

Analysis of the Party Nomination Process in the 19th General Election and Measures to Increase Female Representation

Kim Won-hong¹
Lee Soo-yeon²

Abstract

This study aims at developing measures to improve female political participation through discussing the party selection process of the 19th general election, due to its significance for female political participation. Therefore, the paper analyzed the major parties' candidate selection processes and its impact on the selection of female candidates, and then explored the measures to improve the ways to increase female representation including related rules and systems for the party selection process. To this end, we reviewed the theoretical exploration of the relationship between the party selection process and female political representation; analyzed the party selection processes in the 17th, 18th, and 19th general elections in terms of how they change over the time and with emphasis on the operation process and problems of the party selection of the 19th general election; and finally proposed measures for making the selection process women-friendly and improving rules and systems. Our research methods were literature reviews, survey on female candidates in the 19th national election, and interviews on party selection committees. Our study yielded several significant insights to party selection processes over the time and especially in the 19th general election. The female candidates revealed considerable frustration over the persistent influence of the established political powers and their factoralism. Especially those who failed to be selected by the party firmly believed that their failure was due to the factoral interests. On the other hand, the selected candidates insisted that they were selected because of their professional achievements and experiences. This gap in the fairness perception of the party selection needs to be filled to encourage female aspirants' active participation in future elections and the parties surely have a role to play. Female candidates of the 19th general election, whether selected or not, let out a unified voice over the parties' selection process and systems such as selection committee: they believe that the composition of the selection committee widely influences the selection outcome and therefore it needs a 50% quota of women, equal allocation of party insiders and outsiders,

¹ Research Fellow, Korean Women's Development Institute

² Senior Research Fellow, Korean Women's Development Institute

and participation of progressive persons who place high value on female political participation. Therefore, the selection committee and its women-friendly operation by participation of feminist members need to continue to be an issue. At the same time, its operation rules need to take women's political capacities into consideration and include alternatives to open competition between female candidates. Finally, female candidates themselves should make more active and visible efforts to build a firm foundation in the districts and the parties should support them.

Key words: Party selection process, 19th general election, female representation, women politician, quota system, women-friendly composition of selection committee

Research Goals

A general election for the 19th National Assembly was held in South Korea on April 11, 2012. A total of 47 seats held by women in the body resulted, accounting for 15.7 percent of the total. When the election process began, political parties had brought up the nomination of women candidates as a topic for reform discussions and pledged to maintain a quota of 15 to 30 percent for women from local constituencies. As party leadership failed to keep their pledges, however, the proportion of women in the 19th National Assembly turned out to be only slightly higher than that seen in the 18th National Assembly.

This research examined the public nomination of women candidates for the 19th general election and sought measures for expanding women's political participation. It is pointed out that the first gateway and the single most important channel for expanding women's political participation and enhancing women's political representation is the nomination processes and systems of each political party. Research results showed that women did not lag behind men in the actual elections in terms of election rate or competitiveness. In this regard, we should first of all pay heed to the fact that women should have more opportunities for being nominated for elections at the party level so that they may hold more seats in the National Assembly. Therefore, this research undertook a comparative analysis of the relationship between the nomination process of major parties and women's political representation in the 19th general election, examined certain problems evident in the nomination process, and aimed to seek ways to improve nomination methods and systems in order to strengthen women's representation throughout the nomination process. First, researchers analyzed changes in the party nomination process of women candidates, with a focus on the 17th, 18th, and 19th general elections. Second, we analyzed the overall nomination process of women candidates and related problems in the 19th general election. Last, we suggested measures for improving the operations of a women-friendly nomination system for major political parties. Our research methodology included literature study, website surveys, questionnaire surveys, in-depth interviews, and expert counsels.

Changes in the Nomination Process for Women Candidates

In the 17th general election, the central committee of each political party determined the areas that would be subject to nomination contests and those for single-person nomination and then officially adopted the candidates. The nomination screening committees vetted the single-person nominations. There were relatively few areas with nomination contests and even fewer areas where women participated in such contests. In the 18th general election, only top-down nominations took place. The nomination screening committees determined all nominations, but in actuality the distribution of nominations between major factions of political parties was a prominent factor in nomination. This method of nomination proved disadvantageous to women who lacked a personal network within the parties. As in the 17th election, the 19th general election partially applied nomination contests. A comparison of nomination methods and results among the 17th, 18th, and 19th general elections is 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%)	4.50%
	Grand National (Hanara) Party	218	8/203 (3.9%)	0/2/15 (0%)	3.70%
18th	Grand National Party	227	18/227 (7.3%)	-	7.30%
	United Democratic (Tonghap Minjoo) Party	182	15/182 (7.6%)	-	7.60%
19th	New Frontier (Saenuri) Party	230	16/182 (8.8%)	0/4/48 (0%)	7.00%
	Democratic United (Minjoo Tonghap) Party	209	20/129 (15.6%)	3/10/80 (3.8%)	10.00%

