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The status and roles of women administrative staff in political parties focusing on their experience of networking

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Ⅰ. Introduction

The recent 21st general election has produced the greatest number of female legislators in the history of South Korean elections, marking 19% of the legislature. However, the number of female candidates for local constituency seats was negligible, with 32 women for the ruling Democratic Party, 26 women for the United Future Party, four women for the Party for People's Livelihoods, and 16 women for the Justice Party. The number of elected female candidates (57 in total)[5] was 30 for the Democratic Party (16.6%), 18 for the United Future Party (17.4%), five for the Justice Party (83.3%), and two each for the People's

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5) The 21st general election introduced the mixed-member proportional representation seats for the first time. Since the election included the so-called satellite parties of the Democratic Party and the United Future Party, which were created by the two major parties to garner more seats, the numbers of elected female candidates in this paper include those of the satellite parties.

Party and the Open Democratic Party (66.6% each). In April 2019, the Democratic Party created a committee for the promotion of women's political participation and put pressure on the party leadership over the course of a year in the run up to the election to secure 30% of its candidacy for women. The 30% gender quota is the party's commitment stipulated in Article 8 of the Party Regulations. The male leaders in the top ranks of the party including the party representative[6] who participated in the event held for the declaration of female members' commitment for the quota, however, expressed reluctance to commit 30% for women, although they took a ceremonial photo together[7].

Aiming to identify the causes of women's low political representation, there has been a number of studies in South Korea on the election system, voter behavior, and challenges facing female career politicians, among others. Although there is a general consensus on the male-centeredness of political parties, it is difficult to prove male dominance in the candidate nomination process for elected offices.

A political party is a channel between the civil society and the state. Under a representative democracy, it is of a representative nature, similar to the parliament, in that it produces candidates for elections designed to elect the members of the government and parliament. It also represents social interests. Given such critical importance, the prevalence of male politicians accentuates the need for gender sensitivity in political parties.

6) In addition to the rights and obligations of general party members, party staff are granted the rights to submit opinions and participate in the decision-making process in regard to party activities. They can run for elected offices and be given training opportunities from the party (Kim Won-hong, Kim Hye-young, and Kim Eun-kyung, 2000: 8). There are full-time and part-time positions. According to Article 30 of the Political Party Act, the staff members of a party secretariat refers to paid employees who are employed by a political party for 15 days or longer (full-time equivalent) per month, regardless of their employment status, in exchange for wage, activity fee, or any other form of rewards. Article 30-3 of the Political Party Act. Source: National Law Information Center (http://www.law.go.kr/%EB% B2%95%EB%A0%B9/%EC%A0%95%EB%8B%B9%EB%B2%95, accessed on December 5, 2019)

7) https://www.hankookilbo.com/News/Read/201906241823322414, accessed on April 26, 2020.

However, political parties in South Korea have neglected partnership with the civil society (Kang Won-taek, 2008) but instead established a faction-based political network, failing to align themselves with the needs of the times.

In this paper, we will look into the party secretariat, which is the base of the operation of a political party, in order to analyze the work arrangements of party staff and the establishment and mobilization of formal and informal intraparty networks by male and female party staff members. We will analyze how female staff is discriminated and how it affects the status of female staff within the party with an aim to reveal the gender politics in political parties in South Korea. This research is distinctive from previous studies, which generally focus on political parties, in that it analyzes the operation of party secretariat through the lens of a gender perspective.

Ⅱ. The significance of a gender-equal culture in political parties and social networks

1. Necessity of the analysis of the organizational culture of political parties through a gender perspective

The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) includes political parties as one of the seven categories in the evaluation of the gender sensitivity of parliaments and proposes evaluation criteria for political parties (IPU, 2016; 31-32). Both overseas studies that found the proportional correlation between the number of female party staff and that of elected female parliamentarians (Kim Won-hong, Kim Hye-young, and Kim

Eun-kyung 2000) and the studies that highlight the roles of political parties, as a vehicle to develop a legal framework for gender equality, in establishing agenda and legislations regarding gender issues (Kim Eun-kyung and Kim Eun-ju, 2018: 16) call for political parties to change. According to the standard provided by the IPU (2016), political parties are evaluated based on the level of democratic practices within the party measured through a gender perspective. Evaluative questions include, among others, whether women's participation is encouraged in the practices of the party through internal rules, processes for leadership promotion, and the application of a gender quota for elected posts; whether the party has women's caucus and other units to develop policies on gender equality; and whether gender stereotypes are reflected in the construction of party staff. By examining the internal operation of political parties, we attempt to shift a research focus from elected posts to deeper layers of party organization.

Existing studies on women's political representation tend to focus on gender quotas and proportional representation (Kim Won-hong, Kim Hye-young, and Kim Eun-kyung, 2000; Kim Min-jeong, 2014; Lee Jin-ok, Hwang Ah-ran, and Kwon Soo-hyun, 2017; Kim Eun-hee, 2017; and Lee Jeong-jin, 2019). In the South Korean political landscape, however, it has become obvious that a gender quota, a ubiquitously adopted program around the globe, and/or proportional representation, which takes up only 15% of parliamentary seats, are not sufficient to secure women's political representation. Political parties are believed to be one of the actors that represent South Korea's parliamentary democracy; to have close relations with the electorate, the parliament, and the state; and to assume grave responsibility and representativeness in that regard (Pak Yeong-hwan, 2016:250). However, there is no institution that enforces or oversees the

gender-sensitive practices of political parties. It has long been said that the country's male-oriented political environment combined with entrenched vertical structure and fragile democracy in political parties make it hard for women to survive in politics (Nam In-sook, 2004: 16-17). It is time to reveal what that means.

Studies on organizational culture and women's exposure to gender discrimination, most of which have been conducted in the area of public sector or business, found that women experience discrimination in work arrangement, training, evaluation, and promotion. In a study that examined 943 female managers in 213 companies, Kim Su-han and Shin Dong-eun (2014) concluded that the organizational culture is a major factor in mitigating or facilitating discrimination against female employees. They also noticed that when the top management values female resources and gender equality, female managers are less likely to experience discrimination. Other findings included that female managers in an organization with a collectivist culture have a greater risk of exposure to gender discrimination compared to those in a less hierarchical organization; and in organizations with a more standardized and transparent process of human resource management, gender discrimination diminishes. Oh Hyeon-gyu, Kim Hwa-yeon, and Park Seong-min (2016) identified potential factors that can influence the perception of gender discrimination among female workers and categorized them into personal, familial, relational, and environmental factors. According to their analysis, the perceptions of bosses/leaders and relationships with them were major determinants in female workers' perceptions of gender discrimination.

Based on these studies, we infer that while party rules and regulations are important, the way that party members network with each other will show the pattern of gender relations within the party.

