



Measures to Promote Representation through the Analysis of Nomination Process of Women in the Legislative Elections

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Measures to Promote Representation through the Analysis of Nomination Process of Women in the Legislative Elections

1. Research Goals

Korea had general elections for the 19th National Assembly on April 11, 2012. The general elections resulted in a total of 47 women's seats in the National Assembly, which accounts for 15.7 percent of the total seats. When the election process had begun, political parties had brought up the "nomination of women candidates" as a topic of conversation about reform and pledged to have a quota of 15 to 30 percent for women from local constituencies. As party leaderships failed to keep their pledges, however, the proportion of women in the 19th National Assembly turned out to be slightly higher than that of women in the 18th National Assembly.

This research examined the public nomination of women in the 19th general elections and sought measures for expanding women's political participation. It is pointed out that the first gateway and the most important channel to expanding women's political participation and enhancing women's political representation is the nomination process and system of each political party. Some research results showed that women did not fall behind men in the actual elections in terms of election rate and competitiveness. In this regard, we should pay heed to the fact that women, first of all, should have more opportunities of being nominated for elections at the party level, so that they take

more seats in the National Assembly. Therefore, this research made a comparative analysis of the relationship between the nomination process of major parties and women's political representation in the 19th general elections, examined some problems in the nomination process, and aimed to seek ways to improve the nomination method and system in order to strengthen women's representation in the nomination process. First, we researchers analyzed changes in the party nomination process of women candidates, with the focus on the 17th, 18th, and 19th general elections. Second, we analyzed the overall nomination process of women candidates and its problems in the 19th general elections. Third and last, we suggested measures for improving the operation of women-friendly nomination system of major political parties. Our research methodology included literature study, website surveys, questionnaire surveys, in-depth interview surveys, and expert counsels.

2. Analysis of Changes in the Nomination Process of Women Candidates for the 17th to 19th General Elections

In the 17th general elections, the central committee of each political party decided the areas of nomination contest and areas of single-person nomination and officially adopted the candidates. The nomination screening committee screened the sing-person nominations. There were relatively few areas of nomination contest and even fewer areas where women participated. In the 18th general elections, only top-down nominations took place. The nomination screening committee decided all nominations, but in fact, distribution of nominations

between major factions of political parties was a major variable for nomination. This method of nomination was disadvantageous to women who did not have any personal network in the parties. Like the 17th elections, the 19th general elections partially applied nomination contest. A comparison of nomination methods and results among the 17th, 18th, and 19th general elections is as shown in <Table 1>.

<Table 1> A comparison of nomination methods and results among the 17th, 18th, and 19th general elections

Period	Political party	Total local constituencies	Nomination methods		Proportion of women candidates
			single-person nomination	Nomination contest	
17th	Our Open (Yeolin Uri) Party	243	9/159(5.7%)	2/8/84(2.4%)	4.5%
	Grand National (Hanara) Party	218	8/203(3.9%)	0/2/15(0%)	3.7%
18th	Grand National Party	227	18/227(7.3%)	–	7.3%
	United Democratic (TonghapMinjoo) Party	182	15/182(7.6%)	–	7.6%
19th	New Frontier (Saenuri) Party	230	16/182(8.8%)	0/4/48(0%)	7.0%
	Democratic United (MinjooTonghap) Party	209	20/129(15.6%)	3/10/80(3.8%)	10.0%

Problems and agenda in the nomination process of the 17th to 19th general elections include the following. First, in the 17th elections, there were changes with the elections ahead, such as increasing seats in local constituencies, raising proportional representation, and amending the Political Party Act. In the case of proportional representation, nomination of more than 50 percent of the seats for

women was made mandatory. Also, it was clearly stated in the law that if a political party nominated more than 30 percent women of the total candidates from local constituencies, the party would be granted a subsidy. However, this nomination method brought disadvantageous results to women candidates in the partial bottom-up nomination contest because of their weak election camps compared to male candidates. Exceptions were those women candidates who had already had local foundations and recognition. The recruitment was not based on their activity in the party or experience of activities in their professional fields, but the most important factor for the recruitment was how well they were known to the public or whether they had such a channel. As such, this method revealed the possibility of unreasonable selection.

Second, in the 18th general elections, the nomination screening committee on the surface seemed to have made the nominations, but in fact, the dynamics within the parties made the nominations. Furthermore, except for the Democratic Labor Party, political parties did not nominate any women from the women circles or civic groups in the 18th legislative elections, unlike in the 15th, 16th, and 17th elections. Instead, they nominated mostly female politicians or professional women.

Third, the 19th general elections regressed in terms of carrying through the system. The task of nominating 30-percent women from local constituencies as prescribed in the Public Official Election Act was not kept on, and the rules concerning nomination of women in the parties were not actually observed. As it turned out in the 17th general elections and in the preceding studies alike, nomination contests acted against women. However, it is not clear which approach

to nomination, bottom-up or top-down, is advantageous to women. Therefore, it is also difficult to determine which nomination, bottom-up or top-down, is more advantageous in Korean situation.

Political parties should refrain from recruiting women from outside for a one-time use as a tool, but they should foster female politicians who share the same goal with political parties and nominate them for elections. For political development of women, it is urgently required to form solidarity among women. When the proportion of assemblywomen began to exceed 13 percent going through the 17th elections, it became actually impossible to form trans-party solidarity on the basis of gender. However, for the gender to become an important variable in nomination process, it is necessary to form dynamics in such a way that women become political forces in the political parties.