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

representation, the nomination of women candidates to more than 50 percent of these seats was mandated. In addition, it was clearly stated within the law that if a political party nominated more than 30 percent women among the total candidates for local constituencies, the party would be granted a subsidy. However, this nomination method brought about adverse results for women candidates in partial bottom-up nomination contests because of their weaker election camps relative to male candidates. Exceptions were those women candidates who already possessed a local foundation and recognition. Recruitment was not based on their activities within the party or experience in their professional fields, but the most important factor for recruitment was instead how well they were known to the public or whether they could demonstrate such channels. As such, this method revealed a potential for inappropriate selection.

Second, in the 18th general election, nomination screening committees appeared on the surface to have made the nominations, but in fact it was dynamics within the parties that resulted in the actual nominations. Furthermore, with the exception of the Democratic Labor Party, political parties did not nominate any women from pro-women’s circles or civic groups, unlike in the 15th, 16th, and 17th elections. Instead, they nominated mainly female politicians or professionals.

Third, the 19th general election regressed in terms of carrying through the system. The requirement of nominating 30 percent women for local constituencies as prescribed in the Public Official Election Act was not fulfilled, and the rules concerning nomination of women in the parties were not actually observed. As witnessed in the 17th general election and described in preceding studies, nomination contests acted against women. However, it is unclear which approach to nomination, bottom-up or top-down, would be more advantageous to women. Therefore, it is also difficult to determine which form of nomination, bottom-up or top-down, is more advantageous for the contemporary Korean situation.

Political parties should refrain from recruiting women from the outside for one-time use

Table 2. Survey goals and design

Category	Content
Subjects	• 159 preliminary women candidates for the 19th general election
Valid sample	• 87 women (response rate 54.7%)
Survey method	• Online and telephone surveys using a structured questionnaire
Data analysis	• SPSS13.0 • Frequency analysis, mean value, cross-tabulation analysis
Survey period	• Aug. 6, 2012-Aug. 14, 2012 (8 days)
Survey goals	• To examine the impact of the nomination process of major political parties on women’s political representation in the 19th general election and the related problems to secure basic data for seeking measures for future nomination methods and institutional improvement.

as a tool. Instead they should foster female politicians who share the goals of the political parties and nominate them for election. For the political development of women, it is urgently required to develop solidarity among women. When the proportion of assemblywomen began to exceed 13 percent through the 17th election, it became practically impossible to form trans-party solidarity on the basis of gender. However, for gender to become an important variable in the nomination process, it is necessary to establish dynamics that make women a political force within the parties.

Overall Nomination Process for Women Candidates and Problems in the 19th General Election

Analysis of the nomination process of women candidates

This study analyzed the overall nomination process of women candidates and the related problems observed in the 19th general election. Questionnaire surveys were conducted among 159 women who had registered for the 19th general election as preliminary candidates in order to convert their nomination experiences into objective data. Among the subjects surveyed, 87 (54.7%) responded to the questionnaires. Out of this group, 33 women were nominated for the 19th general election.

The survey results 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%). Nominated respondents reported that the reasons underlying their nomination were career and professionalism (48.5%), which composed the largest portion, followed by career activity within the local constituency (30.3%) and contribution to the party (9.1%). It was also found that nominated respondents did not believe that factions within the party had any impact on their nomination. Interestingly, among the nominated candidates, three of the five candidates nominated for local constituencies other than their applied constituencies stated that factions within the party had an impact on their nomination. On the other hand, respondents who had lost a nomination believed that factions within the party had the greatest impact on the nomination. In particular, the 11 women who failed in a nomination contest responded that the largest contributor to the defeat was “arbitrary allotment of nominees between factions.”

