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**Master's Thesis of International Studies**

**Trends and Characteristics Regarding  
Candidate Selection of Korean Female  
Politicians**

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**February 2019**

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## **Abstract**

In politics, women are likely to be underrepresented. The proportion of women in the National Assembly of Korea amounts only 17 percent in 2018. The imbalance of representation of women in the legislative position is serious and bleak.

In order to encourage women's participation in politics and improve their political representation, the figure of female politicians needs to be increased. For this purpose, the number of female candidates running for the election would be the first and important indicator.

Previous studies about women in Korean politics also have dealt with this issue, but they have limitations in terms of the period of analysis because it is limited to only one or a few terms, so it is temporal. Consequently, it is hard to find consistent trends or characteristics. However, it would be very important to know the trends or features of female candidate nomination to promote their participation and representation in politics.

Through this paper, I will analyze the characteristics and trends of female candidate rates of general election in Korea after democratization in 1987 to 2017 with the statistical data from the National Election Commission. Also, this study hypothesizes that there may be difference on the characteristics and trends of female candidates by two variables; by party and by region. Then, I will ask the following research question. Are female candidates influenced by specific variables like parties and regions when they are nominated?

As a result, I have found following results based on three hypotheses. First, there is a trend that liberal parties nominate more female candidate rates in the general elections than conservative parties. Second, female candidates have been nominated more in Yeongnam region than Honam. Third, Seoul/Capital areas have had more female candidate rates than Non-capital areas. Lastly, although liberal parties have higher rates of female candidates, they nominate women in their non-competitive region which has a little chance of winning. On the contrary, conservative parties rarely nominated female candidates in non-competitive regions.

**Keyword:** female candidate selection, women's political representation, partisan difference, regional difference, sacrificial lambs

**Student Number:**2015-25159

# **Table of Contents**

<b>Abstract.....</b>	<b>i</b>
<b>Chapter 1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1. Purpose of Research.....	1
2. Research Design.....	4
<b>Chapter 2. Literature Review .....</b>	<b>13</b>
1. Normative Aspects of Female Candidate Selection.....	13
2. Systemic Aspects of Female Candidate Selection .....	15
2-1. Electoral or Candidate Selection System.....	15
2-2. Candidate Selection Methods .....	16
3. Political Party and Female Candidate Selection .....	16
4. Region and Female Candidate Selection .....	18
4-1. Politicization of Regional Identity .....	18
4-1-1. Different Attitudes toward the Role of Women .....	19
4-1-2. Difference between Urban and Rural Area.....	20
4-2. Regional Partisanship .....	20
4-3. The Sacrificial Lamb Theory .....	22
5. Limitations of Existing Literatures .....	24
<b>Chapter 3. Hypotheses.....</b>	<b>26</b>
1. Partisan Hypotheses .....	26
2. Regional Hypotheses .....	27
2-1. Regional Voting Behavior between Yeongnam and Honam.....	27
2-2. Difference between Seoul/capital areas and non-capital areas .....	32
3. Sacrificial Lamb Hypotheses .....	33
<b>Chapter 4. Partisan Differences .....</b>	<b>35</b>
1. Proportion of Female Candidate by Party .....	35
2. Number of Female Candidate-Nominated Regions by Party.....	50
3. Findings .....	54

<b>Chapter 5. Regional Differences .....</b>	<b>55</b>
1. Regional Pattern of Female Candidate Selection.....	56
2. Comparison between Yeongnam and Honam.....	60
3. Comparison between Seoul capital areas and non-capital areas .....	66
4. Findings .....	68
<b>Chapter 6. The Female Candidates as Sacrificial Lambs .....</b>	<b>69</b>
1. Proportion of Female Candidate Selection .....	71
2. Number of Times of Female Candidate Selection .....	77
3. Findings .....	81
<b>Chapter 7. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>84</b>
<b>Appendix.....</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>국문초록 .....</b>	<b>93</b>

# **Chapter 1. Introduction**

## **1. Purpose of Research**

Democracy could be defined in many ways, but it is generally considered rule by the people. (Coppedge 2012). Beyond this core element, there is great debate on parity democracy between men and women for the broad political environment. Preceding researches consider how democracies influence women's participation in politics. Paxton says that in democratic world, politics should have transparency and consistency, encouraging females to know how they are able to work within the system in order to get power. (Paxton, Kunovich and Hughes 2007).

On top of that, on their way to democratization in their countries, women were mobilized together for the sake of putting forward their own agendas. In Korea, increasing demands for the democratization in everyday life and the expansion of women's rights started to emerge after the democratization in 1987. Accordingly, women also began to raise their voice arguing their equal political participation. (Baldez2003). Like this, history shows that the balanced participation between women and men in political and public decision-making is a condition for justice and democracy.

Although the realization of a balanced participation of women and men in politics has been high for decades, women's political participation and representation has still been bleak in Korea. The fact remains that men comprise 83 percent of Korean National

Assembly, and we rank 116<sup>th</sup> worldwide in the proportion of women in the national assembly (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2017).

In order to improve women's participation in politics, we should note that being selected as a candidate for a member of parliament is a prerequisite to running in the general election. An aspirant who pursues to run for public office, above all, should become a candidate. In other words, to produce a substantial increase in the number of women in Congress, first of all, plentiful female candidates should be preceded.

Studies on Korean politics also have dealt with the issue of women's political participation. However, these researches have a critical limitation. The period of analysis is temporal or it is limited to only one or a few terms. And even if there are some studies dealing with women's participation in politics, they mostly focused only on a particular system, gender quotas. They just explored the effect of the adoption of the candidate gender quotas in the short term and virtually didn't find the persistent trends of the figure of female candidates; longitudinal trends are ignored.

The distinctive characteristic of this paper is that this is a longitudinal study of female candidates in Korea. In order to overcome the limitation of previous research, I will expand the period of analysis starting from the democratization in 1987. Then, I will analyze with two variables, the party and region, to find consistent trends and characteristics of female candidate nomination in Korea. Therefore, the research question of this paper is as follows. Are female candidates influenced by specific variables like parties and regions when they are nominated?

Through the analysis, I expect that we can establish a strategy to support greater

female participation in parliament. Supplying enough female candidates correlate with the passage of more women-friendly environment in politics, as well as a significant and substantial increase in the possibility of women's political representation.

Starting with the introduction of Chapter 1, Chapter 2 will review previous literatures and mention about some limitations. Through Chapter 3, I will set partisan hypotheses and regional hypotheses. Also, I will make a hypothesis related to sacrificial lamb theory. Chapter 4 and 5 analyze the characteristics of female candidate nomination by party and by region. Chapter 6 will examine the application of sacrificial lamb theory in Korean politics. Lastly, Chapter 7 will draw a conclusion of this paper and find an implication. This systemic analysis about female candidate nomination in Korea will become a stepping stone towards substantial improvement of women's representation in Korean politics.

## **2. Research Design**

### **The Data of Analysis**

In this study, we use statistical data from the National Election Commission. This data includes statistical figure of candidates for the National Assembly of Korea from 13th to 20th general election. Basically, these figures are divided into administrative districts and also they are classified by several standards such as gender/age, academic background, occupation and political parties. With this data, I will classify it over time by party and by region.

### **The Period of Analysis**

The period of analysis begins after democratization in 1987. Then, this paper will track change over time on the premise that the democratization plays an important role in women's legislative representation. As democracy is consolidated, the opportunity for women to attain political positions should be increased together. Prior research found that on their way to democratization, women's participation in politics increases with democratic freedoms and additional elections (Fallon, Swiss and Viterna 2012).

In case of Korea, democratization in 1987 was an opportunity for the establishment of gender equality as well. After the democratization, women's movement in Korea pursued 'female empowerment in politics', which means realization of a balanced participation of men and women in politics.

Actually, although half of the population is women, they had still been in the minority status until 1987 and even the problem of their low political representation was not considered as a social problem to be solved. However, Korea achieved socio-economic development after democratization and this social change let women's voices grow stronger.

On top of this, the initial world conference regarding women's status was held in 1975 and it awakened the international community to ongoing and persistent problem of discrimination against women all over the world. Since then, the world realized the seriousness of gender inequality and started to put an effort into solving the problem and promoting the advancement of women. The issue about the improvement of women's status and gender equality became a worldwide issue of growing importance. Many countries joined the flow and started to put an effort to realize an equal participation of women.

In 1987, as part of this movement, a woman-related policy was legislated for the first time in Korea through the enactment of 'the Equal Employment Act'. Through this period of change, the demand of women that claims a balanced participation in politics between men and women began to spread out in Korea (Jeon 2006). Taken these things together, 1987 is the appropriate time to start studying women's political representation in Korea.

