

Knowledge Sharing on Korea's Development
in Women's Policies

Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List

Won-Hong Kim



2014

Research Paper-19-1-4-1



2014 Research Paper 19-1-4-1

Knowledge Sharing on Korea's Development in Women's Policies

Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List

Author **Won-Hong Kim** (KWDI)

Advisor **Eun Ju Kim** (Center for Korean Women and Politics)
Hyun-Chool Lee (National Assembly Research Service)

Reviewer **Eun Ju Kim** (Center for Korean Women and Politics)

Research
Management **Eun Kyung Kim, Jung Soo Kim**
(Center for International Development & Cooperation, KWDI)



2014 Research Paper 19-1-4-1

Knowledge Sharing on Korea's Development in Women's Policies
**Introduction of the Gender Quota System
in the Party List**

Copyright 2014 by Korean Women's Development Institute (KWDI)

First published on 31 December, 2014
by Korean Women's Development Institute
225 Jinheung-ro Eunpyeong-gu
Seoul 122-707
South Korea
www.kwdi.re.kr

ISBN 978-89-8491-661-6 94330
978-89-8491-647-0 94330 (Set)

Printed in South Korea

Please cite this report as below:

Kim, Won-Hong (2014). Knowledge Sharing on Korea's Development in Women's Policies - Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List, Seoul: Korean Women's Development Institute.

Korean Women's Development Institute(KWDI) is a government-affiliated think-tank under the Prime Minister's Office of South Korea. It has contributed to realizing gender equality, improving women's social participation and welfare and advancing family life and state through comprehensive researches on women's policies.

Foreword

South Korea has transformed itself from being an aid receiving country to an aid giving one after achieving an unprecedented economic growth during the past half century. Such growth was not confined to economic spheres only, but happened in many social arenas. Women's advancement was one area that has seen another dramatic transformation.

While efforts has existed to share Korea's development experience, such as Knowledge Sharing Program(KSP) spearheaded by South Korea's Ministry of Strategy and Finance(MOSF) and Development Experience Exchange Partnership(DEEP) by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there hardly existed initiatives to share women's advancement experiences in particular. The current study is the first of its kind and compiles the case analyses of women's development in various areas of South Korean society.

This study is an essential part of KWDI's multi-year ODA project titled "Strengthening Gender Equality Policy Infrastructure in the Asia-Pacific Region." This is a project aimed at establishing political and social infrastructure for gender-equal policy in the Asia-Pacific region. We believe South Korea's cases could serve as one model to consider for our partner countries in achieving this goal.

KWDI plans to share these case studies through various means such as policy consultation, workshops and international conferences. We will also come up with potential gender-related ODA projects that South Korean government can work with partner countries based on Korea's comparative advantage/experience. Our ultimate goal is to design a women's policy model tailored to local needs and work together to translate it into practice.

I hope the concerted efforts made by KWDI and partner countries will bring substantive changes in the lives of women in Asia.

Myung-sun Lee, Ph. D.

President

Korean Women's Development Institute



Table of Contents

I. Introduction	1
II. Concepts and Types of Gender Quota Systems in Politics	7
1. Concepts of Quota Systems	9
2. Types of Quota Systems	13
III. Development Processes of Gender Quota Systems in Politics in Korea	19
1. Legal Institutionalization of Quota Systems	21
2. Awareness on Quota Systems	40
IV. Achievements and Limitations of the Gender Quota System in Politics	43
1. Achievements of Quota Systems	45
2. Tasks of Improving the Women’s Political Representation and Reinforcing Quota Systems	60
V. Conclusion	63
■ Reference	67

List of Tables

<Table	-1> Women in lower or single houses after parliamentary renewals in 2012	11
<Table	-2> Types of quota systems	14
<Table	-3> Types of quota systems in countries with above average ratio (20.3%) of assemblywomen	16
<Table	-4> Types of quota systems and ratio of assemblywomen in countries with high political participation by women	17
<Table	-1> Solidarity activities of women's organizations to institutionalize the gender quota system in politics	25
<Table	-2> Development process of the gender quota system in politics	30
<Table	-3> Provisions on the gender quota system in politics for the Public Official Election Act	35
<Table	-4> Provisions on the subsidy for nominating female candidates and the Development Fund for Women's Politics in the Political Fund Law	38
<Table	-1> Number and ratio of female candidates and elected persons before and after the implementation of the gender quota system in politics	47
<Table	-2> Number and ratio of female candidates and elected females in metropolitan council member election	49
<Table	-3> Number and ratio of female candidates and elected females in basic local assembly member election	50
<Table	-4> Ratio of female members in the 16-18th standing committees (%)	53
<Table	-5> Present status of female chairman and administrator in the standing committees of the 16th-18th national assembly	55



<Table -6> Political activities of female national assembly members of the 16th-18th national assembly	57
<Table -7> Changes of organizations implementing women's policies	59





I

Introduction



In Korea, the issue of women's representation emerged as an important agenda for gender equality after the 1990s. Before that, political participation of women did not gain attention in Korean society. Along with the establishment of the Republic of Korea government in 1948, women's suffrage was automatically guaranteed, but in reality, politics was considered as a sphere of men. The activities of a small minority of female politicians were regarded as individualistic or perfunctory. South Korean social movement for democracy centered on addressing the dictatorship up until 1980s, and political participation of women was recognized as a secondary issue. Moreover, the biased view on women in the patriarchal culture made women to be a political minority (Hyun Jin Seo, 2004: 266-267; Hyun Ok Cho & Eun Hee Kim, 2010: 111-112).

However, political participation of women, a political minority, emerged as an issue involving gender equality, and the gender quota system became an alternative institutional means to achieve gender equality. The gender quota system in politics refers to "a system that supplements a certain ratio with women in order to increase the ratio of women in the national assembly as part of an aggressive preferential measure(an affirmative action) for the socially weak who were placed in a disadvantageous position in the past" (Ji Young Moon, 2012: 153). In 1995, after holding the World Conference on Women in Beijing, gender quota systems in politics expanded to other countries and currently they are being implemented in more than 100 countries. Above all, gender quota systems are not perfect, but at least in quantitative terms, they are evaluated as having improved the political participation of women (Caul, 2001; Kyung Mi Park, 2012: 74). As a result of the World Conference on Women held in Beijing, Korea also introduced and implemented the gender quota system.¹⁾

1) The gender quota system in politics here refers to the quota system in the nomination process. Generally, the terms "quota system" or "gender quota system" are used together to mean the same thing as the gender quota system in politics under the goal of expanding the women's representation. However, this paper will use the term

4 ●●● Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List

Therefore, this paper will cover issues about women's representation based on the gender quota system in politics that includes the following details. First, the paper will provide an overall understanding about the gender quota system in politics by taking a look at its concepts and types. Along with concepts of quota systems as an aggressive measure for realizing actual equality, the paper will specifically describe the characteristics of quota systems adopted and operated in countries around the world with active political participation by women. Likewise, based on the general knowledge about the gender quota system, the paper will take a closer look at the development process of the gender quota system focusing on the examples in Korea. Also, the positive or negative awareness about the implementation of gender quota systems these days will be identified to review the achievements and limitations. This will also explain the legal and systematic development processes that the gender quota system in politics in Korea went through to arrive at the current status. This analysis seeks to carry out an in-depth discussion on the pros and cons of women quota system. It will examine not only the rationale for adoption and implementation of the system but also criticisms against it. Meanwhile, the paper draws conclusions on how much improvement women's representation has been made in Korean society after the adoption of the gender quota system, while also discussing the tasks that still need to be resolved in the future.

Above all, this paper provides methods and strategies that may be taken into consideration by the government officials and specialists of developing countries in women's policy, especially in the process of implementing a series of tasks to improve political representation through the gender quota system. The paper takes an objective look at whether or not the gender quota system in Korea had the effect of improving women's representations through the legal and systematic changes made. It also seeks to identify tasks that still need to be

“gender quota system in politics” as the gender quota system in the political field to differentiate from quota systems in other areas.



I . Introduction ●●● 5

resolved from the perspectives of women. It hopes to be utilized by policy experts of developing countries in their policy and law making by tailoring South Korea's case into their countries' situations.





II

Concepts and Types of Gender Quota Systems in Politics

- | | |
|------------------------------|----|
| 1. Concepts of Quota Systems | 9 |
| 2. Types of Quota Systems | 13 |



1. Concepts of Quota Systems

Among various controversies surrounding the political representation of women, quota system is the most important and substantial subject. Quota system is a legal system that guarantees a wide variety of women's participation in political life by hiring women in a position where they can show their political influence (Hyun Ok Cho & Hyun Hee Kim, 2010: 114-115). The gender quota system in politics is based on the expectation that the existence and activity of female politicians can improve women's political representation and change existing political situations (Mansbridge, 1999; Kyung Mi Park, 2012). Today, female members of national assembly around the world remain at about 20.3% of the total member of national assembly. This is an increase of 5.3% compared to ten years ago (IPI, 2013). Likewise, the number of women participating in politics has increased at a relatively slow speed, while many discussions were made on the effective method of achieving a balance between men and women on the issue of political representation, making the quota system as one of the mechanisms.

The quota system may be seen as a method that satisfies both the ends and means of gender equality and women's political representation. Above all, gender quota system in politics, which emphasizes more on the equality of outcome than the equality of opportunity, is regarded as the fastest channel for expanding the women's political representation, while at the same time, as having the effect of promoting qualitative development (Kyung Hee Moon, 2007: 273). Currently, it is the most representative system of aggressive preferential measures that is being implemented to actually realize equality for minorities who are at a disadvantage due to various reasons. Aggressive measures refer to temporary measures that enable women who are facing social discrimination in exercising their rights fairly, while also improving the current political, social and economic structures so that women can be free from

10 ●●● Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List

negative effects caused by discrimination (Sun Wook Kim, 2004: 45; Hyun Ok Cho & Hyun Hee Kim, 2010: 114). One of such measures is the quota system that enables women's representation to improve in a variety of fields.

However, the strong enforcement nature of the gender quota system also has caused many problems. For example, what sort of details to be included in the measures for the quota system and how the quota system can contribute to strengthening the women's political competence are controversial issues. Moreover, issues rise on whether the actual method of the gender quota system during the election and voting processes ensure transparency and fairness in the party candidate nomination processes. As a result of emphasizing the great cause of gender equality, the gender quota system in politics is considered as something unarguable and explained as a preferential measure for the socially weak. There has not been sufficient explanations on the political meaning that the gender quota system actually holds, how it has actually improved gender equality, or the meaning that it has in terms of the development of democracy (Ji Young Moon, 2012: 153). In short, after the number of female national assembly members increased and their activities in the national assembly expanded, more discussions should have been made on the merits and demerits of the gender quota system in politics, such as whether the quota system actually brought positive effect on the development processes of democracy.

Nevertheless, it is certain that the quantitative increase in female national assembly members thanks to the gender quota system in politics is a visible result. So far, only a small number of countries have more than 30% of women in the total national assembly members, which is considered as having a profound effect on the political decision-making processes. Taking a look at the countries that held elections in 2012, the ratio of female national assembly members was high among the countries that adopted and implemented the quota systems.