2. Social networks and gender differences

Studies on social networks uses the dimensions of scale, strength, density, centrality, duration, structural gap, and relationality of the network in order to explain the achievements of individuals or interpersonal relational structure within the network (Ryeu Tae-geon, 2014: 5; Oh Mun-cheong, 2018: 11).

Granovetter (1973) describes the strength of an interpersonal tie in terms of a combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy, and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie. Depending on the strength of tie, which is subject to the way that the four elements are combined, he categorized interpersonal ties as strong or weak ties, or absent. Granovetter (1973) observed the tendency of people to develop ties with those who are similar to themselves (i.e. homophily) and to form various cliques through strong bonds among themselves (Granovetter, 1973; 1361; requoted from Ryu Tae-geon, 2014: 6). These cliques, though small in size, are characterized by the great sense of belonging, intimacy, and cooperative relationships among the members. The greater the number of weak ties one has, the more advantageous to adapt to an environment as he/she can obtain diverse information and/or ideas from a number of different sources (Ryu Tae-geon, 2014: 6).

Brass (1985) argued that although both men and women interact for network connections, their networks tend to be segregated by gender and women are less effective than are men in building networks that can benefit their future career (Brass, 1985; Lee Eun-hyeong and Choi Yun-jeong, 2014: 215). Lee Eun-hyeong and Choi Yun-jeong argue that such structural restrictions facing women facilitate a homophilic tendency

and serve as a barrier in building networks, or weaken ties, between men and women (Lee Eun-hyeong and Choi Yun-jeong, 2014: 218).

Meanwhile, Ibarra (1992) suggests that the formation of male-oriented networks within the organization naturally confines women into closed social circles (Ibarra, 1992; Lee Eun-hyeong and Choi Yun-jeong, 2014: 218). According to this view, women's participation in a network with a high ratio of men can affect women's future career.

Ibarra's research (1992, 1993) concludes that while social networks within an organization affect power distribution, wage, and promotion, women are subject to discriminatory rewards due to gendered networks (Ibarra, 1992; Ibarra, 1993; Lee Eun-hyeong and Choi Yun-jeong, 2014: 215). Women's networks are less effective due to the significantly declining proportions of women in higher positions, gender segregation in work arrangements, and prejudice against women (Ibarra, 1992; requoted from Lee Eun-hyeong and Choi Yun-jeong, 2014: 218).

Meanwhile, it takes time and money to build and maintain social networks. According to a study on participation in civic groups, women's participation was focused on attending one-off events and donations, both of which are preferred ways of participation among individuals with not much free time (Lee Seon-mi, 2005: 186-187). For the same reason, women's networks within an organization tend to be loose and wide, and women benefit less from their networks compared to men.

The political sphere is one of the areas in which social networks play a particularly strong role in the workings of the system. Given the fact that even if legal measures are adopted to promote women's representation they cannot affect social networks, social networks are a very limited resource for women in politics, in which male-oriented

networks assume a dominating power.

In a study on female party staff, Lee Hwa-young (2008) observed that the women's sector in the gendered structure of the party organization serves as an instrument to produce female politicians but also as a cause for intensified competition among women within a closed circle disconnected from other sectors (Lee Hwa-young, 2008: 118-119).[8]

In a gendered organizational structure, a male-oriented culture does not treat women fairly not only in career development, such as leadership promotion, but also in day-to-day businesses among coworkers. The gender culture within an organization can be characterized by hierarchy, patriarchy, gender-role segregation and division, gender discrimination, sexual harassment, and sexualized environment (Itzin, 1995: 49-51; Lee Hwa-young, 2008: 44); and this culture engenders a vicious cycle of cultural barriers that peripheralize women (Newman, 1995: 23; Lee Hwa-young, 2008: 44).

Similar to what Brass (1985) discussed about the homophilic tendency of network, Bjarnegård uses the concept of male-oriented homosocial capital in order to explain the continuance of male dominance and to criticize the closed social capital formed among men. In other words, the continued practice of patron-client relationships accessible only to men reproduces male dominance (Bjarnegård 2013, 11). Analyzing men's overrepresentation in politics from the perspective of feminist institutionalist, Bjarnegård also elaborated that men dominated politics before women were enfranchised and have continued to enjoy the

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[8] According to one of our interviewees in this research, the parties that had only one woman in the position of division head used to place that woman as the head of the party's women's division. The post was considered promising among female staff as it was thought to be a path for proportional seats. In 2019 when the number of the heads of the women's division increased, however, some people thought that the post was not promising anymore (Case study 23).

incumbency advantage in the election system that has remained the same even after women were granted the right to vote. While these are similar to the factors related to the causes of women's underrepresentation (Moser 2001; Matland and Montgomery 2003; Schwindt-Bayer 2005; Rueschemeyer and Wolchik 2009; Bjarnegård 2013, 19), she argues that they failed to be linked to the causes of men's overrepresentation. This male-dominated social capital or the alliance among male political elites (Lee Seon-hyang, 2017) has continued over the course of a long history. The domestic and international call for a gender quota is part of the efforts to break the perpetuance of male dominance.

Unlike career politicians who serve as party officials (these are honorary, not paid, positions and have a relatively high turnover rate), the staff members of party secretariat carry out the administrative work of the party and its various committees. They are the cornerstone of the party and witnesses of the party's history. Those who work at a major party with a long history often consider the party as their workplace with guaranteed life-long employment but due to the characteristics of the organization, they are sometimes given a chance to run for election or appointed to public offices.

Therefore, it is safe to say that party secretariats serve both as a workplace and as a channel to recruit potential politicians. In the 19th and 20th general elections, 14 male candidates and one female candidate were from party secretariats; in the 2018 local elections, 27 male candidates and two female candidates for *gwangyeok* (large cities and provinces) councils and 94 male candidates and 13 female candidates for *gicho* (small districts) councils were from party secretariats (Kim Eun-kyung et al., 2019: 58-63). It is a general practice in parties that candidates are selected from the Level 1 rank of the party —i.e. the heads

of division/department. In this regard, the gender ratio of administration staff by rank is sometimes used as an indicator for the gender ratio of potential candidates.

At the secretariats of major parties in 2019, the proportion of women ranges from 26% to 37% in mid-level managerial positions (vice-heads of division) and 16-28% in higher positions. In the case of party positions for elected members, the proportion of women is even lower, with less than 20% of the chairs of regional committees.

〈Table 1〉 Proportions of women in party secretariats and party positions for elected members

(Unit: persons (%))

Party	Secretariat			Positions for elected members		
	Title	Total	Women	Title	Total	Women
Democratic Party	Head of division/ department	31	5 (16.1)	National Assembly member	128	21 (16.4)
	Vice-head of division	24	9 (37.5)	Chair of regional committee	246	25 (10.2)
Bareunmirae Party	Head of division/ department	6	1 (16.7)	National Assembly member	28	9 (32.1)
	Vice-head of division	15	4 (26.7)	Chair of district chapter	103	11 (10.7)
Justice Party	Head of division/ department	14	4 (28.6)	National Assembly member	6	3 (50.0)
	Vice-head of division	3	1 (33.3)	Chair of regional committee	118	22 (18.6)

Source: Kim Eun-kyung et al. (2019), p. iii.