3. Analysis of the Overall Nomination Process of Women Candidates and Problems Found from the 19th General Elections

- 1) Analysis of questionnaire surveys of nomination process of women candidates in the 19th general elections

〈Table 2〉 Survey goals and design

Category	Content
(1) Subjects	• 159 preliminarywomen candidates for the 19th general elections
(2) Valid sample	• 87 women (response rate 54.7%)
(3) Survey methodology	• Online and telephone surveys through the structured questionnaire
(4) Data processing and analysis	• Used SPSS13.0 • Frequency analysis, mean value, cross-tabulation analysis
(5) Survey period	• Aug. 6, 2012-Aug. 14, 2012 (8 days)
(6) Survey goals	• To examine the impact of nomination process of major political parties on women's political representation in the 19th general elections and its problems, and to secure basic data to seek measures for future nomination methods and institutional improvement.

〈Table 3〉 Characteristics of respondents

Category		No. of samples	Percentage (%)	Category		No. of samples	Percentage (%)
Age	30s	6	6.9	Running areas	Seoul	23	26.4
	40s	34	39.1				
	Gyeonggi	22	25.3				
	50s	39	44.8				
Gyeongsang	21	24.1					
60s and older	8	9.2					
Experience	1 yr – less that 10 yrs	34	39.1				
	Jeolla	10	11.5				
	10 yrs– less than 20 yrs	25	28.7				
	Chungcheong	7	8.0				
20 yrs and longer	24	27.6					
Gangwon	2	2.3					
No response	4	4.6					
Education	College and lower	24	27.6				
	Jeju	1	1.1				
	Master’s course completion/ degree	27	31.0				

Category		No. of samples	Percentage (%)	Category		No. of samples	Percentage (%)
Proportional	1	1.1					
Doctoral course completion/degree	36	41.4					
Occupation	National assemblywoman	3	3.4	Political party	New Frontier Party	43	49.4
	Politician	35	40.2				
	Democratic United Party	36	41.4				
	Teacher	14	16.1				
	Liberty Forward Party	2	2.3				
	Business woman	7	8.0				
Legal profession	3	3.4					
Unified Progressive Party	4	4.6					
Social/civic groups	12	13.8					
Independent	2	2.3					
Other	13	14.9					
Total		87 persons	100.0	Total		87 persons	100.0

This study analyzed the overall nomination process of women candidates and its problems found from the 19th general elections, and it conducted questionnaire surveys of 159 women who had registered for the 19th preliminary candidates in order to turn their past nomination experiences into objective data. Of the women surveyed, 87 women or 54.7 percent responded to the questionnaires and of this figure, 33 women were nominated for the 19th general elections.

The survey result showed that the nomination types for the 19th general election included single-person nomination(39.4%), nomination contest(36.4%), and strategic nomination(24.2%) in that order. Nominated respondents said that the reasons for their nomination were

career and professionalism(48.5%), which was the largest portion, followed by career activity in local constituency(30.3%), and contribution to the party(9.1%). It was also found that nominated respondents did not think factions in the party had any impact on the nomination. Interestingly, of the nominated candidates, 60 percent of the five candidates nominated for local constituencies other than their applied constituencies said that factions in the party had impact on the nomination. On the other hand, respondents who had lost in the nomination thought factions in the party had the biggest impact on the nomination. In particular, the 11 women who had failed in the nomination contest said their biggest reason for the defeat was “arbitrary allotment of nominees between factions.”

For the assessment of the nomination screening committee, the survey asked questions about the “impartiality and professionalism” of its human composition,” “objectivity of the nomination screening criteria,” “fairness in the application of the nomination screening criteria,”and “independence of the operation of the committee.” The survey result showed that a majority of the respondents were “generally satisfied” with all question items. However, the two items with the lowest satisfaction were found to be “impartiality and professionalism” of its human composition” (mean value of 3.87) and “objectivity of the nomination screening criteria” (mean value of 4.14). There were also differences in the assessment of the nomination screening committee between those who are nominated and those who are not. Nominated respondents showed high satisfaction with “objectivity of the nomination screening criteria” and “fairness of the application of the nomination screening criteria,” but the respondents who had failed in the nomination showed low satisfaction, with

especially low points on “independence of the operation of the nomination screening committee.” To the question about factors for nomination screening and satisfaction with nomination, respondents said the item of the greatest impact was “arbitrary allotment of nominees according to the interests of political factions” (mean value of 4.17), followed by “organization and funds” (mean value of 3.13), “nomination to the party,” (mean value of 2.78), “career and professionalism,” (mean value of 2.61), “local foundation and activity in local constituencies,” (mean value of 2.54), “performances of legislative activity,” (mean value of 2.43), and “mandatory quota for nomination of women” (mean value of 2.19). On the other hand, those who were nominated and those who were not showed differences in their perception of the nomination: the former replied that career and professionalism, mandatory quota for nomination of women, contribution to the party had impact on the nomination in that order, while the latter thought that political factions had the biggest impact and that the next biggest impact was organization and funds.

