
Japanese Women's Suffrage during the Interwar Period, 1919-1931: Western Influence, Nation Building, and the Limitations of Suffrage

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The push for women's suffrage in Japan during the interwar period was part of a larger social movement. During this pivotal time period, women were moving from the private to the public sphere and questioning their role within society. Meanwhile, the Japanese government, consisting predominately of men, also rethought the role of women in society. Should women have the right to vote? How would women's suffrage benefit the nation? Are women equal to men? These were some of the questions both men and women faced during the interwar era. For most Japanese, the answers to such bewildering questions rested in the western world. The West influenced Japanese men and women—but in considerably different ways. Japanese women demanded the right to vote, while the men in government sought to limit women's votes. As this paper will argue, in the end, western influence shaped the Japanese government in limiting the women's suffrage movement.

Over the last few decades, historical analysis of gender has expanded and become a category that cannot be overlooked. Joan Scott's revolutionary work, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," constructed a framework to examine and critique traditional discourses.¹ This new framework helps scholars such as myself to research topics about Japanese women's suffrage through the lens of gender.

As historian Sheldon Garon contends, Japanese women's organizations including suffrage groups, collaborated with the state, not only in the 1930s and early 1940s, but as early as the 1920s. Although many scholars have debated this and continue to do so, undeniably women yearned to be a part of the political system, and the Japanese government used that motivation to mobilize women for peacetime goals.² Garon makes a compelling argument, but he misses a key component: limits constraining the suffrage movement. Whether women's groups collaborated with the Japanese government in the 1920s or 1930s is not essential to this study; what is important is that women chose to collaborate. By working with the Japanese state, women's groups effectively gave up their autonomy and limited their suffrage movement.

Garon is one of many who have studied the Japanese women's suffrage movement. Barbara Molony and Sharon Nolte also provide stimulating perspectives on the movement. Molony explains that "the salience of rights in Japanese thought, however, suggests that nineteenth-century concepts of rights drew from indigenous as well as imported ideas," and "what were understood as 'rights'

¹ Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053–75.

² Sheldon Garon, "Women's Groups and the Japanese State: Contending Approaches to Political Integration, 1890-1945," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 19, no. 1 (1993): 9.

expanded by the 1920s.”³ As Molony explicitly states, foreign and domestic discourse stimulated the suffrage movement in Japan. Molony’s vision of combined domestic and imported influences is noteworthy, but she fails to expand beyond women’s suffrage groups. In fact, western influence affected the government too. The Japanese state, administered by elite men, had authority to determine who did and did not become a citizen and who did or did not have rights. Women such as Ichikawa Fusae, Hiratsuka Raicho, and Oku Mumeo understood this and fought fiercely for change.⁴

According to Nolte, “culturally constructed gender systems interacts with a society’s political system,”⁵ which means politics and gender were entangled with one another. What did that mean for women’s suffrage in Japan? One cannot discuss how women sought to transform the political system without addressing gender, because women were a part of society just as men were. However, patriarchal Japanese society considered the wife submissive to the husband. Also, within the patriarchy, Japan merged concepts of family and nation into one. Therefore, a wife obeyed her husband and helped cultivate future Japanese subjects, their children. By the interwar era, these “traditional” gender roles came under attack. Women organized and demanded the right to vote. Suffrage supporters believed that only with the right to vote could they fulfill their duty as wife and Japanese subject.⁶

Garon, Molony, and Nolte have all explored Japanese women’s suffrage during the interwar period. In Garon’s critique of the suffrage movement, women began collaborating with the government during the 1920s, instead of the 1930s or early 1940s, as others have claimed. However, he ignores the fact that women’s cooperation with the government limited the suffrage movement. Molony saw the suffrage movement as a blend of domestic and imported ideas that contested state limitations on women. However, she fails to note that the West influenced the Japanese government too. Lastly, Nolte demonstrates the intricate link between the political system and gender. However, like Molony, Garon and Nolte underestimate the importance of western influence within the Japanese government itself.