The political sphere is a hard-to-reach area for gender equality policies in South Korea. Unlike the public sector, in which policies on the expansion of women's representation are implemented, the proportion of women in higher positions in political parties, such as the chair of regional committee, remains low. In an organization with a gendered and stereotyped culture, the major outcomes of the organization are often gendered (Acker, 1990). Behind parties' reluctance to nominate women are the gender dynamics working in the party.

Ⅲ. Research methods

This research used a survey and in-depth interviews with a goal to understand the perceptions of party staff regarding the level of democracy and gender equality in the operation of their party. We used the survey in order to examine the general perceptions of research subjects and the in-depth interviews to complement the survey findings with more detailed stories of individual staff regarding their experience at the party.

1. Survey overview and content

A survey was conducted with 200 male and female party staff members of five parties represented in the 20th National Assembly. The survey participants consisted of 83 persons (41.5%) from the Democratic Party, 58 persons (29.0%) from the Liberty Korea Party, 26 persons (12.5%) from the Bareunmirae Party, 24 persons (11.5%) from the Democracy and Peace Party, and eleven persons (5.5%) from the Justice Party. Assuming that the number of years of work at the party and the

way of building and using networks would be different by gender, we considered gender as a key variable. Depending on questions, central chapters and city/provincial chapters were separately analyzed.

The general characteristics of survey respondents are as the following. These ratios are similar to those of the actual population and therefore believed to represent the staff population of the parties. There were 110 men (55.0%) and 90 women (45.5%). In terms of age, those in their 30s accounted for the largest in number with 85 persons (42.5%). As for rank, 107 persons (53.5%) were rank and file, 69 (34.5%) in mid-ranking positions, and 24 (12.0%) in high-ranking positions. One hundred and fifty people (75.5%) were working at central chapters and 50 (25.0%) at large city and provincial chapters.

〈Table 2〉 Characteristics of survey respondents

Category		No. of persons	ratio (%)
Total		200	100.0
Gender	Male	110	55.0
	Female	90	45.0
Age	20s	29	14.5
	30s	85	42.5
	40s	53	26.5
	50s or older	33	16.5
Position	Rank and file	107	53.5
	Mid-ranking	69	34.5
	High-ranking	24	12.0
Chapter	Central chapter	150	75.0
	Large city/provincial chapter	50	25.0

2. In-depth interview

In-depth interviews were conducted with 39 former and incumbent female staff members in order to determine their roles, career prospect, and networks within their party. The interviewees were from the five parties represented in the 20th National Assembly and mostly working at their party's central chapters but some at large city/provincial chapters. The interviews were carried out over the course of approximately four months from May 2 to September 10, 2019. Depending on circumstantial needs, we conducted small-group meetings or one-on-one interviews.[9]

Among former staff, we included those who worked for elected/public offices after leaving their work at the party. In the case of incumbent staff, we attempted to include a diverse range of work experience at the party. The years of work experience were varied among interviewees from three to 24 years.

Interview questions included the followings. Are there any divisions at the secretariat that are a glass ceiling for women? If yes, have you worked in those divisions? If you have been able to be transferred to other division(s) of your choice or to public office(s), what kind of networks did you use? How do you project your career? What are the limitations you have experienced, if any, as a female staff member?

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9) Following the request from female interviewees, we do not reveal the names of their parties, even in pseudonyms.

Ⅳ. Gender discrimination experienced by female staff

1. Gender segregation in work arrangements

1) Deployment to core divisions

In general, the core divisions of party secretariat include the divisions of planning, policy, and membership management. In our survey, there were more men, compared to women, who have worked in these core divisions. The proportions of women and men with such experience were 23.3% and 28.2% in the planning division; 38.9% and 46.4% in the policy division; and 27.8% and 50.0% in the membership management division. As shown here, men had a greater rate of experience of working in membership management and policy divisions than did their female peers. We examined if this trend was already in place when they were first assigned to work at the party; and we found that the number of male staff deployed to planning, membership management, and policy areas was nearly double that of their female counterparts.

We asked the respondents about their experience of discrimination in work arrangement in order to see if such gender-segregated work arrangement is considered a form of discrimination among secretariat staff. As a result, the proportion of women who reported an experience of discrimination in work arrangement was 40.0.%, much higher than 24.5% of their male counterparts. Given that 60% of women reporting no such experience and the findings of the interviews, however, we infer that the rule of job rotation is generally applied in work arrangement but the practice of gender segregation still prevails when it comes to core divisions.

〈Table 3〉 Experience of discrimination in work arrangement

(Unit: persons; %)

Category	Total	Yes	No	$x2$
Total	(200)	31.5	68.5	
Female	(90)	40.0	60.0	5.479**
Male	(110)	24.5	75.5	

Note: ** $p < 0.01$

One of the female interviewees, who was one of the long-time employees at her party, reported that she kept applying to her desired division even though she knew she would not be given the job. She said that women are subject to indirect discrimination and concentrated in low- to mid-level positions.

"... Whenever I submitted my wish list for work arrangement, I wrote down those divisions. I knew it wouldn't happen but I wanted to keep trying to break the glass ceiling. If you try and try, you know, it starts opening little by little... A, the division head, didn't get the job at her first try, did she? Not to mention people like me who don't even have any good connections. Nevertheless, I applied for the job again and again. I kept up my hope and built the record. Then, at least they would pretend to listen. You should make that much effort just to be the subject of consideration." (Interviewee 8)

"Important managerial positions have more men than women. The Administrative Office of the Assembly Members' Building is very hierarchical and staffed with Levels 4 to 9 officials. I think parties are not so different. It has gotten a lot better since the old days, following the changes in our society. You know, it doesn't look good anymore if you have no women among the heads of division. So, it's not like direct and obvious discrimination. You cannot really pinpoint discrimination but at the end of the day you don't see any woman..."(Interviewee 12)

Even if the party rotates jobs for its staff members, women are more likely to experience discrimination in job arrangement than are men.

Given the low proportions of women in core divisions and of women who have the experience of working in core divisions, there seems to remain obstacles that hinder gender equality and women's empowerment in political parties.

2) External factors in work arrangement

There have been external factors that moved parties to deploy women to work that was previously restrictive to women. For example, as more women advance to the media, the number of female journalists who cover political parties has increased. Keeping up with this change, parties have increasingly deployed women in their planning division and/or press office.