To allow an assessment of the nomination screening committee, the survey posed 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 results showed that a majority of the respondents were “generally satisfied” with all questioned items. However, the two items with the lowest satisfaction rate 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

Table 3. Characteristics of respondents

	Category	No. of samples	Percentage (%)
Age	30s	6	6.9
	40s	34	39.1
	50s	39	44.8
	60s or older	8	9.2
Years of work experience	1-9 years	34	39.1
	10-19 years	25	28.7
	20 years or more	24	27.6
	No response	4	4.6
Education	College or under	24	27.6
	Master's degree*	27	31
	Doctoral degree**	36	41.4
Profession	NA member	3	3.4
	Party member	35	40.2
	Teacher	14	16.1
	Entrepreneur	7	8
	Legal professional	3	3.4
	Civic activist	12	13.8
	Other	13	14.9
Local constituency	Seoul	23	26.4
	Gyeonggi	22	25.3
	Gyeongsang	21	24.1
	Jeolla	10	11.5
	Chungcheong	7	8
	Gangwon	2	2.3
	Jeju	1	1.1
	Proportional representation	1	1.1
Party membership	New Frontier	43	49.4
	Democratic United	36	41.4
	Liberty Forward	2	2.3
	United Progressive	4	4.6
	No membership	2	2.3
Total		87	100

* In a master's program/Master's degree.

** In a PhD program/Doctoral degree

who were nominated and those who were not. Nominated respondents indicated high satisfaction with the “objectivity of the nomination screening criteria” and “fairness of the application of the nomination screening criteria,” but the respondents who failed in their nomination showed less satisfaction, with especially low points given to “independence of the operation of the nomination screening committee.” Regarding the question on factors for nomination screening and satisfaction with nomination, respondents said the item of 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), “performance 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 regarding their perceptions of the nomination: the former replied that their career and professionalism, the mandatory quota for nomination of women, and their contribution to the party had an impact on the nomination in that order, while the latter thought that political factions had the greatest impact and that the next greatest was that of organization and funding.

To the question of the preferred composition and operation of the nomination screening committee, respondents stated that they preferred “participation by 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. Regarding 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 transparency in the nomination process and expand women’s political representation, 62.1 percent of the respondents chose “legislation of a mandatory quota system for women candidates from local constituencies” as the first priority, followed by “disclosure of the screening process to secure transparency in the nomination” (10.3%), “introduction of a quota system for women in the important posts in the party” (9.2%), and “expansion of proportional representation to 50 percent” (5.7%).

Analysis by type of nomination process of women candidates

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

Table 4. Basic directions of major political parties' nomination of women candidates for the 19th general election

Category	New Frontier Party	Democratic United Party
Nomination process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local constituency : Invite public participation ⇒Screen ⇒ (Contest) ⇒Select candidates (Decide and recommend) • Proportional : Invite public participation ⇒Screen ⇒Select ranking⇒Approve and make final decision 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local constituency : Invite public participation ⇒Screen ⇒ (Contest) ⇒Select candidates ⇒Approve and make final decision • Proportional : Invite public participation ⇒Screen ⇒Select rankings⇒Approve and make final decision
Nomination criteria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local constituency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Candidates who will contribute to victory in the legislative and presidential elections - Candidates who have earned trust from local residents and are likely to win in the election - Candidates who can speak for people of all social standings and who have legislative policy abilities - Candidates showing strict morality and freshness. - Contribution to the party and society • Proportional : Morality and the public satisfaction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local constituency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identity - Contribution - Legislative abilities - Morality - Potential to win • Proportional : Reform-mindedness, spirit of the times legislative abilities, policy expertise, contribution to society and the party, freshness and morality
Decision on nomination	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Candidate Recommendation Committee for Public Office: Screen and recommend • The national jury for nomination: Screening eligibility of candidates for strategic regions • The Supreme Committee: Making final resolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nomination screening committee: Screen • The Screening Committee for Recommendation of Proportional Representation Candidates: Screen and select rankings • The Supreme Committee: Approve
Nomination contest	<p>Form a national participatory electoral college (1,500 people comprising 20 percent party members and 80 percent general public)</p>	<p>Pubic contest for nomination</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct both mobile and on-site voting • Conduct 100 percent public opinion polls when candidates agree (the Supreme Committee makes a decision.) • If the collection of an electoral college results in less than 2% of the total voters within the constituency, reflect 70 percent mobile vote and 30 percent on-site vote (public opinion poll)
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make efforts to attain the goal of 30-percent nomination of women from local constituencies • Give bonus points to women:20% for new, former, and incumbent basic council members; 10% for former, incumbent proportional representatives; 10% for former and incumbent chairpersons of local party councils and former and incumbent lawmakers from metropolitan assemblies • Cut off incumbent legislators in the lowest 25% : 50% for replaceability plus 50% for ompetitiveness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Try to allocate 15% of candidates recommended from local constituencies • Give bonus points to women:20% for new women politicians; former lawmakers and 10% for proportional representatives

Table 5. Major parties' nomination types for 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 poll	-	1 (1)
	No-contest	-	1
Not nominated	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 during the process of uniting the opposition parties into one party.