## **The Unit of Analysis**

The basic unit of analysis for this paper is a proportion (percentage), which means a number considered in comparative relation to a whole. In order to verify three hypotheses of this paper, I will analyze the figure of female candidates by percentage. The numerator and the denominator for each calculation of the ratio is as follows.

### **1) Partisan hypothesis**

The proportion of female candidates by party (%)	Number of female candidates by party
	Total number of candidates by party

### **2) Regional hypothesis**

The proportion of female candidates by region (%)	Number of female candidates by region
	Total number of candidates by region

### **3) Sacrificial lamb hypothesis**

The proportion of female candidates by party in Yeongnam/Honam (%)	Number of female candidates by party in Yeongnam/Honam
	Total number of candidates by party in Yeongnam/Honam

## The Regional Classification Methods

As a unit of regional analysis, the categorization of region can be differentiated according to how to define it. That is, the definitions of region can be diversified depending on the classification method. This paper will define the region in three ways.

### Regional classification 1 : an administrative district

Here, the region is defined as an administrative district and there are 17 districts in Korea; Seoul, Incheon, Gyeonggi-do, Busan, Ulsan, Gyeongsangnam-do, Daegu, Gyeongsangbuk-do, Jeollanam-do, Gwangju, Jeollabuk-do, Chungcheongnam-do, Daejeon, Sejong, Chungcheongbuk-do, Gangwon-do, Jeju-do. The conventional usage of regional classification by administrative district puts geographically adjacent districts together into one regional group as follows.

The Capital City		Seoul
Metropolitan Cities Bordering on Seoul		Incheon, Gyeonggi-do
Gyeongsang-do	North	Gyeongbuk, Daegu
	South	Gyeongnam, Busan, Ulsan
Jeolla-do	North	Jeonbuk
	South	Gwangju, Jeonnam
Chungcheong- do	North	Chungbuk
	South	Chungnam, Daejeon, Sejong
Others		Gangwon
		Jeju

"Incheon" and "Gyeonggi-do" are placed into the same group, which signifies the metropolitan cities bordering on Seoul. Usually, "Busan,Ulsan,Gyeongsangnam-do", which are located in South Gyeongsang-do are grouped together and "Daegu,Gyeongsangbuk-do", which are located in North Gyeongsang-do are grouped into one. Also, "Gwangju, Jeollanam-do" are located in South Jeolla-do, so they are assorted into one group. And, "Jeollabuk-do", which is located in North Jeolla-do is considered another one respectively. In case of Chungcheong-do, "Daejeon,Sejong,Chungcheongnam-do", which are located in South Chungcheong-do are assorted into one group, and "Chungcheongbuk-do" is regarded as another group.

Accordingly, we have 10 regional groups organized by administrative district and this classification method will be used to examine the regional pattern of female candidate selection in Chapter 5.

## **Regional classification 2 : Yeongnam and Honam region**

In order to review the regional cleavage based on regionalism in Korea on Chapter 5, I will use the second regional classification method. Here, the region is defined again in a broader way and re-organized. The region of second classification define the region as the following two areas; Yeongnam and Honam region.

The regional conflict between Yeongnam and Honam region based on the

regionalism in Korea has been dominated since 1987, when direct presidential elections were restored.

Yeongnam is the former Gyeongsang-do in South Korea. The region includes the current North and South Gyeongsang-do and the self-governing cities of Busan, Daegu, and Ulsan. Yeongnam region can be subdivided once again based on South and North Gyeongsang-do. Busan and Ulsan belong to the part of South Gyeongsang-do. Meanwhile, Daegu is located near North Gyeongsang-do.

On the other hand, Honam is the former Jeolla-do in South Korea. Today, the term refers to Gwangju, South Jeolla-do and North Jeolla-do. Honam region also can be subdivided once again based on South and North Jeolla-do. Gwangju belongs to the part of South Jeolla-do.

Thus, Yeongnam and Honam are subdivided into two regional groups respectively based on the South and North of each region. Thus, we can use the second regional classification method in two ways; 1) comparison between the two regions(Yeongnam and Honam), 2) comparison among four regional groups belonging to north/south of Yeongnam and Honam respectively.

Yeongnam	North	Gyeongbuk, Daegu
	South	Gyeongnam, Busan, Ulsan
Honam	North	Jeonbuk
	South	Jeonnam, Gwangju

I will use the second regional classification method in order to test the second

and fourth hypotheses on Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

### **Regional classification 3 : Seoul capital region and non-capital region**

The third regional classification method define the region as the following two areas; The Capital region and non-Capital region. The region is organized once again in consequence of the regional classification usage.

Here, the regional category is widely divided into the Seoul capital regions and other regions. The Seoul capital regions include the capital city of Korea "Seoul" and the surrounding metropolitan cities "Incheon, Gyeonggi-do". The other regions except Seoul capital area, belong to the non-capital regions.

Seoul Capital Region	Seoul, Incheon, Gyeonggi-do
Non-Capital Region	Other regions except above three regions

I will use the third regional classification method in order to test the third hypothesis on Chapter 5.

## **Criteria for Selection of the Political Party to Analyze**

For an analysis by party, this paper set the criteria, which only looks at the parties who get vote-share in the election more than 5%. This criteria, 5%, was the criteria for seat distribution of proportional representation in the early days of general election history in Korea. In the initial period (the 15<sup>th</sup> general election), the seat of PR is distributed to the limited party who received more than 5% of the vote-share across the country. However, the election law was revised in 2001, so since 17th general election, the standard has changed to 3%. This paper follows the initial criteria, 5% rule.<sup>1</sup>

## **The Verification of Hypotheses**

Next, this paper will verify four hypotheses through the following process. As for the first hypothesis, I will use the classified statistics by party to see which party nominates more women to Congress. To do this, I will go through two steps. First, I will compare the proportion of female candidates by party and secondly, I will compare the number of regions the party nominates women for the parliament.

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<sup>1</sup> “Changes of Proportional Representation Seat. The Reason of change to Parallel Voting (비례대표 의석 변천사); 1 인 2 투표제로 변경된 까닭은?”. MBN 뉴스 [http://mbn.mk.co.kr/pages/news/newsView.php?news\\_seq\\_no=2848612](http://mbn.mk.co.kr/pages/news/newsView.php?news_seq_no=2848612) (Accessed 11 November 2018)

With regard to the second hypothesis, I will use the classified statistics by region to see the allocation and change of the percentage of female candidates by region. In order to verify second hypothesis, I will compare the female candidate percentage between Yeongnam and Honam region. Then, for the third hypothesis, I will see the difference by region in terms of Seoul/Capital areas and Non-capital areas.

Lastly, as for the sacrificial lamb hypothesis, I will compare the female candidate proportion in Yeongnam and Honam region by conservative and liberal parties respectively. Based on the sacrificial lamb theory, this process will let us confirm that whether political parties nominate female candidates in their unsafe regions on purpose.

## **Chapter 2. Literature Review**

### **1. Normative Aspects of Female Candidate Selection**

The ordinary perception through the existing literature about women's success in elections is that as women run for the general elections, they win at rate equal to male candidates. That is, female candidates are not disadvantaged in elections because of the discrimination or bias from voters (Norris, Vallance&Lovenduski 1992).

Scholars have shown that in contemporary congressional politics, after controlling for some variables such as incumbency status, women do not face widespread bias at the polls. Thomas and Wilcox concluded that women win races at a similar frequency to men if some factors like party and incumbency status are controlled (Thomas and Wilcox 1998). Also, Dolan supported this argument affirming that the voter bias against women is negligible and it has no strong influence to women's electability (Dolan 2004).

Furthermore, Carroll argued that the critical cause of women's low participation in politics is limitations of political opportunities such as incumbency advantages (Carroll 1994; Lawless and Pearson 2008). Norris, Vallance and Lovenduski showed that the candidate's sex proved irrelevant for the results of Conservative and Labour party in the British general elections (Norris, Vallance&Lovenduski 1992). It means candidate's sex has little effect on the voter's choice.

Even sometimes women candidates have an advantage over men with some voters,

particularly among educated women. Smith and Fox found that women candidates possessed the advantage in open-seat House races(Smith & Fox 2001).

These findings confirm that candidate's sex is not an obstacles or impediments for women to winning and there is no gender bias in the electoral process, so women can do well as much as men. Therefore, the female representation in politics depends on how actively the party nominates women for candidate.

Comparing women and men, it's turned out that the gap of electoral competitiveness between them has been decreased, and the electoral competitiveness of woman has been increasing. It means the result shows that female candidates are not inferior to their male counterpart (Hwang 2002).

Also, the nominated female candidates are pretty successful in general election to be the member of the Congress (Yoo 2012). Cho(2010) asserts that the party plays the most important role in the expansion of women's political participation and the systems/methods of party's candidate selection also can be a critical role to institutionalize political equality between men and women.

