか?」「そんなことはできません」。そんなやりとりがありました。夫婦別姓についての法案を最初に出したのは1996年です。選挙に出るには、お金の「カバン(鞆)」と知名度の「カンバン(看板)」、そして「ジバン(地盤)」が必要だと言われますが、女性は結婚をすると名字が変わりますから、「カンバン」が持て

ないわけです。そうやって、男の人たちが気がつかない様々な問題に、私たち女性は取り組んで、変えていくことができます。「なんだそんな小さなことか」と思われるかもしれませんが、大勢の女性たちに影響する問題です。金融の問題も、経済の問題も、本当はものすごく女性の生活に関わっています。女性の視点で見えていくことが本当に大事です。

陳：同じような話になりますが、まず政策や制度の導入に女性の見方が反映されているかどうかというと、反映されていないことの方が多いです。韓国の場合には、政策立法の領域に女性が入ってきた後で、政策の導入の速度が速くなっていると思います。当事者の視点が反映された政策は、立法、導入が速く進む傾向があると思います。女性の政治家が増えることは、性別役割分業の壁が壊されて、社会の構成員が自由になることに繋がっていると思います。「女性だからできない」ではなくて、「誰でもできる、自分がやるかやらないかである」になる。ですから、女性が進出することは、男性も解放することだと思います。私の選挙区は、これまで女性が立候補したことのない地域でした。職能団体などを訪問すると、出てきたリーダーは全員男性でした。そこに女性は料理を作るとか給仕をするという形で参加しています。「女性は料理や給仕をするべき存在」、「男性は代表をして監督して指示する存在」ということが自然になっていて、女性が彼らを代表するということは考えられないわけです。それを壊すことが大事だと思います。男女は同じであり、公益的な考えを持っている人、政策的な考えを持っている人、それが上手な人が政治をやるということになれば、男性も自由になると思うのです。「男の自分が女に負けた」と思わないようになることが大事だと思います。

ウッカマン：お二人のお話の通りだと思います。選挙権や被選挙権は特別なプレゼントではなく基本的な権利です。ですから、それを行行使して、私たちひとりひとりが政治に関わって、女性としての視点やアイデアも政治に反映させるべきだと思います。私たちは、女性として、やはり毎日、声を聞いてもらうために闘っています。簡単なことではないかもしれませんが、若い女性たちに、もっと政治に関心を持って、この闘いに加わって欲しいと思います。



Shin: First, let us confirm the current situation of women’s participation in politics in each country. According to the latest data from the Inter-parliamentary Union (IPU)’s survey of the ratio of women in parliaments in various countries (as of June 1, 2018), the percentage of female members in the House of Representatives in Japan is 10.1%, which places Japan at the 158th out of 193 countries, whereas South Korea is ranked at the 117th with 17% of women in National Assembly. The percentage of women in the German Bundestag scored 37% (22nd at the IPU ranking) before the general election in September 2017, however it dropped to 30.7% (46th at the IPU ranking) at the latest election. In terms of the electoral systems, the House of Representatives in Japan, the unicameral parliament of South Korea, and the Bundestag of Germany, all employ a mixture of a proportional representation (PR) system and single-member district (SMD) election system.¹ A quota system is stipulated by law in South Korea. In Germany, it is not stipulated by law, but each political party has voluntarily introduced a quota system, which can be described as a characteristic for the party.² In Japan, in May 2018, the National Diet passed a bill for gender equality in the political sphere, though it is considered the least advanced in comparison to other nations. How much to achieve with this legal framework is a challenge for the future in Japan. The situations on gender equality in politics differ in each country that our panelists represent today, but the keynote speeches and presentations of the panelists



have made it clear that female members of Parliament and women participating in politics face common challenges. Based on these findings, I would like to pose some questions to the panelists and hold discussions. The first question is for Ms. Jin and Ms. Madoka. Both of you became politicians after having a career in journalism or law. Could you tell us what led you to do that and what kind of hurdles you had to jump to reach the decision of becoming politicians?

Jin: To tell you the truth, my mother, who is here today, was against me becoming a politician. Even about being a lawyer, someone told me, “A lawyer is not suitable for you because you are a woman”. However, such gender bias around me has gradually changed. The efforts of many women, and men, led to the election of the first female Minister of Justice in South Korea in 2003.³ Then, the way of thinking about gender and politics changed like this, “As you are a woman, you should be able to make current politics more detailed and precise”. I’ve realized how my life can be changed by other people’s efforts. I saw the

1 In parallel voting in Japan and South Korea, voters simultaneously participate in two separate elections: single-seat constituency and proportional representation (Shujiro Kato, 2003 ‘Japanese Electoral System–What Changes the Politics’ , p. 98). However, though the electoral system of Germany also combines single-seat election system and proportional representation system, the total number of seats are allocated based on the number of votes at proportional representation election for each party, and winners of single-seat constituency are preferentially given these allocated seats (Takashi Yoshino et al., 2001, ‘Who Becomes Politicians?–International Comparison on Candidate Selection’ , p.67). It is often introduced as mixed-member proportional representation, but the allocation of seats is decided solely based on the proportional representation system; thus, experts say it is more accurate to consider this system as “another type of proportional representation system” (Kato, 2003, p. 99) or “proportional representation system that considers the majoritarian system” (Minoru Umezu et al., 2004, ‘Comparison of Electoral Politics–Elections in Six Advanced Nations in the Early 21st Century’ , p. 83).

2 Please see the Cabinet Office (2011) ‘2011 White Paper on Equal Participation of Men and Women’ “Part 1 Section 2, Global Positive Actions” for introduction of quota systems in South Korea and Germany and changes in the ratio of female members of parliament. (http://www.gender.go.jp/about_danjo/whitepaper/h23/gaiyou/html/honpen/b1_s00_02.html).

3 In February 2003, at the start of the Roh Moo-hyun administration, four female leaders were appointed as the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Health and Welfare, the Ministry of Environment, and the Ministry of Gender Equality. The first female minister of Justice, Ms. Kang Kum-sil, was in her 40s and a former lawyer. In previous political administrations, female ministers were only appointed in a limited number of ministries such as the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, the Ministry of Environment, and the Ministry of Health and Welfare; therefore, the appointment of a female minister of Justice was highly valued by female associations (Kentaro Yamamoto, 2005, “Political Participation by Women in South Korea” Reference 2005.4, p. 83).

change of the Householder System⁴ firsthand while working as a lawyer, which made me realize I want to have a job that can affect other people’s lives. As the political party I was affiliated with at the time was an opposite party, I thought, “If the person I support becomes the president, there will be an opportunity for major change in South Korea. I want to contribute to such a change in my own way”. This was when I decided to enter the political sphere.