To the question of preferred composition and operation of the nomination screening committee, respondents said they preferred “participation of more than a majority of women in the committee,” “even distribution between factions,” “participation of progressive figures in the committee,” and “composition of the committee by half insiders and half outsiders” in that order. About the nomination method, their greatest preference was found to be “strategic nomination by quota for women” regardless of whether they were nominated or not. To the question of what should be done to secure transparent nomination process and expand women’s political representation, 62.1 percent of the respondents chose “legislation of mandatory quota

system for women candidates from local constituencies”as the first priority, followed by “disclosure of the screening process to secure the transparency of the nomination” (10.3%), “introduction of the quota system for women to the important posts in the party”(9.2%), and “expansion of proportional representation to 50 percent” (5.7%).

2) Result of analysis by type of nomination process of women candidates in the 19th general elections

〈Table 4〉 Basic directions of major political parties’ nomination of women candidates for the 19th general elections

Category	New Frontier Party	Democratic United Party
Nomination process	<div><div>• Local constituency</div><div>: Invite public participation ⇒Screen ⇒ (Contest) ⇒Select candidates(Decide and recommend)</div><div>• Proportional</div><div>: Invite public participation ⇒Screen ⇒Select rankings⇒Approve and make a final decision</div></div>	<div><div>• Local constituency</div><div>: Invite public participation ⇒Screen ⇒ (Contest) ⇒Select candidates ⇒Approve and make a final decision</div><div>• Proportional</div><div>: Invite public participation ⇒Screen ⇒Select rankings⇒Approve and make a final decision</div></div>
Nomination criteria	<div><div>• Local constituency</div><div>1) Personages who will contribute to winning in the legislative and presidential elections</div><div>2) Personages who have trust from local residents and are likely to win in the election</div><div>3) Personages who can speak for people of all social standings and who have policy legislative abilities</div><div>4) Personages equipped with strict morality and freshness.</div><div>5) Contribution to the party and society</div><div>• Proportional</div><div>: Morality and the public’s satisfaction</div></div>	<div><div>• Local constituency</div><div>1) Identity</div><div>2) Contribution</div><div>3) Legislative abilities</div><div>4) Morality</div><div>5) Winning possibility</div><div>• Proportional</div><div>: Reform-mindedness, spirit of the time, legislative abilities, policy expertise, contribution to society and the party, freshness and morality</div></div>
Decision on nomination	<div><div>• The Candidate Recommendation Committee for Public Office: Screen and recommend</div><div>• The national jury for nomination: Screen eligibilities of candidates for strategic regions</div><div>• The Supreme Committee: Make a final resolution</div></div>	<div><div>• The nomination screening committee: Screen</div><div>• The Screening Committee for Recommendation of Proportional Representation Candidates: Screen and select rankings</div><div>• The Supreme Committee: Approve</div></div>

Category	New Frontier Party	Democratic United Party
Nomination contest	Form a national participatory electoral college (size of 1,500 people comprising 20-percent party members and 80-percent general public)	Public contest for nomination 1. Conduct both mobile and on-site votes 2. Conduct public opinion polls with 100 percent when candidates agree (The Supreme Committee makes a decision.) 3. If the collection of an electoral college results in less than 2 % of the total voters of the constituency, reflect 70-percent mobile vote and 30-percent on-site vote (public opinion poll)
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Make effort to attain the goal of 30-percent nomination of women from local constituencies · Give bonus points to women: 20 % of new, former, incumbent basic council members; 10 % of former, incumbent proportional representatives; 10 % of former and incumbent chair persons of local party councils and former and incumbent lawmakers of metropolitan assemblies · Cut off incumbent legislators in the lowest 25% · 50% of replaceability plus 50% of competitiveness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Try to allocate 15 % of candidates recommended from local constituencies · Give bonus points to women: 20% of new women politicians; former lawmakers and 10% of proportional representatives

The following <Table 5> shows the female candidate nomination methods and results of the New Frontier Party and the Democratic United Party, which have actively advocated application of the quota system for women.

<Table 5> Major parties' nomination types of women candidates for local constituencies

Category	Nomination types	New Frontier Party	Democratic United Party*
Nominated	Single-person nomination	8	14(1)
	Strategic nomination	8	5(1)
	Contest		
	Public opinion poll contest		
	Public contest		3
	Public contest + Public opinion		1(1)

Category	Nomination types	New Frontier Party	Democratic United Party*
Not nominated	poll		
	No-contest		1
	Cut off	55	18
	Lost in contest		
	Public opinion poll contest	4	
	Public contest		4
	Public contest + Public opinion poll		3
	Not registered		1
	Other**	2	1

* The figure in the parentheses shows the number of candidates who lost the contest or who resigned from the contest in the process of uniting the opposition parties into one party.

** Other: Persons who cancelled application for nomination and who resigned from nomination

Source: Website of each political party

As can be seen in the cases of the two major parties in <Table 5>, female politicians were largely recruited from the top down in the 19th general elections. The New Frontier Party advocated 30-percent quota for women from local constituencies, but it actually selected only 16 women (7.0%) from a total of 230 local constituencies, all from the top down. Of the 16 women, eight women were selected by single-person nomination and the other eight by strategic nomination. The Democratic United Party contended 15-percent quota for women from local constituencies, and it nominated 21 women (10.0%) from a total of 210 local constituencies until the opposition parties were united to one party. The opposition party nominated 17 women from the top down, with 13 women by single-person nomination and the other four women by strategic nomination. The candidates of the New Frontier Party who were nominated from the top down were all defeated in the elections, while out of a total of 11 candidates of the

Democratic United Party nominated by contest from nine local constituencies, four women candidates won in the elections, to record the first runner. Yet, the opposition party experienced a success rate that fell short of half. All candidates of the New Frontier Party were lost in public opinion poll contest. Three candidates of the Democratic United Party passed the contest as the first runner to be finally nominated. In addition, one female candidate was selected without any contest. Seven women dropped out of the contest.