II. Concepts and Types of Gender Quota Systems in Politics ●●● 11

〈Table II-1〉 Women in lower or single houses after parliamentary renewals in 2012

Nationality	Number of total seats	Number of seats acquired by women	Ratio of seats acquired by women	Whether or not the quota system is implemented
Senegal	150	64	42.7	Implemented**
the Netherlands	150	58	38.7	Implemented*
East Timor	65	25	38.5	Implemented**
Mexico	500	184	36.8	Implemented***
Angola	220	75	34.1	Implemented**
Serbia	250	81	32.4	Implemented**
Algeria	462	146	31.6	Implemented***
France	577	155	26.9	Implemented***
Belarus	109	29	26.6	Not implemented
El Salvador	84	22	26.2	Implemented*
Lesotho	120	30	25.0	Not implemented
Lithuania	139	34	24.5	Implemented*
Kazakhstan	107	26	24.3	Not implemented
Greece	300	63	21.0	Implemented***
Slovakia	150	28	18.7	Implemented*
US	434	78	18.0	Not implemented
San Marino	60	10	16.7	Not implemented
Libya	200	33	16.5	Implemented**
Burkina Faso	127	20	15.7	Implemented**
Korea	300	47	15.7	Implemented***
Montenegro	81	12	14.8	Implemented**
Somalia	275	38	13.8	Implemented****
Mongolia	74	10	13.5	Implemented**
Rumania	412	55	13.3	Implemented*
Bahamas	38	5	13.2	Not implemented
Sierra Leone	121	15	12.4	Not implemented

12 ●●● Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List

Nationality	Number of total seats	Number of seats acquired by women	Ratio of seats acquired by women	Whether or not the quota system is implemented
Georgia	150	18	12.0	Not implemented
Syria	250	30	12.0	Not implemented
Armenia	131	14	10.7	Implemented**
Ghana	275	28	10.2	Not implemented
Ukraine	445	42	9.4	Not implemented
Japan	480	38	7.9	Not implemented
Cambodia	53	4	7.5	Not implemented
Congo	136	10	7.4	Not implemented
Kuwait	65	4	6.2	Not implemented
Belize	32	1	3.1	Not implemented
Iran	290	9	3.1	Not implemented
Papua New Guinea	111	3	2.7	Not implemented
Palau	16	0	0.0	Not implemented
Vanuatu	52	0	0.0	Not implemented

- 1) Refers to a country that adopted the quota system voluntarily to increase the number of female candidates in one of the political parties among many parties in the country.
- 2) Legislated candidate quotas
- 3) Legislated candidate quotas and voluntary party quotas
- 4) Reserved seats for women

Source: IPU (2013). Women in Parliament in 2012: The Year in Perspective. (Source: <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP2012e.pdf> Date of search: September 3, 2013).

Taking a look at the result of countries with elections in 2012, most of the countries that implemented the quota system had a higher ratio of women being elected as national assembly members compared to the countries without quota systems. At the same time, quota systems adopted by each country vary among countries. This is closely related to the effectiveness of the gender quota system in politics on improving the development of democracy and the gender equality mentioned earlier on. In this regard, it is necessary to take a close look at

various types of gender quota systems adopted and implemented all over the world and types of quota system that are equivalent to the election system of each country.

2. Types of Quota Systems

A. Types of gender quota systems in politics

In order to discuss the types of quota systems, there are two ways of approaching the adoption and implementation of quota systems in each country. The first approach is looking at who has the authority to implement the quota system, while the second approach is looking at the level of application for the quota system during the process of selecting and nominating the subject (Dahlerup, 2006: 21).

In the former case, the gender quota system is prescribed institutionally pursuant to the election law. In the latter case, the implementation of the quota system is decided voluntarily by each party, making it a political party quota. Occasionally, all of the parties in the country may have their own list of candidates who are subject to the quota system, but in most countries, only a few of the parties accept the quota system. However, as seen from the case of South Africa, if the ruling party adopts the quota system, it has an enormous effect.

In the latter case, the quota system forms the most basic stage of the nomination process for selecting potential candidates. Therefore, the gender quota system acts as a rule that prescribes the ratio or number of certain female candidates. Afterwards, in the process of actually nominating the candidates, a secret vote is conducted without discrimination between the male and female candidates. At the final stage, the reserved seats quota system is applied, which requires a certain ratio of women has to be elected.

〈Table II-2〉 Types of quota systems

Implementing bodies	Stages of nomination processes applied with quota systems		
	Potential candidate	Candidate	Elected person
Legal regulations (forced institutionally or by election law)	Preliminary election	Candidate quotas	Reserved seats quotas
Voluntary party quotas	Potential candidate quotas	Candidate quotas	Reserved seats quotas*

1) Include the agreement between parties to allocate reserved seats for women.

Source: Dahlerup (2006, 21).

Likewise, gender quota systems in politics can be divided largely into two types. One is the ‘mandatory application’ type that is pursuant to the constitution or the election law, while the other is the ‘voluntary application’ type that is optionally applied by political parties.

In terms of application timing, gender quota systems can be divided largely into three types, including the reserved seats quota, the legislated candidate quota and the political party quota. First, the reserved seats quota is a type of electoral quotas that generally allocate a certain ratio of seats to women who are elected. Second, the legislated candidate quota is a type that is generally and widely adopted. Among the total candidates, it ensures that a certain ratio of women is accounted for when each political party nominates their final candidates. It is usually applied in countries that adopt the proportional representation system and Korea also belongs to this category. Third, the political party quota is an effort made by political parties in the stage of preparing for elections to have a pool of woman power so that they can acquire capable female candidates before the political party’s nomination committee selects their candidates (Hyun Ok Cho & Hyun Hee Kim, 2010: 115-116).

Unlike the reserved seats quota, the legislated candidate quota and the political party quota take the form of allocating the minimum number of female

candidates among the list of candidates in accordance with the provisions required by law or the internal regulations by political party. Meanwhile, unlike the reserved seats quota and the legislated candidate quota, which are implemented in accordance with the regulations that are enforced legally or institutionally, the political party quota emphasizes relatively voluntary application (Dahlerup, 2006: 19-21). There also exists other types of quotas, and they all emphasize positioning women candidates at the top of the list, not at the bottom, for the quota systems to be effectively implemented.

B. Present status of gender quota systems in politics around the world

As of 2013, there are 118 countries that adopt any type of quota systems around the world.²⁾ As mentioned before, quota systems related to women's political participation are divided largely into the three types. First, as a system legislated by constitution or related laws, the candidate quota system allocates a certain ratio to women or a gender with low representation when drawing up a list of election candidates. Second, the reserved seats quota allows a certain ratio of seats to be taken up by women in accordance with constitution or related laws. Third, the political party quota does not have any legal regulation, but it allocates a certain ratio to 'gender' voluntarily by a political parties when drawing up a list of candidates.

The types of quota systems adopted in different countries where the average ratio of the assemblywomen marks above 20.3% can be classified in the following categories³⁾: 67 countries adopted the quota system to improve the

2) The present status of gender quota systems in politics is written based on the result of the Quota Project. For more details, please refer to the following: Quotaproject.org (Source: <http://www.quotaproject.org/uid/search.cfm#> Date of search: October 1, 2013).

3) Based on the materials up to September 2013, regarding the seats and ratios taken up by assemblywomen in the upper and lower houses of each country, please refer to the following: Inter-Parliamentary Union(IPU). (Source: www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif-arc.htm)

16 ●●● Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List

women’s political representation and among them, 29 countries adopted the ‘candidate quotas’, while 11 countries adopted the ‘reserved seats quotas’. There were 27 countries that belong to the ‘political party quotas’.

〈Table II -3〉 Types of quota systems in countries with above average ratio (20.3%) of assemblywomen

Type of quotas	Nationality
Reserved seats quotas	Rwanda, Tanzania, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Burundi, Afghanistan, Republic of South Sudan, Sudan, China, Eritrea, Pakistan
Candidate quotas	Senegal, Ecuador, Costa Rica, Belgium, Argentina, Mexico, Spain, Angola, Macedonia, Nepal, Serbia, Algeria, Guyana, Portugal, France, Lesotho, Tunisia, Bolivia, Iraq, Namibia, Poland, Kyrgyzstan, Mauritania, Uzbekistan, Peru, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Greece, Cape Verde, Dominican Republic
Political party quotas	Sweden, Republic of South Africa, Nicaragua, Iceland, Norway, Mozambique, Denmark, the Netherlands, East Timor, Germany, Slovenia, Italy, Switzerland, Trinidad and Tobago, Austria, the Philippines, El Salvador, Australia, Canada, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Croatia, Israel, UK, Malawi, the Czech Republic, Luxembourg

- 1) As of September 2013, the types of quota systems for the lower house are classified for applicable countries.
- 2) For each type of quotas, the name of countries are provided in the order of countries with higher ratio of assemblywomen.

Source: IPU. (Source: <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif-arc.htm> Date of search: September 3, 2013); Quotaproject.org (Source: <http://www.quotaproject.org/uid/search.cfm#> Date of search: October 1, 2013).

According to this, various types of gender quota systems are applied to suit the political and social characteristics of each country. In particular, the types of quota systems for countries with a high ratio of women’s political participation can be understood as shown below. However, in most cases, countries that executed the legal quota system that is not enforceable had the tendency of showing a very low ratio of assemblywomen.

Date of search: October 1, 2013).

II. Concepts and Types of Gender Quota Systems in Politics ●●● 17

Recently, compared to the ‘political party quotas’ that nominate female candidates based on the decision of the political party, the gender quota systems in politics, which are applied mandatorily in accordance with constitution and election laws, are receiving attention (Kyung Mi Park, 2012: 78). In the case of reserved seats quotas, it brought positive effect on the women’s political participation in countries like Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda.

〈Table II-4〉 Types of quota systems and ratio of assemblywomen in countries with high political participation by women

Rank	Nationality	Date of election (month, year)	Number of total seats (persons)	Number of assembly women (persons)	Ratio of assemblywomen (%)	Types of quota systems
1	Rwanda	Sep. 2008	80	45	56.3	Reserved seats quotas
2	Andorra	Apr. 2011	28	14	50.0	(Not implemented)
3	Cuba	Feb. 2013	612	299	48.9	(Not implemented)
4	Sweden	Sep. 2010	349	156	44.7	Political party quotas
5	Seychelles	Sep. 2011	32	14	43.8	(Not implemented)
6	Senegal	Jul. 2012	150	64	42.7	Candidate quotas
7	Finland	Apr. 2011	200	85	42.5	(Not implemented)
8	Republic of South Africa	Apr. 2009	400	169	42.3	Political party quotas
9	Nicaragua	Nov. 2011	92	37	40.2	Political party quotas
10	Iceland	Apr. 2013	63	25	39.7	Political party quotas
11	Norway	Sep. 2009	169	67	39.6	Political party quotas

18 ●●● Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List

Rank	Nationality	Date of election (month, year)	Number of total seats (persons)	Number of assembly women (persons)	Ratio of assembly women (%)	Types of quota systems
12	Mozambique	Oct. 2009	250	98	39.2	Political party quotas
13	Denmark	Sep. 2011	179	70	39.1	Political party quotas
14	Ecuador	Feb. 2013	137	53	38.7	Candidate quotas
14	the Netherlands	Sep. 2012	150	58	38.7	Political party quotas
15	Costa Rica	Fe. 2010	57	22	38.6	Candidate quotas
89	Korea	Apr. 2012	300	47	15.7	Candidate quotas

1) Classified based on the lower house elections of the applicable country up to September 2013.