The salient cause of the low female representation in politics is not the problem of candidate's sex or women themselves. Rather, it is because the party does not nominate female candidates fully and fairly. Hence, parties should actively promote female candidate selection to increase female representativeness in politics.

Further, Korean studies also imply that the strategy to increase the seats of female members in the National Assembly is to increase the opportunity for women to be nominated by major political parties. Therefore, it will contribute to improvement of

gender representation in Korea in the long run.

## **2. Systemic Aspects of Female Candidate Selection**

### **2-1. Electoral or Candidate Selection System**

These studies deal with the effect and change that different methods or systems bring about through the candidate nomination process. They mainly focus on systemic aspects such as electoral system, candidate nomination system, and candidate nomination methods.

First of all, as to electoral and candidate nomination system, Lee(2002) investigates which electoral system is more advantageous to women. He suggests that the change of electoral system from plural to proportional representation system is recommended (Lee 2002).

Bae and Yoon show that proportional representation system and gender quotas have influenced positively on the women's representation in politics (Bae and Yoon 2014). Hwang and Seo explain the effect of gendered institutions through Korean local council elections. They clarify the difference of the results when the gender quotas combined with other electoral systems or rules such as the medium district system or the party's female compulsory nominations in party-list making of proportional representation (Hwang and Seo 2011).

## **2-2. Candidate Selection Methods**

There are studies on the candidate nomination methods regarding whether it is a primary election or a Top-down method that is more favorable to women. Kim(2009) says that the adopted method by party between two critically influences the recruitment of female candidate. She says that the top-down method was not desirable for women in the 18<sup>th</sup> general election (Kim 2009).

In this vein, Yoo analyzes the different effect of methods of candidate nomination. He asserts the adoption of primary election in nomination process leads to wider political opportunities for female candidates to run for the general election, so finally it makes the level of political participation of women higher (Yoo 2012).

## **3. Political Party and Female Candidate Selection**

Political parties play an important role in improving women's political representation among several contextual factors affecting their representation such as social structure, electoral rules, and institutional setting. Especially, a party's determination to choose women to represent them in an election could be affected by the party's ideological characteristics. As for the difference of the degree of ideology by party in promoting female candidates, candidate gender quotas have been a major subject of previous studies.

Some studies found that the adoption of a favorable system for women, gender quotas is influenced by a party's ideology. Their tendency or will to adopt the particular system depend on the party's ideological orientation. Normally, liberal parties embrace egalitarian ideologies, so they are more likely to advocate women's active participation in politics than conservative parties having the rightist values (Beckwith 1986). Furthermore, Caul found leftist values a party has naturally increase the opportunities for a party to accept quotas as soon as possible (Caul 2001).

For example, in the early 1980s, the liberal Greens voiced that they advocate the participatory democracy and equality. In addition, they also adopted gender quotas in 1985 for the first time in Germany(Davidson-Schmich 2006).

In this vein, previous researches related to the ideological propensity of party and adoption of candidate gender quotas in Korea has been studied. With regard to this issue, some scholars found that liberal parties have a higher proportion of adopting and reflecting the candidate gender quotas than do conservative parties (Park 2012; Jeon 2013). Park found that there is a disparity in adoption of candidate gender quotas by party and liberal parties tend to actively carry out the system (Park 2012).

These researches provide attempts to investigate the role the party's ideology plays in adopting a particular system, gender quotas. As a result, we've confirmed that liberal parties are more likely to adopt gender quotas sooner than do conservative parties.

## **4. Region and Female Candidate Selection**

### **4-1. Politicization of Regional Identity**

Regional-level analysis starts with the idea of regional identity, which refers to the concept that residents in a region feel a sense of belonging in their community. Within a region, people tend to have a deep affinity with neighbors and feel that they have similar features and purpose in common. (Fitjar 2009).

In tune with the concept of regional identity, we can also call it a community identity. According to Puddifoot, community identity denotes the perceptual uniqueness of their community perceived by residents. People identify with residents in a same region, considering that their community is distinctive and can be differentiated from other regions in terms of social and cultural aspects as well as geographical features (Puddifoot 1995). Additionally, Jung clarifies that four elements including social network among residents, history, culture, and industry compose the community identity (Chong 2014).

A regional identity is politicized when it influences our judgements or opinions about political agendas (for instance, for whom of which party to vote). Scholars dealing with the regional difference in political behavior see political issues through the perspective of each regional identity, regarding the residents in a same region as a group sharing particular common interests (Fitjar 2009).

Regarding the regional difference in political attitudes, Schwartz has argued that

regions in Canada differ so markedly in wealth, ethnicity, religion, quality of life, and national political power that regional differences become a part of politics in their own right. People perceive regional differences, see regional themes in politics and respond as members of a region (Schwartz 1974).

We can see several cases indicating the politicization of regional identity. Especially, the regional identity also shows difference by region with regard to the issues related to women's political representation. Here, I will mention two cases; 1) the different attitudes toward the role of women, 2) the difference between urban and rural area.

#### **4-1-1. Different Attitudes toward the Role of Women**

First, previous research found that there are differences in perception of the role of women by region. Carver says that, in 1970s, Florida had the conventional orientations that have restricted women's activities. Opportunities for women had been especially restricted in the South, where the idea of holding women in traditional roles was predominant. Also, the Southern States didn't favor the issue of giving women the right to vote. Therefore, the conservative attitudes brought about smaller number of female politicians than that of other areas (Carver 1979).

#### **4-1-2. Difference between Urban and Rural Area**

Secondly, concerning to regional difference representing their regional identity, some research found that capital areas are bounded socially and culturally distinctive compared to non-capital cities. In a related study, Matland and Studlar found that women more frequently won the election in urban and metropolitan areas. Further, they argued that those regions were more urbanized, so it made women's chances of winning the election in the areas increased (Matland and Studlar 1998).

#### **4-2. Regional Partisanship**

As a noteworthy case of the politicization of regional identity, we also can see the regional cleavage in politics. In general, people living in a same region particularly favor of a certain party in common. This phenomenon starts from the regional partisanship. Before we start talking about this phenomenon, we will go over the concept and role of 'the partisanship' first.

When it comes to the role of partisanship, Bartels said a strong bias in political perceptions may result from the partisanship (Bartels 2002). Additionally, suggesting the persuasion effects of partisan support, Lee(2002) says that people take their favorable party's issue position as their own because they like the party (Lee 2002). Also, Page and Jones contend that the citizens convince themselves that the parties they prefer stand closer to them on the important policy issues. For example, voter's policy preferences could change aligning with the party's policy attitude (Page and Jones 1979). These

findings emphasize the importance of partisanship.

However, more importantly, the partisanship is seen at the local level in electoral politics. Here, we should note that it is the region that becomes a selection criteria for voters to decide which party they support. In other words, a region, which is a standard of regional partisanship exerts its influence to voter's political behavior (for example, which party to support) as a determinant of electoral choice. That is, voters in a same region collectively have partisanship and affection toward a certain party that represents their region. Namely, the regional partisanship, which is anchored in regional cleavages implies support for the parties that politically represent the same region (Kang 2012). Finally, it is demonstrated as a partisan loyalty, setting a floor for one party and a ceiling for the other in the region (Robbins and Norpeth 2010).

Consequently, the party loyalty forms a 'party safe region' where political domination by one party persists over a considerable span of time. A safe region is an electoral district which is regarded there is very little chance of a seat change to a new party because of the political leanings of the electorate in the constituency concerned or the popularity of a certain political party.

A party safe region generally indicates a party's stronghold. In general, districts are divided into two categories, strongholds and battlegrounds, depending on the successive performances of parties (Boden 2013). The party safe region which is based on stable electoral support of a region differs by the political party and this regional cleavage gives one party a stronghold in one region of the country and another party a stronghold in another (Robbins and Norpeth 2010).

For example, local electoral politics in the Canadian context is associated with the persistence of party strongholds across the country. Also, electoral support in Canada is characterized by consistent patterns of support among certain constituencies (Boden 2013). Finally, the existence of strongholds leads to the regional voting behavior, which is the partisan division of the vote.

In sum, regional identity affects the electoral support for a certain party and its candidate as a group. Consequently, it has become the regional partisanship. The partisan loyalty by region forms a party safe region and also this party's stronghold bring about the regional voting behavior.

### **4-3. The Sacrificial Lamb Theory**

Among several studies related to the regional difference affecting the electoral opportunity structure, some researchers have examined if a party safe region affects the female candidate selection. They suspected that women are prone to selected as candidates in uncompetitive races for their party as "sacrificial lambs". Even when women receive nominations, they are likely to be sacrificial lambs in ridings where their party stands little or no chance of winning (Hunter and Denton 1984).