Madoka: Originally, I was the type of person who was motivated by objections. I probably would have turned down the invitation to run for office if it had come from the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). At that time, the Japan New Party was such a small party that no one expected us to be elected. The LDP was very powerful and influential. As soon as I became a candidate of the Japan New Party, I lost all my regular positions in television programs. Further, my column in a national paper, which was supposed to be published the next day, was not published as well. I felt so much hostility to myself just because I was running from a political party other than the LDP. That was what pushed me on to run. I had volunteered and consulted on divorce issues for 30,000 people, and I had seen many cases where politics ruined the economy, leading to bankruptcy of

companies and loss of jobs. Hence, I wanted to change these situations in the political sphere. I think a Diet member was an interesting, worthwhile job. If I complain about how hard it was, I will not be a role model for young people to join politics. I believe no other job is as interesting as this one. If we become Diet members, we can truly change the world, while earning rewards. I had no income as a volunteer and had spent all my income as writer, but being a Diet member is a wonderful, paid work.

Shin: Ms. Uekermann began her political activities at the age of 14. Unlike Ms. Jin and Ms. Madoka, I think Ms. Uekermann found it quite natural to enter the world of politics. Could you tell us about that?

Uekermann: First, I came from a very political family. My father, my mother and my younger sister are engaged in political activities. When I was 14, the introduction of the tuition fee system became a major issue in Germany.⁵ If we have to pay tuition to go to school, children from rich families may easily go to universities, whereas children from poor families cannot. This made me engaged in politics. I felt that education should be open to everyone. The SPD and the Jusos tackled this issue and I started attending their meetings and events.

4 In South Korea, a bill for the partial revision of Civil Law was during the 17th Regular National Assembly on March 2, 2005. It included the full abolishment of the householder system. For history and significance of the householder system in South Korea, please refer to Shin Ki-young (2006, “An Analysis of Civil Movement for Abolishment of Householder System in South Korea from a Feminist Perspective” International Women vol. 20) and Takae Yoshikawa (2015, “The Abolition of the Kosshu System and Family Law Reform in Korea: From the Perspective of the Feminist Movement” Ritsumeikan Journal of Law and Politics vol. 13) .

5 According to the survey conducted by the National Diet Library (2015, “University Fees and Scholarships in Various Countries” Survey and Information-Issue Brief- No. 869 (2015.7.9), p. 5), the history of the conflict between states and the federal government over fees for higher education in Germany is as follows:
1960s Tuition fees were abolished for the reason of social equity. Higher education became free in all states.
1990s Due to tight state budget, examination into introduction of tuition fees began. Targets were those studying for a long-term period (those who are enrolled four terms or more than the standard years of enrollment required for graduation (three to four years for an undergraduate program)).
Fall 1998 The Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and Alliance 90/The Greens formed federal coalition and appealed for free higher education, which led to a conflict over the rights associated with higher education between the federal and state governments.
2002 The coalition government stipulated that education was free until acquisition of the first degree (equivalent of an undergraduate degree in Japan) through a revision to the Basic Law on Higher Education. States sued the federal government for unconstitutional prohibition of tuition fees.
2005 The German Federal Constitutional Court ruled the prohibition of tuition fees unconstitutional, and free tuition was abolished. Introduction of tuition fees for regular students spread through states. There were protest demonstrations by students across the country. When the tuition fee for higher education became the political point of contention, political parties that promised to abolish tuition fees won the state assembly elections one after another. Six states offered free tuitions.
2014 The state of Lower Saxony that remained until the end, tuition fee was removed as of the winter term. However, some states continued to charge tuition for students enrolling beyond the designated number of terms or students seeking for a second degree.



Shin: Ms. Madoka talked about how interesting it is to work as a Diet member. Ms. Jin and Ms. Madoka, can you explain in more details on what you think are good points about being a politician and what we can fulfill when we become politicians?

Madoka: There are many reasons why I became a politician. I was affiliated with the opposition party. So, even if we opposed bills introduced by the ruling party, we did hardly make success to rejecting them. I was frustrated at times. For a long time, I have been against laws that constrain the freedom of individuals, such as the My Number system and the Antiterrorism Special Measures Law.⁶ Despite holding a senior position in the executive department, the chairperson of the party policy board, I resigned from the party to

join another party to oppose the Antiterrorism Special Measures Law.⁷ Not only that, I also tried to convince my own party when it opposed a bill it had initially agreed with. When opposing the “Wiretap law”,⁸ I worked for 72 days and gave a three-hour speech to protest the steamrolling of the law. I did not make an objection all the time, but I will hold my ground at any price when I think I should make an objection Not just about myself, I cannot be a bystander or ignore women, or anyone who is living honestly, if they are placed under oppressive politics. I can’t do that definitely. There must be more things we can change on our own than we think. Because my life has been like that for the last 17 years, I find being a Diet member very fulfilling.

6 1. The commonly known name for “special measures law on measures put in by Japan against activities of countries to achieve the goals set by Charters of the United Nations as a response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack against the United States of America, and humane measures based on the United Nations resolutions”. A law created, with the September 11, 2011 multiple terrorist attacks on the United States of America, to actively contribute to the efforts of the international society to prevent and eradicate international terrorism, and to contribute to the assurance of peace and safety of the international society including Japan. The law was created based on the resolution of the United Nations Security Council, which criticized the actions of international terrorists, and demanded that the United Nations member states take appropriate measures to prevent such actions. Expired in November 2007. Antiterrorism Special Measures Law. Antiterrorism Special Measures Law. / 2. The commonly used name for “Act on Special Measures Concerning Implementation of Replenishment Support Activities Towards the Anti-Terrorism Maritime Interdiction Operation” enacted in place of 1. (Shogakukan, *Digital Daijisen*).

7 The situation at the time is described in the activity reports within the “Official Website for Yoriko Madoka” (<http://www.madoka-yoriko.jp/topics/5211>).