Source: IPU. (Source: <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif-arc.htm> Date of search: Septebmer 3, 2013); Quotaproject.org (Source: <http://www.quotaproject.org/uid/search.cfm#> Date of search: October 1, 2013).

In the case of Korea, 47 seats out of the total of 300 seats are given to assemblywomen, of which ratio puts Korea at the 89th among countries from around the world. Korea is a country that legally enforces the gender quota system in politics, which is prescribed in regulations by the Public Official Election Act. Therefore, the compulsory enforcement is applied differently according to the classification of the election, proportional representation and elective office of various levels. However, until now, it is necessary to emphasize the need to discuss about the application methods and developments of the quota system because the ratio of seats taken up by proportional representation is not that high in the election system.

III

Development Processes of Gender Quota Systems in Politics in Korea

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. Legal Institutionalization of Quota Systems | 21 |
| 2. Awareness on Quota Systems | 40 |



I. Legal Institutionalization of Quota Systems

A. Characteristics of adopting quota systems: the adoption of gender quota systems in politics led by civil society

In Korea, it is necessary to pay attention to the efforts of civil society with women's movement during the development processes of gender quota systems in politics. The discussion about gender quota systems started after 1990s mainly around women circles. After June 1987, the domestic political and social environments surrounding the rapidly developed democracy, as well as the World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, acted as factors that facilitated discussions about the gender quota system in politics in Korea.

After 1987, diverse opinions were shown about the development of democracy as Korea succeeded in democratization. Among them, discussions were made on women's political representation to ensure women's equal rights. For the first time, at the 13th Presidential Election held in 1987, the candidate of the Democratic Progressive Party, Tae Woo Noh, proposed the 'expansion of women's entry into public posts' and the candidate of the New Democratic Republic Party, Jong Pil Kim, suggested the 'expansion of women's participation in the party and national assembly and the supplementation and promotion of women's government organizations'. Afterwards, at the 14th Presidential Election held in 1992, all of the candidates for each party proposed the expansion of women's political participation as their major pledges. In reality, the candidate of the Democratic Liberal Party, Young Sam Kim, made the pledge of 'expanding support for women's social and political participation and establishing an organization for training female politics', while the candidate of the Democratic Party, Dae Jung Kim, suggested 'the adoption of the gender quota system in politics and the expansion of women's participation in public officials election and public institutions'. Also, the candidate of the Unification

22 ●●● Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List

People Party, Ju Yong Chung, suggested ‘ to establish the Ministry of Gender Equality, to have women be appointed as the new head of organization for local governments and to expand women’s entry in public affairs’ as his pledge. Each political party of the 15th Presidential Election held in 1997 came up with more specific pledges to expand women’s representation, including the gender quota system in politics. Before the 16th Presidential Election held in 2002, it was prescribed in the Article 31 of the Political Party Law, through an agreement between the ruling party and the opposition party, to allocate 30% as the ratio of nomination for female candidates in the proportional representation systems of national assembly and metropolitan council (Won Hong Kim, Hye Young Kim & Eun Kyung Kim, 2002: 29-31).

On the other hand, the World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 raised interests on the women’s political representation around the world, which led to active discussions about women’s political representation. Among the twenty agendas at the World Conference on Women held in Beijing, it included the improvement of women’s representation, which facilitated various countries to take into consideration of women’s political representation as a major task for achieving gender mainstreaming (Hyun Ok Cho & Hyun Hee Kim, 2010: 121). In particular, the Beijing Platform for Action provided a kind of direction for improving women’s political representation, which had an important influence on the women’s movement in Korea. Under these trends, activities of solidarity were shown by women’s organizations to realize the gender quota system in politics.

In 1994, the ‘Women’s Solidarity for Adopting Quota System’ was officially formed with a goal toward achieving improvement of the women’s political participation, which led to various discussions about women’s political participation and the adoption of the quota system. In 1998, ‘Women’s Political Network’ was established before the local election to hold a public hearing on acquiring women’s representation in the laws pertaining to politics and

facilitating the adoption of the gender quota system to the political parties. Meanwhile, a venue for educating politics was provided to actually and effectively help women who have more interests on local politics. These efforts made by the women's organizations led to the amendment of the Political Party Law in February 2000, which resulted in the adoption of the quota system for 30% of female candidates in the proportional representation system (Won Hong Kim, Hye Young Kim & Eun Kyung Kim, 2002: 25-27).

In 2002, the 'Women's Solidarity for Politics' was established before the local election. Together with each political party, discussions were made on laws pertaining to politics for improving women's representation. As a result, an agreement was reached in principle that prescribed the quota of 50% of female candidates in the proportional representation system and the quota of 30% of female candidates in the candidate nomination for local constituencies. The activities of women's organizations became active in the election held in 2004. In 2003, 'Women's Solidarity for the 17th General Election' was established just before the election of the members of the national assembly in 2004, which submitted a proposal for the amendment of laws pertaining to politics with projects on improving the system to expand women's participation. The major details of the amendment included increasing the seats of proportional representation to be at least a ratio of 1:2 for the elective office, while having a ratio of 50% of quotas for female candidates in the proportional representation of the national assembly members. Local constituencies are prescribed to have a ratio of 30%, while the zipper system is adopted and the political party that fails to comply with it will have their government subsidies cut. In the case where the political party have a ratio of female candidates in the proportional representation that is below 50%, the party cannot apply to the National Election Commission and also the Nomination Screening Committee of each political party should include a quota of 30% for female candidates (Women's Solidarity for General Election 2004). Before the election for the local assembly

in 2006, women's organizations submitted a written opinion to the political reform meeting in order to ask for the male-female election system to be adopted at the basic local assembly. At the election of the local assembly in 2010, 'Women's Solidarity for the Same Number of Male and Female Candidates at the Local Election in 2010' was established among the women's organizations once again at the election for the local assembly in 2010 to carry out political activities (Hyun Ok Cho & Hyun Hee Kim, 2010: 124).

Most recently at the 19th election for the national assembly members in 2012, movements were made to set an environment for political reform through structural improvement and the expansion of women's political participation. First, various women's organizations and institutions held press conferences to promote their activities on improving the political systems which expand the women's participation.⁴⁾ Also, women's organizations that worked in different regions joined together to hold official and unofficial meetings to discuss about selecting women's policy agendas,⁵⁾ while also openly voicing their supports for female candidates who favored the policies they have proposed.⁶⁾

-
- 4) Suwon Ilbo (Mar. 9, 2012). "Gyeonggiii Women's Organizations on the Adoption of Women's Policy by the Candidates for General Election".
<http://www.suwon.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=73021> (Date of search: Apr. 6, 2012).
 - 5) Yonhap News (Mar. 7, 2012). "Incheon's Women's World Focused on Making Women's Issues into Policies Before the General Election".
<http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr/bulletin/2012/03/07/0200000000AKR20120307129600065.HTML> (Date of search: Apr. 6, 2012).
 - 6) Gyeongnamdomin Ilbo (Mar. 1, 2012). "Women's Organizations Support Female Candidates Realizing Gender Equality Policy".
<http://www.idomin.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=372990> (Date of search: Apr. 6, 2012); Gyeongnamdomin Newspaper (Mar. 8, 2012). "Jinju's Women's Organization Announces Support for the Opposition Party's Candidate".
<http://www.gndomin.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=16514> (Date of search: Apr. 6, 2012).

〈Table III-1〉 Solidarity activities of women's organizations to institutionalize the gender quota system in politics

Period	Main organization	Major activities
Before 1990s	Korean National Council for Women, etc.	- Propose the gender quota system in politics
1994	Women's solidarity for adopting the quota system (participated by 54 women's organizations)	- Hold an invitational meeting of the Special Committee on Women's Affairs in the National Assembly - Facilitate 20% of female nomination in the 1995 local election and 10% adoption of proportional representation and 50% female nomination in the provincial level elections - Facilitate 30% quotas of female proportional representation in the 15-16th general elections
1998	Women's Political Network (Center for Korean Women & Politics, Korea Women's Political Caucus, Korean League of Women Voters, Korean Institute for Women & Politics, etc.)	- Hold a public hearing for acquiring women's representation on laws pertaining to politics and facilitate the adoption of the gender quota system by political parties - Provide education for female candidates and support joint election of female candidates
2000	Korean League of Women Voters, Korea Women's Political Powers Democratic Solidarity	- Implement movements for the nomination of female candidates - Propose the amendment of laws pertaining to politics
2002	Women's Political Solidarity (Women's Political Powers Democratic Solidarity, Korean League of Women Voters, Korea Women's Political Caucus)	- Hold discussion with the chairman of the Special Committee on Political Reform of each political party and reach an agreement on principles - Submit to the Special Committee on Political Reform in the National Assembly on laws pertaining to politics, including 50% of proportional representation and 30% quota of elective office, and ask for meeting with the chairman
2004	Women's solidarity for general election (solidarity of about 321 women's organizations including the Korean Women's Association United and the Korean National Council of Women)	- Submit a proposal on the amendment of laws pertaining to politics to the National Assembly Meeting on Political Reform - Carry out activities against the decrease of seats in proportional representation and activities for increasing the seats
2006	8 organizations including the	- Submit a written opinion to the Political Reform Council

26 ●●● Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List

Period	Main organization	Major activities
	Korean Women's Association United and the Korean National Council of Women	- Ask for the election system of the same number of male and female candidates to the Basic Local Assembly, etc.
2010	Solidarity for the same number of male and female candidates (about 400 organizations including the Korean National Council of Women and the Korean Women's Association United)	- Work on the institutionalization of the same number of male and female candidates in the local election - Hold a discussion and meet with the chairman of the Special Committee on Political Reform - Draw up a proposal and give a statement
2012	Purple Party (participated by a total of 126 organizations with the Korean Women's Association United as the key organization)	- Hold a discussion on 'making the 19th National Assembly with the same number of male and female members' - Facilitate once again 30% quota of female candidates in elective offices to the political parties - Ask for a cut of 50% on government subsidies as disciplinary measures

Source: reconstructed based on Won Hong Kim, Hye Young Kim & Eun Kyung Kim (2002: 25-28); Hyun Ok Cho & Eun Hee Kim (2010: 126).

Likewise, the activities of women's organizations, which played a huge role in adopting and facilitating the gender quota system in politics in Korea, were closely related to the political circles (Hyun Ok Cho & Hyun Hee Kim, 2010: 125). Mostly, the activities of women's organizations took place to prepare for the election of national assembly members or the election of local assembly members. It raised the voice demanding the expansion of the institutional base for women's political participation. In this case, various efforts were made to provide a system that ensured political parties to keep their promise on the gender quota system in politics. Therefore, various discussions and meetings were held on those issues, while the women's organizations announced their declarations to the media. Also, there were solidarity activities implemented by various women's organizations instead of just individual activities, which created the movement for the gender quota system in politics. This is because the amendment of the legal system is a difficult goal that cannot be achieved

through independent activities, which also showed that the social and political influences of the Korean women's organizations are still not strong enough.