Another question is: why the interwar period in the first place? Women would not gain the right to vote until 1946, so why have historians such as myself been drawn to the interwar era? In order to understand this period, we must (regress slightly and) go back to the 1910s with the emergence in Japan of “New Women” and later the “Modern Girl.” Both were “part of global phenomena” that recast gender roles.⁷ New Women were educated, politically active, and the target of much criticism. Modern Girls were young, sexually liberated, and a part of the consumer culture. As part of a transnational movement, New Women and Modern Girls, like the suffrage movement, were heavily influenced by the West and challenged “traditional” gender roles.⁸

First, New Women believed or participated in romantic love whether that be male or female (same sex), they drank alcohol, and they visited brothels. How could a “good wife, wise mother,” fulfill her obligations to the family and state if both partners were female or if she was out drinking or visiting brothels? The “good wife, wise mother,” drew from an early Meiji ideology that women were to be virtuous and submissive to men for the good of the state. This was the same ideology that suffragists had to contend with during the interwar. By the 1920s, the Modern Girl challenged tradition and went out in the public sphere for work, pleasure, and consumer consumption. The

³ Barbara Molony, “Women’s Rights, Feminism, and Suffragism in Japan, 1870-1925,” *Pacific Historical Review* 69, no. 4 (2000): 640.

⁴ Molony, “Women’s Rights,” 645, 660.

⁵ Sharon H. Nolte, “Women’s Rights and Society’s Needs: Japan’s 1931 Suffrage Bill,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 28, no. 4 (1986): 690.

⁶ Nolte, “Women’s Rights,” 693, 700.

⁷ Barbara Molony, Janet Theiss, and Hyaeweol Choi, *Gender in Modern East Asia* (Boulder, CO: Routledge, 2016), 399.

⁸ Molony, et al. *Gender in Modern East Asia*, 197, 227-32, 237; for 1946 right to vote see Nolte, “Women’s Rights,” 227.

professionalization of women meant they had some disposable income, which was spent on popular magazines or fashion and makeup. Between New Women and Modern Girls, Japanese gender roles transformed. New Women and Modern Girl were highly criticized, but they shared similar struggles with suffragists. Both confronted traditional gender roles grounded in an ideology of “good wife, wise mother,” that many suffragists saw as limiting.⁹

As women moved out into the public sphere, some became politically active. The United States had the National Women’s Suffrage Association and American Women’s Suffrage Association in 1869. It was not until the New Women’s Association (NWA) in 1919 that Japan had a counterpart that advocated for suffrage. Ichikawa Fusae, Hiratsuka Raichō, and Mumeo Oku, founders of the NWA, quickly got to work and began to petition the Diet to revise the Public Peace Police Law, the infamous Article 5.¹⁰

The Public Peace Police Law, established in 1890, forbid women from either joining political parties or attending political rallies. By the end of the nineteenth century, women’s rights under the Civil Code were restricted even more. Women were not individuals, but a part of the household and thus under the subordination of men. During the interwar period, women such as Ichikawa, Hiratsuka, and Mumeo vigorously challenged such gendered roles. Two petitions were sent to the Japanese Diet to revise the Public Peace Police Law, Article 5. The first petition challenged the right to attend political rallies and join political parties. The second petition demanded that men submit to syphilis testing. For women to be a part of the political system, they first had to overcome the Public Peace Police Law, which banned women from political parties and rallies. If the law remained, women faced arrest. As for the second petition of testing men for syphilis, it was designed to protect both mother and child. If a husband had syphilis, a wife could then divorce and therefore defend herself and child, which gave her power within the patriarchal system. Both petitions were defeated in the Diet, but that did not stop women from continuing to petition.¹¹

Suffrage was added to the petition for the first time in 1921, but it left the NWA divided. Ichikawa and Hiratsuka were split on how to advance the women’s suffrage movement. Hiratsuka advocated for mothers’ rights, while Ichikawa voiced concerns for women’s rights. Mothers’ rights emphasized the differences between men and women, while women’s rights fought for equality among men and women. The differing ideologies among the NWA ultimately led Ichikawa to leave the women’s group in 1921. In early 1922, Article 5 was amended, although not to the extent the NWA had hoped. Now women were allowed to attend political rallies, but they were still banned from political parties.¹² It may have been a minor victory, but it was a victory nonetheless.