** Other: Persons who cancelled an 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 election. While the New Frontier Party advocated a 30 percent quota for women from local constituencies, it actually selected only 16 women (7.0%) for a total of 230 local constituencies, all from the top down. Among these 16 women, eight were selected by single-person nomination and the other eight by strategic nomination. The Democratic United Party proposed a 15-percent quota for women from local constituencies, and it nominated 21 women (10.0%) from a total of 210 local constituencies before the opposition parties were united into a single party. This new unified opposition party nominated 17 women from the top down, with 13 women selected 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 the 11 total candidates of the Democratic United Party nominated by contest from nine local constituencies, four women candidates won in the elections to become the first runner. Still, the opposition party experienced a success rate that fell short of half. All candidates of the New Frontier Party lost in the public opinion poll contest. Three candidates of the Democratic United Party passed the contest as the first runner and became the final nominees. In addition, one female candidate was selected without any contest. Seven women dropped out of the contest.

An examination of the results by nomination type showed that following top-down nomination, four candidates (25%) from the New Frontier Party and 11 candidates (64.7%) of the Democratic United Party won in the final race. From bottom-up nominations, two Democratic United candidates won seats in the National Assembly. Candidates may enjoy various competitive edges, but primarily their competitiveness includes organizational power and mobilization of funds, name recognition, and belonging to particular factions. Although their competitiveness could not be directly measured, we examined it indirectly through classification as former, incumbent, or new legislator 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	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	
		Pro-Park		-								-			-
	New	Pro-Lee	6	-	2	-	33.3	-	-	-	43	-	4	1	
		Pro-Park		-								-		-	
Democratic United Party	Incumbent	Pro-Roh	4	1	4	1	100	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	
		Other		3								3		1	
	Former	Pro-Roh	4	2	3	1	75	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	
		Other		2								2		-	
	New	Pro-Roh	10	1	4	1	40	4	1	2	-	50	14	3	-
		Other		4									3		2

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

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

As for the Democratic United Party, eight incumbent legislators applied for nomination, four women participated in single-person nominations, and the other four women ran in a nomination contest. Four incumbent lawmakers were selected by single-person nomination due to the “wide gap in competitiveness” and “single-person application and eligibility of the candidate.” Those who were nominated shared in common enjoying high public recognition and strong organizational foundations as incumbent legislators and congresswomen elected for multiple terms. Of the four incumbent legislators who joined 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 terms of organizational power and recognition. One exception was Jo Bae-suk, an incumbent assemblywoman elected for three terms from the district of Iksan B in North Jeolla Province, who ran in a contest for nomination with a new candidate from the same party as her own.

In the case of the Democratic United Party, women candidates exhibited the improved competitiveness of the incumbent effect without reservation and regardless of faction, except for those who were defeated in a contest with a powerful male figure from the party. One of the themes of the 19th general election was the proclamation of the party leadership’s determination to fulfill the quota for women in the two major parties, the New Frontier Party and the Democratic United Party. Although the results eventually fell short of the party leaders’ initial determination, the emergence of women applicants for nomination evenly from local constituencies can be seen as a response to this strong effort. Capitalizing on the robust support and efforts from party leaders to increase women’s political representation, there were cases in which women candidates, albeit few, registered as preliminary candidates or applied for nomination in Jeolla and Gyeongsang Provinces, areas where the two parties are vulnerable. Even in regions where women candidates faced high barriers to entry into political circles due to conservative local sentiments and the relatively stronger organizational power of male candidates, female politicians requested a quota for women in local constituencies and, in some cases, for bonus points for women in the nomination contest to attempt an entry. Cases of major political parties’ nomination types for women are as shown in <Table 7>.

Table 7. Cases of nomination types for women

Nomination	Type	Name	Political Party	Runner	Election	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

Nomination	Type	Name	Political Party	Runner	Election	Remarks
Nominated	Single-person nomination	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 prominent 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 - Three-way contest =>nominated as the first runner - Kim has a local foundation as a Gangwon provincial council member : Although she was behind the first runner by a total of 31 votes in the on-site contest by voting, she earned 20% bonus points for women to become the first runner.