> "In the past, there were few women in the planning division or in the spokeperson's office. Now there are more female journalists, more female National Assembly members, and even female party representatives, who tend to have more women around them. So more women are assigned to positions of power... It looks good but it also looks like discrimination... One time, our party decided to have a female vice-spokesperson. And then they selected a woman from those in their 20s and 30s through a camera test. So I realized that they needed a woman for cameras."(Interviewee 1)

The pressure to allow women in previously male-dominant areas came from outside. Even if they embrace social changes, gender prejudice remains deeply ingrained as exemplified by their placing much value on women's appearances.

3) The women's division staffed only with women

The entrenched notion of gender-role division in political parties is most evident in the women's division. In all of the parties that we

examined, women's divisions were staffed only with women, despite the principle of job rotation. This indicates their belief in the division of gender roles and that women's policy concerns only women. As discussed above, the practice of political parties of staffing the so-called core divisions mainly with men and the women's division only with women peripheralizes and lowers the status of women's policy in the party's agenda.

> "There was one time a few years ago that a man was deployed in the women's division."(Interviewee 24)

> "One day I was told that there was nobody to do the work of women's affairs. So why don't you do it? I thought it was unfair. It's not a matter of whether I like the job or not. They just use women in such a limited way. They should try to cultivate and properly utilize female resources. They just limit women to women's affairs..."(Interviewee 8)

2. Alienation of women in male-oriented networks

1) Awareness of the importance of intra-party networks and targets of networking

When it comes to the perceived importance of intra-party networks among party staff, women scored 4.19 points and men 4.23 points on a 5-point scale. The rates of responses "Very important" and "Somewhat important" were also little different between men and women, implying that both men and women are very well aware of the significance of networks within their parties.

⟨Table 4⟩ Importance of intra-party networks

(Unit: (persons), %, points)

Category	Total	Not important at all	Rarely important	Average	Somewhat important	Very important	x2	Average	
								Average	Standard deviation
Total	(199)	0.5	1.5	20.6	31.2	46.2		4.21	.85
Female	(90)	1.1	1.1	21.1	31.1	45.6	1.419	4.19	.88
Male	(109)	0.0	1.8	20.2	31.2	46.8		4.23	.83

Then, we separated formal meetings (e.g. team meetings) from informal meetings (e.g. private gatherings) and examined whom they usually meet in those meetings. As for formal and informal meetings, 56.1% and 65.6% of men, respectively, replied that they meet men. In the case of women, those who said that they meet men amounted to 51% as to formal meetings but for informal meetings, 48.2% said that their meetings are a mix of men and women. Around 21.5% of women answered that their informal meetings comprised only women.

Formal networks within the party refer to networks formed around work, such as a network of those in managerial positions, special taskforce teams, and labor unions. In terms of participation in formal networks, men (35.5%) participated more in taskforce teams and committees than did women (24.4%). There was little gender difference in other types of meeting.

Informal networks included intra-party factions[10], networks around a certain National Assembly member, alumni associations, hometown alumni associations, religious meetings, hobby clubs, and university class

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10) In this paper, a faction refers to a "core network" that is formed around a prominent politician. Formal/informal networks within the party refer to good cooperative relationships with coworkers and/or supervisors created through work.

meetings, among others. The most commonly participated meeting was university class meetings for both men and women (male 35.5%, female 47.8%). Men's participation was greater than that of women in both factions (male 17.3%, female 10.0%) and meetings formed around National Assembly members (male 9.1% and female 3.3%).

Women interacted with their male counterparts in formal networks; but in informal networks, they spent a significantly greater amount of time interacting with other female workers. On the contrary, male staff members interacted mainly with other male members in both formal and informal networks.

2) Mentorship and gender differences in the perceived efficacy of networks

Among those who agreed to the importance of intra-party networks, 39.0% reported to have a mentor. As to the mentor's gender, the female to male ratio of women's mentors was 45 to 55, while 90.7% of the mentors of men were male. The prevailance of male mentors among male staff seems only natural given that men are positioned in core divisions and network with each other in both formal and informal meetings.

〈Table 5〉 The gender of mentors

(Unit: (persons), %)

Category	Total	Female mentors	Male mentors	$x2$
Total	(78)	25.6	74.4	13.417 ***
Female staff	(35)	45.7	54.3	
Male staff	(43)	9.3	90.7	

Note: * p ⟨ 0.10, ** p ⟨ 0.05, *** p ⟨ 0.01

These findings show that both the horizontal and vertical structures in the party, ranging from key positions to networks and mentors, are dominated by male staff. Regardless of the number of women in high-ranking positions, this implies that political parties in South Korea are thoroughly male-oriented organizations. Under this organizational culture, women in managerial positions do not receive the same level of respect that comes so naturally to their male peers. In turn, this also shows how alienated and excluded the few female seniors are from influential networks within the party. Under this circumstance, female seniors with an awareness of the need for women's empowerment will feel a sense of responsibility as a role model for younger generations of female staff in the party. Mentorship has recently gained attention in South Korean organizations as a way to support the career development of their workers. According to research, both men and women prefer mentors of the same gender (Kim Su-han, Lee Jae-gyeong, and Yeun Eun-seong, 2015). In an organization in which the number of women gets scarce as they move up the ladder, women have difficulty in forming a mentor-menti relationship (Jang Deok-jin and Hwang Jeong-mi, 2003).

3) Perceived benefits of networks and gender differences in related experiences

We asked about the functions and benefits of networks and found gender differences in the answers. As to the functions of networks, female staff chose "A place to obtain information" (37.8%), "A place to feel a sense of belonging" (21.1%), and "A place to exchange opinions" (21.1%). In the meantime, male staff responded to "A place to obtain information" (38.5%), "A place to exchange opinions" (23.9%), and "A place to influence policy decisions" (13.8%). Except that both

men and women use them as a way to gather information, networks were thought to be a place to feel a sense of belonging and to exchange opinions among female staff but a place to influence policy decisions among male staff. It was particularly noticeable that only 4.4% of female staff perceived them as a means to influence policy decisions. On the contrary, men seemed to experience their male-oriented networks and/or mentorship as a channel to influence policy decisions.

〈Table 6〉 Perceptions of the functions of networks

(Unit: (persons), %)

Category	Total (199)	Women (90)	Men (109)
To obtain information	38.2	37.8	38.5
To strengthen my status within the party	13.1	15.6	11.0
To feel a sense of belonging	16.6	21.1	12.8
To influence policy decisions	9.5	4.4	13.8
To exchange opinions	22.6	21.1	23.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Obtaining information or exchanging opinions through networks can play an important role in the person's work efficiency and future career. When it comes to the ability to build networks, we also found gender differences in responses. The proportions of men and women who responded positively were 37.3% and 22.5% with "I'm good at making relationships with influential people at work," 42.7% and 30.0% with "I'm close to important people in connection to my work," and 39.1% and 25.5% as to "I skillfully use my networks to perform my work." All in all, women's perception of their ability to build networks and work through networks was lower than that of men.