The irony of it all was that Ichikawa, who had been petitioning the Diet for more than a year, had left the NWA and Japan, and did not witness the amending of Article 5. In late 1921, Ichikawa had left for the United States, where she remained for roughly two and a half years. Ichikawa’s time in America allowed her to see what it was like for women who had the right to vote. American suffragists, such as Carrie Chapman Catt and Alice Paul, proved highly influential to Ichikawa. She threw herself into American culture and even stayed with an American family as a home helper, which gave Ichikawa an opportunity to learn from American suffragists. She returned to Japan with a renewed sense of hope that suffrage was possible, and she continued to fight for women’s rights.¹³

⁹ Molony, et al. *Gender in Modern East Asia*, 197, 227-32, 237.

¹⁰ Nolte, “Women’s Rights,” 691-2.

¹¹ Molony, et al. *Gender in Modern East Asia*, 146, 189-90.

¹² Molony, et al. *Gender in Modern East Asia*, 146, 189-90.

¹³ Ichikawa Fusae and Yoko Nuita, “Fusae Ichikawa: Japanese Women Suffragist,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 3, no. 3 (1978): 58.

Ichikawa's departure from Japan shortly before Article 5 was amended illustrates the immense influence of the West. If the West shaped a prominent women's suffrage leader, such as Ichikawa, would men not be influenced too? Elite men differed from women because men were in administrative positions and had authority to manipulate domestic politics. In general, men resisted giving women the right to vote. Therefore, western influence may have benefitted women's vision of suffrage, but men limited women's suffrage.

In 1925, all Japanese men over the age of twenty-five and who did not receive public welfare obtained the right to vote. Universal manhood suffrage occurred under Prime Minister Kato Takaaki, ending a battle that had been fought since the 1890s. With the passage of manhood suffrage, women saw an opportunity to voice their belief that they deserved suffrage too. The Women's Suffrage League, formed in 1924 under Kubushiro Ochimi and Ichikawa, used the right to attend political meetings to campaign for men who supported women's rights. The number of parliament members who supported the rights of women continued to grow until 1931. The interwar period had become a "period of hope," and activists continued to push the Japanese Diet for reform.¹⁴

This "hope" that engulfed the interwar period has inspired historians, such as myself, to study the Japanese women's suffrage movement. Women transformed their role from "good wife, wise mother" to women who attended political meetings and petitioned the Diet, activities that would have been inconceivable during World War I or before (although there remained women advocating the "good wife, wise mother" line). Men also experienced transformation because even the lower ranking male members of society could now vote, for the first time, in the 1928 election. While universal manhood suffrage had been achieved, women did not stand idly by as men practiced their right to vote. The Women's Suffrage League joined with other women's groups and created the Women's Suffrage Coordinating Committee in 1928. Women's groups cast aside ideological differences to collaborate for the betterment of all women. Although the group disbanded in 1929, a tremendous commitment to the women's movement had been demonstrated.¹⁵

In 1930 and 1931 women's suffrage bills passed in the Lower House of the Diet, but, to become law, they still required passage in the House of Peers.¹⁶ Most women's suffrage groups rejected the suffrage bill. If the bill passed, women would be permitted to vote on the municipal level, but married women required permission from their husband to run for an official position. Women would have been able to vote, but still within the confines of the patriarchy. Asking for permission effectively stripped married women of autonomy. Men would have remained in control, and women would be left in a subordinate position. Although the bill failed in the House of Peers, both in 1930 and 1931, that such legislation was even proposed suggests that men were willing to change, albeit in a limited way and within the confines of traditional patriarchy.¹⁷

The events that transpired in 1930 and 1931, undoubtedly showed the limitations of the women's suffrage movement. Through organizations and associations, women showed tremendous fortitude in the pursuit of suffrage. However, when the proposed suffrage bill passed the Lower House of the Diet, women rejected it because it required male consent. Male permission took away agency. Suffragists essentially rejected limited suffrage.

Understanding the limitations of the suffrage movement in Japan requires an examination of World War I. The events of that war shaped the Japanese government's policy during the interwar era. For example, the Japanese Provisional Military Investigative Commission in 1917, reported on the activities of European and North American nations. Its report described the home front

¹⁴ Molony, et al. *Gender in Modern East Asia*, 193.

¹⁵ Molony, et al. *Gender in Modern East Asia*, 192-3.

¹⁶ Garon, "Women's Groups and the Japanese State," 7.