An examination of the result by nomination type showed that from the top-down nomination, four candidates (25%) of the New Frontier Party and 11 candidates (64.7%) of the Democratic United Party won in the race. From the bottom-up nomination, two Democratic United candidates won the seats in the National Assembly. Candidates may have various competitive edges, but mostly, their competitiveness includes organizational power and mobilization of funds, recognition, and belonging to particular factions. Although their competitiveness could not be directly measured, we examined it indirectly through classification of former, incumbent, or new legislators or by faction.

〈Table 6〉 Incumbent and factional effects

Political party	Legislative position	Faction	Top-down nominee			Bottom-up nominee			Not nominated	
			Nominated	Elected	Percentage of the elected	Nominated	elected	Percentage of the elected	Cut off	Lost in contest
New Frontier Party	Incumbent	Pro-Lee	9	5	1	11.1			11	8
		Pro-Park		4	1				2	
	Former	Pro-Lee	1		1	100.0			1	
		Pro-Park								
	New	Pro-Lee	6		2	33.3			43	1
		Pro-Park							1	4

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Political party	Legislative position	Faction	Top-down nominee			Bottom-up nominee			Not nominated	
			Nominated	Elected	Percentage of the elected	Nominated	elected	Percentage of the elected	Cut off	Lost in contest
Democratic United Party	Incumbent	Pro-Roh	4	1	100.0					1
		Other		3						1
	Former	Pro-Roh	4	2	75.0				3	
		Other		2						
	New	Pro-Roh	10	1	40.0	4	1	50.0	14	1
		Other		4			1		2	3

Source: Factions are reconstructed by referring to careers announced by candidates upon application for nomination and a number of news articles.

Because the New Frontier Party announced that it would cut off 25 percent of its incumbent lawmakers, 11 applicants were cut off from 20 incumbent assemblywomen, and only nine women were nominated, and of this figure, only one female candidate was elected. More than 70 percent of the 11 cut-off incumbent women legislators were classified as Pro-Lee faction. This can be interpreted that the conflict between the political forces had the impact of reducing the incumbent effect, for the political forces will re-align the power structure in the party to prepare for the next presidential election.

As for the Democratic United Party, eight incumbent legislators applied for nomination, four women participated in single-person nomination, while the other four women ran the contest for nomination. Four incumbent lawmakers were selected by single-person nomination for the reasons of “wide gap in competitiveness” and “single-person application and eligibility of the candidate.” Those who were nominated had in common that they had high public recognition and strong organizational foundations as incumbent legislators and congresswomen elected for many terms. Of the four incumbent legislators who joined the contests, three incumbent lawmakers, all

elected for the first time by proportional representation, were defeated by assemblymen because their male rivals had the upper hand in organizational power and recognition. One exception was Jo Bae-suk, an incumbent assemblywoman elected for three terms from the city of Iksan B in Jeonbuk Province who ran contests for nomination with a new candidate from the same ruling party as her own.

In the case of the Democratic United Party, women candidates exhibited the competitiveness of incumbent effect without reservation and regardless of factions, except for those who were defeated in the contest with powerful male figures in the party. One of the keywords of the 19th general elections was the proclamation of party leader's determination to secure the quota for women in the two major parties, the New Frontier Party and the Democratic United Party. Although the result eventually fell short of the party leaders' determination, the emergence of women applicants for nomination evenly from local constituencies can be seen as the response to their strong will. Capitalizing on the strong will and effort of party leaders to increase women's political representation, there were cases in which women candidates, albeit a few, registered as preliminary candidates or applied for nomination in Jeolla and Gyeongsang Provinces, areas where the two parties are vulnerable. Even in areas where women candidates had high barriers to entry in the political circles because of conservative local sentiments and relatively stronger organizational power of male candidates, female politicians requested for the quota for women in local constituencies and in some cases, for bonus points for women in the nomination contest to try the entry. Cases of major political parties' nomination types of women are as shown in <Table 6>.

〈Table 6〉 Cases of nomination types of women

Nominated or not	Type	Name	Political party	Runner	Elected or not	Remarks
Nominated	Single-person nomination	Kim Jeong	New Frontier Party	1	X	[Jungrang Constituency A in Seoul] - Proportional representation(Kim Jeong) vs. incumbent legislator from local constituency (Yu Jeong-hyeon) - Controversy over special favor for the Pro-Park faction
		Song Yeong-seon	New Frontier Party	2	X	[Namyangju A in Gyeonggi Province] - Controversy over special favor for the Pro-Park faction, rotational nomination, and loyalty-based nomination - In spite of the party policy of “exclusion of strongly supportive areas from nomination,” Song Yeong-seon pushed ahead with running in Dalseo B in Daegu but ended up being nominated in Namyangju A in Gyeonggi Province.
	Strategic nomination	Sohn Sook-mi	New Frontier Party	1	X	[Wonmi B in Bucheon] - Nomination in other local constituency (rotational nomination)
		Bae Eun-hee	New Frontier Party	1	X	[Suwon B in Gyeonggi Province] - 18th proportional representation - Pan-Pro-Lee faction - Rotational nomination
	Won in contest	Jeon Jeong-hee	Democratic United Party	0	O	[Iksan B in Jeonbuk Province] - Woman vs. woman competition - New vs. three-term heavyweight lawmaker - New female politician with 20% vs. incumbent assemblywoman with 10 % bonus points
		Kim Jin-hee	Democratic United Party	0	X	[Wonju A in Gangwon Province] - Threesome contest=>nominated as the first runner - Kim has local foundation as a Gangwon provincial council member : Though she was behind the first runner by a total of 31 votes in the on-site contest by voting, she earned 20-percent bonus points for women to become the first runner.
Not nominated	Lost in contest	Jeon Hyeon-hee	Democratic United Party	1 Incumbent	-	[Gangnam B in Seoul] - Jeon requested for contest in principle in response to the probable strategic nomination of her rival candidate(former three-term lawmaker) and requested for change in local constituency. - She ran a contest with on-site and mobile votes. - Won 38.3-percent votes including bonus points for women

