

2019

Research Paper-11



# A Study of Winning Factors in 2022 Local Elections to increase Women Politicians

Moon Mee Kyung  
Kim Hae Young  
Lee Hyun Chool  
Lim Mee Young



Korean Women's Development Institute



## **A Study of Winning Factors in 2022 Local Elections to increase Women Politicians**



©2019

**Korean Women's Development Institute**

225 Jinheung-ro Eunpyeong-gu

Seoul 03367

Korea

[www.kwdi.re.kr](http://www.kwdi.re.kr)

# Contents

<b>I. Necessity and purpose of study</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>II. Theoretical discussion on the increase of women politicians</b> ....	<b>2</b>
1. Division of election stages and factors affecting each stage ....	2
2. Importance of realization of women's representation through party nomination .....	3
<b>III. Current condition of women politicians in local councils</b> .....	<b>5</b>
1. Entire female members of local councils .....	5
2. Current state of female members of regional councils .....	6
3. Types and results of nomination by political parties .....	7
<b>IV. Survey analysis</b> .....	<b>8</b>
1. Perception on election course .....	8
2. Nomination stage and gender discrimination .....	11



**V. Conclusion ..... 12**

1. Establishment of Election Guidelines ..... 12

2. Nomination system improvement measures for securing women's representation ..... 12

3. Improvement measures for gender-equal election promotion ... 13

## Tables

〈Table 1〉	Winning Factors by Stage of Election .....	2
〈Table 2〉	Current State of Women Elected in the Constituencies of Local Councils .....	5
〈Table 3〉	Female Candidates for Regional Councils Members & Female winners .....	6
〈Table 4〉	Status of Female Candidates and Elected Female Candidates of Regional Councils in the 7th Local Elections by Constituency/Party .....	7
〈Table 5〉	The Stage Felt Most Important/Strenuous .....	8
〈Table 6〉	Important Factors before Registration as Preliminary Candidates .....	8
〈Table 7〉	Important Factors in the Stage of Registration as Preliminary Candidates .....	9
〈Table 8〉	Important Factors in the Stage of Candidates .....	9
〈Table 9〉	Limitations of Election .....	10
〈Table 10〉	Gender Difference in Electoral Assistance .....	11
〈Table 11〉	Gender Difference concerning the Transparency in the Nomination Process of the Parties They Belong to ...	11
〈Table 12〉	Gender Difference on the Fairness in the Nomination Process of the Parties they belong to .....	11



---

# A Study of Winning Factors in 2022 Local Elections to increase Women Politicians

Moon Mee Kyung

Kim Hae Young

Lee Hyun Chool

Lim Mee Young

## I. Necessity and purpose of study

For the present, the constant efforts to increase women politicians in regional local councils, which are lower level than the National Assembly and municipal councils, are necessary. The increase of female members in regional local councils can be regarded as a positive phenomenon in that a pool of women who are future candidates-to-be for the National Assembly, heads of local governments, etc. in their continuity of careers has been expanded as well as the accompanying expectations of substantial representation of women in the realm of life politics.

To facilitate such a phenomenon, the entire course of election was classified by stage 1) to identify major winning factors in each stage and 2) to analyze gender discrimination in the nomination stage, which is regarded as the most important stage in the course of election.

Through this, we aim at contributing to the enhancement of electoral competitiveness of those women who intend to run for the members of regional local councils in the future, and to the increase in number of

women politicians in local councils by preparing the measures for their entry into candidacy in the party nomination process.

## II. Theoretical discussion on the increase of women politicians

### 1. Division of election stages and factors affecting each stage

The course of election was divided and major winning factors are suggested in the following <Table 1>.

<Table 1> Winning Factors by Stage of Election

		Factors	
		Individuals factors of candidates	Social and cultural factors other than individual factors of candidates
Election Stage	Before registration of preliminary candidates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Careerwise preparation as a politician</li> <li>• Building of human networks</li> <li>• Preparation of dual duty of housekeeping and electoral activities during election period.</li> <li>• Establishment of confidence in winning the election</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Confidence in women politicians</li> <li>• Preference to older male politicians</li> <li>• Level of gender-equal culture in the region</li> </ul>
	After registration of preliminary candidates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Utilization of human networks</li> <li>• Election finance</li> <li>• Election strategies</li> <li>• Electoral office</li> <li>• Composition of the personnel in the election camp</li> <li>• Operation of electoral organization</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Campaign materials</li> <li>• Campaign cards</li> <li>• Media expositions</li> <li>• Election workers</li> </ul>