Nomination	Type	Name	Political party	Runner	Elected or not	Remarks	
Not nominated	Lost in contest	Jeon Hyeon-hee	Democratic United Party	1	-	<p>Gangnam B in Seoul</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Jeon requested a contest in principle in response to the probable strategic nomination of her rival candidate (former three-term lawmaker) and requested a change in local constituency. - She ran in a contest with on-site and mobile voting. - Won 38.3-percent of votes including bonus points for women 	
				Incumbent	-		
		Kim Yu-jeong	-	1	-		<p>Mapo B in Seoul</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 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 three-way contest was decided including former legislator Jeong Cheong-rae - Won 17.64% of votes, including bonus points for women
				Proportional incumbent legislator	-		
	Cut off	Lee Hye-hun	New Frontier Party	2	-	<p>Seocho A in Seoul</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 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 A constituency. That is, there was only one applicant for nomination 	
							Jin Su-hee

Nomination	Type	Name	Political party	Runner	Elected or not	Remarks
Not nominated	Cancelled	Jeon Hye-suk	Democratic United Party	1	-	<p>Gwangjin A in Seoul</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Though Jeon received single-person nomination in recognition of her competitive edge in managing the local constituency, her nomination was cancelled due to controversy surrounding bribery charges leveled against her. - The principle of presumption of innocence was not applied by the party. Instead, candidate Kim Hangeil was nominated, sparking controversy over the top-down (so-called “parachute”) nomination, closed-door nomination, and arbitrary (so called “elastic string”) nomination. It is said that she was victimized by factional politics.

First, factions served as a variable in the nomination process. An examination of the nomination result of the New Frontier Party’s incumbent assemblywomen indicates that the ruling party’s nomination process featured factional nominations. It was also found that the New Frontier Party was strongly influenced by considerations of the subsequent presidential elections when the party selected candidates for the legislative elections. As a consequence, the party demonstrated greater care toward candidates from favored factions in the selection process of women candidates, including incumbent assemblywomen. Although 20 incumbent assemblywomen applied for nomination, 11 were cut off. Among these 11 women, eight applicants were classified as pertaining to the Pro-Lee faction. The other nine nominated applicants were split between five pro-Lee and four pro-Park candidates. According to the results of a leaked public opinion poll for Jungrang A in Seoul (Assemblywoman Kim Jeong), Kim was eventually nominated, even 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 with 37.6%. Because the ruling party did not demonstrate any objective indicators for the nomination and provided only unconvincing explanations, this type of nomination can be considered a factional nomination. This factional nomination resulted in the defection of the other candidate, who eventually ran independently in the final race and split the supportive votes for the ruling party. In the Seongdong A seat in Seoul held by Jin Su-hee, a two-term incumbent assemblywoman, a Pro-Park applicant (a new politician) was nominated through the selection of a strategic local constituency in spite of the competitive edge held by Jin, a Pro-Lee assemblywoman. On the other hand, the Seocho A district in Seoul (Lee Hye-hun, the two-term incumbent

lawmaker) provides a 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 the Gangnam constituencies and charges of special favors being provided to the pro-Park faction.

In the Democratic United Party, any conflict between factions did not appear conspicuous in the nomination process for women candidates as occurred in the New Frontier Party. However, the incumbent assemblywoman Jeon Hye-suk (proportional representation) was discussed as having been disadvantaged due to factional politics. She had applied for Gwangjin A in Seoul and was conclusively nominated in the initial stage, but had to revoke her nomination on March 16, 2012 in the midst of turmoil surrounding bribery charges and public opinion turning against her. In the case of the Democratic United Party, the faction variable did not act strongly against the selection of women candidates, while the incumbent effect had a considerable impact over the nomination process. This result can be observed in the context of a response from a Democratic United Party nomination screening committee member in our interview: the opposition party focused on the competencies of women candidates more than their faction in the nomination of women candidates.

Second, “rotational” nomination was another factor for nomination. Rotational nomination refers to the nomination of an applicant to a different unrelated local constituency when the applicant loses in the initial nomination process for one constituency. This type of nomination can also be compared to a top-down or “parachute” nomination because the determination to rotate the candidate from one constituency to another is made by the party leadership. Representative cases of such rotational nomination include three candidates from the New Frontier Party: Bae Eun-hee for Suwon B in Gyeonggi Province, Son Sook-mi for Wonmi B in Bucheon, and Song Yeong-seon for Namyangju A in Gyeonggi Province. Bae Eun-hee, a proportional representative, applied for nomination first in Yongsan, Seoul, but failed to be nominated on March 7. She was then nominated on March 15 for the Suwon B constituency (Kwon Seon) in Gyeonggi Province, which was the local constituency of Jeong Mi-gyeong, a Pro-Lee assemblywoman. Sohn Sook-mi, an assemblywoman for the Wonmi B district in Bucheon, Gyeonggi Province, registered as a preliminary candidate for Jung-gu and Dong-gu in Busan, but she lost the nomination process on January 5. Next, the ruling party rotated her to Wonmi B in Bucheon as a 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 instead. In the final analysis, this type of rotational nomination can be classified as essentially an extension of factional nomination.