Nominated or not	Type	Name	Political party	Runner	Elected or not	Remarks
		Kim Yu-jeong	Democratic United Party	1 Proportional incumbent legislator	-	[Mapo B in Seoul] - Eight preliminary candidates registered - Kim ranked top in total points from document screening, interview, and multiple assessments in the screening process of candidate nomination =>but threesome contest was decided including former legislator Jeong Cheong-rae - Won 17.64-percent votes, including bonus points for women
	Cut off	Lee Hye-hun	New Frontier Party	2	-	[Seocho A in Seoul] - Single person applied ->Selected strategic area =>Cut off decided at the nomination screening committee - Controversy over replacement of incumbents in Gangnam constituency as a sacrifice: counter-discrimination against a candidate from the Pro-Park faction - There was no doubt about Lee's competitiveness to the point that there were no other applicants for nomination in the local Seocho Aconstituency. That is, there was only one applicant for nomination
		Jin Su-hee	New Frontier Party	2	-	[Seongdong A in Seoul] - Selected strategic area - It was said she was lost because she is very close to legislator Lee Jae-oh
	Cancelled	JeonHye-suk	Democratic United Party	1	-	[Gwangjin A in Seoul] - Though Jeon received single-person nomination in recognition for her competitive edge in managing the local constituency, her nomination was cancelled due to the controversy over her bribery charges. - The principle of presumption of innocence was not applied at the party. Instead candidate Kim Han-gil was nominated to arouse controversy over the "top-down (like parachute)" nomination, closed-door nomination, and arbitrary (like elastic string) nomination. It is said that she was delivered a blow due to factional politics.

First, factions acted as a variable in the nomination process. An examination of the nomination result of the New Frontier Party's incumbent assemblywomen shows that the ruling party's nomination

process featured factional nomination. It was also found that the New Frontier Party was strongly influenced by the consideration of the next presidential elections when the party selected candidates for the legislative elections. As a consequence, the party took greater care of candidates from the favored factions in the selection process of women candidates, including incumbent assemblywomen. Though 20 incumbent assemblywomen applied for nomination, 11 were cut off. Of the 11 women, eight applicants were classified as figures from the Pro-Lee faction. The other nominated nine applicants were divided into five Pro-Lee and four Pro-Park candidates. According to a leaked public opinion poll result about the case of Jungrang A in Seoul (Assemblywoman Kim Jeong), Kim was finally nominated, though she ranked 4th with a support rate of 3.1%, whereas Yu Jeong-hyeon, a Pro-Lee incumbent assemblywoman, gained the highest support rate of 37.6%. Because the ruling party did not have any objective indicators for the nomination and gave unconvincing explanations, this type of nomination can be assessed as factional nomination. This factional nomination resulted in the defection of the other candidate, who eventually ran in the race independently, and it ended up dispersing the supportive votes of the ruling party. In Seongdong A in Seoul (Jin Su-hee, the two-term incumbent assemblywoman), a Pro-Park applicant (a new politician) was nominated through the selection of strategic local constituency in spite of the competitive edge of Jin Su-hee, a Pro-Lee assemblywoman. On the other hand, Seocho A in Seoul (Lee Hye-hun, the two-term incumbent lawmaker) is the case where controversy was raised over counter discrimination against a Pro-Park applicant. Although there was no doubt about her competitiveness to the point that there were no other applicants for nomination, Lee was

cut off from nomination due to the trend of replacing incumbents in Gangnam constituency and the charges of Pro-Park special favor.

In the Democratic United Party, the conflict between factions did not seem conspicuous in the nomination process of women candidates like in the New Frontier Party. However, the incumbent assemblywoman JeonHye-suk (proportional representation) was talked about having been disadvantaged because of factional politics. She had applied for Gwangjin A in Seoul and was conclusively nominated in the initial stage, but she had to cancel the nomination on March 16, 2012 in the turmoil of bribery charges and public opinions against her. In the Democratic United Party, the variable of faction did not strongly act against the selection of women candidates, while the incumbent effect had strong impact on the nomination process. This result can be seen in the same context as what a Democratic United Party nomination screening committee member said in our interview: the opposition party focused on the competencies of women candidates than their factions in the nomination of women candidates.