		Factors	
		Individuals factors of candidates	Social and cultural factors other than individual factors of candidates
	Nomination screening	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Preparation for nomination screening</li> <li>• Securing the register of party members in preparation for election</li> <li>• Contact with members of relevant political party in preparation for election</li> <li>• Awareness enhancement and PR</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Whether the criteria of nomination and process of screening are transparent</li> <li>• Consideration of gender ratio while composing the nomination screening committee</li> <li>• Application for nomination and screening</li> <li>• Nomination screening cost</li> <li>• Preparation for the election</li> </ul>
	Candidacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Campaign pledges</li> <li>• Preparation of documents for submission to election commission</li> <li>• Number of election campaigns</li> <li>• Politicization of campaign pledges</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Campaign posters</li> <li>• Election campaign bulletins</li> <li>• Campaign placards</li> </ul>

Source: Prepared by the author

## 2. Importance of realization of women's representation through party nomination

Elections in Korea adopted the party nomination system, which is also applied to regional local councils and municipal councils. Will women be able to have electoral competitiveness without the party nomination system? Since women in general are at a disadvantage in terms of organizational power and capital mobilization capacity, nomination by major political parties are effective in enabling women to become council

members (Jo Jae-wook, 2010: 195).

These days, the tendency that electors vote for ‘political parties’ is revealed. Political party is found to be the most important factor affecting voters’ selection (Gook Young-ae: 182). In this respect, although improvement of political culture is essential in expanding women’s political participation in the long-term perspective, party nomination is the first determinant for winning an election (Jo Jae-wook, 2010: 195-196), affecting the elections of women candidates as the most important factor (Hwang Ah-ran, 2002; Gook Young-ae, 2006: 182 requoted). Given that the increase in the number of women nominated by major parties is linked to the expansion of women’s political participation, party nomination is an important determinant. Under the circumstances, seeking the measures for the nomination system that will increase the number of women politicians in political parties is required.

### III. Current condition of women politicians in local councils

#### 1. Entire female members of local councils

This study focused on the current state of elected women in the councils of district constituencies. Through the analysis of the elected, the current state of women politicians in local councils was looked into. The status of the elected women of district constituencies in local elections in history are as shown in <Table 2>.

<Table 2> Current State of Women Elected in the Constituencies of Local Councils

(Unit: prs., %)

Classification	Regional councils			Municipal council			Total		
	Total	Women	Ratio of women	Total	Women	Ratio of women	Total	Women	Ratio of women
1991	866	8	0.9	4,303	40	0.9	5,169	48	0.9
1995	875	13	1.5	4,541	71	1.6	5,416	84	1.6
1998	616	14	2.3	3,490	56	1.6	4,106	70	1.7
2002	609	14	2.3	3,485	77	2.2	4,094	91	2.2
2006	655	31	4.7	2513	110	4.4	3,168	141	4.5
2010	680	55	8.1	2512	274	10.9	3,192	329	10.3
2014	705	58	8.2	2519	369	14.6	3,224	427	13.2
2018	737	98	13.3	2541	526	20.7	3,278	624	19.0

Source: Prepared by the author based on the data of the Election Statistics System of National Election Commission, <http://info.nec.go.kr/> (Last Date of Search: July 10, 2018).

## 2. Current state of female members of regional councils

The ratio of the women members of regional councils of the total number of elected men and women in local constituencies in 1991 was 0.92%. The same ratio was 1.49% in 1995, 2.27% in 1998, 2.30% in 2002, 4.89% in 2006, 8.09% in 2010, 8.23% in 2014, 13.3% in 2018<sup>1)</sup>. The ratio of women who are elected after going through fierce campaign in local constituencies is very low. For women to win elections in local constituencies, political parties need to positively nominate and support women.

〈Table 3〉 Female Candidates for Regional Councils Members & Female winners

(Unit: Prs., %)

Year	Candidates			Elected Persons		
	Female candidates	Total candidates	Ratio of female candidates	Elected women	Total elected persons	Ratio of elected women
1991	63	2,885	2.2	8	866	0.92
1995	40	2,449	1.6	13	875	1.49
1998	37	1,571	2.4	14	616	2.27
2002	48	1,483	3.2	14	609	2.30
2006	107	2,068	5.2	32	655	4.89
2010	154	1,779	8.7	55	680	8.09
2014	198	1,719	11.5	58	705	8.23
2018	274	1,886	14.5	98	737	13.30

Source: Prepared by the author based on the data of the Election Statistics System of National Election Commission, <http://info.nec.go.kr/> (Last Date of Search: June 19, 2018).