As shown in the type of network and mentor, women were not as effective as their male peers in terms of the use of and power to influence networks. Still, it was formal networks that were helpful to women in a workplace in which personal networks are critical to get things done. In other words, networks with male staff built through the medium of work affect female staff' work arrangement and future career.

> "I think it's not so bad in central chapters but your relationships with council members and National Assembly members are critical in local chapters. If I want to become a senior official in the local government, you need to have a good informal network with the members of that local council, who can influence your appointment. Even in central chapters, your seniors... in my case, I worked for a special committee so it's the chair of the committee... many people continue to maintain the relationships with people they met through work."(Interviewee 3)

> "I continue to stay in touch with people I came to know from A's election camp. It's kind of a faction. We get together because we share similar political ideologies and we are like-minded. There are the first people I turn to for advice. I didn't work here for long... So they are the kind of people who can give me an advice like... hey, I heard there's a vacancy in the office of National Assembly member A. Why don't you apply for it?"(Interviewee 27)

> "(When I moved to a public office) probably my connections with people through my hometown alumni groups, the women's organization in which I'm a founding member, my school alumni helped. I won't deny that. And while I was in the public office... for example, my connections with former and incumbent National Assembly members, local council members, those I came to know while I managed the internal and external groups of the party are very broad and wide. In my case, I think formal networks worked much more strongly than informal networks."(Interviewee 8)

4) Female staff deprived of an ambition for elected office

When asked about their final goal in their career, "Level 1 official at

the secretariat" was most common among female staff with 29.2% and "Public offices in the Blue House or central/local governments" among male staff with 41.8%. The proportion of those who chose advancement to elected office was 25.5% for men and 19.1% for women. The gender difference was more clear when the responses were separately examined for central chapters and large city/provincial chapters.

In the case of central chapters, the proportions of women and men were 33.8% and 39.5%, respectively, for advancement to public office and 5.9% and 24.7% for advancement to elected office. When it comes to large city/provincial chapters, the proportions were 4.8% and 48.3%; and 28.6% and 27.6%, respectively.

〈Table 7〉 Final goal in career

(Unit: (persons), %)

Category		Title	Level 1 official at the secretariat (Head of division)	Level 2 official at the secretariat (Vice-head of division)	Level 3 official at the secretariat (Head of department)	Advancement to public office (The Blue House or central/local governments)	Advancement to elected office	Other	$x2$
Central chapter	Female	(68)	32.4	5.9	2.9	33.8	5.9	19.1	15.038 ***
	Male	(81)	23.5	3.7	2.5	39.5	24.7	6.2	
Large city/provincial chapter	Female	(21)	19.0	4.8	4.8	4.8	28.6	38.1	14.110 **
	Male	(29)	10.3	0.0	0.0	48.3	27.6	13.8	

Note: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Although there are differences between central chapters and large city/provincial chapters in the way of recruiting staff and operating the organization, it seems clear that female staff in central chapters prefer

public offices while their counterparts in regional chapters prefer elected offices. One possible reason why female staff in regional chapters want elected offices is that female staff in small chapters also serve as the chair of the region's women's committee. At the central level, only 5.9% of women set their goal to run for elected office. Among those who expressed a desire for elected office (28.6%) at the regional level, only 19.0% intended to apply for the candidate nomination process. This figure was 27.6% among men. In other words, even if a comparable number of women had an intention to advance to elected office, the number of those who are actually planning to apply for nomination was low. The proportion of male staff who are actually intending to apply for nomination was greater at the central level (34.6%) than at the regional level (27.6%). There were cases of party secretariat staff members nominated for parliamentary and local elections and some included in the party's list for proportional seats. However, they rarely received a number that is likely to be elected.[11]

Considering all the staff from both central and regional chapters, the intention to run for elected office was lowest among female staff at the central level with 5.8%, which is more than four times lower than the rate among male staff (34.6%).

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11) Recently, the Democratic Party left two slots in the list of candidates for proportional seats, one for male and one for female, for the staff of the party secretariat and selected the candidates through intra-party voting. When there were few women among the heads of division, the female head of division sometimes was appointed as a candidate for proportional representation. With more women now becoming the heads of division, however, there is a competition among women and they often do not receive a good number. The party nominated Song Ok-ju, the head of its women's division, for number 3 in its candidate list in the 20th general election and Jeong Ji-yeong, the secretary general of the Seoul City chapter, to number 10 in the 21th general election. However, it was later decided that the Democratic Party would not nominate any candidate for proportional seats for the benefit of the Platform Party. As a result, Jeong received number 20 from the Platform Party and the candidates up to number 17 were elected.

⟨Table 8⟩ Actual intention to apply for nomination by chapter

(Unit: (persons), %)

Category		Total	Yes	No	Haven't decided yet	$x2$
Central chapter	Female	(69)	5.8	84.1	10.1	21.412 ***
	Male	(81)	34.6	50.6	14.8	
Large city/provincial chapter	Female	(21)	19.0	52.4	28.6	1.785
	Male	(29)	27.6	58.6	13.8	

Note: * p ⟨ 0.10, ** p ⟨ 0.05, *** p ⟨ 0.01

The intention for elected office is closely related to the person's status in the party. Since they are very well aware of how difficult it is to get nominated, they will judge their chances for elected office based on their status in the party.

We examined the recent two elections in order to see how many staff members from central chapters were nominated as candidates. As for the National Assembly, there were more male staff members than their female peers who stood for election for local constituency seats but few were elected. The number of staff members who stood for proportional seats was similar between men and women. Regarding local (both *gwangyeok* and *gicho*) councils, however, there was a striking difference in the number of male and female staff members. The number of male staff members who ran for local constituency seats was nearly ten times greater than that of female staff members and those who were elected were mostly men. In the case of proportional representation for local councils, only 1-2 women stood for election. This result shows that the intention to run for elected office among male and female staff reflects the reality of election.

〈Table 9〉 Number of staff members at the central level who ran for election

Unit: persons

Category			Candidates			The elected		
			Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
National Assembly	Local constituency	2012	6	0	6	1	0	1
		2016	8	1	9	0	0	0
	Proportional representation	2012	8	3	11	1	0	1
		2016	3	4	7	1	2	3
Gwangyeok councils	Local constituency	2014	45	10	55	11	0	11
		2018	27	2	29	10	2	12
	Proportional representation	2014	0	1	1	0	1	1
		2018	1	2	3	0	0	0
Gicho councils	Local constituency	2014	62	5	67	35	1	36
		2018	94	13	107	46	5	51
	Proportional representation	2014	0	2	2	0	1	1
		2018	0	2	2	0	1	1

Source: The Election Statistics Information by the National Election Commission. The data was extracted for April 1-May 30, 2019 from http://info.nec.go.kr/main/showDocument. xhtml?electionId=0000000000&topMenuId=BI. Reconstructed from Kim Eun-kyung et al. (2019), pp. 236-247.