¹⁷ Molony, et al. *Gender in Modern East Asia*, 194.

mobilization during the war, showing the essential role of women. With war a future possibility, peacetime goals had to include preparations for war. Japan sought to match the might of western nations, and in order to do so, it had to mobilize women. The following year, the Home Ministry conducted its own survey and found “wartime assistance of women in each country [and that] ministry officials lauded their work in manufacturing, nursing, comforting the wounded and bereaved families, and other philanthropic activities.”¹⁸ The Japanese government saw women as a vehicle for mobilizing the nation even during peacetime. Wartime mobilization reports conducted by the Japanese government shaped domestic policy and restricted the suffrage movement.

The relationship between Japan and the West was a precarious one. The mindset of the Japanese was summed up by a western observer as follows: “there is no doubt that the Americans will be quite ready to acknowledge their mistake in regard to Japan, once they become convinced of it.”¹⁹ For the death of a I have a if I am a but The *Yomiuri*, a Japanese newspaper, according to an article in *The Japan Magazine*, believed the relationship between Japan and the United States was improving. Japan wanted to prove itself the equivalent of other “modern” western nations. How would Japan show its capabilities? By mobilizing women on the home front. However, mobilizing women was not the same as suffrage. Women may have felt a greater sense of freedom during mobilization, but the overall objective of the government was not expanding suffrage. Women were expected to perform their duties in preparation for war and loyalty to the state.

If Japan were going to mobilize women on the home front during peacetime, what did that entail? Also, how far would the Japanese government go to accomplish peacetime goals? Some men within the administration endorsed concessions for women, but in a limited and controlled way. Others flat out rejected any proposed gains for women. For example, Count Shigenobu Okuma, a Japanese statesman, formed the Japanese Progressive party in 1881; he was one of the early advocates of a constitutional government and abolishment of the feudal system. Not only did he travel throughout Europe, but he also studied there. He held numerous high-ranking positions, such as president of the Japanese commission at the Exposition of Vienna (1876), member of numerous ministries, and Prime Minister of Japan in 1898. Okuma went on to found Waseda University and became the school’s president.²⁰ As a member and founder of the Progressive Party, one could imagine Okuma fighting for the rights of men and women alike. However, as Okuma states,

The octogenarian thinker believes that the traditional teaching of China and Japan that filial piety should be the foundation of all human acts is out of date; it should be recast into “love is the foundation of all things human.” He further believes that monogamy, for which institution the world owes to Jesus Christ, is responsible in considerable measure for the greatness and majesty of European civilization. The Orient has long erred in its estimation of woman and marital relations, and this accounts very much for the racial inferiority of the East as compared with the West. While recognizing equality for woman in personal status, Marquis says that the physical differences between men and women point to the corresponding difference in their heaven ordained function. Political activity is strictly man’s province, not woman’s.²¹

Here, Okuma (referring to himself in the third person) revealed his ties to the West and his views regarding women. He, like numerous other Japanese officials at the time, saw Japan as lagging

¹⁸ Garon, “Women’s Groups and the Japanese State,” 20.

¹⁹ Dr. J. Ingram Bryan, “Current Japanese Thought: By the Editor,” *The Japan Magazine: A Representative Monthly of Things Japanese*, v.8 (1917-1918), 56, [https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.\\$c182582](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$c182582).

²⁰ Albert Shaw ed., “The Progress of the World,” *The American Review of Reviews* (1914), 546.

²¹ Y. Takenob, “Views on Japanese Womanhood & Woman Education,” *The Japan Year Book: Complete Cyclopaedia of General Information and Statistics on Japan and Japanese Territories for the Year 1920-21*, 310-11.

behind “modern” western powers. For Japan to catch these western nations, something had to change in Japanese society, but extending political rights to women, he insisted, should not be part of those changes.

In June of 1919, the United States Congress amended its constitution to give women the right to vote. A year earlier, the British Parliament enacted the Representation of the People Act, which also extended to women (over thirty) the right to vote; the act was further amended in 1928, lowering the age to twenty-one. New Zealand passed one of the earliest women’s suffrage bills in 1893, so under the proper circumstances, suffrage could be achieved.²² However, Okuma saw no need for such dramatic transformation in Japan. Women’s status in marriage might change, but as far as politics was concerned, that was “strictly man’s province,” and male dominance continued. The Japanese administration accepted women as nation builders, but when it came to rights, it remained far more limited.