1) The Election Statistics System of National Election Commission, <http://info.nec.go.kr/> (Search Date: June 19, 2018)

### 3. Types and results of nomination by political parties

The nomination of women candidates for the 7<sup>th</sup> simultaneous local elections by two major parties, the Democratic Party and the Liberty Korea Party, stopped at 14.91% and 12.77%, respectively, failing to reach the 30% under the gender quota provided by a substantive enactment.

〈Table 4〉 Status of Female Candidates and Elected Female Candidates of Regional Councils in the 7<sup>th</sup> Local Elections by Constituency/Party

(Unit: Prs., %)

Classification	Democratic Party		Liberty Korea Party		Bareunmirae Party		Party for Democracy and Peace		Justice Party		Minjung Party		Independent		Total	
	Candidates	Election	Candidates	Election	Candidates	Election	Candidates	Election	Candidates	Election	Candidates	Election	Candidates	Election	Candidates	Election
Women	105	88	78	8	38	0	9	0	3	1	23	0	18	0	274	97
Total	704	605	611	113	208	1	74	1	17	1	54	0	204	16	1872	737
Ratio of Women	14.9	14.5	12.8	7.1	18.3	0.0	12.2	0.0	17.6	0.0	42.6	0.0	8.8	0.0	14.6	13.2

Source: Prepared by the author based on the data of the Election Statistics System of National Election Commission, <http://info.nec.go.kr/> (Last Date of Search: July 12, 2018).

## IV. Survey analysis

### 1. Perception on election course

〈Table 5〉 The Stage Felt Most Important/Strenuous (Unit: %)

Stage	Important Stage	Most Strenuous Stage
Before registration of preliminary candidates	18.9	10.8
After registration of preliminary candidates	12.6	14.0
Nomination screening	47.3	48.2
Candidacy (election campaign)	21.2	27.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Note: The total of percentages can come close to 100.0% by rounding off.

〈Table 6〉 Important Factors before Registration as Preliminary Candidates

Factors	Total	Women		Men
		Defeated	Elected	Elected
Human networks	4.38	4.34	4.33	4.36
Resolution of issues concerning housekeeping and the role within the family	3.43	2.69	3.55	3.55
Determination to become a politician	4.43	4.14	4.55	4.44
Selection of local constituency	4.24	4.41	4.45	4.14

Note: Mean value of 5-point scale measurement (1=Not influential at all, 5=Very influential).

〈Table 7〉 Important Factors in the Stage of Registration as Preliminary Candidates

Factor	Total	Women		Men
		Defeated	Elected	Elected
Preparation of election campaign fund	3.46	3.72	3.33	3.40
Securing of an electoral office	3.51	3.65	3.43	3.50
Securing of campaign workers	3.62	3.86	3.33	3.71
Utilization of human networks	4.30	4.62	4.19	4.21
Establishment of cooperative system of party executives in preparation for election	3.69	3.83	3.52	3.68
Responses to interviews for nomination screening	3.58	2.97	3.65	3.75
Procurement of the register of party members in preparation for election	3.64	3.17	3.70	3.70

Note: Mean value of 5-point scale measurement (1=Not influential at all, 5=Very influential).

〈Table 8〉 Important Factors in the Stage of Candidates

Factors	Total	Women		Men
		Defeated	Elected	Elected
Procurement of the register of party members in preparation for election	3.60	3.76	3.50	3.67
Experience in party posts	3.34	2.86	3.50	3.39
Period of party activities	3.25	2.69	3.38	3.39
Analysis of the electorate of the constituency	4.08	4.10	4.14	4.00
Preparation of campaign pledges	4.04	3.86	4.10	4.02
Politicization of core campaign pledges	4.03	3.69	4.00	4.14
Building of social networks (SNS, Facebook, Kakao-talk chat room, etc.)	3.90	3.72	3.91	3.86
Campaign materials (posters, bulletins, placards)	3.90	3.83	3.93	3.90
Procurement of telephone numbers of the electorate	3.85	4.24	3.86	3.63
Convincing public speaking	3.71	3.62	3.60	3.75
Handling of malicious propaganda	3.50	3.79	3.62	3.27

Note: Mean value of 5-point scale measurement (1=Not influential at all, 5=Very influential).