8 This is an abbreviation for “Act on Wiretapping for Criminal Investigation”, which “stipulates requirements and procedures when law enforcement requires intercepting communications associated with crimes such as between culprits in investigations of organized crimes such as murder, arms dealings, and drug dealings. It was enacted in August 2000. Wiretrap Law” (Shogakukan, *Digital Daijisen*). As of December 1, 2016, the subjects of interception were expanded (to the original four—“drugs”, “weapons”, “mass smuggling of illegal immigrants”, and “organized murder”—nine more subjects were added—“use of explosives”, “murder”, “assault”, “arson”, “kidnapping”, “illegal arrest or confinement”, “fraud”, “larceny”, and “child pornography”), and a representative from telecommunications career at the time of interception was no longer required (*Sankei News*, <https://www.sankei.com/affairs/news/160928/afr1609280004-n1.html>).

Jin: Initially, I was in the opposition party, and then became a member of the ruling party after the previous presidential election and local election. I have served for four years as a member elected at a PR system (the 19th National Assembly) and for two years as a member elected at SMD system (the 20th National Assembly). It is not a long tenure, but so many things happened in South Korea during these years. Especially related with female participation in politics, the previous president was the first female president in South Korean history. Being impeached during a presidential term was also the first thing in our history. Subsequently, Mr. Moon Jae-in became the president. I have experienced this era dramatic change as a politician. At times, I felt helpless and apologetic to the citizens of South Korea, and had sleepless nights. However, the social situation changed when our party became the ruling one. The division of North and South Korea and the threat of war has lasted for many years, but today, we are in the process of building a new peace. I feel that this is like a dream. As a politician, I feel most fulfilled right now. I believe the issues of the Korean Peninsula are linked with global issues.

Shin: Ms. Uekermann is not yet a member of Parliament, but what do you enjoy about activities within a political party?

Uekermann: It is important for women to become members of Parliament, members of Cabinet and prime ministers. But at the same time, it is also important for women, especially young women, to become involved with party activities and politics at the community level. I am active at the assembly of my district too. We do not discuss national or global-level issues at the local assembly, but it is important to reflect women's perspectives in dealing with community-level issues. Through party activities, I learned how to give speeches, design education programs for youth, organize events and meetings, and engage in debate. Participating with a

political party is meaningful because you can learn these skills.

Shin: That is quite true. All people don't need to become members of Parliament, but it is important to convey women's voices to political parties by actively participating in local society and political party activities.

As related to the fulfillment we just heard about, it is also important to think about how to continue careers as a politician. In South Korea, when women become members of the National Assembly for the first term through the quota system of the PR election, there is an unspoken rule that we can become "quota women" but cannot be candidates of the PR district again for the second term. It makes reelection of "quota women" very difficult. Therefore, they cannot continue their careers as politicians. Ms. Jin is one of the few female members of Parliament who has overcome this difficulty. Can you tell us how you developed your career from being a "quota woman" to being a female member of Parliament who could win in an SMD?

Jin: The National Assembly of South Korea has 300 members, with 250 from SMDs and 50 from the PR district. At the PR election, a quota system that requires 50% women is operated. In 2012, when I first became an assembly member, 54 men and women were elected through the PR system. Out of these 54 members, only four were reelected in 2016. This is because they had to run in SMDs for the second term. It is difficult to find a district to run at. It is difficult for new candidates to run at an SMD where a candidate from the same party has already been active. Especially in closely contested districts, candidates have been active for a long time. When an assembly member who won once a seat at the PR election tries to carry on an election campaign at a specific single-member constituency, he or she will be criticized severely by their colleagues from the same party at that constituency. Candidates of PR are placed on the candidate list for their expertise, but candidates of single-member constituencies are valued

for their personalities. The latter candidates must have skills, such as being friendly, polite, humble, and kind when talking to people. It is difficult for people who have built their experiences in specialized occupations to have such characteristics as well as such personalities. When meeting people directly, sometimes you might feel disrespected by them. People might look at you with a negative attitude such as, "Why are you a candidate?" They might brush your hand away when you try to shake their hand. They may even throw your name card away in front of you. It was very difficult to keep my mind at my mission—"I am going to do this"—while being treated that way repeatedly.

Madoka: Ms. Jin, thought there was another possible candidate in your constituency, why and how did you become an approved candidate?

Jin: I and that candidate carried on a primary election of the party, and I won.



Madoka: I was a member of the House of Councillors and was also the Chairperson of the Tokyo Metropolitan Branches of the Democratic Party of Japan. The chairperson has the authority to decide on who are approved candidates of 25 single-member constituencies in Tokyo. There were a lot of objections

against me, as a woman, when running for the chairperson. Of course, having the authority to decide approved candidates does not mean that I could decide them alone. I had many discussions with the party leaders, and finally the list of candidates was approved at the executive board meeting. Even if there is a wonderful female candidate in a constituency, and if there is a male candidate, especially a male incumbent from the same party in the constituency, it is impossible for her to be elected. There is no concept of holding a primary election within a party in Japan. The incumbent is always prioritized. Constituencies in which a new candidate could run are those with very popular incumbents of the ruling party. Therefore, first, a new candidate has to decide to run at a constituency that is not your hometown, where you have no network or relatives, as a carpetbagging candidate. When running in a single-member constituency, one must be ready to work hard in an unfamiliar place and take a risk to lose the election to the incumbent, twice, three times, or more. Even then, the funding may not last, and the majority of people give up running. However, it was good for me to be a chairperson with authority about candidate selection, because I was able to say, like "We should have a female, not male, candidate in that constituency". Hence, becoming the chairman was worth it.

In terms of PR system of the House of Councillors, a party list used to be a closed one. The order of candidates in the list was fixed, and the number of winners was decided based on the number of votes the party won. For example, it was possible to arrange the number of men and women by positioning the first to fourth candidates in the order of "woman, man, woman, man". However, this was changed to an open list in 2001. In this system, votes can be cast for specific candidates on the list, in addition to parties. If an individual candidate wins a large number of votes, both the total number of votes and seats for the party and the possibility for that candidate to win will

increase.⁹ This means that, for example, only those who have support from large organizations such as associations of medical professionals, bureaucratic groups, and labor unions of companies, can win. It is difficult for women without organizational support or money to win.