The early 1920s was a turning point for Japanese state policy. The Great War ended, and a recession hit Japan, which created several social problems. How could Japan tackle these social problems? With the help of women. The Home Ministry encouraged the creation of women’s associations to help Japan through tough economic times. The ministry was one of the groups that conducted wartime surveys on the western homefront. The report found that women could help curb social problems within Japan under the guidance of the state.²³ Social issues included, “improving the people’s diet, hygiene, work habits, housing, consumption patterns, and ritual life.”²⁴ One prime example of how the state implemented these methods, for the benefit of the nation, happened during the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake. Once the earthquake hit, dozens of women’s organizations and associations shot into action to help on the ground those who had suffered. The Tokyo Federation of Women’s Associations formed to help coordinate with city officials.²⁵ The “war,” had come right to Japan’s front door, in the form of an earthquake, and it demonstrated the state’s need for women. The Japanese government justified working with women because above all else the strength and well-being of the nation came first. Male state officials directed women to what they believed the social problems were, but how did women perceive social problems? Did they see things differently than men?

An article written by Kikue Ide in 1928, examines social issues throughout Japan and attributes many causes to the government. Kikue was a well-educated woman who specialized in law and believed in women’s rights. She presented the article at the Pan-Pacific Conference in Honolulu in August of 1928, a women’s conference. Throughout her study, she references past notable women, specifically Kazunomiya (sister of the Emperor during the Meiji Restoration), who saved Edo (present day Tokyo) by brokering peace between the royalist and shogun. Kikue argued that this was the type of figure that women across Japan should emulate. How would this be accomplished? In order to secure suffrage, woman first had to address inequalities in the educational system, economic system, political and civil system. The constitution, which was the fundamental basis for citizenship, had to be modified. The constitution could take power away or grant authority to individuals, and only the government had the power to change the constitution.²⁶

At the heart of Kikue’s argument lay an assault on the constitution, the Japanese government—and western nations. How were western states involved? Because of the context in

²² Michael H. Roffer, *The Law Book: From Hammurabi to the International Criminal Court, 250 Milestones in the History of Law* (New York: Sterling Publishers, 2015), 180, 216.

²³ Garon, “Women’s Groups and the Japanese State,” 22.

²⁴ Garon, “Women’s Groups and the Japanese State,” 23.

²⁵ Garon, “Women’s Groups and the Japanese State,” 23-4.

²⁶ Kikue Ide, “Japan’s New Woman: Legal and Political Relationships of Women of Japan Today. An Interpretation,” *Pacific Affairs* 1, no. 4 (1928): 1-2, 4, 6-7.

which the constitution was created. In 1881, the drafting process of the constitution had begun under the direction of Ito Hirobumi. Ito and others spent a year and a half traveling Europe to study constitutional systems, specifically that of Germany. Under the guidance of German scholars, the Japanese created a constitution that maintained the power of the emperor. In 1889, the Japanese constitution established the rights of men and limited those of women.²⁷ The constitution showed two things. First, the power that western influence had in Japan, and second, how long Japan had looked to the west. At the time of the interwar era, Japan had for decades looked beyond its borders for inspiration. By the interwar period, Japan merely followed the precedent of western influence established in previous decades. To Kikue, nineteenth century European practices of excluding women from politics resulted in a toothless Japanese constitution.

By the early 1930s, the Japanese government was acknowledging women's work. Prime Minister Hamaguchi Osachi commended women's part in mobilizing against the recession by promoting safe economic practices of savings and curbing consumption. It was in the context of women's service that the state considered extending suffrage, not for the benefit of women but for the betterment of the nation.

Some members of the Japanese Diet were willing to give women rights, but only enough rights to help further the state. Legislation introduced to the Diet in 1930 and 1931 therefore fell far short of equal rights. Both bills would fail in the House of Peers because Japan, for the past decade, had employed women to further state initiatives without giving women rights. So why give women the right to vote? Women saw the work they were doing as a reason to be given rights, while those in the Japanese government did not see them as one and the same.²⁸ All of this stems from Japanese surveys conducted during the war of the homefronts of western nations. The suffrage movement was also limited because of the Japanese constitution.