Third, bonus points provided to women impacted nomination contests. In bottom-up nomination type contests, both the New Frontier Party and the Democratic United Party provided bonus points to women candidates. The New Frontier Party had four women

candidates in such contests, but all failed. Because there are no specific data about the contests, we cannot discuss in this research how bonus points for women may have acted against those women candidates who lost. The Democratic United Party granted 20% worth of bonus points to first-time candidates, and 10% to incumbents. This resulted in two cases where women candidates who would have been runners-up without bonus points turned out to be first. The two cases were candidate Jeon Jeong-hee for Iksan B in Jeonbuk and candidate Kim Jin-hee for Wonju A in Gangwon Province.

Fourth, differences in organizational power served as a variable in nomination contests. In the nomination contests for the 19th general election, it was found that women candidates were placed at a disadvantage due to their relatively weak organizational power. In Gangnam B in Seoul, the Democratic United Party ran a nomination with a 70-percent public contest and a 30-percent public opinion poll. In this contest, Jeon Hyeon-hee, the 18th proportional representative, and Jeong Dong-yeong, a former assemblyman, vied for nomination. The result was the defeat of Jeon with a gap in votes of nearly double despite the 10-percent bonus points awarded to the female candidate. In the Mapo B district in Seoul, the Democratic United Party decided to select its candidates based solely on public contest. The party held a three-way contest among Kim Yu-jeong (the incumbent proportional representative), Jeong Cheong-rae (the former assemblyman), and Jeong Myeong-su (who had been laying a foundation in the local constituency for two years). In spite of the bonus points for women, the woman candidate Kim finished as the second runner-up. It was found from these two cases that the contest system was advantageous to candidates who had already gained recognition based on local organizational foundations, but disadvantageous to those who had not.

Finally, the nomination process and results of the two parties in terms of enhancing women's political representation can be summarized as follows: the primary 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 coming presidential elections and restructure internal power relations. On the other hand, the Democratic United Party focused on expanding women's political representation and demonstrating the connection between democracy and the identity of the party. It can be considered that the opposition party attempted to strengthen the identity and image of the party known as the Democratic United Party in a situation where no candidate for the coming presidential elections had yet emerged. Top-down nomination rather than bottom-up nomination served positively to reinforce women's political representation. As it turned out, bottom-up nomination acted adversely to women candidates with relatively weak organizational standings. However, the bonus points for women candidates resulted in lowering the barriers to women's entry into politics. Party leaders' proclamation of their determination to increase women's political representation had the effect of lowering psychological barriers, which had been heightened by local sentiments against new women politicians and unsupportive areas for the party.

Policy Suggestions

Legal and institutional improvements to increase women's representation

Develop and promulgate the logic of expanding women's political representation

Korean society has witnessed the nearly continuous emergence of important issues, including corruption, irregularities, polarization and lack of communication. These unresolved challenges may reveal the limitations of male politics. It is currently necessary for women to engage in politics as a task for overcoming the limitations of existing male politics. Against this background, there has been a growing need for developing the logic of expanding women's political representation. To advance as a society, South Korea must address an agenda of collaborating with underrepresented groups, including the elderly, people with disabilities, female workers, and farmers. In addition, a question has been raised over whether the quota system for women spotlights exclusively women from among the weak. Therefore, it should be made clear that the relationship between the weak and women is not a zero-sum game, but one of working together with underrepresented groups through leadership from the women's community. In other words, women's entry into the political community does not take away from the share of the weak but actually increases the pie for all disadvantaged people, with women standing in the vanguard. Therefore, as a future task the nation should also put efforts behind finding women candidates who share common factors with disabled women, female workers and farmers. It is also necessary to shift public awareness of women politicians by demonstrating to the public that increased political participation by women makes a difference in legislative activity, performance, and the process of politics. To do so, it is first of all necessary to publicize assemblywomen's performance of legislative activities. Despite the still-widespread conventional notion that women candidates do not demonstrate equal competitiveness, some data indicate that there have indeed been recent changes in voters' awareness of female politicians. According to a study conducted immediately after the 19th general election, voters' awareness of women politicians had evolved considerably, 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 outside of election periods (Kim Won-hong and Kim Hye-yeong, 2012).