Second, “rotational” nomination was another factor for nomination. Rotational nomination refers to nomination of an applicant to another local constituency with no ties when the applicant loses in the initial nomination for originally applied constituency. This nomination can also be compared to a top-down or “parachute” nomination because the decision to rotate the candidate from one constituency to other is made by the party leadership. Representative cases of this rotational nomination type include three candidates from the New Frontier Party: BaeEun-hee for Suwon B in Gyeonggi, Son Sook-mi for Wonmi B in Bucheon, and Song Yeong-seon for Namyangju A in Gyeonggi. BaeEun-hee, a proportional representative, applied for nomination at

first in Yongsan, Seoul, but she failed to be nominated on March 7. She was then nominated on March 15 in the local Suwon B constituency(Kwon Seon) in Gyeonggi, which was the local constituency of JeongMi-gyeong, a Pro-Lee assemblywoman. SohnSook-mi, an assemblywoman for the Wonmi B in Bucheon, Gyeonggi Province, registered as a preliminary candidate for Jung-gu and Dong-gu in Busan, but she lost in the nomination on January 5. Then, the ruling party rotated her to Wonmi B in Bucheon for strategic nomination. Song Yeong-seon, a Pro-Park assemblywoman and proportional representative from the Future Hope Alliance, pushed ahead with running in Dalseo B, Daegu in spite of the party policy of “exclusion of strongly supportive areas from nomination,” but she ended up being nominated in Namyangju A in Gyeonggi Province. In the final analysis, this type of rotational nomination can be said to be an extension of factional nomination.

Third, bonus points for women impacted nomination contest. In the contest for nomination, a bottom-up nomination type, both the New Frontier Party and the Democratic United Party gave bonus points for women candidates. The New Frontier Party had four women candidates for the contest, but all failed in the contest. Because there are no specific data about the contest, we cannot discuss in this research how bonus points for women acted against those women candidates who lost the contest. The Democratic United Party granted 20-percent bonus points to new politicians, and 10 percent to incumbents. This resulted in two cases where runner-up women candidates without bonus points turned out to be the first runner in the contest when bonus points were given. The two cases were candidate JeonJeong-hee for Iksan B in Jeonbuk and candidate Kim

Jin-hee for Wonju A in Gangwon.

Fourth, the difference in organizational power acted as a variable for nomination contest. In the nomination contest for the 19th general elections, it was found that women candidates were at a disadvantage due to their relatively weak organizational power. In Gangnam B in Seoul, the Democratic United Party ran a contest with a 70-percent public contest and a 30-percent public opinion poll. In this contest, JeonHyeon-hee, the 18th proportional representative, and Jeong Dong-yeong, the former assemblyman, vied for nomination. The result was the defeat of Jeon with the gap in vote by about double, despite 10-percent bonus points for women. In the Mapo B in Seoul, the Democratic United Party decided to select its candidates based on public contest only. The party had a threesome contest among Kim Yu-jeong (the incumbent proportional representative), Jeong Cheong-rae (the former assemblyman), and JeongMyeong-su(who laid foundations in the local constituency for two years). In spite of bonus points for women, the woman candidate Kimturned out to be the second runner-up. It was found from the two cases that contest system was advantageous to the candidates who had already gained recognition based on local organizational foundations but disadvantageous to those who had not.

Finally, the nomination process and result of the two parties in relation to enhancing women's political representation can be summarized as follows: the biggest characteristic of the nomination of the New Frontier Party was that the party nominated women candidates by taking factions into account, in order to prepare for the next presidential elections and reorganize power relations. On the other hand, the Democratic United Party focused on expanding women's

political representation and demonstrating the connection between the democracy and identity of the party. It can be analyzed that the opposition party tried to strengthen the identity and image of the party called the Democratic United Party in a situation where no candidate for the next presidential elections had emerged yet. The top-down nomination, rather than the bottom-up nomination, acted positively to reinforce women's political representation. As it turned out, the bottom-up nomination acted adversely to women candidates with relatively weak organizational power. However, the bonus points for women candidates resulted in lowering the barriers to women's entry into politics. Party leaders' proclamation of determination to increase women's political representation had the effect of lowering the psychological barriers, which had been raised by local sentiments against new women politicians and unsupportive areas for the party.

4. Policy Suggestions

1. Directions for legal and institutional improvements to raise women's representation

1) Develop and proliferate the logic of expanding women's political representation

Korean society has continuously seen important issues, including corruption and irregularities, polarization and lack of communication. These unresolved problems may reveal the limitations of male politics. Now it is necessary for women to be engaged in politics as a task to overcome the limitations of male politics. Against this background, there has been a growing need for developing the logic of expanding

women's political representation. To become an advanced society, Korea faces the agenda of collaborating with underrepresented groups, including the elderly, people with disabilities, female workers, and farmers. Also, a question has been raised over whether the quota system for women highlights women only among the weak. Therefore, it should be convincing that the relationship between the weak and women is not a zero-sum game, but it is to work together with underrepresented groups led by the women's community. In other words, women's entry into the political community is not to take away the share of the weak but to increase the pie for the whole weak people with women standing in the vanguard. Therefore, the nation should also put effort in finding women candidates who have common factors with disabled women, female workers and farmers as a future task. It is also necessary to change the public awareness of women politicians by showing to the public that women's greater political participation makes a difference in legislative activity, performance, and process of politics. To do so, it is first of all necessary to publicize assemblywomen's performances of legislative activity. Despite the still widespread conventional idea that women candidates do not have competitive edges, some data show that there have been recent changes in voters' awareness of female politicians. According to a study conducted immediately after the 19th general elections, voters' awareness of women politicians changed a lot, and therefore, many of the respondents in the study answered that they were willing to vote for women candidates if the candidates continue to work in the local constituency for a long time even on usual days (Kim Won-hong, Kim Hye-yeong, 2012).