Here, the word 'competitive' refers to competitiveness, which means the ability of a candidate or a political party to compete successfully with others. Competitive seats will be those which the party has almost won in the past few elections or the party currently holds. Following this definition, a competitive region becomes a party safe

region, and on the contrary, a uncompetitive region belongs to a party's unsafe region. As the sacrificial lamb theory contends that the competitiveness of seats negatively affects women's chances of election, finally it is the theory with respect to the impact of a party safe region on female candidate selection.

Some scholars argue that notably men are much more likely to be placed in competitive regions where their affiliated parties are safe and strong while women are disproportionately less likely to be placed there. Studlar and Matland said that during the 1970s, political parties tended to give females the nomination in districts that are predicted to be given less electoral support from voters of the region (Studlar and Matland 1996). Hence, taken these things together, the sacrificial lamb theory deals with the relationship between the two variables; the party safe region and the female candidate selection.

## **5. Limitations of Existing Literatures**

Previous researches in women and their participation in Korean politics have a critical limitation. A time span of the analysis is limited to only one or a few terms. In other words, the period of analysis is temporal or only dealt with in the short term, so it is hard to find consistent trends.

Even though there were a few studies dealing with the relationship between political parties and the female nomination in Korean politics, the period of analysis of the literatures are restricted to a particular time, the introduction of gender quotas. That is, they covered on a particular period of time for analysis by comparing only right before and shortly after the introduction of gender quotas. They just explored the effect of the adoption of candidate gender quotas in the short term and so, virtually they didn't find the general trends regarding the persistent correlation between political parties and their candidate nomination; longitudinal trends are ignored.

Moreover, given the fact that the purpose of this research is to find trends and characteristics of female politicians in Korea, we should note the Korean cases. However, in case of the research dealing with the region and regional identity in Korean politics, the limitation is that they have mostly carried out a research on general features of regionalism, not focusing on the relationship between women and regionalism. They address the issues about causes, problems, prospect, etc., but there is little research of the impact of regionalism especially on female politicians. In this sense, we need to focus on

the subject of analysis to women in Korea.

### **The points of difference of this paper**

This paper has two differentiated features compared to previous studies. For one thing, the distinctive characteristic of this paper is that this is a longitudinal study of female candidates in Korea. I will expand the period of analysis, not limiting it only to a certain period, right before and shortly after the introduction of gender quotas. I will track the trends over time from the democratization in 1987 to see the changing women's candidacy rates. In case of Korea, democratization in 1987 was an historical moment and an opportunity for the gender equality because the demand of women that claims a balanced participation in politics between men and women began to spread out then (Jeon 2006). Thus, the analysis starts from the 13th general election, which was the first election after democratization of Korea in 1987, to the recent 20th general election.

The second characteristic of this paper differentiated from previous research is that it is a theory-based analysis using two variables; the party and the region. This paper will verify the relationship between female candidate nomination and those two variables on the basis of related theories.

I will refer to preceding theories from existing literatures dealing with the relationship between the two variables and female candidate selection. Then, I will expand and develop my hypotheses in relation to the impact of two variables on the nomination of women.

## **Chapter 3. Hypotheses**

### **1. Partisan Hypotheses**

Regarding the contribution of political parties in forming women's representation, some scholars examined that how party has an influence on women's recruitment. They suggested that women candidates face dissimilar political opportunity structure by party. According to the research, women's representation in politics could be affected by traditional gender role beliefs of party leaders (Kira Sanbonmatsu 2002). It shows that the bias against women by party elites who have different ideological propensity may influence over nomination of their party-affiliated female candidates.

On top of that, Meyer also says the ideological propensity of the party is important for the recruitment of women. Meyer boosts her argument suggesting that each party culture is different and it naturally affects party leaders. Also, it creates differences in party's recruitment of women, and it turned out that chairs of Democratic party recruit more women than do counterpart of Republican.

She suggests that Democratic and Republican party leaders have differences in party culture and in the pool of women available to each party, so Democratic chairs recruit more women than do Republican chairs (Melody 2013). Thus, these findings represent that the party's ideological characteristics could be a factor affecting the recruitment of female candidates.

Also, as we've seen previous research review, a party's candidate nomination of women through gender quotas is influenced by the party's ideological characteristics and

liberal parties are more likely to adopt this affirmative action for women than do conservative parties. With the previous findings, additionally, this paper will expand the range of analysis from only a particular system, gender quotas to the whole election. Consequently, we can set a following hypothesis regarding the relationship between party and female candidate nomination.

**Hypothesis 1.**

**The liberal party will nominate more female candidates than does the conservative party.**

## **2. Regional Hypotheses**

### **2-1. Regional Voting Behavior between Yeongnam and Honam**

Previous research about regional identity has confirmed that there has been a regional difference in political attitudes and it has brought about the regional voting behavior following the regional partisanship. The regional voting behavior, which refers to a phenomenon in which support for political parties in election is concentrated by region, has been observed in Korea as well since the democratization in 1987 (Lee 2002).

Especially, Korea has maintained a stable regional cleavage structure since then. The table below is the vote-share by region (%), which means the percentage of total

votes a party has secured in the region, especially between Honam and Yeongnam region.

**Table 1** Partisan Vote-Share by Region (%)

		13th	14th	15th
Honam	Gwangju	<b>69.1</b> (Peace Democratic Party) <b>23.0</b> (Democratic Justice Party)	<b>76.4</b> (Democratic Party) <b>9.0</b> (Democratic Liberal Party)	<b>86.2</b> (New Politics National Conference) <b>7.5</b> (New Korea Party)
	Jeonnam		<b>61.6</b> (Democratic Party) <b>24.8</b> (Democratic Liberal Party)	<b>71.0</b> (New Politics National Conference) <b>17.7</b> (New Korea Party)
	Jeonbuk		<b>55.0</b> (Democratic Party) <b>31.3</b> (Democratic Liberal Party)	<b>63.7</b> (New Politics National Conference) <b>23.4</b> (New Korea Party)
Yeong nam	Busan	<b>32.1</b> (Democratic Justice Party) <b>1.9</b> (Peace Democratic Party)	<b>51.1</b> (Democratic Liberal Party) <b>19.4</b> (Democratic Party)	<b>55.8</b> (New Korea Party) <b>6.4</b> (New Politics National Conference)
	Gyeong nam	<b>40.2</b> (Democratic Justice Party) <b>1.0</b> (Peace Democratic Party)	<b>45.1</b> (Democratic Liberal Party) <b>8.7</b> (Democratic Party)	<b>46.5</b> (New Korea Party) <b>4.2</b> (New Politics National Conference)
	Daegu	<b>48.2</b> (Democratic Justice Party) <b>0.7</b> (Peace Democratic Party)	<b>48.3</b> (Democratic Liberal Party) <b>11.8</b> (Democratic Party)	<b>24.5</b> (New Korea Party) <b>1.4</b> (New Politics National Conference)
	Gyeong buk	<b>51.0</b> (Democratic Justice Party) <b>0.9</b> (Peace Democratic Party)	<b>48.2</b> (Democratic Liberal Party) <b>6.8</b> (Democratic Party)	<b>34.9</b> (New Korea Party) <b>1.6</b> (New Politics National Conference)

		16th	17th	18th
Honam	Gwangju	<b>69.9</b> (Democratic Party) <b>3.3</b> (Grand National Party)	<b>54.0</b> (the Uri Party) <b>0.1</b> (Grand National Party)	<b>64.7</b> (Integrated Democratic Party) <b>6.1</b> (Grand National Party)
	Jeonnam	<b>66.4</b> (Democratic Party) <b>4.1</b> (Grand National Party)	<b>46.9</b> (the Uri Party) <b>0.8</b> (Grand National Party)	<b>61.8</b> (Integrated Democratic Party) <b>6.1</b> (Grand National Party)
	Jeonbuk	<b>65.4</b> (Democratic Party) <b>3.6</b> (Grand National Party)	<b>64.6</b> (the Uri Party) <b>0.1</b> (Grand National Party)	<b>54.7</b> (Integrated Democratic Party) <b>7.2</b> (Grand National Party)
Yeong nam	Busan	<b>60.3</b> (Grand National Party) <b>15.0</b> (Democratic Party)	<b>52.5</b> (Grand National Party) <b>38.9</b> (the Uri Party)	<b>47.3</b> (Grand National Party) <b>11.8</b> (Integrated Democratic Party)
	Ulsan	<b>41.7</b> (Grand National Party) <b>9.6</b> (Democratic Party)	<b>36.3</b> (Grand National Party) <b>28.1</b> (the Uri Party)	<b>53.4</b> (Grand National Party) <b>2.3</b> (Integrated Democratic Party)
	Gyeong nam	<b>53.7</b> (Grand National Party) <b>11.8</b> (Democratic Party)	<b>47.7</b> (Grand National Party) <b>34.4</b> (the Uri Party)	<b>51.4</b> (Grand National Party) <b>8.5</b> (Integrated Democratic Party)
	Daegu	<b>62.9</b> (Grand National Party) <b>10.9</b> (Democratic Party)	<b>62.4</b> (Grand National Party) <b>21.6</b> (the Uri Party)	<b>61.1</b> (Grand National Party) <b>0.8</b> (Integrated Democratic Party)
	Gyeong buk	<b>52.5</b> (Grand National Party) <b>14.7</b> (Democratic Party)	<b>47.7</b> (Grand National Party) <b>34.4</b> (the Uri Party)	<b>54.3</b> (Grand National Party) <b>3.1</b> (Integrated Democratic Party)