Expand proportional representation to 50 percent of all seats

Korea's current election system is a simple majority voting system with a blend between small constituencies (or electoral districts) and proportional representation. In the 19th general election, proportional representatives from political parties took 54 seats, accounting for 18 percent of the 300 total 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 from among the total of 299 seats. Of these 56 legislators, 29 assemblywomen were elected by proportional representation, making up 51.8% of all proportional representatives. In the 18th National Assembly, 54 lawmakers were elected by proportional representation among the total of 299 seats. Of these 54 legislators, 27 assemblywomen were elected by proportional representation, accounting for 50.0% of all proportional representatives. In the 19th general election, 28 assemblywomen were elected by proportional representation, comprising 51.85% of all proportional representatives. As seen in the above, the percentage of assemblywomen elected by proportional representation has exceeded or equaled 50% of the total lawmakers elected through proportional representation since the 17th National Assembly, a share far higher than that of assemblywomen elected from local constituencies. However, the total number of proportional representatives accounts for a minimal percentage of the total seats in the National Assembly and therefore cannot meet the original goal of introducing the proportional representation system, which is to increase representation. To complement the problem of South Korea's small constituencies, a minimum of 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 as to increase the proportion of assemblywomen overall through an allotment of 50% to women.

Establish a mandatory 30-percent quota system

In the 19th general election, 19 women were elected from local constituencies and 28 women by proportional representation, totaling 47. The 19th general election also showed the same trend of an increase in the number of elected women that began with the 16th general election. However, the proportion of women candidates nominated by major parties for local constituencies has stalled at low levels, with the New Frontier Party at 7.0% and the Democratic United Party at 10%. Although the leaders of these two major parties proclaimed their will to increase the quota for women candidates for local constituencies in the 19th general election, the number of nominated women was lower than what had been expected. In spite of the party leaders' determination, the results were poor, implying that it is necessary to institutionally support the allocation of seats to women in addition to relying upon the leaderships' determination. Therefore, it is necessary to establish a mandatory clause to enforce a quota system for women.

In this regard, a comparison of the two parties showed that the Democratic United Party stipulated a nomination rate of 15% for women candidates in the party constitution and rules, albeit it was only a recommendation. When the opposition party established its constitution and rules, the stipulation of a quota system for women was carried through on the basis of a broad consensus about the need for expanding women's political representation in various groups of power, including assemblywomen in the party, party members, and women's civic groups. Based on this regulation, albeit simply recommended,

its nomination screening committee made efforts to live up to the rule as prescribed by the party and was able to nominate 10% women in the face of resistance from men in the party. As seen in this case, the prescription of a quota system for women as a mandatory clause in the party constitution and rules, and further in the Public Official Election Act, can broaden the pathways for expanding women's political representation.

If a 30-percent quota system for women candidates for local constituencies had been legislated to expand women's political participation in the 19th general election, it would hopefully have resolved issues with assemblywomen's career disruption, strategic nomination, and the nomination contest system that were highlighted by public opinion. To develop further as a nation through broader political representation, South Korea should above all establish a mandatory 30-percent quota system for nomination of women candidates for local constituencies in elections for national and local assemblies.

Expand subsidies for nominating women

In the 19th general election, the National Election Commission provided 740 million won to the New Frontier Party as a subsidy for nominating 6.5 percent women among all local constituency candidates and 380 million won to the Democratic United Party for nominating 8.5 percent women. The other political parties did not receive such a subsidy since the proportion 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 the improvement of the current subsidy system, more incentives should be offered to political parties which strive to expand the proportion of nominated women candidates and to encourage the parties to maintain the 30-percent nomination rate. It is also necessary to provide incentives for the parties to recommend more women candidates and increase the total subsidy for nominating women so that the national goal to expand women's political participation can be fulfilled.

Measures for strengthening women's representation at the party level

Set a rule of more than 50 percent of women in the nomination screening

In the elections for public office, political parties should establish a mandatory rule of more than 50 percent participation by assemblywomen on the nomination screening committee, and they should take measures to create a women-friendly environment and secure women's representation in the nomination process. In the 19th general election, the New Frontier Party had only two women (20%) among the ten members of the nomination screening committee and thus regressed compared to the 18th general election. The Democratic United Party had five women (30%) among its 15 nomination screening committee members and held to the party rule. Although the opposition party could not achieve its original target of a 15% nomination rate for women candidates for local constituencies, the party was better than other parties because of the 30% participation by women in its nomination screening committee. To create a more women-friendly nomination

screening committee, it is necessary to mandate that more than 50 percent of all the committee members be women and to embody the screening committees with personages who support women's greater political representation and who demonstrate awareness of gender equality. Furthermore, all important party members should be imbued with awareness of gender equality.