We also found a gender difference in the perceptions of factors affecting nomination. As for factors affecting nomination for parliamentary election, the proportions of female and male staff who pointed to the level of contribution to the party were 39.8% and 33.0%, respectively, and to personal networks 27.3% and 29.2%, respectively. In regard to local councils, the figures were 38.2% (women) and 24.8% (men) for the level of contribution to the party and 39.3% (women) and 45.7% (men) for personal networks. In sum, women viewed the level of contribution to the party and men valued personal networks as a major determining factor in nomination. Then, we asked about the factors affecting either nomination for election candidacy or appointment to public office. The responses to this question indicate that recognition for

work performance (male 45.4%, female 40.5%) was believed to be more influential than formal networks built through work relationships (male 33.3%, female 29.8%).

In summary, female staff, while they are aware of the importance of formal networks, believe that the most critical factor in getting nomination for election or appointment to public office is proving their capability through work performance. In an environment in which men dominate core divisions and have informal networks of their own, however, giving recognition for work performance also seems a matter of subjective judgement. It is not easy for women to receive fair performance evaluation in a male-oriented organizational culture.

In terms of the type of gender discrimination experienced by rank, the greatest discrimination experienced by women in mid-level or higher positions was related to nomination for election. While female staff could somewhat benefit from connections with male staff through formal networks, it did not lead to nomination for election or appointment to public office.

〈Table 10〉 Type of gender discrimination experienced by female staff by rank

(Unit: (persons), %)

Category	Total (90)	Rank-and-file (54)	Mid-level or higher positions (36)
Major policy decisions in the party	17.8	18.5	16.7
Nomination for election	12.2	5.6	22.2
Promotion	12.2	9.3	16.7
Building and using informal networks	14.4	13.0	16.7
Deployment to division/department	10.0	11.1	8.3
Division of work	8.9	13.0	2.8
Right to have a say as a woman	3.3	5.6	0.0
No discrimination	20.0	22.2	16.7
Other	1.1	1.9	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

This shows a structural limitation that female staff face in the party. In other words, networks have only limited benefits for female staff. There is a glass ceiling for important areas such as nomination for election, participation in major policy decisions, and promotion. Female staff members are aware of the existence of the glass ceiling, which discourages them from applying for nomination. In this regard, the intention for elected office is not simply a matter of personal choice but should be understood in the context of the person's overall status in the party, including the scale of his/her networks, capacities, and relationships with his/her mentor.

Under this male-centered structure, the concerns of the few women in mid-level positions were not only about their own future but also about what kind of role models they will be to younger generations of women in the party.

> "Running for elected office was not part of my plan. I think very positively of the head of a local autonomous body. Apart from whether I have the ability and guts to run for election, I really like the idea of becoming the head of a local government body because they have the power for both budgets and implementation... If our party comes to power, there may be opportunities in other government bodies... if I'm given a chance, I'll do my best. That could be an elected office or a government office. I've worked for this party for a long time. I'd like to be a good role model for younger women."(Interviewee 32)

> "If I'm given a chance (I'll run for a parliamentary election)... you know, I've been here for long and seen so many things... people who failed to get the nomination, who lost the election, who got betrayed... those experiences are as painful as having a stillbirth. I don't want that. It's hard to describe what I think about politics but I've had this sense of duty since I was young that I should do it well. There's something that I can contribute to the society and I need to do more. I'm just a working-level employee, but I want to have a chance to put that into practice, my sense of duty."(Interviewee 31)

As shown above, these women who are the heads of divisions were very cautious when they talked about the chance of running for elected office or talked as if it is something that may happen only in the distant future.

Among the 44 respondents (8 women and 36 men) who expressed intention to apply for nomination, the most desired was proportional representation for the National Assembly among women (50.0%) and local constituency for the National Assembly among men (44.4%), followed by *gwangyeok* councils among women and the heads of *gicho* autonomous bodies among men.
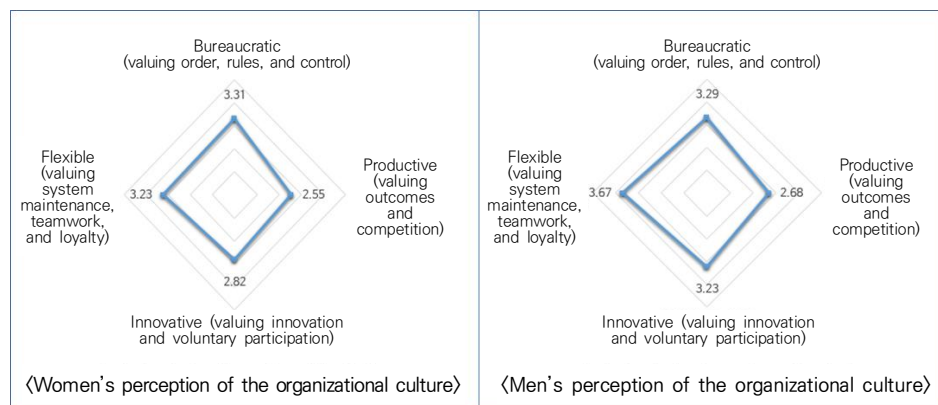
Based on these findings, it is concluded that female party staff experience gender discrimination in work arrangement, alienated from male-oriented networks, have little ambition to run for elected office, and even if they do their ultimate goal is lower than that of their male counterparts. These findings confirmed that the peripheralization of women and the sense of powerlessness among women exist in political parties as in other organizations in which women face multi-layered structural discrimination.

5) Gender differences in the perceptions of the organizational culture of political parties

Women' perception of the organizational culture in the party was different from that of men. We asked the staff about how they define the organizational culture of their party and gave the following options: bureaucratic (valuing order, rules, and control); productive (valuing outcomes and competition); innovative (valuing innovation and voluntary participation); and flexible (valuing system maintenance, teamwork, and

loyalty). According to the analysis, the most prevalent answer was bureaucratic among female staff with 3.31 points and flexible among male staff with 3.67 points.

From this gender difference, we infer that under a suppressive organizational structure in which they are alienated from influential networks and discouraged to pursue political ambitions, women embrace the bureaucratic aspect of the organization that emphasizes stability and rules.

[Figure 1] Gender differences in the perception of the organizational culture of the party

Ⅴ. Policy implications and measures

1. Policy implications

The findings of our survey and in-depth interviews suggest that female staff in political parties in South Korea experience gender discrimination in terms of the operation of intra-party networks and the organizational culture. In accordance with our observations, we summarized the

experience of gender discrimination among female staff into five types as the following.