As Ms. Jin experienced, I have been hit by a bicycle, and I hear a woman had her hand cut with a razor which someone had when he or she shook her hand during her election campaign. I have experienced a lot of offensive treatment; but if you worry about this, you cannot become a Diet member or even a local assembly member. In fact, the situation is much worse for local assemblies, and not only candidates, but also their children will be harassed. To overcome these harassments, election candidates need efficient strategists, and supporters. Even if they are opposing alone in the Diet or local assemblies, as long as supporters, office staff, and strategists back them up, they can go on.

Shin: I think that for women who want to become politicians by overcoming such difficulties, the

gatekeeper is the political party. It is a role of political parties to discover ambitious women, foster their professional development, and help them become politicians. What type of efforts do you think are necessary to provide leadership education for women?

Uekermann: Women need support, especially from other women and political parties. As I discussed in the presentation, in our party, we established an educational program called “Women to Power”. It is for young women who just started to get engaged in politics. In the program, they learn about how the political system works and about skills such as giving speeches and participating in discussions. Another program called “Women in Power” is designed for women who are incumbent members of Parliament or leaders. In addition to such skills, women learn about how to create a network. Women can unite, empower each other, and think about their proposals and strategies together. Our new program called “Women’s BarCamp” provides a venue for women to hold open discussions. It allows women to express their opinions, participate in workshops, and discuss on whatever topics they want. For example, when



⁹ With the PR closed list, based on the total number of votes cast for each political party, the number of winners is determined through the D’Hondt method. Within the seats allocated to the party, actual winning candidates are determined in the order of the number of votes cast for individual candidates. (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. “The Changing 21st Century Elections for Members of the House of Councillors” (http://www.soumu.go.jp/senkyo/senkyo_s/news/senkyo/san_kaisei/pdf/senkyo_p4.pdf)).

older men are part of a discussion, they may intimidate young female speakers by saying to them, “Do not ask stupid questions” or “You do not know that?” It is important for young women to provide a safe place without such obstacles.

Madoka: I was quite envious of what Ms. Uekermann just said. I do not believe there is any Japanese political party that has such a well-developed framework for increasing the number of female members in offices. When I was affiliated with the Democratic Party of Japan, we had a program called “Water & Seed”¹⁰ that provided financial support for new female candidates and fostered their careers, both in national local elections. Unfortunately, as the party disappeared, we no longer do or cannot do anything. “The Political School for Women” has been held for 25 years, and people who have become Diet members participate repeatedly. This is because our school builds a network. Within it, women exchange information and hold discussions about various concerns and policies. The other day, people involved with the school, who came from all over Japan, gave a two-hour speech near Yotsuya Station. At the school, we offer voice and debate training programs as well. Japanese schools do not train pupils and students to debate, and most people do not express their opinions, but those who went through our school and became Diet members found our debate training program quite useful in an uninviting setting, where they were surrounded by men. I think practical training like that should be provided by political parties.

Jin: In Korea, there is a major change occurring. Among the current political parties, leaders of three parties—the Democratic Party of Korea, the Party for Democracy and Peace, and the Justice Party—are women. Those party leaders have, for example, required that 50% of all the committee members

within their party to be women, in order to make a change. This has led to a difficult situation where one woman needs to participate in several committees, i.e., one person must take on many roles. Despite such problems, the presence of women in executive positions within political parties has an influence. When I was a lawyer, the new government required members of advisory committee in the public domain to be at least 30% women. The people in charge of the committee struggled to find qualified women, but as a lawyer, I participated in the advisory committee then. I was surrounded by older, experienced male members of Parliament. In my early 30s, I had to debate with men in their 50s. It has been about 20 years since then, and there are more women in these executive positions. To increase the number of such women, institutional framework and support are essential.

However, such changes did not occur linearly. A female president was elected and then impeached. Honestly, people had a strong mistrust of female politicians in the past. I worried that the impeachment of the female president would make people feel that “women are not meant for politics”, but since three political parties have had female leaders, changes are occurring in the right direction. Women are putting down their roots in the political sphere. However, changes do not occur at the same speed and in the same way at all levels. Currently, there is a focus on leaders of upper-level local governments, which are equivalent to prefectures in Japan. All the leaders of the 17 upper-level local governments are men. Therefore, I believe changes happen through advancement and stagnation.

I would love to introduce the systems which Ms. Uekermann talked about. For example, she gave us a story about speaking out in discussions. In South

¹⁰ It is a program that implements necessary measures for new female candidates for the Diet and local assemblies such as providing some campaign funds and campaign support by members of the parliament in the same political party (the Democratic Party homepage for promotion of gender equality, <https://gender.minshin.or.jp/water-and-seed>). According to this website, The Democratic Party WS subsidies (1999–2015) have supported a total of 579 candidates, with 326 winners and 56.3% winning rate (<https://gender.minshin.or.jp/water-and-seed>).

Korea, the first person to speak out is an experienced man. People at lower positions barely speak. It is a cultural issue, but I would love to try to provide a venue of discussions, like that men and women or old and young people take turns when they are talking together.

Shin: There was a mention of the leaders of upper-level local governments in South Korea. It was quite unfortunate that the Democratic Party of Korea did not have any female candidate in the last election, given that the party leader is a woman, and President Moon declared himself a feminist president.

Jin: I also found that disappointing, but it is said that there is no point in losing at elections. There are already many female members of the National Assembly, and it is acknowledged that women can be members of the National Assembly. However, expectations for the leaders of upper-level local governments are different. Are there any women who can be responsible for large budgets of several 100 billion to several trillion won along with administration, legislation, and human resources? With that concern, they failed to find female candidates. Actually, there were female possible candidates, but they did not win at the primary elections within the party, even with the additional 25% points for women. This was a bitter experience, and I hope to prepare to enlarge the pool of female candidates.

Shin: Instead of suddenly looking for female candidates just before the election, the party should prepare for fostering candidates. By the way, I am often asked if it is a good thing to increase the number of female members of Parliament. Can you expand on that?