		19th	20th
Honam	Gwangju	<b>49.43</b> (Democratic United Party) <b>5.20</b> (Saenuri Party)	<b>34.1</b> (Democratic Party of Korea) <b>2.2</b> (Saenuri Party)
	Jeonnam	<b>56.74</b> (Democratic United Party) <b>3.46</b> (Saenuri Party)	<b>38.1</b> (Democratic Party of Korea) <b>11.6</b> (Saenuri Party)
	Jeonbuk	<b>51.81</b> (Democratic United Party) <b>7.55</b> (Saenuri Party)	<b>38.8</b> (Democratic Party of Korea) <b>9.8</b> (Saenuri Party)
Yeong nam	Busan	<b>49.88</b> (Saenuri Party) <b>34.62</b> (Democratic United Party)	<b>47.8</b> (Saenuri Party) <b>38.4</b> (Democratic Party of Korea)
	Ulsan	<b>54.34</b> (Saenuri Party) <b>13.54</b> (Democratic United Party)	<b>38.5</b> (Saenuri Party) <b>16.5</b> (Democratic Party of Korea)
	Gyeong nam	<b>51.47</b> (Saenuri Party) <b>18.41</b> (Democratic United Party)	<b>48.5</b> (Saenuri Party) <b>31.5</b> (Democratic Party of Korea)
	Daegu	<b>60.31</b> (Saenuri Party) <b>16.60</b> (Democratic United Party)	<b>47.9</b> (Saenuri Party) <b>18.8</b> (Democratic Party of Korea)
	Gyeong buk	<b>60.41</b> (Saenuri Party) <b>8.67</b> (Democratic United Party)	<b>60.9</b> (Saenuri Party) <b>8.2</b> (Democratic Party of Korea)

Source: Refer to the Footnote<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Choi. "Theory of Regionalism and Korean Politics(지역주의 이론과 한국정치)"; Gallup Korea. "Voting Behavior of the 15th General Election(제15대 국회의원선거 투표행태)" "Trial-Heats of the 2000 National Election" "Trial-Heats of the 2004 National Election"; National Election Commission. "Comprehensive Survey of the 18~20th General Election(제18~20대 국회의원선거 종합)"

This table clearly shows that the difference of party support between the two regions. In Yeongnam region, the vote share for the conservative party has always outrun the liberal party's vote share while vice versa in Honam region. That is, since the 13th election, Conservative parties have always secured more vote-share than liberal parties in Yeongnam region. On the contrary, Liberal parties have always secured more vote-share than conservative parties in Honam region. Therefore, the result of vote-share represents the political structure of regional cleavages in Korea which has been so strong and persistent.

The marked difference of partisan support between the two regions signifies that the stronghold for conservative parties is Yeongnam. On the other hand, Honam region has been a stronghold for liberal parties. In other words, each party is likely to get more support and win the election in the two regions respectively on the basis of regional partisanship.

Furthermore, as we've seen from above, partisanship may result in a particular leaning or ideological orientation in political attitude. That is, partisanship influences over the formation of regional behavior or attitude in politics when it's combined with a regional variable. Therefore, in this context, we can assume that residents in Honam will also be more liberal than residents in Yeongnam region since they are prone to have partisanship to the liberal party.

In this regard, in Korea, some scholars argue that the people in Honam tend to be more liberal than the people in Yeongnam which tends to support the conservative party (Lee 1998; Moon 2017). Also, Jang and Eom say the regional voting behavior

between Yeongnam and Honam still has a great influence on the result of the election (Jang and Eom 2017).

To sum up, from preceding chapter, we hypothesized that liberal parties will nominate more female candidates than do conservative parties. Also, on this chapter, we've found that Yeongnam and Honam regions have tended to be strongly favor of the conservative and liberal party respectively and support their candidates in elections. As a result, now we can suppose that Honam, which is a stronghold and a safe region for liberal parties, will have more female candidates, following their favorable party's political characteristics. Taken these assumption and findings together, we can make a second hypothesis regarding the relationship between the region and the female candidate selection.

### **Hypothesis 2.**

**Female candidates will be nominated more in Honam region than in Yeongnam region.**

### **2-2. Difference between Seoul/capital areas and non-capital areas**

The population and urbanization density of Seoul capital regions, which include “Seoul” and the surrounding metropolitan areas “Incheon and Gyeonggi” are higher than that of other regions, so the regions are likely to have more diverse ways of thinking and

open mind. In this vein, some studies say that Seoul and capital areas are more favorable to female candidates than other regions since they have more open mind to women's political participation and they are less conservative culturally. (Kwon and Hwang 2017 ; Yoo 2012).

Moreover, we've confirmed that there is a difference in attitudes toward women's role by region. Considering these two findings, we can set a second hypothesis regarding the relationship between the region and the female candidate selection.

### **Hypothesis 3.**

**Female candidates will be nominated more in the Seoul/capital areas than in the non-capital areas.**

## **3. Sacrificial Lamb Hypotheses**

According to sacrificial lamb theory, both conservative and liberal parties tend to nominate female candidates in the party's unsafe region which have few electoral competitiveness. In addition, I've made regional hypotheses on the basis of previous findings arguing that in Korea, conservative and liberal parties have the safe regions respectively in Yeongnam and Honam based on their competitiveness of winning the election in the each region. Consequently, this feature has emerged as a regional voting

behavior.

Besides, through partisan hypotheses, I assumed that liberal parties are more favorable to women's participation in politics, so they will nominate more female candidates. On the contrary, we also can assume that conservative parties will nominate less female candidates than do liberal parties. Thus, when we compare the female candidate nomination of liberal parties to the unsafe region with that of conservative parties, we can make a following hypothesis regarding the relationship between the party safe region and the female candidate selection.

**Hypothesis 4.**

**The conservative party will nominate female candidates more in the unsafe region (Honam) than the liberal party nominates women in its unsafe region (Yeongnam).**

## **Chapter 4. Partisan Differences**

This chapter will analyze the relationship between the political party and the female nomination. As a partisan hypothesis, it suggests that liberal parties will nominate more female candidates than do conservative parties. Two perspectives will be used for the purpose of verification of hypothesis. First, I will see the ratio of female candidate by party. Next, I will also look into the number of female candidate-nominated regions by party. With the analysis using two perspectives, I will be able to verify the partisan hypothesis.

### **1. Proportion of Female Candidate by Party**

To begin with this chapter, I will go over the ratio of female candidates by party. Here, if the result turns out that the liberal party nominates more female candidates at a higher rate, it is in accordance with the hypothesis. The period of analysis is during the elections from 13th to 20th.

## The 13<sup>th</sup> General Election

**Table 2.** The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 13th Election

	Party The Number of Candidate	Democratic Justice Party		Unification Democratic Party		Peace Democratic Party		New Democratic Republican Party	
		Female	total	3	224	2	202	1	165
Perc ent (%)		1.3		0.9		0.6		1.6	

Source: National Election Commission

The 13<sup>th</sup> general election of Korea, which was the first election after democratization in 1987 was held in 1988. In this election, New Democratic Republican Party nominated 3 female candidates at a 1.6% rate, ranking first, followed by Democratic Justice Party(1.3%), Unification Democratic Party(0.9%), Peace Democratic Party(0.6%).

Although both New Democratic Republican Party and Democratic Justice Party nominated 3 women for a candidate, New Democratic Republican Party ranked first as they had less candidate(181) in total than Democratic Justice Party had(224).

In this election, conservative parties such as New Democratic Republican Party and Democratic Justice Party were the two parties which recorded the rate over 1%. One of the liberal parties, Unification Democratic Party recorded 0.9%, followed by Peace Democratic Party(0.6%) then. It goes to show that liberal parties rarely nominate women right after the democratization.

## The 14<sup>th</sup> General Election

**Table 3**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 14th Election

	The Number of Candidate Party	Democratic Liberal Party		Democratic Party		Unification Nationalist Party	
		Female	total	2	225	2	189
Percent (%)		0.84	237	0.88	225	2.6	5

Source: National Election Commission

In the 14<sup>th</sup> general election held in 1992, Unification Nationalist Party overwhelmingly nominated the largest proportion of female candidates (2.6%). Democratic Party took second place following Unification Democratic Party in the female candidate selection, followed by Democratic Liberal Party (0.84%).