B. Process of the gender quota systems in politics⁷⁾

In Korea, the gender quota system was first introduced through the amendment of the Political Party Law in 2000. At the time, the Paragraph 4 of the Article 31 of the amended Political Party Law prescribed that more than 30% of the candidates for the proportional representation of the national assembly members and the proportional representation of the elective offices should be taken up by women. Since the gender quota system was first adopted in 2000, it was meaningful that the provision of related law had made the first attempt at institutionalizing the improvement of women's representation in the Korean politics. However, there were no provisions on imposing sanctions if the political parties failed to comply with the provisions. Therefore, the zipper system was not introduced. As a result, even in the proportional representation, female candidates failed to be placed within the numbers that provides better chances of winning the election and thereby elevates the ratio of winning the election for female candidates. At the same time, various movements were made to implement the gender quota system in politics from a more realist sense by women and citizens, which led to the partial amendment of the Political Party Law and the Election Law once again in 2002.

In 2002, the Paragraph 4, 5 and 6 of the Article 31 of the amended Political Party Law, the Paragraph 3 of the Article 47 and No.2 of the Paragraph 1 of

7) In 2010, which is the 10th year since the adoption of the gender quota system in Korea, various discussions were made on the gender quota system in politics. In this paper, the historical process of the gender quota system in politics were reconstructed based on these discussions. In addition to the abundant details, please refer to Hyun Hee Kim & Yoo Seok Oh (2010), Hyun Ok Cho & Eun Hee Kim (2010), Mi Ae Chung & Kyung Hee Moon (2010), Min Jung Kim and others (2011) and Ji Young Moon (2012).

the Article 52 of the Public Official Election Act, and No.2 of the Article 17 of the Political Fund Law applied the same regulations that were applied in 2000 in the case of electing proportional representation candidates for the national assembly. However, the ratio of quotas for the proportional representation candidates in the metropolitan council were raised to 50%, while the zipper system was adopted to increase the possibility of the female candidates to be elected. (In the case where a political party violates the 50% nomination and the zipper system of female candidates for the proportional representation in the metropolitan council, a compulsory provision was introduced which made the registration invalid.) Also, among the candidates for local constituencies of the metropolitan council, it was recommended that more than 30% of them should be female candidates. Meanwhile, the political parties that followed this provision was given an additional subsidy for nominating female candidates.

In 2004, in accordance with the Paragraph 4 and 6 of the Article 31 of the amended Political Party Law and No.2 of the Article 17 of the Political Fund Law, it became mandatory to have more than 50% of the candidates to be female for the proportional representation in the national assembly (here mandatory means that the provision stated it to be mandatory, but there was no compulsory measures that accompanied it. In other words, it was mandatory, but there were no compulsory measures. Therefore, it had no forcible powers and even though a person violates the provision the only consequence he or she faces might be a criticism on one's ethics. In other words, no legal sanctions were imposed.). Also, a regulation that nominated more than 30% of female candidates for local constituencies were added, while the political party that followed this provision was given an additional subsidy for inducement.

The amendment of the Public Official Election Act in 2005 strengthened the gender quota system in politics. Based on this, the legal basis for the gender quota system in politics changed from the Political Party Law to the Public

Official Election Act. The adoption of the proportional representation system at the basic local assembly with 50% of female candidates for nomination was recommended together with the implementation of the zipper system. Also, it was recommended that 30% of female candidates for the election of local constituencies for the basic local assembly to be implemented. However, the compulsory measures of 50% female candidates in the proportional representation for the local election was not applied to the proportional representation election of the basic local assembly. In other words, the compulsory measures of making the registration invalid and not permitting the acceptance if a political party violated the 50% of female candidates in the proportional representation and the zipper system were only limited to the proportional representation election for the metropolitan council. The standard of allocation and distribution of subsidies for nominating female candidates is designed to have successive phases.

Also, the Article 26 of the amended Political Fund Law before the local election held in 2006 expanded the application of subsidies received for nominating female candidates to include elective offices, national assembly, city and provincial councils, local government, city and district council elections. The amendments of the Article 49 and the Article 52 of the Public Official Election Act are being made after the local election in 2006. If the 50% of female candidates in the proportional representation and the zipper system are violated, the scope of not permitting the acceptance and making the registration invalid have been expanded from the metropolitan council election to include the basic local assembly election.

In 2010, there were two more amendments made to laws, which provided Korea with a more developed form of the gender quota system in politics. Based on the Paragraph 5 of the Article 47 and No. 2 of the Paragraph 1 and the Paragraph 2 of the Article 52 of the Public Official Election Act, it became legally mandatory to nominate at least one female candidate for each local

30 ●●● Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List

constituency of national assembly member at one of the elections, including the city and provincial councils or the local government, city and district councils, when nominating candidates for the local assembly election. Moreover, if a political party violated this mandatory regulation, a compulsory provision was introduced that made the registration invalid.

<Table III-2> Development process of the gender quota system in politics

Period	Provision of legal basis	Core details	Level of Enforcement
Feb. 16, 2000	<Political Party Law> Paragraph 4, Article 31	- Mandatory to nominate 30% of female candidates for the proportional representation in national assembly and metropolitan council	- Declaratory regulation
Mar. 7, 2002	<Political Party Law> Paragraph 4-6, Article 31 <Public Official Election Act> Paragraph 3, Article 47 and Paragraph 1-2, Article 52 <Political Fund Law> 2 of Article 17	- Mandatory to nominate more than 30% of female candidates for the proportional representation in national assembly - Mandatory to nominate more than 50% of female candidates as the zipper system for the proportional representation in metropolitan council - Recommend the nomination of more than 30% of female candidates for the local constituencies in metropolitan council - Make the registration invalid if the ratio of female candidates and the zipper system for the proportional representation in metropolitan council are violated - Provide additional subsidies if 30% of female candidates are nominated for the local constituencies in metropolitan council	- No compulsory measures if the proportional representation in national assembly is violated - Registration becomes invalid if the proportional representation in metropolitan council is violated - Provide additional subsidies if 30% of female candidates are nominated for the local constituencies in metropolitan council
Mar. 12, 2004	<Political Party Law> Paragraph 4 and 6, Article 31 <Political Fund Law> 2 of Article 17	- Expand the ratio of female candidates to 50% for the proportional representation in national assembly - Recommend 30% of female candidates for the local constituencies in national	- Limit the use of additional subsidies given for nominating female candidates

III. Development Processes of Gender Quota Systems in Politics in Korea ●●● 31

Period	Provision of legal basis	Core details	Level of Enforcement
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - assembly - Expand the scope of additional subsidies to include political parties that nominate 30% of female candidates for the local constituencies in national assembly 	
Aug. 4, 2005	<p><Public Official Election Act> Paragraph 2, Article 47 and Paragraph 8, Article 49 and Paragraph 1-2, Article 52</p> <p><Political Fund Law> Article 26</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Adopt the proportional representation in basic local assembly - Recommend 50% of female candidates and the zipper system for the proportional representation in basic local assembly - Recommend 30% of female candidates for local constituencies in basic local assembly - Allocate and distribute subsidies for nominating female candidates in stages 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limit making the registration invalid and not permitting the acceptance to the proportional representation of metropolitan councils
Apr. 28, 2006	<p><Political Fund Law> Article 26</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expand the application of additional subsidies provided for nominating female candidates to include the elections for local constituencies of national assembly, city and provincial councils and local government, city and district councils. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limit the use of additional subsidies provided for nominating female candidates
Oct. 4, 2006	<p><Public Official Election Act> Paragraph 8, Article 49 and Paragraph 1-2, Article 52</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expand the application of not permitting the acceptance and making the registration invalid if 50% of female candidates for proportional representation and the zipper system to include metropolitan council and basic local assembly 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expand the elections that are subject to the provision
Jan. 25, 2010	<p><Public Official Election Act> Paragraph 5, Article 47</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Make it mandatory to nominate at least one female candidate for each local constituency of national assembly member at one of the elections, including the city and provincial councils or the local government, city and district councils, when nominating candidates for the local assembly election 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Make the quota for elective offices compulsory

Period	Provision of legal basis	Core details	Level of Enforcement
Mar. 12, 2010	<Public Official Election Act> Paragraph 1-2 and Paragraph 2, Article 52	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Make the registration invalid if the above compulsory provisions are violated (excluding district areas) - However, it is excluded if the total number of candidates are less than 50% of the number of members 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Make the registration invalid if the nomination of female candidates for local constituencies in basic local assembly is violated

Source: Legal information database related to <Public Official Election Act>, <Political Fund Law> and <Political Party Law> from the legal information database of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea (<http://likms.assembly.go.kr/law/jsp/law/Main.jsp> Date of search: July 20, 2013); Hyun Ok Cho & Eun Hee Kim (2010: 120); Ji Young Moon (2012: 156).

The gender quota system in politics in Korea achieved rapid development in a very short period of time in terms of its legal systems. Under the trend of democracy, the movements for legalizing the gender quota system in politics began with the declaratory regulation, which led to compulsory measures on making the gender quota system in politics mandatory through the enactment and amendment of statutes, while also inducing various measures for voluntary application. Also, the ratio of female candidates being nominated and the ratio of national assembly members being elected actually showed a substantial increase compared to before the implementation of the gender quota system in politics.⁸⁾

The provisions of the legal systems on the gender quota system in politics that are currently being implemented have many problems. Above all, in the case of the gender quota system in politics with 50% female candidates for the proportional representation, it is carried out by all political parties because of

8) The achievements made by the gender quota system in politics are dealt in more detail in Chapter 4.

the compulsory measures in place for local elections. However, in the case of the election for the national assembly members, it is mandatory to follow the provision but there are no compulsory measures in place so that it is impossible to impose legal sanctions. In the case of 30% of female candidates for the local constituency elections, it is still at the level of recommendation for both of national assembly members' elections and local elections, thus, making it impossible to impose sanctions in case of violations because no legal provisions are provided. However, in the case of local elections, the Public Official Election Act was amended in 2010, making it mandatory to nominate at least one female candidate in local elections. Moreover, the current gender quota system in politics is focused on the seats for the proportional representation, which limits to women who belong to certain professions or classes. This has raised the concern that the general interests of female voters are not met through the women's political representation (Hyun Ok Cho & Hyun Hee Kim, 2010: 129; Hyun Hee & Yoo Seok Oh, 2010: 171; Ji Young Moon, 2012: 157). Based on these points, it is necessary to evaluate the gender quota system in politics, as well as to have an overall discussion about the current system.

C. Present status of the Korean gender quota system in politics

Currently, the gender quota system in Korea is applied with both mandatory and voluntary regulations. The provisions on the gender quota system are currently reflected in the Public Official Election Act. Among them, the provision on the gender quota system concerning the nomination of candidates for local assembly election in local constituencies is prescribed differently depending on the election. First, in accordance with the new provision of the Public Official Election Act in 2010, if a political party violates the provision "(Paragraph 5, Article 47) to nominate at least one female candidate for each

local constituency of national assembly member at one of the elections, including the city and provincial councils or the local government, city and district councils, when nominating candidates for the local assembly election” following the expiration of the term, “(Paragraph 2, Article 52) the registration made by that political party as a nomination of local constituencies, including the city and provincial councils or the local government, city and district councils, will become all invalid”. In other words, the quota system is applied mandatorily in the local elections. Therefore, political parties have to comply with the nomination of female candidates in the local elections. If they fail to do that, political parties will lose one of their major function to nominate candidates.