〈Table 9〉 Limitations of Election

Factor	Total	Women		Men
		Defeated	Elected	Elected
Campaign fund	2.99	3.00	3.00	2.99
Lack of election campaign experience	2.86	3.17	2.91	2.83
Insufficient understanding/support of families	2.33	3.03	2.29	2.34
Dual duty of housekeeping and child rearing.	2.52	1.97	2.38	2.60
Policy/pledge development	3.08	3.10	2.90	3.18
Central chapter's stump in the support for candidates	2.96	3.48	2.88	3.00
Stump by city and do (province) chapters in the support for candidates	2.91	2.83	2.95	2.88
Recruitment and management of campaign workers	3.08	3.31	2.88	3.20
Gender prejudices	2.66	2.62	2.59	2.71
Personal attack and slander from opposing candidates	2.81	2.65	2.86	2.78
Threats to personal safety (threats, assaults, sexual harrassment, sexual violence against individual and family members)	2.14	1.86	2.09	2.18
Lack of party activities	2.56	2.79	2.09	2.82
Base of organized support in the constituency	2.87	3.24	2.59	3.03
Election management of election commission (Reply to election-related questions, election-related regulations, etc.)	3.13	2.86	2.88	3.26

Note: Mean value of 5-point scale measurement (1=Not hard at all, 5=Very hard).

## 2. Nomination stage and gender discrimination

〈Table 10〉 Gender Difference in Electoral Assistance

(Unit: %)

Question	Total	Women		Men
		Defeated	Elected	Elected
More assistance was provided to female candidates than male candidates.	46.8	20.7	43.1	56.9
Equal assistance was provided between male and female candidates.	39.6	27.6	44.8	39.2
More assistance was provided to male candidates than female candidates.	9.5	51.7	3.4	2.0
Others	4.1	0.0	8.6	2.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: The total of percentages can come close to 100.0% by rounding off.

〈Table 11〉 Gender Difference concerning the Transparency in the Nomination Process of the Parties They Belong to

Question	Total	Women		Men
		Defeated	Elected	Elected
Transparency in the nomination process (procedure) of the party you belong to	2.97	2.59	2.90	3.28

Note: Mean value of 5-point scale measurement (1=Strongly disagree, 5=Strongly agree).

〈Table 12〉 Gender Difference on the Fairness in the Nomination Process of the Parties they belong to

Question	Total	Women		Men
		Defeated	Elected	Elected
Period of time taken to decide the nomination	3.07	2.41	2.93	3.38
Time of decision of nomination	2.96	2.65	2.79	3.22
Nomination process	3.04	2.72	2.84	3.29

Note: Mean value of 5-point scale measurement (1=Very unfair, 5=Very fair).

## V. Conclusion

### 1. Establishment of Election Guidelines

Election guidelines need to be suggested in the order of importance grasped in the candidacy (election campaign) stage suggested above as a result of survey analysis.

### 2. Nomination system improvement measures for securing women's representation

#### A. Nomination system improvement measures at party level

- 1) Institutionalization of the reduction of nomination screening period and adjustment of decision time, etc. in political parties

Political parties should enable competitors to be informed whether they have been selected as party-nominated candidates or not at the earliest possible moment. Political parties, also, have to institutionalize the preparation work for the proceedings of nomination screening before March when preliminary candidates are registered.

- 2) Introduction of cochair nomination system appointing both chairman and chairwoman & realization of the 5:5 gender ratio of committee members

To minimize gender discrimination in the candidate nomination process, introduction of the cochair system with the appointment of both chairman and chairwoman to the nomination screening committee, and the adjustment of composition ratio between male and female committee members to 50:50 are required.

3) Development of indexes concerning candidate trait evaluation and candidate competitiveness evaluation

Through the development of indexes concerning candidate trait evaluation (CTE) and candidate competitiveness evaluation (CCE), nomination and race systems that are democratic and transparent should be introduced.

B. Measures to increase women politician through amendments to election law

1) Introduction of the classification of constituencies for gender quota

With regard to winning elections, constituencies need to be classified into three categories of 'safe,' 'competitive,' and 'inferior' to differentiate the range of the ratio of female candidates.

2) Introduction of a system nominating the same number of male and female candidates

With the quota system alone, realization of a gender-equal society is difficult to attain. The effort to expand the discussion to the level of political equality through the nomination of the same number of male and female candidates is required.