Madoka: I am often asked the same question too. Around 1993, I was preparing for questions at the National Diet. When I tried to gather data on women from the Ministry of Health and Welfare and the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, I found that there were no such data. There were almost no

statistics on women. I had wanted to ask questions at the Diet about how few women were in several fields and to compare the scarcity of women among the fields, but there were no data on women only. It was 1995, the year the World Conference on Women was held in Beijing, when Japan realized statistics on women were needed. What did I do then? I surveyed as much as I could with my assistants. For example, in regard to the age restriction that hinders women from getting jobs, I asked ordinance-designated cities and core cities about the age restriction on job posting. When we asked the Ministry of Health and Welfare and the Ministry of Education as competent authorities for local governments, they answered that they left surveys to local governments. We continued questions, like “Have you ever done a survey on women?” and “Will you do that?” Then, they answered, “No, we have never”, and “We won’t do that”. As a result, we found that women were hindered from getting qualifications as a teacher and childcare worker at the age of 35 and 27 respectively. I first proposed a bill for different family names for husbands and wives in 1996. It is said that you need money (*kaban*, a bag), fame (*kanban*, name recognition), and a local supporting group (*jiban*) to run for an office; but when women get married, almost all of them change their last names. This means they cannot keep their name recognition. Thus, women could tackle and change various issues that men are unaware of. You may think this is a minor issue, but it affects a large number of women. Financial and economic issues closely affect women’s lives. About the question, “Is it good to increase the number of female members of Parliament?” I think it is necessary to acknowledge that politics is linked directly with women’s lives and livelihood.

Jin: As Ms. Madoka said, women’s perspective is not usually reflected in policies or the introduction of systems. In South Korea, as women entered the area of policy legislation, policies are being introduced faster. Policies that reflect the viewpoints of people



involved tend to accelerate in legislation and introduction. The increase in the number of female politicians is connected to the breaking down of gender roles, which frees people in the social communities. People think, “Anyone can do this, and it just matters if I will do it or not” instead of “I cannot do this because I am a woman”. Therefore, women running for office also frees men. In my constituency, no women have ever run. When I visited professional associations, all the leaders were men. Women participated by taking a part in cooking and serving. It seemed natural for everyone to think that women cook and serve while men represent, supervise, and instruct members of the associations. No one thought that women could represent men. I think it is important to break through that way of thinking. Men and women are equal. If people who think as public servants and politicians, and who are skilled at such thinking run the politics, men would be free. It is important for men not to think “I, as a man, lost to a woman”.

Uekermann: I agree with you both. The right to vote and run for election are not special gifts but basic rights. Therefore, each of us should utilize these rights, become involved with politics, and have our perspectives and ideas as women reflected in politics. Every day, we as women fight to have our voices heard. It may not be easy, but I want young women to be more interested in politics and join this fighting.



質問1: 陳さんへの質問です。韓国の徴兵制度は男性限定ですが、軍事問題について、女性議員の意見は考慮されますか？

陳: 陸軍士官学校という学校があります。そこに首席で入学したのは女性でした。首席で卒業したのも女性でした。非常に驚くべき変化だと思います。徴兵制は男性ですが、自発的に軍隊に入る女性も増えています。女性には妊娠して子どもを育てる社会的義務があるからということで、男性の社会的義務として徴兵制が作られました。そして、兵役を終えた男性が就職するときに、加算点をもらえる制度がありました。男性だけに権利がある加算点です。結局その加算点制度は、裁判所の違憲判断が出て廃止され、男女が同等に試験を受けられるようになりました。昨日には、良心的兵役の拒否についての、非常に意味のある憲法裁判の結果が出ました¹。良心的、つまり宗教的な理由で兵役を拒否する人々への処罰規定について、処罰規定は合憲だけれども、代替規定を作る必要があるという裁判所の判断です。こうした問題は、女性も一緒に議論しているということです。

質問2: 円さんへの質問です。「女性のための政治スクール」が長く続いているのは、党の政治スクールではなかったことにありますが、これは意図的にされたことですか？

円: 「女性のための政治スクール」は、日本新党のときに作ったものですが、もともと超党派で、それも女性だけではなくて、志ある老若男女、みんなOKという形ではじめました。民主党が同じ名前のスクールを作りましたが別物です²。私のスクールは、加藤シヅエさん、加藤タキさん、細川佳代子さんと一緒にやってきて、いま私が校長ですが、スクール自体はどの政党にも一度も所属したことはありません。

質問3: 円さんへの質問です。自民党から、参議院の比例代表に「特定枠」を設ける案が出されていますが、これを機に、非拘束名簿方式を拘束名簿方式に変えていくというのはどうでしょうか。ご意見を伺えますか。



円: 現在議論になっているのは、島根と鳥取、徳島と高知の合区によって、立候補できなくなった人々を救済するために、拘束名簿方式を一部導入するという、自民党がやろうとしている方法です³。でもそれを利用して拘束名簿式に戻し

てはどうかということですね。拘束名簿方式をやめた経緯には、自民党内でお金と引き換えに名簿の順位を上げてもらった候補者もいるということもあります。ですから、「拘束式名簿の方が女性の議席が増えやすいから」という理由だけでは、(拘束式名簿から非拘束式名簿に変わった経緯を考えると) 女性の世論の大きな後押しでもない限り、難しいと思います。今はまだ、やっと「政治分野における男女共同参画推進法」ができたぐらいで、クォータ制もできていませんので。

質問4: ウッカマンさんへの質問です。ドイツでは、公教育における政治教育をどのようにしていますか。



ウッカマン: ドイツの学校教育では政治について教えています。12歳くらいから、週に1時間ぐらい政治の授業があります。政治制度や社会問題、どのような政党があるか、そして選挙制度についても学びます。でも、私自身は、もっとやるべきだと思っています。政治の議論をもっとやるべきです。政党(的なこと)は学校の中に入っていけない決まりになっていますし、政治的な議論をしてはいけないことになっています。ドイツでは、政治家と若者の間に距離があります。政治家も普通の人間であるということをわかってもらい、自由に質問をするというような形でのコンタクトがあれば、若者がもっと政治に関心を持つようになると思います。

質問5: 陳さんへの質問です。野田大臣の基調講演で、日本ではクォータ制を入れるとしたら、男性議員が男性の議席数が減ることを心配するというお話がありましたが、韓国でクォータ制を入れるときに、男性議員からの反対はなかったのですか。

陳: 男性からの反対はものすごくありました。でも世論によって、それが抑えられました。ですから、市民社会の意見は重要です。また、はじめは反対した男性議員たちも、女性議員がいる状況に慣れてくると、それを当然のこととして受け止められるようになります。選挙の過程では、党の公認を得ることが必要になりますが、その公認権を行使する委員会も50%を女性にすることになりました。そうやって少しずつ空気が変わってきています。

質問6: 皆さんへの質問です。女性の認識もそうですが、男性の認識の転換も大事だと思います。男性の認識はどう変わっているのか、あるいは、男性の認識を改善するための取組がありましたら教えてください。