However, political parties are subject to only the minimum mandatory obligation and the final ratio of female candidates are recommended to each political party. This can be seen as a voluntary quota system. The Paragraph 3 and the Paragraph 4 of the Article 47 express, “(Paragraph 4, Article 47) efforts should be made to nominate more than 30% of female candidates out of the total number of local constituencies when nominating candidates for the local constituencies in national assembly member election and local assembly member election following the completion of the term”, which recommend political parties to voluntarily implement 30% of female candidates in local constituencies. Also, the implementation of 50% of female candidates in the proportional representation and the zipper system is mandatory because “(Paragraph 3, Article 47) nominate more than 50% of female candidates among the candidates when a political party nominates candidates for the proportional representation in national assembly member election and local assembly member election, but (Paragraph 3, Article 47) female candidates should be nominated in odd numbers when ranking the list of candidates”. However, unlike the local elections, in the case of the proportional representation in the national assembly member election, if the political parties fail to comply with this provision, there

III. Development Processes of Gender Quota Systems in Politics in Korea ●●● 35

are no legal measures to impose against them. In the case of the national assembly member election, this provision is also provided as a recommendation.

In short, Korea implements the gender quota system mandatorily by forcing to nominate at least one female candidate for the local constituencies in local assembly election in accordance with the Public Official Election Act. The ratio of 50% of female candidates is also regulated for the proportional representation in local assembly election, but in the case of local constituencies for local elections, the recommendation remains only at 30% of female candidates. Therefore, even though the Korean gender quota system is institutionalized, the quota system is not applied with compulsory measures in all areas, making it a kind of voluntary application because the political party can make a political decision on whether or not to expand the gender quota system in politics, when nominating candidates by taking into consideration of local constituencies where they have more influence and power.

〈Table III-3〉 Provisions on the gender quota system in politics for the Public Official Election Act

Provisions	Contents	Note
Paragraph 5, Article 47	To nominate at least one female candidate for each local constituency of national assembly member at one of the elections, including the city and provincial councils or the local government, city and district councils, when nominating candidates for the local assembly election following the expiration of the term (excluding the gun area and in the case where a local constituency is formed by integrating part of a local constituency with another local constituency or gun area, those areas of local constituencies are also excluded)	“Mandatory to nominate female candidates” Newly established on Jan. 25, 2010 Amended on Mar. 12, 2010
Paragraph 2, Article 52	In the case where the registration was made in violation of Paragraph 5 of Article 47, the registration of a political party for candidates of local constituencies in national assembly, including the city and provincial council members and the local government, city and district council members, will all become invalid. However, in the case where a political party in a region where female candidates have to be nominated	“Restriction regulation and registration invalid” Newly established on Mar. 12, 2010

Provisions	Contents	Note
	according to Paragraph 5 of Article 47, if the total number of candidates for the city and provincial council members and the local government, city and district council members is 50% (the singular less than 1 is seen as 1) of the total number of the city and provincial council members and the local government, city and district council members in that region and the registration of the female candidate becomes invalid, it shall not be applied.	
Paragraph 4, Article 47	If a political party nominates a candidate for the local constituencies in national assembly member election and local assembly member election following the completion of the term, efforts should be made to nominate more than 30% of female candidates out of the total number of local constituencies.	“Recommendation on the gender quota system in politics” Newly established on Aug. 4, 2005
Paragraph 3, Article 47	If a political party is nominating candidates for the proportional representation in national assembly member election and local assembly member election, more than 50% of candidates should be female candidates, and the female candidates should be nominated in odd numbers when ranking the list of candidates.	“Quota system for the proportional representation and the number regulation” Amended on Aug. 4, 2005

Source: Legal information database related to <Public Official Election Act> from the legal information database of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea (<http://likms.assembly.go.kr/law/jsp/law/Main.jsp> Date of search: July 20, 2013).

On the other hand, there are provisions existing on supporting subsidies for nominating female candidates stipulated in the Political Fund Law and the Development Fund for Women’s Politics. According to the Paragraph 1 of the Article 26 of the Political Fund Law, which was newly established in 2005 and amended in 2006, it defines that “subsidy for nominating female candidates” as the “subsidy provided to a political party if it nominates female candidates for the local constituencies in national assembly member election, city and provincial council member election and local government, city and district council member election following the completion of the term.” Also, this makes it mandatory that “the amount of multiplying 100 won to the total number of voters in the national assembly member election to be appropriated

into the budget of the year in which the national assembly member election, the city and provincial council member election, or the local government, city and district council member election is held following the completion of the term.”

Also, the Paragraph 2 of the Article 26 states the following to a political party that nominates more than 30% of female candidates out of the total number of local constituencies across the nation “50% of the total amount of the subsidy for nominating female candidates will be allocated and distributed according to the ratio of the number of national assembly member seats by political party, while the remaining amount will be allocated and distributed according to the ratio of the number of votes obtained in the latest national assembly member election following the completion of the term.” In the case where a political party failed to nominate more than 30% of female candidates, “50% of the total amount of the subsidy for nominating female candidates” is allocated and distributed, while in the case of a political party that nominated more than 5% and less than 15% of female candidates, it will be allocated and distributed with “30% of the total amount of the subsidy for nominating female candidates”.

Moreover, the subsidy for nominating female candidates “(Paragraph 3, Article 28) should be used for the election expenses of female candidates”. If it is violated, “(No.4 of Article 29) the amount will be recovered and in the case where it is difficult to recover, it will be cut from the subsidy distributed to the political party in the future”, which can be enforced mandatorily by law.

On the other hand, in accordance with the Paragraph 2 of the Article 28 of the Political Fund Law, it states that “in the case of a political party that received the current subsidy, more than 10% of the total amount of the current subsidy should be used for the development of women’s politics.” and the management of the ‘Development Fund for Women’s Politics’ is prescribed.

Likewise, the complexity of the mandatory application and the voluntary application of the gender quota system in politics stipulated in the Public

38 ●●● Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List

Official Election Act ensure that the Political Fund Law is implemented smoothly, while the subsidy for nominating female candidates and the Development Fund for Women’s Politics in the Political Fund Law become another legal basis for encouraging political parties to nominate female candidates.

〈Table III-4〉 Provisions on the subsidy for nominating female candidates and the Development Fund for Women’s Politics in the Political Fund Law

Provisions	Contents	Note
Paragraph 1, Article 26	A subsidy provided to a political party if it nominates female candidates for the local constituencies in national assembly member election, city and provincial council member election and local government, city and district council member election following the completion of the term (hereinafter referred to as “subsidy for nominating female candidates”) The amount of multiplying 100 won to the total number of voters in the national assembly member election to be appropriated into the budget of the year in which the national assembly member election, the city and provincial council member election, or the local government, city and district council member election is held following the completion of the term.	
Paragraph 2,	<p>The subsidy for nominating female candidates is allocated and distributed to the political party that nominated female candidates in the election pursuant to the provision of Paragraph 1 as follows. In this case, the total amount of the subsidy for nominating female candidates for local constituencies in the city and provincial council member election and the local government, city and district council member election will be 50% of the subsidy for nominating female candidates appropriated into the budget of the applicable year pursuant to the provision of Paragraph 1.</p> <p>1. In the case of a political party that nominated more than 30% of female candidates out of the total number of local constituencies across the nation: 50% of the total amount of the subsidy for nominating female candidates will be allocated and distributed according to the ratio of the number of national assembly member seats by political party, while the remaining amount will be allocated and distributed according to the ratio of the number of votes obtained in the latest national assembly member election following the completion of the term (refers to</p>	<p>“Subsidy for nominating female candidates” Newly established in 2005 Amended in 2006</p>

III. Development Processes of Gender Quota Systems in Politics in Korea ●●● 39

Provisions	Contents	Note
Article 26	<p>the average ratio of the number of votes obtained by the political party in the applicable year for the proportional representation of national election districts and local constituencies. Hereinafter referred to as "ratio of votes obtained in national assembly member election").</p> <p>2. In the case where a political party failed to nominate more than 30% of female candidates:</p> <p>a. If a political party nominated more than 15% and less than 30% of female candidates out of the total number of national local constituencies: 50% of the total amount of the subsidy for nominating female candidates is allocated and distributed according to the standards of No.1.</p> <p>b. If a political party nominated more than 5% and less than 15% of female candidates out of the total number of national local constituencies: it will be allocated and distributed with 30% of the total amount of the subsidy for nominating female candidates. In this case, the subsidy for nominating female candidates distributed to each political party cannot exceed the minimum amount distributed to each political party according to a.</p>	
Paragraph 3, Article 26	<p>The subsidy for nominating female candidates will be given to the political party within two days after the end of registering the candidate for the local constituencies in national assembly member election, city and provincial council member election, or the local government, city and district council member election following the completion of the term.</p>	
Paragraph 2, Article 28	<p>The political party that received the current subsidy should allocate and distribute 30% of the total amount to the Center for Women's Policy (in accordance with Article 38 of the Political Party Law (Establishment and operation of the Center for Women's Policy), while more than 10% should be allocated and distributed for the city and provincial council and more than 10% should be allocated and distributed for the use of the Development Fund for Women's Politics.</p>	<p>"Development Fund for Women's Politics" Newly established in 2005</p>
Paragraph 3, Article 28	<p>The subsidy for nominating female candidates should be used for the election expenses of female candidates, while the subsidy for nominating the disabled candidates should be used for the election expenses of the disabled candidates.</p>	<p>"Restriction on the use of the subsidy for nominating female candidates" Newly established in 2005 Amended in 2010</p>

Provisions	Contents	Note
No. 4 of Article 29	<p>The Central Election Committee may recover the amount according to the following and in the case where it is difficult to recover, the amount may be cut from the subsidy distributed to the political party in the future.</p> <p>4. If the subsidy for nominating female candidates or the subsidy for nominating the disabled candidates is used for other purposes than Paragraph 3 of Article 28, the amount that amounts to two times the amount of subsidy used in violation may be recovered.</p>	<p>“Sanctions imposed on using the subsidy for nominating female candidates for other purposes: cut on the amount of subsidy”</p> <p>Newly established in 2006 Amended in 2010</p>

Source: Legal information database related to <Political Fund Law> from the legal information database of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea.
(<http://likms.assembly.go.kr/law/jsp/law/Main.jsp> Date of search: July 20, 2013).

2. Awareness on Quota Systems

It has been more than 10 years since the gender quota system in politics has been implemented in Korea, but still there are debates going on about the merits and demerits of the system. Therefore, before talking about the achievements and limitations of the system, it is necessary to take a look at conflicting views about the gender quota system and its implementation and also think about how it can be justified.

Generally, the view on favoring the gender quota system say that it is the fastest way of overcoming the ‘low representation of women’. This view is based on being aware of the problem of how women who account for half of the population remain only at around 10% out of the total national assembly member seats. It considers the gender quota system as an aggressive preferential measure that can correct discrimination (Kyung Hee Moon, 2007; Min Jung Kim, 2011). The aggressive preferential measure mentioned here refers to a measure that gives direct or indirect benefits to a specific area in order to

compensate for the disadvantages a certain group has faced until now because of discrimination prevalent in the society (Ji Young Moon, 2012: 159). When these aggressive preferential measures are applied to women, the gender quota system may be seen as a compensation for the realistic difficulties currently faced by women for being excluded from fair distribution of politics over a long period of time (Min Jung Kim, 2011: 16). Therefore, the equality of outcome is guaranteed to the socially weak through the gender quota system, thereby making it easier to engender social integration and achieve efficient growth by resolving social conflicts and reducing social inequalities (Kyung Soon Park, 2008).