2) Expand the proportional representation to 50 percent of all seats

Korea's current election system is a simple majority voting system with a combination of small constituencies (or electoral districts) and proportional representation. In the 19th general elections, proportional representatives from political parties took 54 seats, accounting for 18 percent of the total 300 seats in the National Assembly. In the case of the proportional representation system that has been applied to date, 46 lawmakers were elected by proportional representation among the total 299 seats in the 16th National Assembly. Of the 46 legislators, 11 assemblywomen were elected by proportional representation, accounting for 23.9% of all proportional representatives. In the 17th National Assembly, 56 lawmakers were elected by proportional representation among the total 299 seats. Of the 56 legislators, 29 assemblywomen were elected by proportional representation, taking up 51.8% of all proportional representatives. In the 18th National Assembly, 54 lawmakers were elected by proportional representation among the total 299 seats. Of the 54 legislators, 27 assemblywomen were elected by proportional representation, accounting for 50.0% of all proportional representatives. In the 19th general elections, 28 assemblywomen were elected by proportional representation, occupying 51.85% of all proportional representatives. As seen in the above, the percentage of assemblywomen elected by proportional representation has exceeded or equaled to 50.0 % of the total lawmakers elected by proportional representation since the 17th National Assembly. This proportion is by far higher than that of assembly women elected from local constituencies. In other words, the total number of proportional representatives accounts for a low percentage of the total seats in the

National Assembly and therefore cannot meet the goal of introducing the proportional representation system “to raise representation.” To complement the problems of Korea’s small constituencies, at least 30 percent of the total seats in the National Assembly should be allotted to proportional representatives. In addition, it is necessary to urge the government to improve the system in such a manner to increase the proportion of assemblywomen overall through allotment of 50percent to women.

- 3) Establish a mandatory 30–percent quota system of nominating women candidates for local constituencies in regular elections for public office and in elections for the national and local assemblies

In the 19th general elections, 19 women were elected from local constituencies and 28 women by proportional representation, totaling 47 women. The 19th general elections also showed the same trend of increase in the number of elected women since the 16thgeneral elections. However, the percentage of major parties’ nomination of women candidates for local constituencies stalled at low levels, with the New Frontier Party at 7.0% and the Democratic United Party at 10%. Although the leaders of the two major parties, the New Frontier Party and the Democratic United Party, proclaimed their determination to increase the quota for women candidates for local constituencies in the 19th general elections, the number of nominated women was lower than had expected. In spite of the party leaders’ determination, the result was poor; this implies that it is necessary to institutionally support the allocation of seats to women in addition to the leaders’ will. Therefore, it is necessary to establish a mandatory clause to

enforce the quota system for women.

In this regard, a comparison of the two parties showed that the Democratic United Party stipulated nomination of 15-percent women candidates in the party constitution and rules, albeit it was a recommended rule. When the opposition party established its constitution and rules, the stipulation of the quota system for women was carried through on the basis of a broad consensus about the need for expanding women's political representation among various groups of power, including assemblywomen in the party, party members, and women's civic groups. Based on this regulation, albeit recommended, its nomination screening committee made efforts to keep the rule as prescribed by the party and could nominate 10-percent women, despite resistance from the men in the party. Seen from this case, prescription of the quota system for women as a mandatory clause in the party constitution and rules and further in the Public Official Election Act will broaden the way for expanding women's political representation.

If the 30-percent quota system for women candidates for local constituencies had been legislated to expand women's political participation in the 19th general elections, the legislation hopefully would have resolved the problems of assemblywomen's career disruption, strategic nomination, and nomination contest system that had been highlighted by public opinion. To become a developed country through broader political representation, Korea should above all establish a mandatory 30-percent quota system of nominating women candidates for local constituencies in the elections for national and local assemblies.

4) Expand subsidies for recommending women and prepare measures for practical support

In the 19th general elections, the National Election Commission paid 740 million won to the New Frontier Party as a subsidy for recommending 6.5 percent-women of all local constituency candidates and 380 million won to the Democratic United Party for recommending 8.5-percent women. The other political parties could not receive the subsidy, because the number of their women candidates fell short of 5 percent of all candidates for local constituencies. To realize the 30-percent quota system for nominating women candidates through improvement of the current subsidy system, Korea should give more incentives to political parties which strive for expanding the proportion of nomination of women candidates and encourage the parties to maintain the 30-percent nomination. It is also necessary to provide incentives for the parties to recommend more women candidates and increase the total subsidy for recommending women, so that the national goal to expand women's political participation can be fulfilled.

2. Measures for strengthening women's representation at the party level

1) Establish a mandatory rule of more than 50-percent assemblywomen's participation in the nomination screening committee and strengthen education to raise awareness of gender equality

In the elections for public office, political parties should establish a mandatory rule of more than 50-percent assemblywomen's participation in the nomination screening committee, and they should take measures

to create a women-friendly environment and to secure women's representation in the nomination process. In the 19th general elections, the New Frontier Party had only two women (20%) among the 10 nomination screening committee members and thus fell back compared to the 18th general elections. The Democratic United Party had five women (30%) among the 15 nomination screening committee members and held on to the party rule. Although the opposition party could not achieve the original target of 15 % nomination of women candidates for local constituencies, the party was better than other parties because 30% of women participated in its nomination screening committee. To create a women-friendly nomination screening committee, it is necessary to mandatorily allocate more than 50 percent of all the committee members with women and to form the screening committee comprising personages who support women's greater political representation and who have awareness of gender equality. Furthermore, all important party members should be instilled with awareness of gender equality.