ウッカマン: 男性の意識改革については、任意の自主的な改革では不十分で、公的なガイドラインが必要です。社会民主党内ではガイドラインを作成しました。男性の中には反対した人もありましたが、女性たちが闘って、最終的に勝利を収めました。女性は女性に投票する傾向があります。例えばメルケル首相ですが、彼女は保守党出身で、フェミニストでもありません。同一賃金にも反対していて、女性のために何かしてくれるわけではない。でも女性は、彼女が女性だからという理由で投票するのです。そうすることで、自分の女性としての意見が反映されるのではないかと期待するので、社会民主党内でも、どのようにしたら女性票を獲得できるかが議論になります。女性や若者を候補者にとすると、女性の票を取りやすくなります。そこを利用して女性を前面に出

1 『ハンギョレ』(2018年6月29日配信)「ニュース分析 良心的兵役拒否、今後は処罰できず…裁判・起訴も中止される見込み」(<http://japan.hani.co.kr/arti/politics/30987.html>)。

2 例えば、1998年10月4日、福島県で民主党支部連合会準備会が開かれた際、同11日の設立総会の前に「女性のための政治スクール」を開催すると、報道があった(『朝日新聞』1998年10月5日朝刊)。

3 2018年7月18日、参議院の定数を6増やす改正公職選挙法が成立した。一票の格差問題から、埼玉県選挙区を6(改選3)から8(改選4)に増やし、比例区については定数を96(改選48)から100(改選50)に4増やすとともに各党が「特別枠」(政党名簿上で、候補者が優先的に当選できる枠)を設けることができるように改正された(NHK解説委員会「参院定数6増 比例特定枠導入～選挙制度改革行方は」(時論公論)(2018年7月19日、<http://www.nhk.or.jp/kaisetsu-blog/100/301931.html>)。最大の焦点となったのは、特別枠の導入で、現行の非拘束式名簿に、登載順で当選が決まる拘束式名簿を一部導入することになり、制度が複雑で有権者に分かりにくいといった批判や疑問が国会の審議で挙げられた(同上)。自民党が特別枠導入にこだわったのは、2016年に導入された合区(隣接する2つの県を一つの選挙区にするもので、「鳥取・島根」、「徳島・高知」の2つの選挙区(ともに改選の定数1))で調整で公認候補から外れた選挙区候補の救済を想定しているからだとしている(同上)。実際に、自民党は役員会で2019年の参院選挙で、「鳥取・島根」、「徳島・高知」の現職議員のうち擁立が見送られる議員を比例代表の「特別枠」に載せる方針を了承したと報道されている(産経ニュース「自民、比例『特別枠』での救済を決定 合区県の現職」<https://www.sankei.com/politics/news/180807/pl1808070013-n1.html>)。また、特別枠について、自民党の党利党略だと批判していた野党からも「党運営に欠かせない候補を優先的に当選させられる」(立憲幹部)、「女性枠やLGBT(性的少数者)枠で使えるかもしれない」(国民民主党幹部)といった前向きな評価も出てきている(時事通信社「特定枠、野党も関心=重点候補にメリット=参院選改革」<https://www.jiji.com/jc/article?k=2018071801125&g=pol>)。

していくことでも、男性の意識は変わるのではないかと思います。党として成功したいという気持ちは、男性も持っていますから。

円: 児童買春・児童ポルノ処罰法を作ったとき、なぜ「買う」⁴ 人を罰せずに「売る」人の方を罰するのか、委員会で質問をし続けました⁵。男の人はわからないのです。それで「ばい」春では、「売る」も「買う」も同じなので、「かい」春にしようとした。そうしたら、内閣法制局からも他からも、「かいしゅん」なんていう言葉はありませんものすごく反対されました。でも、押し切りました。このように、言葉から変えていくこともものすごく重要だと思います。

陳: 男性の意識の改善には、実践が大事だと思います。反対したり嫌がったりはあっても、決定権者による決定や世論の圧力によって、制度の導入が進み、変化が起きてくると、認識が変わります。私自身も、女性が外交部のトップになるのはまだ先のことと思っていましたが、実現しました。国土交通部、雇用労働部の長官も女性です。そうした変化が進ん

でいけば、男性の意識も少しずつ変わっていくと思います。ですから、皆さんの挑戦が大事なのです。

申: 最後に、若い女性たちへのメッセージをお願いします。

ウッカマン: 政治に関わることはとても重要です。忘れないでください、人口の半分は女性です。私たちの声は聞いてもらうべきです。

円: 政治は必ず変えられます。若者よ、特に女性よ、大志を抱け。

陳: 皆さんと共にいる人たちの生活を変える力が、皆さんの中にあるのです。自分の力を信じてください。

申: 力強いメッセージをありがとうございました。会場にお集まりの皆さんの中から、新しい政治家が生まれることを期待しています。



4 「買春」とは「男が報酬を与えて女の貞操を買うこと。1970年代半ばから、売春は男の側にこそ問題があるという観点からいわれた語。かいしゅん」（岩波書店『広辞苑』第六版）。

5 児童買春・児童ポルノ処罰法（「児童買春、児童ポルノに係る行為等の処罰及び児童の保護等に関する法律」）は1999年5月26日、議員立法で成立した（『朝日新聞』1999年7月13日朝刊）。「児童買春・児童ポルノを取り締まり、児童（18歳未満）の権利を擁護することを目的とした法律」で、「国の内外を問わず18歳未満の児童に金品を与えて性的行為をすることや、児童を被写体としたポルノの製造や提供などを禁止する」法律である（小学館『日本大百科全書（ニッポニカ）』の解説より）。「従来からある売春防止法は、売春そのものについては処罰せず、売春を公然と勧誘する行為や助長する行為等を処罰する」（同上）、つまり「売る」人のみ処罰するのに対して、同法は、「金品を与えて行う児童との性的行為（買春）の処罰」（同上）、つまり「買う」人への処罰や「児童ポルノの製造や提供等を処罰」することを含む日本で初めての法律である（同上）。

Question 1 : This is a question for Ms. Jin. The military draft system in South Korea is limited to men, but are the opinions of female assembly members regarding military issues taken into consideration?