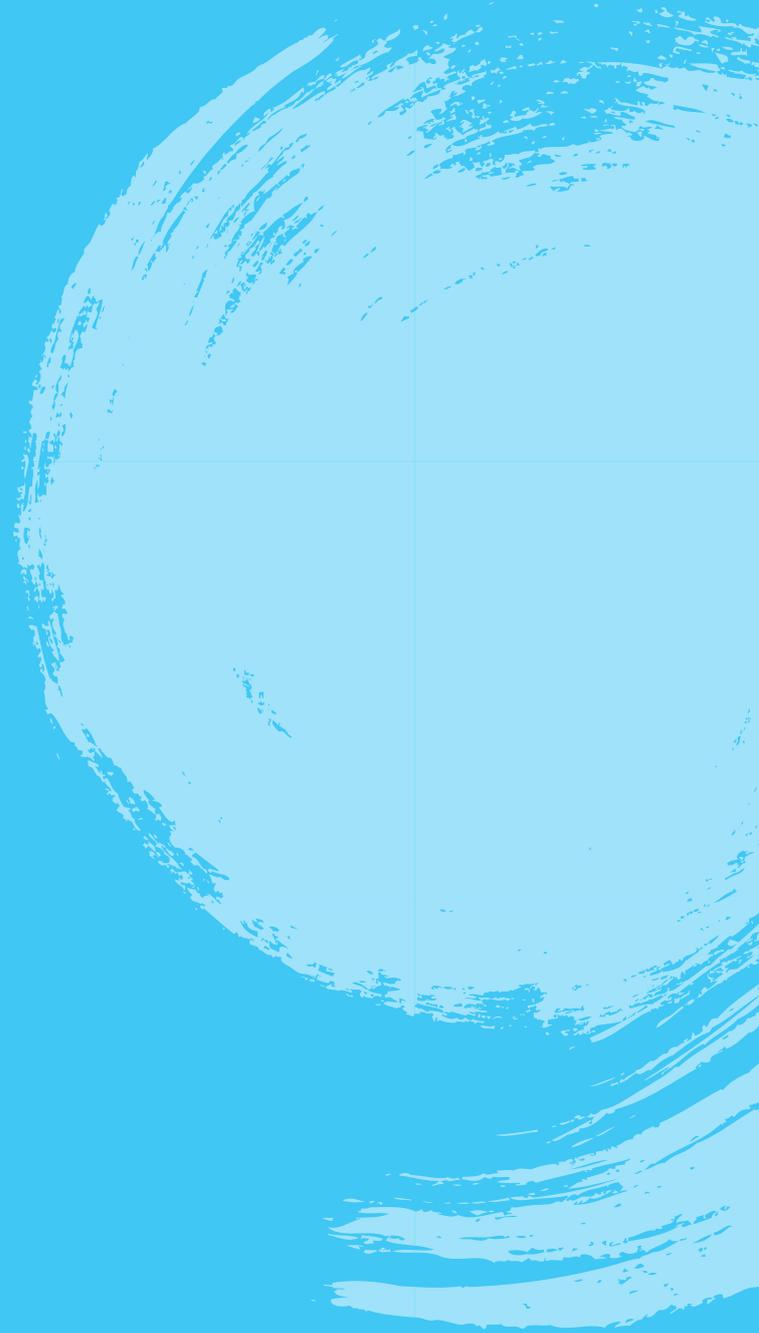
**3. Improvement measures for gender-equal election promotion**

The course of election promotion should be unified en bloc so that an environment can be created where election promotion can be made regardless of gender. Joint debates, across-the-board production of public information materials collecting personal information of candidates,

including picture, name, telephone number, educational background, work experience, etc., and maintenance of fairness in opportunity and report by the media are required.

## Reference

- Gook Young-ae (2006). May 31 Local Elections and Direction for the Development of Women's Politics, 167-189, **the sourcebook of symposium of the Korean Association for Local Government Studies.**
- Jo Jae-wook(2010), Party Nomination System and Women's Political Participation: Focusing on 2010 Local Elections, **Science Statement** (Vol. 3, pp. 193-207) **of winter symposium of the Korean Association for Local Government Studies.**
- Hwang At-ran. (2002). Study of Gender Difference concerning Electoral Competitiveness of Candidates for the National Assembly, **Journal of the Korean Political Science Association**, **36**(1), 203-222.



Korean Women's Development Institute

225 Jinheung-ro, Eun pyeong-gu  
(1-363, Bulgwang-dong) Seoul, 03367, Korea  
TEL 02.3156.7000 FAX 02.3156.7007  
<http://www.kwdi.re.kr>