Expand strategic nomination of women candidates

In the 19th general election, 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 19 overall women candidates were limited to the Seoul and Gyeonggi Province areas. Moreover, the New Frontier Party nominated its candidate, Bae Seon-hee, for a constituency in which she did not wish to run because she had no ties to the area. Hence, the party was forced to endure the criticism that this was a "makeshift" nomination. In the end, the 19th general election revealed the limitations of strategic nomination of women candidates. The parties nominated women candidates for local constituencies rather than for metropolitan areas, and even if they were nominated, it was difficult for women candidates to be elected. On top of this, the respective political parties failed to actively support them to election through strategic nominations. The results of the 19th general election showed that the Democratic United Party gained great support in Seoul and Gyeonggi Province, while local sentiments had a great impact on the results 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.

Establish "Committee for Greater Women's Political Participation"

In the 19th general election, the Democratic United Party established the Committee for Greater Women's Political Participation to make efforts to demonstrate 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 insider groups, it is necessary to lower the barriers to women's entry into politics through the Committee for Greater Women's Political Participation and other such efforts and to educate workers at related organizations. Women's political participation should be grounded on the perception that they are candidates for a new politics, rather than for particular political parties. Therefore, parties should establish a "Committee for Women's Greater Political Participation" (tentative name) to identify women candidates as players for 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 well-developed programs for training women candidates.

Establish a system to foster women politicians

Despite the determination of the two major parties' leadership, actual quotas for women candidates were low in the 19th general election. One of the reasons that should not be

overlooked was the lack of potential women candidates. Therefore, each party should lay the groundwork for making more active use of the quota system for women by preparing a system to continuously discover and develop potential women politicians, thus expanding the candidate pool and improving the competencies of women candidates. To this end, the parties should first of all put in place a system to find and foster promising candidates.

Develop young women and reinforce education and training

To further rejuvenate and develop the political parties, they are required to more actively encourage young women to join the parties and then provide them with opportunities to advance and become party executives. We suggest that the parties positively review measures for preparing a system to provide women with academic credit for internships with political parties in connection with the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and universities. The major political parties do not currently have any education or training teams for women in their provincial and municipal branches. This implies that no dedicated channel has been established for resolving problems once they arise. Therefore, political parties should create education teams and related organizations for women in order to seek out and cultivate young women aspiring to become politicians and support their internship activities at provincial and municipal branches as a means to further nurture and educate them. In France and Germany, for example, women can join political parties in their twenties, and the parties support them in activities as political candidates and professional politicians.

Reinforcement of the role of women's circles to increase women's representation

The most remarkable effort within women's circles over the course of the 19th general election was the vigorous campaigns for voters conducted through a national alliance between women's groups and regional meetings. 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 simply recommendations for reflection in pledges and barely brought about any practical or immediate effects. In addition, because there were no compulsory measures to support the quota system for the nomination of women candidates by the political parties, it was inevitably that the arguments of women's groups remained one-sided.

On the other hand, it was found that the women's community faced limitations in popularizing the 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 were in reality engaged in political activities, exposing their problem of mobilization. As such, it is necessary to encourage a majority of voters to actually vote and to publicize policies on women by conducting large-scale street movements or campaigns. Not only that, there is also a strong need to deploy election campaigns that are pertinent to women's lives through face-to-face methods such as making constant and active use of "coffee parties" or "town meetings," efforts which remain in the inception stage.

Although the number of assemblywomen has increased each time a new national assembly has been embodied, the number of assemblywomen selected from within women's circles and civic groups has gradually declined. 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 activities in their local constituencies have focused not only on collecting opinions from the women's community, but also on listening to the voices of a broader range of local residents and reflecting their opinions in policies.

In the past, there were a relatively large number of legislators drawn from the women's community, and it was essential for women candidates to stand united and secure support from women's circles in order to enter politics as a minority. However, recently-elected assemblywomen must mobilize supporters from within their full constituencies and maintain a sense of accountability in order to sustain and develop their careers through re-election. Of course, there are still only a few assemblywomen who have been elected to serve multiple terms, and the period of assemblywomen's activity is too short to analyze and reach a conclusion regarding the relations between their activities in their local constituencies, nominations, and possibility of being reelected. However, it is a crucial and urgent task to monitor assemblywomen who vigorously carry out activities in their local constituencies and observe how they expand their political influence based on these constituencies.

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