However, these positive awareness about the gender quota system not only goes against the principle of merit system, but also it can lead to reverse discrimination on men because it limits the opportunity of selection for voters (Hyun Hee Kim & Yoo Seok Oh, 2010: 142). In other words, whether or not there are actually merits of 'women' that are different from the merits of 'men'. Even if there are such merits, questions can be raised over whether 'women' can only represent those merits and whether a group that benefits from the aggressive preferential measures is qualified to receive those benefits (Ji Young Moon, 2012: 160-161). Above all, the point of the unconstitutional reverse discrimination by differentiating between gender emphasizes how unconstitutional the gender quota system being implemented in Korea because it is in the form of candidate quotas instead of political party quotas, making it to be mandatory by law (Yoo Choi, 2011: 37). These criticisms should be dealt with aggressively in order to accept the gender quota system as an essential measure in the Korean society, but in reality we are not able to do that.

In order to justify the gender quota system, it is necessary to first connect it with the goal of achieving the expansion of women's political participation. However, we cannot say that the implementation of the gender quota system itself is the result of the expansion of the women's political participation.

Instead as the number of female candidates increased with each political party nominating them through the quota system and more female national assembly members are conducting political activities, more attention will be given if female voters take more interests on politics and if these activities lead to a high voting rate (Ji Young Moon 2012, 169). Also, the interests or benefits should not be fixed to women, but they should come from issues experienced by women in the society because the benefits of women cannot be fixed to a certain area. Therefore, the benefits of men or women are not clearly divided and men can also represent the benefits of women. However, taking into consideration of the Korean society, political competition among political parties is not active, which means that there are no diverse ideological competitions and no political reflection to close the social gaps, making it difficult for the public to participate. Under these situations, the low number of female national assembly members meant that it is difficult to set even the minimum condition to reflect the viewpoints or benefits of women in the political decision-making processes (Ji Young Moon, 2012: 170-171).

In this context, the gender quota system can be seen as providing an equal right in the political decision-making processes that decide on how to allocate equal opportunities instead of the right to allocating those opportunities. In other words, the small number of female members at the national assembly not only shows visibly how unjust it is that women are not able to take up the seats, but also it is against the democratic equality to not giving the opportunity for women to directly participate in the political decision-making processes. Therefore, the gender quota system allowed women to directly participate in the political decision-making processes where they have been banned for a long period in the Korean society, thereby acting as a means of encouraging democracy in the society as a whole (Ji Young Moon, 2012: 177-178).



IV

Achievements and Limitations of the Gender Quota System in Politics

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. Achievements of Quota Systems | 45 |
| 2. Tasks of Improving the Women's
Political Representation and Reinforcing
Quota Systems | 60 |



1. Achievements of Quota Systems

A. Quantitative increase in women's political representation

After the gender quota system in politics was implemented in Korea, we can differentiate the achievements made by looking at the quantitative side, focusing on the changes made in the number of female national assembly members, and the qualitative side, looking at the increases of agendas related to women as well as the strengthening of assemblywomen's capabilities and the development of political culture to suit these changes (Hyun Hee Kim & Yoo Seok Oh, 2010).

First, the quantitative increase of women's political representation was shown in the Korean society after the adoption of the gender quota system, resulting in the increase of the number of female national assembly members. Before the mandatory application of the quota system in the 15th National Assembly Member Election which was held in 1996, the ratio of women out of the total elected national assembly members remained at 11 persons (3.7%) and 16 persons (5.9%). However, after the quota system was actually adopted in the 17th general election in 2004, the ratio was 13% (39 persons), 41 persons (13.7%) in the 18th general election in 2008 and 47 persons (15.7%) in the 19th general election in 2012, showing the rapid increase in the number of female national assembly members.

When the gender quota system was first adopted in 2000, the zipper system was not applied to the ratio of 30% and the ratio of proportional representation members was low out of the total seats. As a result, the ratio of elected women candidates were only at 5.9%, but it was still much higher compared to the previous elections. In the 17th general election held in 2004, 50% of the candidates for the proportional representation national assembly members were taken up by women and the zipper system was finalized, resulting in an increase of more than two times the number of female national assembly

members. However, in the case of the 18th National Assembly Member Election held in 2008, the ratio of the female national assembly members decreased a little, compared to the previous election, and also problems were found because political parties did not follow the recommendation of the zipper system nominating male and female candidates in alterations when ranking the list of proportional representation candidates (Hyun Hee Kim & Yoo Seok Oh, 2010: 145). In the 19th general election held in 2012, the number of female national assembly members increased once again and at the same time, the number of female candidates for local constituencies greatly decreased. This is because each political party adopted a new method for nominating candidates, but the new system was favorable to candidates with better recognition, making it difficult for female candidates to enter into the institutional politics (Kyung Hee Kim, 2012: 125-126).

However, the implementation of gender quota system had a positive effect in politics, considering the increasing numbers of female candidates after its implementation. Among the total proportional representation candidates, the ratio of women increased by more than three times from the 15th general election to the 19th general election, while the ratio of women increased by more than nine times in the candidates for the local constituencies. Above all, the number of female candidates for local constituencies showed a substantial increase, which is seen as a result of the women's political participation expanding through the proportional representation system in local elections where the gender quota system in politics was applied mandatorily. Also, it is seen that as female politicians accumulated political experiences and knowledge, they had more chance of becoming candidates for the local constituencies (Kyung Mi Park, 2012: 80).

〈Table IV-1〉 Number and ratio of female candidates and elected persons before and after the implementation of the gender quota system in politics

Election	Local constituencies			Proportional representations			Number (persons) and ratio (%) of females among the total elected national assembly members	Note
	Total number of candidates	Number (persons) and ratio (%) of female candidates	Number (persons) and ratio (%) of elected females	Number of total candidates	Number (persons) and ratio (%) of female candidate	Number (persons) and ratio (%) of elected females		
15th (1996)	1389	15	2	161	22	7	11	Before the adoption of the system
		1.1	13.3		13.7	31.8	3.7	
16th (2000)	1040	33	5	139	32	11	16	After adoption of the system
		3.2	15.2		23.0	34.4	5.9	
17th (2004)	1175	66	10	190	91	29	43	
		5.6	15.2		47.9	31.9	14.4	
18th (2008)	1113	132	14	188	83	27	41	
		11.9	10.6		44.1	32.5	13.7	
19th (2012)	902	63	19	188	79	28	47	
		7.0	30.2		42.0	35.0	15.7	

Source: Election Statistics System of the Central Election Commission.

On the other hand, the effect of the gender quota system was similar in the local assembly as the national assembly. The local elections play an important role in establishing important political and administrative bases for local governments. In particular, the new election system and structure required diverse opinions coming from the independent political and administrative structure in local units. Therefore, the high participation ratio of women in the local politics is seen as essential and basic step to improving the women's political participation (Ui Kyung Park, 2010).

Since the local elections began in 1995, the ratio of female candidates and

elected females have continued to increase. First, in the case of the metropolitan councils, the first local election was held in 1995 and the elected female members accounted for 5.8% of the total elected persons with 56 persons. After that, 41 persons (5.9%) in 1998, 63 persons (9.2%) in 2002, 88 persons (12.0%) in 2006 and 113 persons (14.8%) in 2010, showing increases in terms of numbers as well as the ratio. Meanwhile, the number and the ratio of female candidates and elected females were 79 persons (44.3%) and 43 persons (44.3%) in 1995, respectively. However, afterwards, they showed increases in the number and the ratio of female candidates and elected females in 2002. Therefore, when the gender quota system in politics was first adopted, they recorded about two times more than the number and ratio of the previous election. Under these trends, the number and the ratio of female candidates and elected females for the proportional representation in metropolitan council member election increased to 179 persons (67.0%) and 58 persons (71.6%), respectively. On the other hand, the number and the ratio of female candidates and elected females for the local constituencies increased to 40 persons (1.6%) and 13 persons (1.5%) in 1995, respectively, while they were 48 persons (3.1%) and 14 persons (2.3%) in 2002, respectively, and 154 persons (8.6%) and 55 persons (8.1%) in 2010, respectively.

〈Table IV-2〉 Number and ratio of female candidates and elected females in metropolitan council member election

Election	Local constituencies			Proportional representations			Number (persons) and ratio (%) of females among the total elected national assembly members	Note	
	Total number of candidates	Number (persons) and ratio (%) of female candidates	Number (persons) and ratio (%) of elected females	Total number of candidates	Number (persons) and ratio (%) of female candidates	Number (persons) and ratio (%) of elected females			
1995	2449	40	13	178	79	43	56	Before the adoption of the system	
		1.6	1.5		44.3	44.3	5.8		
1998	1571	37	14	180	54	27	41		
		2.4	2.3		30.0	36.5	5.9		
2002	1531	48	14	209	116	49	63		After the adoption of the system
		3.1	2.3		55.5	67.1	9.2		
2006	2068	107	31	211	136	57	88		
		5.2	4.7		64.5	73.1	12.0		
2010	1779	154	55	267	179	58	113		
		8.6	8.1		67.0	71.6	14.8		

Source: Election Statistics System of the Central Election Commission.

Meanwhile, in the case of the basic local assembly, the number and ratio of elected females in 1995 when the quota system was yet to be adopted was 71 persons (1.6%), while they were 56 persons (1.6%) in 1998 and 77 persons in 2002 (2.2%). After the adoption of the quota system, the number and the ratio of elected females members increased substantially in the basic local assembly election which was held in 2006 and 2010 to record 437 persons (15.1%) and 625 persons (21.6%), respectively. Among them, the proportional representation was newly introduced after 2006, which played an important role in increasing the female members so that the ratio of females among the proportional

50 ●●● Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List

representation members exceeded 80%. On the other hand, in the case of female members for the local constituencies, the number and ratio of elected females for the local constituencies in 2006 increased by about two times compared to the previous election to record 110 persons (4.4%), but they stayed at a standstill. However, in 2010, the elected females showed a substantial increase to account for 10.9% of the total basic local assembly members for the local constituencies to record 274 persons.

〈Table IV-3〉 Number and ratio of female candidates and elected females in basic local assembly member election

Election	Local constituencies			Proportional representations			Number (persons) and ratio (%) of females among the total elected national assembly members	Note
	Total number of candidates	Number (persons) and ratio (%) of female candidates	Number (persons) and ratio (%) of elected females	Total number of candidates	Number (persons) and ratio (%) of female candidates	Number (persons) and ratio (%) of elected females		
1995	11970	206	71	-	-	-	71	Before the adoption of the system
		1.7	1.6				1.6	
1998	7450	140	56	-	-	-	56	
		1.9	1.6				1.6	
2002	8373	222	77	-	-	-	77	
		2.7	2.2				2.2	
2006	7995	391	110	267	750	327	437	After the adoption of the system
		4.9	4.4		73.2	87.2	15.1	
2010	5862	552	274	919	729	351	625	
		9.4	10.9		80.0	93.4	21.6	

Source: Election Statistics System of the Central Election Commission.