Seeing in absolute value of the number of female candidates selected, Democratic Party and Unification Democratic Party both nominated two women. However, Democratic Party recorded higher proportion than Unification Democratic Party because the total number of Democratic Liberal Party's candidate higher. Democratic Liberal Party had 237 female and Democratic Party had 225 candidates in total. On the other hand, Unification Nationalist Party nominated 5 female candidates among total 189 candidates.

In this election, Unification Nationalist Party overwhelmingly nominated the largest number and ratio of female candidates. However, the Unification Nationalist Party was a nascent political party that a conglomerate Jung Joo-young created to run for president, so it was not a legitimate conservative party. On the other hand, Democratic

Party preceded Democratic Liberal Party in terms of the ratio of female candidates.

Therefore, compared to others except the Unification Nationalist Party, a liberal party(Democratic Party) nominated female candidate at a higher proportion than did a conservative party(Democratic Liberal Party).

## The 15<sup>th</sup> General Election

**Table 4**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 15th Election

	The Number of Candidate Party	New Korea Party		New Politics National Conference		Integrated Democratic Party		Liberty Democratic Union	
		Female	total	1	253	6	230	1	224
Percent (%)		0.3		2.6		0.4		1.3	

Source: National Election Commission

In the 15<sup>th</sup> election, New Politics National Conference topped in the percentage of female candidate selection(2.6%). New Politics National Conference was one of the representative liberal party led by Kim Dae-joong. Liberty Democratic Union, which was led by Kim Jong-pil and it was one of the conservative party came in second place(1.3%), followed by Integrated Democratic Party(0.4%) and New Korea Party(0.3%).

New Korea Party was the major conservative party then but their proportion of female candidate ranked lowest(0.3%).Hence, the liberal party nominated more female candidates than did the conservative party in the 15<sup>th</sup> election

## The 16<sup>th</sup> General Election

**Table 5**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 16th Election

	The Number of Candidate	Party	Grand National Party		Millennium Democratic Party	Liberty Democratic Union	
		Female	2.2	5 225	2.6	6 225	1.7 170
Percent (%)		total					

Source: National Election Commission

In the 16<sup>th</sup> election, the first place of the female candidate proportion went to Millennium Democratic Party(2.6%), one of the major liberal party. The major conservative party, Grand National Party came in second at a 2.2% percentage, followed by Liberty Democratic Union(1.7%). Millennium Democratic Party and Grand National Party both kept 225 candidates in total, but Millennium Democratic Party nominated 6 women and Grand National Party nominated 5 women for the female candidate position.

In this election, both conservative parties Grand National Party and Liberty Democratic Union recorded lower figure than the percentage of female candidates of liberal party.

## The 17<sup>th</sup> General Election

### Total

**Table 6**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 17th Election(Total)

	The Number of Candidate	Party	Grand National Party		Millennium Democratic Party		the Uri Party	
			Female	29	11.1	23	12.6	37
Percent (%)		total	261		207		293	

Source: National Election Commission

### Proportional Representation

**Table 7**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 17th Election(Proportional Representation)

Percent (%)	Female	48	21	57	15	52	26
	total		43		26		50

Source: National Election Commission

### Constituency

**Table 8**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 17th Election(Constituency)

Percent (%)	Female	3.6	8	4.4	8	4.5	11
	total		218		181		243

Source: National Election Commission

The 17<sup>th</sup> general election was held in 2004 and the proportional representation system started from this point. Since then, voters have cast two votes; one for their own constituency and the other one for the party.

First, as for an analysis of each constituency, in this case, the Uri Party topped the rank of female candidates at a rate of 4.5%. Following the Uri Party's lead were Millennium Democratic Party(4.4%) and Grand National Party(3.6%).

The Uri Party, which was the leading party and one of major liberal parties, nominated 11 women, which was the largest number among 3 parties, for the position of female candidates to the constituency lawmaker in terms of the absolute value. Also, seeing in the ratio, they recorded first at a rate of 4.5%.

On the other hand, Millennium Democratic Party and Grand National Party both nominated 8 women in absolute value, but the ratio of Millennium Democratic Party was higher than that of Grand National Party because Grand National Party nominated more candidates in total considering both men and women. Millennium Democratic Party and Grand National Party were liberal and conservative opposition parties respectively.

In the proportional representation election, Millennium Democratic Party was the first at a rate of 57% with the number of 15 women on the list of Proportional Representation. The Uri Party was the second in the female candidate rates with 52%. They nominated 26 women for the position of Proportional Representation congressmen, followed by Grand National Party(48%). Grand National Party nominated 21 women, which was the smallest number(21) among three parties.

Taken together female candidates for both the constituency and Proportional Representation elections, the Uri Party nominated the largest ratio of women(12.6%). Grand National Party and Millennium Democratic Party co-shared the second at a rate of 11.1%.

## The 18<sup>th</sup> General Election

### Total

**Table 9**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 18th Election(Total)

	Party The Number of Candidate	Integrated Democratic Party	Grand National Party		Liberty Forward Party	
Percent (%)	Female	13.1	30	42	10.5	12
	total	228	14.2	294	114	

Source: National Election Commission

### Proportional Representation

**Table 10**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 18th Election(Proportional Representation)

Percent (%)	Female	48.3	15	48.9	24	50	10
	total		31		49		20

Source: National Election Commission

### Constituency

**Table 11**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 18th Election(Constituency)

Percent (%)	Female	7.6	15	7.3	18	2.1	2
	total		197		245		94

Source: National Election Commission

So far, liberal parties have mainly nominated more female candidates, but in the 18<sup>th</sup> election, conservative parties took the position. Conservative two parties Grand

National Party and Liberty Forward Party recorded the largest rates on “total” and “proportional representation” parts respectively.

As for proportional representation candidates, conservative Liberty Forward Party nominated the largest rates of women(50%). Another major conservative Grand National Party ranked second(48.9%), followed by liberal Integrated Democratic Party(48.3%).

On the other hand, when it comes to the candidate for constituencies, Integrated Democratic Party ranked first at a rate of 7.6%, followed by Grand National Party with 7.3%. There is only 0.3% difference between them.

Even in the candidate for a constituency, in absolute terms, Grand National Party has the largest number of 18 women, followed by Integrated Democratic Party with 15 women. However, Integrated Democratic Party ranked first according to the ratio figure because they have less total candidate(197) than Grand National Party had(245).

In total, seeing both constituency and proportional representation at once, Grand National Party nominated the largest rates of female candidate(14.2%). Following Grand National Party’s lead were Integrated Democratic Party(13.1%) and Liberty Forward Party(10.5%).

Compared to other elections, the two major conservative parties exceptionally nominated the largest ratio of female candidates in two parts (‘in total’ and ‘proportional representation election’) of the 18<sup>th</sup> general election.

## The 19<sup>th</sup> General Election

### Total

**Table 12**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 19th Election(Total)

	Party The Number of Candidate	Saenuri Party		Democratic United Party		Unified Progressive Party	
Percent (%)	Female	13.5	37	15.7	39	23.9	17
	total	274		247		71	

Source: National Election Commission

### Proportional Representation

**Table 13**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 19th Election(Proportional Representation)

Percent (%)	Female	47.7	21	47.3	18	50	10
	total		44		38		20

Source: National Election Commission

### Constituency

**Table 14**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 19th Election(Constituency)

Percent (%)	Female	6.9	16	10	21	13.7	7
	total	230		209		51	

Source: National Election Commission

On the whole, liberal parties nominated more female candidates to the parliament in the 19th general election. Taken together both parts including the

constituency and proportional representation, liberal Unified Progressive Party nominated the largest rates of women candidates(23.9%) in total, followed by another liberal Democratic United Party(15.7%). Conservative Saenuri Party was third(13.5%). In total, liberal two parties took first and second places.

As for the constituency candidate selection, Unified Progressive Party also came first with 13.7%, followed by Democratic United Party(10%). Saenuri Party took third place following them(6.9%).

On the other hand, on the proportional representation part, Unified Progressive Party recorded the largest ratio of female candidate. It was conservative Saenuri Party that following the first. Saenuri Party nominated female candidates at a rate of 47.7%, and it was the second largest rates after Unified Progressive Party. A major liberal Democratic United Party ranked third behind Saenuri Party(47.3%). Although a conservative Saenuri Party nominated more rate of women to the parliament than did a liberal Democratic United Party, the first place still went to another liberal Unified Progressive Party.

In sum, a liberal Unified Progressive Party nominated the largest rates of female candidates in all parts including the constituency, proportional representation, and total rates.