First, the practice of work arrangement in the party secretariat was gender segregated. While parties followed the principle of job rotation, women were less likely to be assigned to planning, membership management, and policy divisions. Those divisions are usually thought to be "core" divisions in which party staff have greater opportunities to interact with National Assembly members and make key decisions. They have been traditionally staffed mostly with men. Meanwhile, parties staffed their women's division only with women, revealing their belief that women's policy concerns only women.

Second, both horizontal and vertical networks within the party were built around male staff. While female staff valued the sense of belonging as an important function of network, they were excluded in reality from male-oriented networks. This may explain why the level of satisfaction with intra-party networks was lower among women (20%) than among men (32.7%).

Third, formal networks played a key role in people's career after the party. Compared to male staff who actively pursue and make efforts to build a wide range of networks, the formal networks of female staff do not seem to be built with conscious efforts. It often meant that they stayed in touch with their coworkers and seniors after they left their division/department. Hence, their formal networks were based on work and the benefits they gained from such networks were rewards for their ability they showed at work.

Fourth, female staff members were passive and cautious in expressing their political ambitions. Due to the nature of a political party, intra-party

networks provide opportunities for political participation. In terms of the range of network and mentorship, however, male staff tended to build closed networks of men, discouraging women's enthusiasm for political participation. Consequently, the gender divide, in which men are potential candidates for elected office and women remain office employees, was limiting the status and potential of female staff.

Despite the fact that the party is a unique path to advance into politics, lastly, female staff saw it as a bureaucratic organization. This contrasts with the view of male staff who regarded the party as a flexible organization. In terms of the gender ratio by rank, women were concentrated in mid-level or lower positions. The proportion of those who stood for elected office was significantly lower among women than among men. In an environment in which intra-party networks operate around male staff, female staff seem to view their party as a workplace rather than a channel to advance into public office or politics.

In conclusion, we confirmed in this research that female staff in party secretariats face multi-layered gender discrimination. Political parties should strive to promote women's political participation and the awareness of gender equality. This mandate is supported through the Political Funds Act. While the importance of democracy in party politics and the need for the innovation of the National Assembly are touted, there has yet to be a practical mechanism to oversee the use of political funds and implementation of party rules by political parties. Since it is not realistic to expect the parties to voluntarily bring reform to their organizations, it is necessary to seek measures to oversee the practice of political parties by strengthening the state's roles and authority to supervise elections and the parliament.

Under the male-dominant culture of party secretariat, candidate

nomination and gender equality policy are the results of political engineering combined with unequal gender relations. Fairness in nomination will be established only when the culture of democracy and gender equality is firmly in place in the organization. In this aspect, the status of female staff is an important gauge that shows the degree of democracy and gender equality in the party.

2. Policy measures

A. Strengthening the women's policy unit within the party

In political parties in South Korea, issues regarding gender equality and women's empowerment are considered the work of the women's division or a similar unit dedicated to women's policy (See Table III-23.). As discussed in section III, the mandate of the women's division includes policy development for the promotion of women's status, expansion and management of the party's women's groups, promotion of the party's women's policies, cooperation with women's organizations, and activities to eradicate gender discrimination. Developing policies and systems to guarantee and enhance the status and roles of female staff in the party secretariat will begin from strengthening the women's division. However, not all parties have a women's division. Among the five parties subjected to this research, only the Democratic Party and the Liberty Korea Party had a women's division as a permanent part of the organization dedicated to women's issues. In the Bareunmirae Party, the membership management division handled the organization of women, youth, university students, and the disabled. The Democracy and Peace Party combined the issues of women and youth. The Justice Party had a women's policy committee or a similar unit named "the women's

headquarter" but did not have a permanent women's unit incorporated into the party's organization.

As shown in the mandate of the women's division, its goal is to contribute to the promotion of women's status. As an evident sign of the party's lack of commitment to women's empowerment, the absence of a permanent women's division means that the party does not have an official unit to translate various social issues regarding women into policies and to lead the party's activities to promote gender equality both within the party and in a wider society. As a result, a party with no dedicated women's unit is unlikely to apply a strict gender perspective to guarantee the status of female staff.

In this regard, this research suggests that all parties be required to include the establishment of a dedicated permanent unit on women's policy in their party regulations and organizational structure.

B. Reform the practice of staffing the women's division only with women

One of the practices in party secretariats that needs urgent reform is the practice of staffing the women's division only with women. As explained in section III, all of the women's divisions we examined in this research were staffed only with women. In our interviews, a number of female staff members reported that they were assigned to the women's division or with women-related work just because they were women. The belief that only women can and should handle women's issues is prevalent among party staff. This entrenched practice also denies the need for expertise in handling women's issues and is perpetuated because men are not given a chance to develop expertise in this area.

Meanwhile, it took a long time for women to be allowed to take on traditionally men's work. The interviewees reported that male-oriented networks and connections with powerful figures influence deployment to core divisions.

Opening the women's division to male staff will provide men with the opportunity to increase their understanding of both the characteristics of women's issues and the need for women's policy, eventually changing the entrenched belief that women's issues concern only female staff.

C. Expand the proportion of women among the heads of division/ department to 40%

In political parties, women are concentrated in the bottom of the pyramid of power as in other organizations. The number of women should be significantly increased in high-level positions in order to strengthen women's roles and networks in the organization. For this, parties are recommended to adopt a gender quota for high-level positions and to guarantee minimum 40% of women among decision-makers in the party.

As discussed in section III, the current proportion of women among the heads of division/department is 16-28% and mostly around 15% except the Justice Party. The proportion of the female vice-heads of division (mid-level managers) is 26-30% but that of the female secretary generals of regional chapters (equivalent to the heads of division in central chapters) is less than 10% in most cases. Given that the secretary generals of regional chapters are sent from central chapters, it is out of reach for many women who have a need to balance their family and work lives. The positions of party officials served by career politicians have a similarly low proportion of women: about 20% among supreme

members and 10% among the chairs of regional committees.

Some of the female interviewees thought that the proportion of women in the headship of division/department would soon reach 50%. Others were more reserved about it for the following reasons: the party rules on human resources management are not favorable for the promotion of female vice-heads of division/department[12]; women generally have weak networks in the party; and women often cannot contribute to the party as much as their male counterparts can due to their obligations for the family. They argued that the large number of women in low-ranking positions does not mean that they will naturally move to and fill up higher positions. A gender quota of 40% will help prevent women from being discriminated in promotion.

D. Hold regular meetings of female staff

As proven in the findings of the survey, women who have a regular meeting of female staff or a network with women's organizations outside the party tended to exhibit greater enthusiasm for political participation and a greater awareness of gender equality. Although the need for meetings of female staff was not early expressed by the interviewees, it is essential to have a channel through which women are properly represented particularly in a male-dominant organization. Building an informal network of female staff across the ranks through a regular meeting is one way to empower women in a male-oriented culture.