Taking into consideration of these results, even though the gender quota system in politics was adopted in the metropolitan council member election held

in 2002, the number of female members increased compared to before, but the number and the ratio of elected females for the proportional representations and local constituencies were different from one another. This is because in the case of the proportional representations in 2002, 50% of female candidates was mandatory together with the zipper system, while in the case of the local constituencies, 30% of female candidates were recommended and not actually applied in most cases (Hyun Woo Lee, 2002). Also, the political party quotas were not implemented so that in the case of the basic local assembly where the gender quota system in politics was excluded, a very small number of female members was elected like before.

After entering into 2006, the effect of the gender quota system started to show in the local elections (Hyun Hee Kim & Yoo Seok Oh, 2010: 149). The laws pertaining to politics were amended before the election in 2006, which adopted the political party quotas that applied the gender quota system legally to recommend the zipper system. As a result, the ratio of female members in the basic local assembly increased by more than 7 times from 2.2% in 2002 to reach 15.1% in 2006. In the case of the metropolitan council, the ratio of female members for the proportional representation applied with the gender quota system in politics showed a huge number like in 2002, but in the elective offices excluded from the quota system, the ratio of female members was very low, showing the same opposing results again.

Before the local assembly election in 2010, the amendment of the Public Official Election Act made it mandatory to also nominate at least one female candidate in one of the elections for the local constituencies, including the city and provincial council election or the local government, city and district council election, when nominating candidates for electing the local constituencies. As a result of the effect of the gender quota system in politics, the number of female candidates increased compared to before in the metropolitan council election and the basic local assembly election to record 154 persons (8.6%) and 552

persons (9.4%), respectively. As a result, the quantitative increase of female members was achieved in the local elections. The quantitative increase of female members in local assembly is mostly from 50% quotas in the proportional representations and the mandatory application of the gender quota system in politics by the political parties.

As a result, the adoption of the gender quota system in both the national assembly and the local assembly substantially increased the ratio of female members. In particular, the mandatory application of the gender quota system in politics by law had a huge effect on electing proportional representations. The subsidy for nominating female candidates was provided to induce political parties to follow the recommendation of the gender quota system in politics, but it had not worked well.

B. Qualitative increase in women's political representation

As the number of female members in the national assembly and the local assembly increased, we can expect the qualitative increase in women's political representation (Won Hong Kim, Bok Tae Kim & In Soon Cha, 2011). First of all, a quantitative increase of female members can allow them to conduct political activities from the gender perspective. In the 16th national assembly, a women's committee was established as a standing committee in the second half of the year to act as a special committee with no voting rights on the bills. Above all, female members participated more on special committees. At the 16th national assembly, many female members worked on the Education Committee and the Science and Technology Committee, while they were more concentrated on the Welfare Committee in the 17th-18th national assembly. However, from the 16th national to the 18th national assembly, the female members participated in all committees and conducted various political activities. This means that they focused more on policies related to women like labor, welfare, child care and family, but as new social issues emerged, the

scope of women's policies expanded and diversified, which led to the expansion of the female member's activities.

〈Table IV-4〉 Ratio of female members in the 16-18th standing committees (%)

	First half of 16th	Second half of 16th	First half of 17th	Second half of 17th	First half of 18th
Operation of National assembly	-	8.7	14.3	9.1	8.3
Legislative and judiciary	-	6.7	6.7	6.3	6.3
Political affairs	5	5	22.7	31.8	20.8
Finance and economic	8.7	-	16	16	11.5
Unification and foreign affairs	4.3	4.3	7.7	-	17.2
National defense	5.6	6.3	16.7	11.1	5.6
Administration autonomy	4.3	-	12.5	8.3	12.5
Education	12.5	25	21.1	22.2	9.5
Science and technology	11.1	25	15	21.1	9.5
Culture and tourism	5.3	-	21.7	25	10.7
Agriculture and maritime	-	-	-	-	5.3
Industrial resources	5.3	10.5	4.5	4.5	8
Health and welfare	13.3	7.7	30	40	41.7
Environment and labor	12.5	9.1	12.5	6.7	20
Construction and transportation	-	4	-	3.8	6.9
Information	-	-	-	-	8.3
Women	65	62.5	75	62.5	62.5

- 1) The 18th national assembly changed most of the standing committees names. This table unified the name to reflect that in this table.
- 2) In the case of the women's committee, the first half of the 16th national assembly takes the women's special committee as the standard.

Source: Won Hong Kim, Bok Tae Kim & In Soon Cha (2011: 44).

On the other hand, as the number of female national assembly members increased, the number of females in charge of chairman and administrator for the standing committees of the national assembly increased. As a result, they had a greater influence during the political decision-making processes, which can be seen as improving the women's political representation. According to the National Assembly Act, the chairman has to consult with the administrator regarding the decision-making schedule of the committee and when it is found necessary, the committee may be held. The administrator represents each negotiation body within the committee and most of them are responsible for chairing the subcommittee of screening bills and the subcommittee of screening budget to take part in actually screening the law and budget. The increase of female members in positions like chairman and administrator can be seen as providing opportunities to strengthen the women's political representation in the operation of the committee (Won Hong Kim, Bok Tae Kim & In Soon Cha, 2011, 51). In the case of chairman, among the chairman for all of the committees in the 16th-18th national assembly, the female chairman accounted for 5.9% of the 16th national assembly and 17.6% in the first half of the 17th national assembly and 11.8% in the second half of the 17th national assembly, while in the first half of the 18th national assembly, there was a slight increase of 18.8%. In the case of administrator, the ratio of female administrators increased from 8.8% in the 16th national assembly to 11.8% in the first half of the 17th national assembly and 8.8% in the second half of the 17th national assembly, which gradually increased to 15.6% in the first half of the 18th national assembly.

〈Table IV-5〉 Present status of female chairman and administrator in the standing committees of the 16th-18th national assembly

	First half of the 16th	Second half of the 16th	First half of the 17th	Second half of the 17th	First half of the 18th
Operation of National assembly					
Legislative and judiciary					
Political affairs	- (1)		1 (-)	- (1)	1 (-)
Finance and economic					
Unification and foreign affairs					- (1)
National defense					
Administration autonomy					
Education			- (1)		
Science and technology					
Culture and tourism			1 (-)	1 (-)	- (1)
Agriculture and maritime					
Industrial resources					
Health and welfare		1 (-)	1 (-)		
Environment and labor					1 (-)
Construction and transportation					
Information					- (1)
Women	1 (2)	1 (2)	1 (2)	1 (2)	1 (2)
Ratio (%)	5.9 (8.8)	5.9 (8.8)	17.6 (11.8)	11.8 (8.8)	18.8 (15.6)

- 1) The 18th national assembly changed most of the standing committees names. This table unified the name to reflect that in this table.
- 2) In the case of the women's committee, the first half of the 16th national assembly takes the women's special committee as the standard.
- 3) The numbers inside the bracket refer to the number of female administrators.

Source: Won Hong Kim, Bok Tae Kim & In Soon Cha (2011: 51-52).

These perspectives are shown clearly through the political activities of female national assembly members. Referring to the periods in the chart, the number of motions made by the male and female members increased. The ratio of bills motioned by female members also accounted for about 20% which was above the number of seats. However, the bills motioned by female members were not focused on bills related to women and they showed a decrease in the 18th national assembly. Based on these characteristics, the female members at the standing committees can be seen as having the ability and potential to pay attention to diverse areas because of the increase in the number of female national assembly members compared to before.

Likewise, the number of bills motioned by male and female members showed an increase as the national assemblies were held. The overall interests on bills related to women had not decreased, but the ones motioned by female members decreased, showing that the male members have shown a lot of interests. This is caused by the expansion of women's political activities. As more females entered into the national assembly and the local assembly, the improvement of the women's representation formed a gender equal national assembly and local assembly where the expansion of agendas related to women and the active political activities of female members actually had more influence on male members (Hyun Hee Kim & Yoo Seok Oh, 2010: 153).

〈Table IV-6〉 Political activities of female national assembly members of the 16th-18th national assembly

Division	Unit	First half of the 16th	Second half of the 16th	First half of the 17th	Second half of the 17th	First half of the 18th
Female members	Persons	16		39		41
	%	5.9		13.0		13.7
Number of bills motioned	cases	742	852	3150	2568	6055
Number of total bills motioned by female members (a)	cases	51	55	666	443	1005
	%	6.9	6.5	21.1	17.3	16.6
	Average number per person	3.2	3.4	17.1	11.4	24.5
Bills related to women among the total bills motioned (b)	cases	23	18	132	92	180
	%	3.1	2.1	4.2	3.6	3.0
Number of bills related to women by female members (c)	cases	13	6	79	62	69
	% (c/a)	25.5	10.9	11.9	14.0	6.9
	% (c/b)	56.5	33.3	59.8	67.4	38.3
	Average number of cases per person	0.8	0.4	2.0	1.6	1.7

Source: Won Hong Kim, Bok Tae Kim & In Soon Cha (2011: 162-163).

The social changes exist, but the importance of agendas related to women began to receive the consensus of male members. This led to the increase of bills by male members in certain areas starting from the 18th national assembly, such as the use of gender equal phrases and the amendment of child care law taking into consideration of the female manpower in the low birth rate and the aging society. Of course, among the bills on women, the ratio of bills motioned by female members is higher, excluding the second half of the 16th national

assembly and the first half of the 18th national assembly. Also, the ratio in the second half of the 16th national assembly and the first half of the 18th national assembly reached 30-40%. In the first half of the 18th national assembly, the male members motioned a lot of the bills to make amendments from the gender equality perspective from ‘women’ to ‘female’. This shows that there are still many bills on women where female members show interests and more agendas are made through them. This means that the gender quota system in politics provided an opportunity to expand the women’s representation by strengthening their professionalism based on abundant experiences and knowledge accumulated from being elected as members.

Meanwhile, based on the gender quota system, the number of female members increased to ensure diverse participation by women, while at the same time, allowed the government to take more interest on the women’s policies. Through this, women’s political representation improved (Hyun Hee Kim & Yoo Seok Oh, 2010: 158). In other words, in order to improve women’s political representation, the quota system was applied in the administrative area besides the political area. The gender quota system in Korea allowed more political participation by females to allow the government to develop new women’s policies to meet these trends.

The organization exclusively charged for women within the administration was changed into the Special Committee on Women directly under the President in 1998. In 2000, the Ministry of Gender Equality was established to provide a government agency directly in charge of the women’s policies. Afterwards, the Ministry of Gender Equality expanded its role to take care of child care and family to become the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. In 2007, its function was temporarily reduced but later it returned to being responsible for women, family and children’s policies.