## The 20<sup>th</sup> General Election

### Total

**Table 15**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 20th Election(Total)

	The Number of Candidate Party	Saenuri Party		Democratic Party of Korea		The People's Party	
		Female	total	14.3	42 292	16.4	44 268
Percent (%)							

Source: National Election Commission

### Proportional Representation

**Table 16**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 20th Election(Proportional Representation)

Percent (%)	Female	59	26	55.8	19	50	9
	total		44		34		18

Source: National Election Commission

### Constituency

**Table 17**The Percentage of Female Candidate by Party in the 20th Election(Constituency)

Percent (%)	Female	6.4	16	10.6	25	5.2	9
	total		248		234		171

Source: National Election Commission

In the 20<sup>th</sup> general election, the liberal party nominated the largest rates of female candidate overall except the proportional representation part. Taken together both

the constituency and Proportional Representation, a liberal Democratic Party of Korea recorded the largest ratio of female candidates at a rate of 16.4%. Following them, a conservative Saenuri Party ranked second with 14.3%. A centrist The People's Party took third place (9.5%) behind Saenuri Party.

When it comes to the constituency election, a liberal Democratic Party of Korea nominated the largest rate of female candidates at a rate of 10.6%, followed by Saenuri Party(6.4%) and The People's Party(5.2%).

On the contrary, as for the proportional representation election, conservative Saenuri Party nominated the highest rates of female candidates on the Proportional Representation list(59%). Rather, liberal Democratic Party of Korea nominated lower rates of female candidates at a rate of 55.8%, followed by The People's Party(50%).Although conservative party ranked first on the Proportional Representation part, in total, liberal Democratic Party of Korea nominated the highest rates of female candidates.

In sum, when comparing liberal and conservative parties in terms of ‘total<sup>3</sup>(both constituency and proportional representation election)’, it is a liberal party that nominates a higher proportion of women for the candidate position, except twice (the 14<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>) out of eight elections from 13<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> general elections.

Seeing each election respectively, as for the proportional representation election, voters have been able to vote for PR candidates since the 17th election. So, during from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> election, conservative parties nominate higher proportion of female candidates in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> election. On the other hand, liberal parties nominate more percentage of women in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> election. So, there is no clear difference between the conservative and liberal party in terms of the election for proportional representation.

However, noticeably, in constituency elections, the liberal party has always nominated female candidates at a higher rate than the conservative party except only once (in the 13<sup>th</sup>).

Taken the result of analysis for constituency elections and proportional representation elections together, it is liberal parties that have nominated a higher percentage of female candidates compared to conservative parties. Therefore, it conforms to the first hypothesis that liberal parties will nominate more female candidates than conservative parties.

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<sup>3</sup> The ‘total’ figure (%) is the sum of the both two elections for ‘constituency’ and ‘proportional representation’.

## **2. Number of Female Candidate-Nominated Regions by Party**

When it comes to the second perspective of analysis, I will see the number of regions in which each party nominates the female candidate. The number of female candidate-nominated regions will differ by party. The liberal party will nominate women in more regions than does the conservative party if the hypothesis is supported by the analytical result.

When we compare the number of regions that female candidates are nominated according to party, I will categorize it into three groups; conservative party, liberal party, and etc.

When it comes to the unit of analysis, I will follow the regional classification method by administrative district. According to division by administrative district, there are 17; Seoul, Busan, Daegu, Incheon, Gwangju, Daejeon, Ulsan, Sejong, Gyeonggi, Gangwon, Chungbuk, Chungnam, Jeonnam, Jeonbuk, Gyeongbuk, Gyeongnam and Jeju.

**Table 18**The Number of Regions in which the party nominated female candidates

	Conservative Parties	Liberal Parties	Etc.	
13 <sup>th</sup>	Democratic Justice Party	Peace Democratic Party	Unification Democratic Party	New Democratic Republican Party
	2	1	2	3
14 <sup>th</sup>	Democratic Liberal Party	Democratic Party	Unification Nationalist Party	
	1	2	4	
15 <sup>th</sup>	New Korea Party	New Politics National Conference	Liberty Democratic Union	Integrated Democratic Party
	1	4	1	1
16 <sup>th</sup>	Grand National Party	Millennium Democratic Party	Liberty Democratic Union	
	4	4	3	
17 <sup>th</sup>	Grand National Party	the Uri Party	Millennium Democratic Party	
	5	6	6	
18 <sup>th</sup>	Grand National Party	Integrated Democratic Party	Liberty Forward Party	
	6	5	1	
19 <sup>th</sup>	Saenuri Party	Democratic United Party	Unified Progressive Party	
	5	10	5	
20th	Saenuri Party	Democratic Party of Korea	The People's Party	
	6	6	6	

Source: National Election Commission

The table shows that generally, the liberal party has nominated female candidates in more areas than has the conservative party done, except three times.

Among those three exceptional cases, two were the 13<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> elections. In the 13<sup>th</sup> election, a conservative New Democratic Republican Party nominated women in the largest areas. Also, in the 18<sup>th</sup> election, a conservative Grand National Party nominated female candidates in the largest regions. The last case left was in the 14<sup>th</sup> election. It was

the Unification Nationalist Party that nominated female candidates in the largest regions in the 14<sup>th</sup> election. However, it was not a legitimate conservative party.

In the 15<sup>th</sup> general election, New Politics National Conference uniquely nominated candidates in the largest number of regions. It was the liberal New Politics National Conference that nominated women in 4 regions, and other parties nominated female candidates in only one region respectively.

With regard to the 16<sup>th</sup> general election, both conservative and liberal parties nominated female candidates in the same number of regions. Each of them selected four regions for female candidate selection. Another conservative party, Liberty Democratic Union, nominated female candidates in three regions.

When it comes to the 17<sup>th</sup> general election, liberal parties nominated female candidates in more regions than did conservative party. The leading and major liberal party, the Uri Party, nominated women to parliament in 6 regions equal to the other liberal party Millennium Democratic Party did. In this election, conservative Grand National Party nominated female candidates only in 5 regions.

The 18<sup>th</sup> general election is the time that a major conservative party nominated female candidates in more regions than a liberal party. The major conservative party, Grand National Party, selected 6 regions for female candidate selection. Following them, major liberal party, Integrated Democratic Party chose 5 regions, followed by Liberty Forward Party which is a kind of conservative party selecting only one region for female candidate selection.

In case of the 19<sup>th</sup> general election, the major liberal party overwhelmingly

nominated women in more regions than a conservative party. The opposite and major liberal party, Democratic United Party, nominated female candidates in 10 regions. The leading and major conservative party, Saenuri Party, only nominated women in 5 regions equal to the number of regions chosen by Unified Progressive Party.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> general election, all three parties selected the same number of regions for female candidates. Conservative Saenuri Party, liberal Democratic Party of Korea and the centrist People's Party nominated women in six regions equally.

To sum up, we could verify that generally a liberal party tends to nominate female candidates in more regions than a conservative party nominates during past general elections in Korea. The number of times that a conservative party selected more regions was only twice. Given the findings that the liberal party nominated women to more and diverse regions actively, this result could be interpreted as supporting the first hypothesis that liberal parties will nominate more female candidates than will conservative parties do.

### **3. Findings**

Through this chapter, we found two results with respect to the party and the female candidate selection. First, the result of analysis shows that liberal parties tend to nominate female candidate at a higher proportion than do conservative parties. Although it is hard to see the disparity between the two parties in terms of proportional representation elections<sup>4</sup>, we could confirm a clear difference in the constituency election. Certainly, it should be noted that the liberal party has always nominated female candidates at a higher percentage than does the conservative party, except only once (the 18th) in the election for constituency.

Secondly, when it comes to the number of regions in which each party nominated female candidates, a liberal party tends to nominate women in more regions than does a conservative party.

Taken these findings together, both of results support the first hypothesis that liberal parties will nominate more female candidates than will conservative party do.