Japan's peacetime goals of using women to help the nation were successful, but these same goals limited women's rights. Women were limited in the amount of progress they were able to achieve because of these interwar goals. Japanese women and men had looked to the West for guidance, but in very different ways. Japanese women were inspired by the West's suffrage movements. However, men also looked to the West and saw women in a much different way. Women were seen as objects that could benefit the state, not as people deserving rights. Japan had not been using its resources to their full potential, and that was how women were seen: as a resource. Shaped by the West, the Japanese government's vision of a prosperous nation limited the suffrage movement. In the latter half of 1931, peace would come to an end, and with it, any hope women had for suffrage.

Near the end of 1931, the Manchurian Incident brought a wave of militarism to Japan. This put the suffrage movement in a difficult spot. Should women continue to draw on international support in the fight to gain rights or support nationalist expansion practices?²⁹ Ultimately women would set aside their demand for suffrage and support their nation. For example, after the Manchurian Incident in 1931, the Lytton Commission gathered facts and made suggestions to the League of Nations Council on how the League might proceed toward peace in China. The Japanese outright rejected the report. The League of Nations complained that Japanese national interests in Manchuria were not compatible with the League's mission. The League tried negotiating with Japan to withdraw its troops and recommended negotiations take place between Japan and China. Japan, however, remained committed to a military agenda. It would never accept the Lytton Commission's

²⁷ William Theodore de Bary, *Sources of East Asian Tradition, vol. 2: The Modern Period* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 508.

²⁸ Molony, et al. *Gender in Modern East Asia*, 194.

²⁹ Molony, et al. *Gender in Modern East Asia*, 194-6.

report, and in 1933, Japan left the League of Nations. The exit left Japan at odds with China and the international community as a whole, including the United States.³⁰

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, U.S. branch, had been allied with women's groups in Japan, including the Women's Christian Temperance Union and Women's Peace Association, but the Manchurian Incident strained those alliances. Women in the United States lobbied their government to impose sanctions against Japan for disregarding international peace. The Japanese government refused to give women political rights, and this strained relations with American women's groups and helps explain why women shifted away from suffrage.³¹ Japanese women who looked to women in the United States for guidance were now at odds with one another. If women in Japan could not look to the international community for support or limited support from their government, what other options were there?

As historian Elyssa Faison explained, "increased protections for women during wartime gave many women's rights activists enough of a sense of full subjecthood within the imperial state that they were willing to defer other goals for the duration of the national crisis."³² When hostilities between Japan and China grew, the suffrage movement was put on the back burner, and the cause would not be proposed again until the end of World War II. Even women such as Ichikawa began to shift from suffrage to mother-child protection. The mother-child protection legislation became a part of the League for Women's Suffrage (LSW) and eventually overtook the league's mission of suffrage in favor of mother-child protection. Hiratsuka had made similar arguments in 1918 because the protection of mothers was vital to the protection of the nation's future, children. Thus, mothers and children were one. A draft of the mother-child protection was presented to the Diet in 1934, but it would not pass until 1937. It was another small victory for women and their children because it championed the "good wife, wise mother" approach. By protecting mothers and children, the state was essentially safeguarding future generations.³³

The Japanese women's suffrage movement during the interwar period encouraged women to move out of the private and into the public sphere. Women's organizations and associations looked to western nations for inspiration, as did the Japanese government. The Japanese administration before the end of World War I conducted surveys and saw the power of women in western nations. However, the Japanese state viewed women as little more than objects to accomplish peacetime goals and not as citizens deserving suffrage. The state yielded only limited rights and sidestepped suffrage. Women such as Ichikawa were deeply influenced by the women's movements in the United States, which moved her further to fight for suffrage in Japan. Inspired by women's contributions to war mobilization in the West, the Japanese state used women as nation builders through various social programs, which empowered women to improve their country—but only in a restricted capacity. Therefore, western influence shaped the Japanese government and limited the suffrage movement. After the Manchurian Incident, any hope women had for suffrage began to diminish significantly. In the early to mid-1930s, the suffrage movement was shelved as women altered their goals from suffrage to other rights for women.

³⁰ Ian H. Nish, *Japanese Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), 87-90.

³¹ Molony, et al. *Gender in Modern East Asia*, 319.

³² Elyssa Faison, "Women's Rights as Proletarian Rights: Yamakawa Kikue, Suffrage, and the "Dawn of Liberation" In *Rethinking Japanese Feminisms* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2018), 26.

³³ Naoko Tomie "The Political Process of Establishing the Mother-Child Protection Law in Prewar Japan," *Social Science Japan Journal* 8, no. 2 (2005): 244.