IV. Achievements and Limitations of the Gender Quota System in Politics ●●● 59

〈Table IV-7〉 Changes of organizations implementing women's policies

Name	Period	Organization	Major changes
(2nd) Minister of State for Political Affairs	Feb. 25, 1988	Total of 20 persons	- Appointe the (2nd) Minister of State for Political Affairs
	Jun. 21, 1990	-	- Designate the relevant duties (No. 243 of the Prime Minister's Order) - Focus on women's areas especially dealing with social culture
	Jun. 29, 1996	Total of 53 persons	- Increase the number of persons following the enactment of the Framework Act on Women's Development
Special Committee on Women	Feb. 28, 1998	3 director-generals 5 divisions, Total of 41 persons	- Newly establish the Presidential Special Committee on Women - Plan and consolidate the women's policies
	Jul. 23, 1999	3 director-generals 6 divisions, Total of 49 persons	- Increase the number of persons following the enactment of the Gender Discrimination Prevention & Relief Act
Ministry of Gender Equality	Jan. 29, 2001	1 office 3 departments 11 divisions, Total of 102 persons	- Inaugurate the Ministry of Gender Equality - Plan and consolidate the women's policies and prohibit and prevent gender discrimination, etc.
	Mar. 2, 2002	1 office 3 departments 12 divisions, Total of 120 persons	- Strengthen projects on the development of women powers and the informatization of women
	Jun. 12, 2004	1 office 4 departments 14 divisions, Total of 145 persons	- Transfer the child care duties from the Ministry of Health and Welfare
	Apr. 15, 2005	1 office 4 departments 1 room 15 divisions, Total of 150 persons	- Strengthen the function of promoting policies and planning finance by establishing a department on policy promotion and management
Ministry of Gender Equality and Family	Jun. 23, 2005	1 office 4 departments 2 rooms 19 divisions, Total of 176 persons	- Inaugurate the Ministry of Gender Equality - Duties related to women, family and child care
	Nov. 30, 2007	2 headquarters 3 departments 2 rooms 22 teams, Total of 187 persons	- Strengthen duties related to families of married immigrants by establishing the team on family integration

60 ●●● Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List

Name	Period	Organization	Major changes
Ministry of Gender Equality	Feb. 29, 2008	1 office 2 departments 13 divisions, Total of 100 persons	- Inaugurate the Ministry of Gender Equality - Improve the status by planning and consolidating the women's policies and improving the women's rights
	May 1, 2009	1 office 2 departments 14 divisions, total of 109 persons	- Strengthen the project on supporting the women stopped working
Ministry of Gender Equality and Family	Mar. 19, 2010	2 offices 2 departments 2 rooms 1 spokesperson 22 divisions, total of 211 persons	- Inaugurate the Ministry of Gender Equality - Duties on women, family, youth policies and projects on health and family
	Jul. 5, 2012	2 offices 2 departments 2 rooms 1 spokesperson 23 divisions, Total of 229 persons	- Reorganize the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (install new division for supporting multi-cultural families and increase the number of persons)

Source: History of the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. (Source: http://www.mogef.go.kr/korea/view/intro/intro01_03.jsp Date of search: July 25, 2013).

2. Tasks of Improving the Women's Political Representation and Reinforcing Quota Systems

Regarding the gender quota system in Korea, there are several concerns about how to utilize it efficiently to improve women's political representation.

First, more discussions should be made on justifying the gender quota system to expand women's political participation. Since the gender quota system in politics has been adopted and implemented in Korea, there has been a quantitative increase in the number of female national assembly members among the total members and also their abilities have been strengthened in terms of qualitative sides. This changed the male-oriented culture at the national assembly, which contributed to creating a political culture of gender equality

focusing on developing agendas related to women, as well as improving the women's political representation. However, the necessity of the quota system has been justified through empirical appropriateness but lacks concrete logic of why the system is needed. In particular, there should be more discussions on what difference the gender quota system has as an aggressive measure compared to other quota systems and what sort of effects have been found after implementing the system to contribute to the development of the democracy in the society as a whole. The gender quota system should be understood as a political equality with fair consideration and respect in the democratic political decision-making processes instead of gender equality, which means taking up a certain ratio of seats by women by allocating a fixed number of seats between male and female (Ji Young Moon, 2012: 179-180). In this regard, the gender quota system not only increases the women's representations in the development processes of democracy in a society, but also it clearly acts in reforming inequality in social structure.

Second, more efforts should be made in expanding the legal mandatory application of the gender quota system. The current Public Official Election Act adopts the zipper system that alternates between male and female candidates by allocating 50% of the proportional representation candidates to women. It is a compulsory measure in local elections, but in the case of the national assembly, it has a regulation (the Paragraph 3 of the Article 47 of the Public Official Election Act), but there are no compulsory measures taken. In the case of local constituencies in national assembly and local assembly, 30% of female candidates are nominated as a basic nomination and additionally, in the case of local assembly, it is mandatory to nominate at least one female candidate for basic or metropolitan councils, making it inefficient. In order to realize 30% of female candidate nomination in reality, it is necessary to give incentives to increase the ratio by political parties. However, as it has been shown in the 19th national assembly election, the subsidy for nominating female candidates

62 ●●● Introduction of the Gender Quota System in the Party List

was only given to large parties and other parties only received subsidy that remained at 5% of the total candidates for local constituencies. Therefore, there should be more government support so that female candidates who go through financial and organizational difficulties can benefit from utilizing the subsidies.

Third, in order to effectively implement the gender quota system, it is necessary to change the nomination system as well as the political party structure. Above all, each political party should make it mandatory for more than 50% of the female national assembly members to participate in their nomination committees to create a female-friendly environment and encourage the improvement of the women's representation. The nomination processes of political parties reflect the internal and external competitions. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt diverse operation methods so that the role of women can increase in the policy decision-making processes.

Lastly, in order to increase the participation of female politicians, the ratio of female candidate nomination should be expanded and the election system should be reorganized. This will allow women to have the ability to select and evaluate appropriate representatives. In particular, women's political participation in the local assembly will be closely connected with their everyday lives and it is necessary to improve their political representation. Based on these efforts, they can participate in local civil society and joint programs to do volunteer works. Also, there should be more ways to evaluate on the ability and efforts made by the female politicians. To achieve this, joint efforts should be made by the local community (Doo Chul Shin, 2008; Yeon Jung Chung, 2012: 130-131).



V

Conclusion



The gender quota system in politics is a system that aims to achieve gender equality, and that operates as a mechanism to improve women's political representation. After it has been adopted in Korea, it substantially increased the number of female national assembly members over a short period of time through mandatory application after going through several amendments.

The gender quota system was first introduced in 2000 during the 16th general election. It ensured the 30% ratio of the proportional representation of women to expand women's political participation. After the adoption of the 50% ratio of the proportional representation in the 17th general election in 2004, the number of female national assembly members increased compared to before. Also, the ratio of females in the metropolitan councils increased by 14.8% in the 5th local election in 2010 and by 21.6% for the basic local assembly. Before the local elections in 2002, the national assembly expanded women's political participation with 50% of female candidates in the proportional representation, while 30% of nomination was adopted for the metropolitan council. In addition, before the local elections in 2010, the gender quota system was introduced in the local constituencies. In line with the 18th general election in 2008, the basic local assembly transferred to the political party quotas, while 10% of the proportional representation was introduced. In particular, 30% of the elected females or 50% of the elected females from each quota system contributed to improving the ratio of women's political participation.

While Korea implemented various policies to improve women's political representation, the representation rate remains at a low level. Also, the proportional representation of national assembly and local elections are low. In order to implement the gender quota system effectively, more discussions should be made, legal institutions should be supplemented, and efforts from the civil society is required. Above all, the gender quota system in politics can achieve results if movements of social inequality can be resolved through raising awareness.



Reference

- A Ran Hwang (2002). "A Study on the Nomination Competitiveness of National Assembly Candidates." 『Korea Politics Society』 Book 36 No. 1, 203-222.
- Caul, Miki (2001). "Political Parties and the Adopation of Candidate Gender Quotas: A Cross-National Analysis." Journal of Politics, Vol.63, N0.4, 1214-1229.
- Dahlerup, D. (ed.). (2006). Women, Quotas and Politics. Routledge.
- Doo Chul Shin (2008). "Democratic Citizen Participation and Women's Political Participation." Korea International Politics Thesis.
- Hyun Hee Kim & Yoo Seok Oh (2010). "Achievements and Limitations of the Gender Quota System in Politics." 『Outlook and Trends』 No.79 140-182.
- Hyun Jin Seo (2004). "17th General Election's Female Candidate's Personal Background and Major Political Parties' Nomination." 『International Politics』 Book 44 No. 4, 263-289.
- Hyun Ok Cho & Hyun Hee Kim (2010). "Insight on the Historical 10 Years of Korea's Gender Quota System in Politics." 『Trends and Outlook』 No.79. 110-137.
- Hyun Woo Lee (2002). "Women's Political representation: US and Australia's Cases." 『International Politics』 Book 42 No. 3, 337-359.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union (2013). Women in Parliament in 2012: The Year in Perspective. (Source: <http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/WIP2012e.pdf> Date of search: September 3, 2013).
- Ji Young Moon (2012). "Gender Equality of Korea's Democracy: Focusing on the Issues of the Gender Quota System in Politics." 『Memory and Prospect』 No.26. 149-186.
- Kyung Hee Kim (2012). "Sustainability and Powers of the Gender Quota System in Policies in the 29th General Election" 『Economy and Society』 No.94. 118-147.
- Kyung Hee Moon (2007). "Women's Politics and the Gender Quota System: International Trends and Issues." 『Study on Feminism』 Book 7 No.1. 273-300.
- Kyung Mi Park (2012). "Study on the Application of Gender Quota System: Nomination for the 19th General Election." 『Political Study』 Book 18 No.3, 74-103.

- Kyung Soon Park (2008). "Study on the Preferential Measures on Women." 『Seogang』 Book 10 No.1.
- Mansbridge, J. (1999). "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." Journal of Politics, Vol.61, No.3, 628-657.
- Mi Ae Jung & Kyung Hee Moon (2010). "Alternative and Outlook on the Gender Quota System: Sweden's Feminist Party and Japan's Local Party" 『Trends and Outlook』 79: 183-216.
- Mi Yeon Oh & Gi Jung Kim & Min Jung Kim (2005). "Korea's Female Candidate Nomination and Korea's Women's Politics: 15th, 16th and 17th National Assembly Comparison." 『Korea Politics』 Book 39 No.2, 369-397
- Min Jung Kim (2011). "Theoretical Insight on the Meaning of the Gender Quota System in Politics." Min Jung Kim and others. 『Gender Quota System in Politics: Unseen Wall in Front』 Ingan Sarang.
- Min Jung Kim (2012). "Upper Nomination and the Women's representation." 『Asian Women's Study』 Book 51 No.1, 37-70.
- Women's General Election Solidarity (2004). "17th General Election Report on Women's Solidarity."
- Won Hong Kim & Bok Tae Kim (2013). 『Changes in the Local Election's Nomination and the Outlook of the Women's Political representation』 Korea Womens' Policy Institute.
- Won Hong Kim, Hye Young Kim & Eun Kyung Kim (2002). 『Activation Plan for the Gender Quota System in Politics of the Political Parties』 Korea Women's Development Institute.
- Won Hong Kim, Hyun Chul Lee, Sun Hee Bae & Sun Young Chun (2012). "Sustainability of Women's Members: Focusing on the Local Elections in 2010." 『Asian Women's Study』 Book 51 No.1, 71-101.
- Ui Kyung Park (2010). "20 Years of Local Government: Present Status and Tasks of Local Women's Politics." 『Democracy and Human Rights』 Book 10 No.1.
- Yeong Jung Chun (2012). "Expansion of the Women's Political Participation : Focusing on Election Participation." 『Korea Citizen Ethics』 Book 24 No.2. 115-134.
- Yoo Choi (2011). "Insight on Discrimination in Politics: Focusing on Foreign Election System and the Gender Quota System." 『Joongang』 Book 13 No. 1.