Recently, there is an increasing number of voluntary study groups in public and private organizations. Female staff may be able to organize

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12) In the Democratic Party, one should serve minimum one year as the secretary general at a regional chapter in order to be promoted from the vice-head to the head of division. Since it is difficult for women with childcare duties to move to a different region, it is argued that the chances of promotion for female vice-heads are slim.

study groups regarding the promotion of democracy and gender equality within the party.

E. Reform the Political Party Act to enhance gender equality training for party staff

If women's political representation is to be expanded, political parties need to transform themselves and the members of parties should have a raised awareness of the issue. However, legal and institutional measures may be necessary when changes from within do not easily come. As demonstrated in a study by Kim Eun-kyung, Kim Eun-ju, and Yu So-young (2015), the IPU highlighted reform and innovation in political parties as a prerequisite in the promotion of women's political representation and a gender-sensitive parliament.[13] Such reform and innovation may start from providing gender equality training to secretariat staff (including party officials) and general members.

The Korean Civic Education Institute for Democracy provides a 2-day training program once or twice per year for party administrative staff. However, it is designed to promote the morale and teamwork of the staff members, attended by party leaders who use the opportunity to share their visions for state affairs.

In a current situation, it is not plausible to provide administrative staff with in-depth training on current issues. Capacity-building training is necessary for both male and female staff and need to be designed to

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13) The Women and Family Committee of the Gyeonggi-do Council has adopted the 2019 implementation plan for the gender sensitivity policy program for council members and level 4 or higher public officials. Targeting 142 council members and designed to accommodate 40-50 participants in each training session, the program includes gender sensitivity training, understanding gender mainstreaming policy, and gender issues. This gender training program targeting council members and senior public officials is the first of its kind among Gwangyeok councils (The Report on the Activities of the Women and Family Bureau, Gyeonggi-do Provincial Government, August 30, 2019).

facilitate understandings and cooperation between the two genders and different generations.

The proposal on the partial revision of the Political Party Act[14] submitted by MP Nam In-sun in February 2017 highlighted the need to strengthen the responsibilities of political parties for women's political advancement. It proposes that parties provide their members with training on democratic citizenship and strive to develop and support female politicians. We suggest that gender sensitivity training be also included as part of the training.

Some of the parties seemed to be aware of the need for gender sensitivity training for administrative staff as well as party members but the format of the collective training provided to the members was not appropriate to accommodate humanities-based programs. In addition, the training co-hosted by parties and the National Election Commission was provided around an election period, making it difficult to focus on specific issues. Given these limitations of existing programs, we suggest that gender sensitivity training be offered in a series of classes over the course of 2-3 months with 2-3 hours per week, or party administrative staff be instructed to take in-depth training courses at an educational institution specializing in gender sensitivity training.

F. Establish regulations on the expenditure of the Women's Political Advancement Funds

Under the current top-down structure in which the party representative has a controlling power over the operation of the party, the women's

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14) The National Assembly Bill Information (February 8, 2017). "[2005484] A proposal for a partial revision of the Political Party Act (MP Nam In-sun and 13 other MPs)" http://likms.assembly.go.kr/bill/billDetail.do?billId=PRC_A1I7N0I2S0W8T1Q6L2U5Z0T1R3X6B6 (accessed on October 26, 2019)

division and the women's committee have little authority over the use of the funds. In order for the women's political advancement funds to be used for its intended purpose, we suggest that parties should: 1) introduce regulations on the use of the women's political advancement funds and grant the authority for the planning and management of the funds to its women's division and/or the women's committee; and 2) establish an advisory committee, under the women's committee, which can advise on and supervise the expenditure of the funds.

G. Introduce gender mainstreaming policies

The South Korean government has adopted gender mainstreaming policies with an aim to combine gender perspectives into policies. The Framework Act on Gender Equality stipulates that the government and local autonomous bodies shall adopt gender mainstreaming measures in the process of establishing, revising, implementing, and interpreting legislations; planning policies; writing and executing budgets; and performing other activities in accordance with laws (Article 14). In regard to gender mainstreaming, the law also dictates the implementation of the gender impact analysis (Article 15), gender-sensitive statistics (Article 16), and gender sensitivity education (Article 18).[15] Among those organizations required to implement gender mainstreaming policies in compliance with this law are central government bodies, local autonomous bodies, and the Office of Education. However, political parties are not included here.

The goals of political parties are to produce candidates for public

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15) The Framework Act on Gender Equality (Partial revision on November 26, 2019). The content of the law was obtained from the National Law Information Center (http://www.law.go.kr/%EB%B2%9 5%EB%A0%B9/%EC%96%91%EC%84%B1%ED%8F%89%EB%93%B1%EA%B8%B0%EB%B3% B8%EB%B2%95, accessed on October 30, 2019).

offices, gain wider support from the public through their policy pledges that reflect their political positions, and eventually come into power. Since the candidates nominated by parties become, if elected, the President, National Assembly members, heads of local autonomous bodies, and members of local councils, the policies of elected officials will closely resemble the policies of their parties. While the constitution guarantees the autonomy of a political party, parties need to follow government policies since their activities have a public nature and they receive subsidies, albeit partial, from the government.

Female staff members we met for this research strongly agreed to the need for gender sensitivity training although they made reservations about the idea that parties should endorse the government's gender mainstreaming policies.

⟨Table 11⟩ Policy measures recommended to strengthen the status and roles of female staff at party secretariat

Policy measures	Details
1. Strengthen the unit dedicated to women's policy	a. Include and define the women's division in party rules and organization structure
	b. Establish the procedure to elect the chair of the women's committee
2. Reform the human resources management system in the party secretariat	a. Abolish the practice of staffing the women's division only with women
	b. Introduce a gender quota of 40% in the headship of division
3. Institutionalize leadership training and mentorship for women	a. Strengthen leadership training for women in mid-level managerial positions
	b. Introduce a mentoring system for new staff
	c. Implement a regular meeting of female staff

Policy measures	Details
4. Strengthen gender equality training for administrative staff	a. Revise the Political Party Act to strengthen training for party members
	b. Obligate political parties and election officials to take gender sensitivity training in accordance with the Framework Plan on Gender Equality Policy
	c. Include gender sensitivity training as part of advanced training programs
5. Establish regulations on the expenditure of the Women's Political Advancement Funds	a. Introduce in the Political Funds Act provisions on the expenditure of the Women's Political Advancement Funds
	b. Establish intra-party rules on the use of the Women's Political Advancement Funds
	c. Establish an advisory committee on gender equality in relation to the use of the Women's Political Advancement Funds
6. Adopt gender mainstreaming policies	a. Revise Article 23 (Political participation) of the Framework Act on Gender Equality
	b. Promote research on the development of gender equality policy

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