Jin: There is a school called Korea Military Academy. The student who was accepted with the highest marks was a woman, and the student who graduated with the highest marks was also a woman. It is quite a change. The draft system is only for men, but there are increasing numbers of women who voluntarily join the military. Because women have a social obligation to become pregnant and raise children, the draft system was created as a social obligation for men. When men applied for a job at the end of their military service, there was a system that provided additional points for them. This system was only available for men. The court determined this point system was unconstitutional, and the system was

abolished, leading to both men and women being able to take exams for employment on equal ground. Recently, there was a significant trial outcome on conscientious objection to military service.¹ The court determined that it is constitutional to punish someone's refusal of military service for conscientious objections—in other words, religious reasons—but there must be an alternative. Women join the discussions on these issues.

Question 2 : This is a question for Ms. Madoka. The reason “the Political School for Women” has lasted for a long time is that it was not a political school within the party. Was this intentional?

Madoka: We created “the Political School for Women” when I was a member of the Japan New Party, but it began as nonpartisan school, accepting everyone including not only women but also old, young, men, and anyone with aspiration. The Democratic Party created a school with the same name, but we are not related with it.² I have been running my school with Ms. Shizue Kato, Ms. Taki Kato, and Ms. Kayoko Hosokawa, and now I serve as the principal. However, the school itself has never been affiliated with any political party.

Question 3 : This is a question for Ms. Madoka. The Liberal Democratic Party is proposing a “special quota” for proportional representation in the House of Councillors. What about changing the open-list system to a closed-list one? What is your opinion?

Madoka: Currently, there is a discussion on the method proposed by the Liberal Democratic Party, in which a closed system is to be partially introduced to help people who are no longer able to run for office due to the creation of the Shimane-Tottori and



1 *Hankyoreh*, June 29, 2018, “News Analysis. Consciences objection, no longer punishable…trials and prosecutions to be discontinued” (<http://japan.hani.co.kr/arti/politics/30987.html>).

2 For example, when there was a meeting of the Democratic Party Branch Association in Fukushima Prefecture on October 4, 1998, prior to the inaugural meeting to be held on the 11th of the same month, there was an announcement that “the Political School for Women” would be established (*The Asahi Shimbun*, October 5, 1998, morning edition).

Tokushima-Kochi at-large districts.³ Whether we use that to go back to a closed system or not is the question. The history that led to the abolishment of the [previous] closed system includes candidates who had their names moved up on the list in exchange for money within the LDP. Therefore, given the history of the closed-list system changing to the open-list one, the reason of “the closed system makes it easier to increase the number of seats held by women” alone is not enough unless there is strong support by women’s public opinion. At this point, we have just barely achieved the Act on Promotion of Women’s Participation and Advancement in the Workplace in the Political Sphere. We don’t even have a quota system yet.

Question 4 : This is a question for Ms. Uekermann. In Germany, what is political education like in the public education system?

Uekermann: In German school education, since about 12 years old, students take an hour-class of politics every week. Political systems, social issues, political parties, and the electoral system are taught in this class; but I personally think they can learn more. There should be more political discussions at school. Political parties are not allowed to bring in any political activities to the schools. In Germany, there is

a distance between politicians and young people. The youth need to understand that politicians are regular people. If the youth are given an opportunity to communicate with politicians and to ask questions freely, they would be more interested in politics.

Question 5 : This is a question for Ms. Jin. In her keynote speech, Minister Noda mentioned that male Diet members were concerned that introducing a quota system would reduce the number of seats open to men. When the quota system was introduced in South Korea, was there any opposition from male assembly members?

Jin: There was quite a bit of opposition from men, but it was suppressed by public opinion. Thus, the opinion of civil society is important. Male assembly members who initially opposed [the quota system] will become accustomed to the presence of women in the Assembly and will accept it. During the electoral process, candidates are required to have official approval of candidacy by their party. Now, the committees that grant official approval in parties decide that they must have 50% women among their candidates. In this way, the atmosphere in the society is changing gradually.



Question 6 : This is a question to all of you. Recognition of women is important, but changes in men’s recognition are also important. How is men’s recognition changing? Are there any efforts to improve men’s recognition?

Uekermann: To change men’s awareness, I think counting on voluntary reform is insufficient. There must be a formal guideline. When the SPD created a guideline, there were some men who opposed it, but women fought back and won. Women tend to vote for women. For example, the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel, is from a conservative party and is not a feminist. She opposes equal pay and does not do anything for women. But women vote for her because she is a woman. They expect their opinion as women will be reflected. The SPD discusses how they can win women’s votes. With female or young candidates, it is easier to gain women’s votes. Given this fact and having a female face on the party may change men’s awareness. Men want the party to succeed as well.

Madoka: When the Act on Regulation and Punishment of Acts Relating to Child Prostitution and Child Pornography was enacted, I continued to ask⁴ at the committee why those who “buy”⁵ are not punished while those who “sell” are punished; men did not understand it. In prostitution, those who “sell” and “buy” are equally guilty; therefore, we proposed changing the name to *kai-shun* (an incorporation of the word “sell” and “buy”). The Cabinet Legislation Bureau and others strongly opposed this idea, arguing that there is no such word as *kai-shun*. But we

pushed through. I think it is important to start with changing the words.

Jin: To improve men’s awareness, practice is important. Even if there is an opposition, decision makers will make the decision, and with the pressure of public opinion, a new system is introduced and things will change. This will, in turn, change the acknowledgement by men. I thought it would be a long time before a woman would hold a top position in the ministry, but it happened. The ministers of the Ministry of Land Infrastructure and Transport and the Ministry of Labor are both women. With such changes, men’s awareness will slowly change. This is why you must keep on challenging.

Shin: Finally, do you have a message for young women?

Uekermann: It is very important to have more young women to be involved in politics. Don’t be afraid, half of the population is women. Our voices must be heard.

Madoka: Politics can be changed. Young people, especially women, be ambitious!

Jin: The power to change the lives of people around you is in you. Trust yourselves!

Shin: Thank you for such powerful messages. I hope to see some new politicians from the audience here today.