2) Expand strategic nomination of women candidates

In the 19th general elections, political parties could not actively nominate women candidates strategically. An examination of women elected from local constituencies showed that the local constituencies of 15 of the total 19 women candidates were limited to Seoul and Gyeonggi Province. Moreover, the New Frontier Party nominated its candidate, BaeSeon-hee, for the constituency she did not want to run in, because she had no ties. Hence, the party had to endure the criticism that it was a "make-shift" nomination. After all, the 19th general election revealed the limitations of strategic nomination of

women candidates. The parties nominated women candidates for local constituencies rather than metropolitan areas, and even if they were nominated, it was hard for women candidates to be elected. On top of this, each political party did not actively support them to win in the election through strategic nomination. The result of the 19th general elections showed that the Democratic United Party gained great support from Seoul and Gyeonggi, while local sentiments had big impact on the result of the elections in Gyeongsang, Jeolla, and Chungcheong Provinces. The ruling New Frontier Party and the opposition Democratic United Party need to expand strategic nomination of women candidates to supportive areas at the party level.

3) Establish and operate the “Committee for Women’s Greater Political Participation”

In the 19th general elections, the Democratic United Party established the Committee for Women’s Greater Political Participation to make efforts to secure the necessity of women’s political participation and to find and develop women candidates. In order to lay an institutional framework for establishing elections without relying on money or groups, it is necessary to lower the barriers to women’s entry into politics through the Committee for Women’s Greater Political Participation and the like and to educate workers at related organizations. Women’s political participation should be grounded on the perception that they are candidates for new politics, rather than for particular political parties. Therefore, parties should establish “the Committee for Women’s Greater Political Participation (tentative name)” to find women candidates as players of political change and innovation. In order to find and foster women candidates for this

purpose, each party needs to build networks with civic groups and prepare and implement diverse and advanced programs for training women candidates.

4) Establish a system to find and develop women politicians and to operate a mentor system

Despite the two major party leaders' determination, actual quotas for women candidates were low in the 19th general elections. One of the reasons that should be overlooked was the lack of candidates for women politicians. Therefore, each party should lay the groundwork for making active use of the quota system for women by preparing a system to find and develop women politicians at all times, expanding the candidate pool, and improving the competencies of women candidates. To this end, the party should first of all build a system to find and foster promising candidates.

5) Develop female youths and reinforce education and training

To further rejuvenate and develop political parties, the parties are required to actively encourage female youths to join the parties and offer opportunities for them to grow to be party executives. We suggest the parties positively review measures for preparing a system to give academic credits to women for internships at political parties in connection with the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and universities. The major political parties do not have any education or training teams for women at their provincial and municipal branches. This implies that no dedicated channel is prepared for solving problems when any problems arise. Therefore, political parties should make education teams for women and related organizations to

find and develop female youths aspiring to become politicians and reinforce their internship activity at the provincial and municipal branches to nurture and educate them. In France and Germany, women can join political parties in their twenties, and the parties support them for activities as political candidates and professional politicians.

3. Reinforcement of the role of the women' s circles in order to increase women' s representation

The most remarkable movement of the women's circles in the process of the 19th general elections was that based on the national alliance between women's groups and regional meetings, they conducted vigorous campaigns for voters. It was desirable for them to have prepared specific policies on women and to attempt to suggest them to political parties and candidates. However, their policies were merely recommendations that should be reflected in pledges and hardly brought any practical and immediate effects. Also, because there were no compulsory measures for the quota system that political parties should nominate women candidates, it was unavoidable that the arguments of women's groups remained one-sided.

On the other hand, it was found that the women's community had limitations in popularizing women's movement as well. In the case of the "Purple Party," as many as 126 groups were organized for the party, but only a few groups actually were involved in political activity, only to expose their problem of mobilization. As such, it is necessary to encourage a majority of voters to vote and to publicize policies on women by conducting large-scale street movements or campaigns. Not only that, it is also strongly needed to deploy election campaigns that are close to women's lives through face-to-face

methods by making constant and active use of “coffee parties” or “town meetings,” which are yet in the inception stage.

Although the number of assemblywomen has increased whenever a new national assembly formed, the number of assemblywomen selected from the women’s circles and civic groups has gradually decreased. As assemblywomen have taken up more than 13 percent of the total seats in the National Assembly since the 17th legislative elections, they can no longer form a trans-party alliance. In this situation, assemblywomen’s activity in the local constituency has focused not only on collecting opinions from the women’s community, but also on listening to the voices of a broad range of local residents and reflecting their opinions in policies.

In the past, there were relatively many legislators from the women’s community, and it was essential for women candidates to be united together and secure support from the women’s circles to enter politics as the few. However, recently-elected assemblywomen should mobilize supporters from the whole constituency and have a sense of accountability in order to continue and develop their career through re-election. Of course, there are still only a few assemblywomen who have been elected to serve many terms, and the period of assemblywomen’s activity is too short to analyze and to reach a conclusion on the relations among their activity in the local constituency, nomination, and possibility of being elected. However, it is a very important and urgent task to pay attention to assemblywomen who vigorously carry out their activity in the local constituency and observe how they expand their political influence based on their constituency.

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