3 On July 8, 2018, the revised Public Officers Election Act was established to increase the number of seats in the House of Councillors by six. Due to a problem with inequality in each vote, the Saitama Prefecture constituency increased its number of seats from 6 (re-election of 3) to 8 (re-election of 4). In terms of proportionally represented area, the number increased by four seats, from 96 (re-election of 48) to 100 (re-election of 50). At the same time, the revision specified that each party has a “special quota” (where candidates can be placed at the top of the candidate list and preferentially elected) (NHK News Commentators Bureau, “Increasing the number of councilors by six. Introducing proportional special quota. What happens to the electoral system reform?” *Jiron Koron*, July 19, 2018, <http://www.nhk.or.jp/kaisetsu-blog/100/301931.html>). The main focus was the introduction of the “special quota,” and the closed system (where election win was determined in the order of registration) was to be partially introduced to the current open system; however, criticism and questions were raised during the deliberation at the Diet that the system was too complicated for voters to understand (*Jiron Koron*, July 19, 2018). It is said that the Liberal Democratic Party was keen on introducing the “special quota” to help candidates who had been removed from the approved candidate list when the integration of constituencies was introduced in 2016 (two adjacent prefectures were combined into one constituency, and two constituencies, Tottori-Shimane and Tokushima-Kochi, which each have one re-election seat, were affected) (*Jiron Koron*, July 19, 2018). Actually, it was reported that the Liberal Democratic Party approved of a policy in the committee, where incumbent male Diet members in the Tottori-Shimane and Tokushima-Kochi constituencies, who would be passed over during the election of the House of Councillors in 2019, would be added to the PR “special quota” (*The Sankei News*, “LDP decides to help with proportional ‘special quota’. Incumbents in at-large districts”: <https://www.sankei.com/politics/news/180807/pl1808070013-n1.html>). Additionally, opposition parties, who had criticized the “special quota” as an interest of the LDP, made positive comments such as, “It helps to preferentially elect candidates, who are essential in the operation of the party” (a leading member of the Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan) and “It may be useful to have a female quota and LGBT (sexual minority) quota” (a leading member of the Democratic Party for the People) (JIJI Press Ltd., “Special quota, oppositions show interests = advantage for valued candidates – reforming the House of Counselors election”: <https://www.jiji.com/jc/article?k=2018071801125&g=pol>).

4 The Act on Regulation and Punishment of Acts Relating to Child Prostitution and Child Pornography was established on May 26, 1999 through legislation by House members (*The Asahi Shimbun*, July 13, 1999). It is a law “to police child prostitution and child pornography, and protect children’s rights (under 18 years old)” and “to prohibit sexual acts with children under 18 years old for monetary compensation, and production or provision of child pornography” (Shogakukan, *Encyclopedia Nipponica*). “Traditional law against prostitution did not punish prostitution itself, but punished the act of public solicitation or promoting such acts” (Shogakukan, *Encyclopedia Nipponica*). In other words, it only punishes “sellers”. In contrast, the present Act “punishes paying money for sexual acts with children (prostitution)” (Shogakukan, *Encyclopedia Nipponica*), which means it punishes “buyers” and the “production and provision of child pornography”. It is the first in Japan to do so (Shogakukan, *Encyclopedia Nipponica*).

5 “Prostitution” refers to “men purchasing women’s chastity, and since the mid-1970s, it was considered that the fault of prostitution lies with men. The word *kai-shun* rose from this line of thinking” (Iwanami Shoten, *Kojien*, 6th edition).



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私どもグローバルリーダーシップ研究所は、グローバルに活躍できる女性リーダーをどう生み出すかということについて、研究と教育、それにさまざまな女性支援の事業をしています。その点に関し、今日はとても示唆的な時間でした。

今日のシンポジウムのテーマは、どのように女性のリーダーシップを高め、ジェンダーの平等な社会に近づけるかでしたが、「政治」という領域に焦点を置いたのが特色です。そこで、韓国、日本、ドイツ、アメリカの、国レベルの政治の議論がなされ、登壇者の皆さんの努力とその成果、これからの課題を学ぶことができました。

しかし政治というのは議会や内閣といった政治の専門家だけの領域ではありません。ミシェル・フーコーが論じたように、あらゆる人びとの織りなす社会的関係に、権力は作用します。国際関係はもとより、大学内でも企業内でも家庭内でも地域社会でも、果ては寝室や子どもたちの遊ぶ幼稚園の砂場でも、政治が繰り広げられます。あまねく作用するこうした権力を考えるならば、今日議論したような国政レベルの政治の問題が政治の専門家でない私たちの日常生活においても重要だということがわかるでしょう。

女性リーダーの活躍とジェンダー平等に向けて、経済、社会、文化、科学技術などよりも、政治の領域が戦略的に重要であることには疑いがないのですが、国政が突破口になるのか、つまり、まずは国が変わるのか、それとも、日々の生活が突破口になるのか、つまり、先に社会から変わるのか、という問題があると思います。ときには互いに促し、ときには互いに阻害するといった複雑な相互作用があるなかで、進めていかないとはいけません。そういった前向きな競争を楽しく見守りたいと思います。

知的な刺激をくださり、社会を変える展望を示してくださった今日の登壇者の皆様、そして議論に加わってくださった方々、客席で考えをめぐらせながら議論に耳を傾けてくださった方々、皆様に感謝いたします。

I would like to thank all speakers and the audience for participating in this symposium and for generating such a thought-provoking discussion. The result of this symposium will contribute to our research and educational activities to promote women leaders who are active in global society and other projects that support women.

The main theme of this symposium was how to increase female leadership to realize a gender-equal society. The particular focus was on the field of politics. The speakers from South Korea, Germany, Japan, and the United States provided us with knowledge of the initiatives, accomplishments, and future plans for achieving gender equality in politics in their respective countries.

Politics is not solely the realm of political specialists who are active in legislative assemblies and cabinets. As Michel Foucault argued, power functions in all kinds of social relations are woven between all kinds of people. Politics unfolds everywhere: in international relations, in universities, in companies, in households, in local communities, in bedrooms, and even in the sandboxes of kindergartens where children play. The function of power indicates that the political issue of gender equality in national government and legislative bodies, which we have discussed today, must also be considered a political issue in our everyday lives.



To further the development of women's leadership and the realization of a gender-equal society, I believe the political domain is strategically more important than those of the economy, society, culture, and technology. However, it remains unclear what kind of change might produce a breakthrough in that development; a change in national governance or a change in society. While these two levels interact with each other; at times, providing mutual encouragement and at other times, interfering with each other; we must push forward. I trust this positive struggle will produce a desirable result.

Once again, I would like to express my gratitude to the speakers for offering us intellectual stimulation and their outlook on our changing society as well as the audience for their active participation in the discussion.

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