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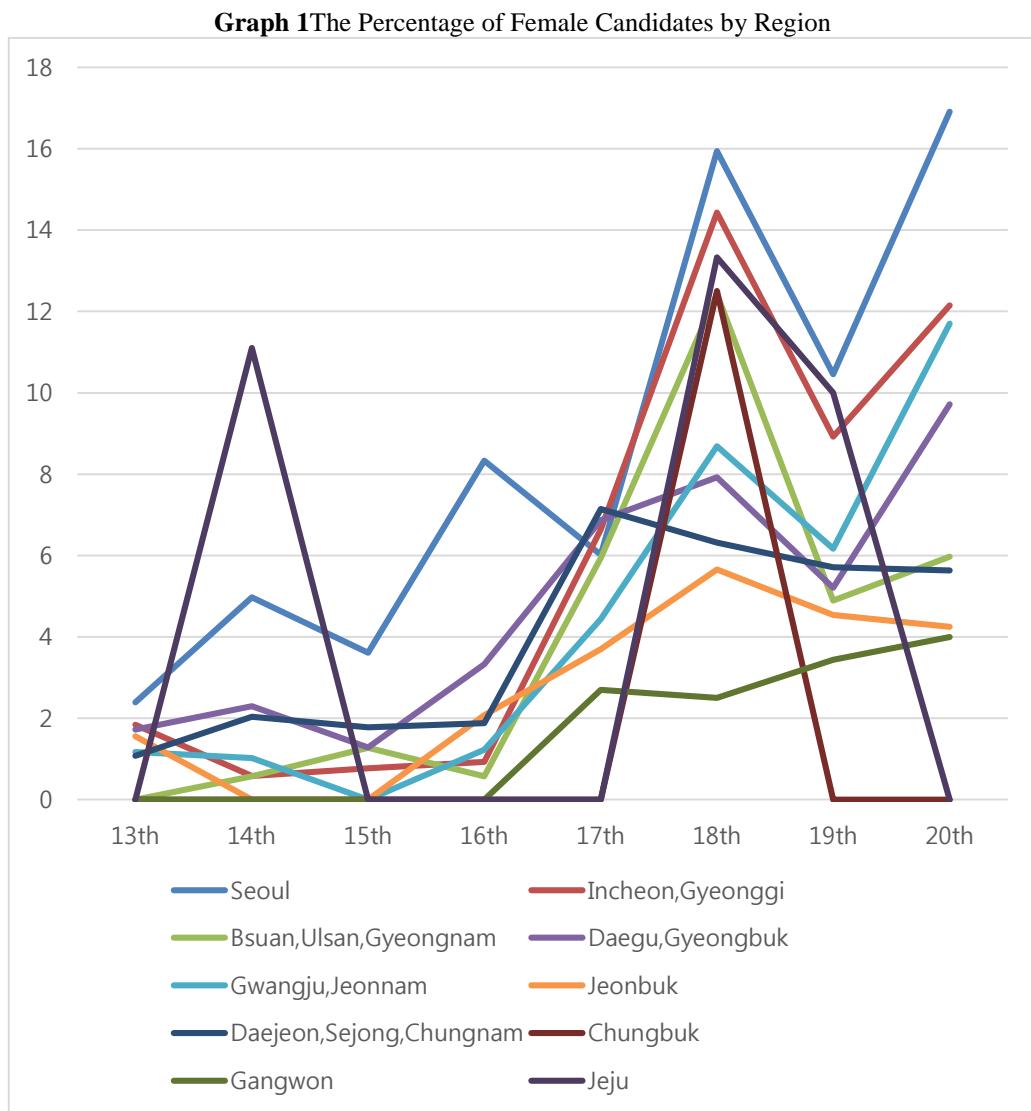
<sup>4</sup> As for the proportional representation election, voters have been able to vote for PR candidates since the 17th election. During elections from the 17th to the 20th, conservative parties nominated higher rate of female candidates in the 18th and 20th election. On the other hand, liberal parties nominate more percentage of women in the 17th and 19th election. Thus, each party nominated higher proportion of female candidate two times respectively during the four elections.

## **Chapter 5. Regional Differences**

This chapter will deal with two regional hypotheses. The first regional hypothesis is about the differences of female candidate nomination in Yeongnam and Honam regions. It is concerned with the regional characteristics related to the ideological orientation aligning with the partisan support by region. The second regional hypothesis is about the differences between Seoul/capital cities and non-capital cities.

To begin with, I will go over the regional pattern of female candidate selection. Then, I will see the differences between Yeongnam and Honam regions in terms of female candidate nomination to verify the first regional hypothesis. Lastly, I will examine the differences between Seoul/capital cities and non-capital cities.

## 1. Regional Pattern of Female Candidate Selection



Source: National Election Commission

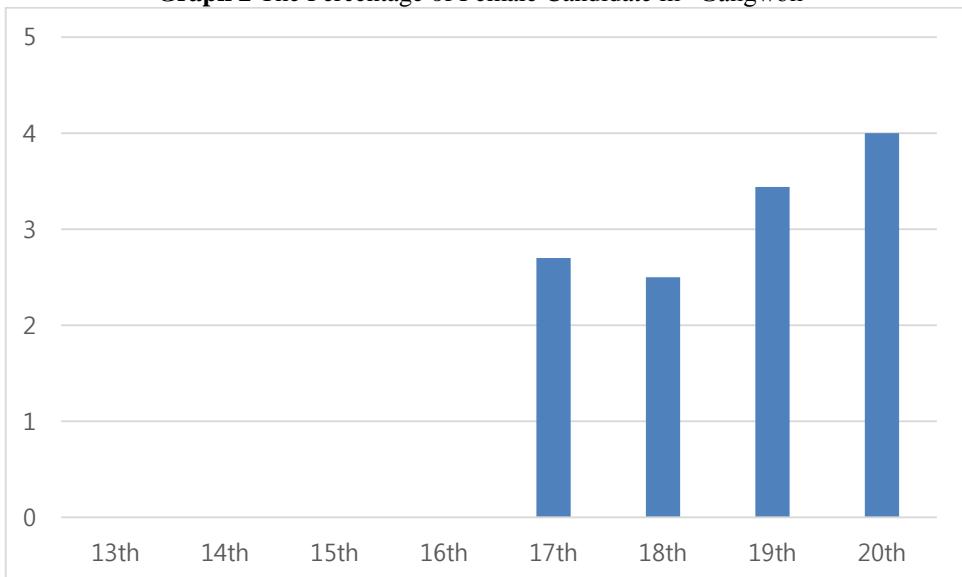
At first, the graph above shows two regional pattern of female candidate

selection. The first regional characteristics during the elections from 13<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> is that in the 18th general election, most regions recorded the highest female candidate rate ever except 4 regions. Among the exceptional regions, the percentage of female candidate of "Gwangju, Jeonnam", "Daegu, Gyeongbuk", "Gangwon" are the highest in the recent 20th election. "Daejeon, Sejong, Chungnam" recorded the highest rate at 17th election. The upward trend began in the 16th election. The female candidate rate of most regions started to have been on the rise since then.

However, the booming female candidate rate dropped sharply in the election. All regions except "Gangwon" showed a steep decrease in rates. Subsequently, in the 20th election, overall, the decreased rate of 19th election took a turn for the better except 3 regions. The percentage of female candidates in "Jeonbuk", "Daejeon, Sejong, Chungnam" and "Jeju" continued to fall in the 20th election.

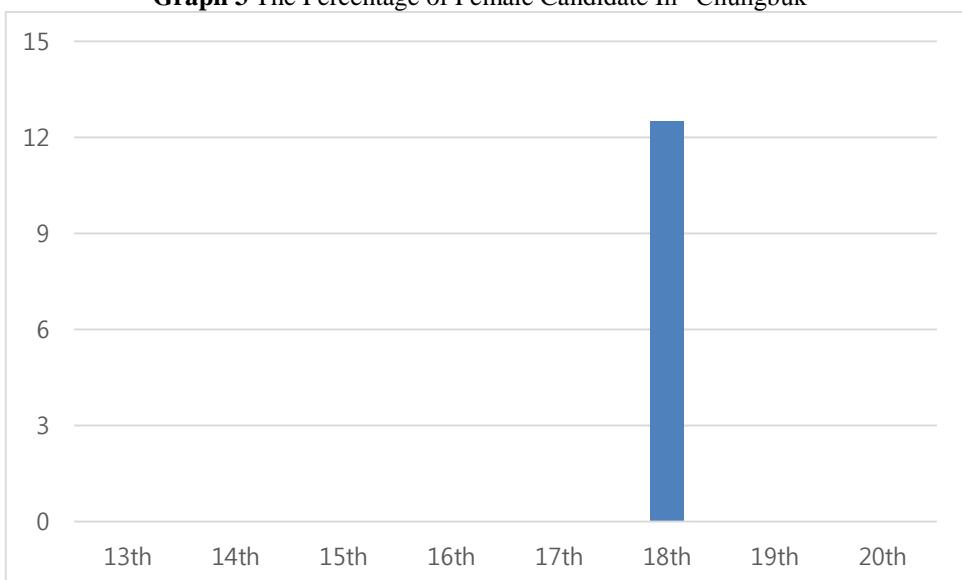
As for the second feature, there are distinctive regions which have a small proportion of female candidates noticeably. "Gangwon", "Chungbuk" and "Jeju" are regions in which the least percentage of female candidates has been nominated. In case of "Gangwon", there was not a single female candidate in "Gangwon" until the 16th election. It was not until after the 17th election that the female candidate began to be nominated in "Gangwon". Although female candidates were nominated from 17th election there, there have been only a few candidates compared to other regions. In "Chungbuk", female candidates were nominated only once out of eight elections. Also, "Jeju" has had female candidates only three times out of eight elections. Following graphs show this characteristics well.

**Graph 2** The Percentage of Female Candidate in “Gangwon”



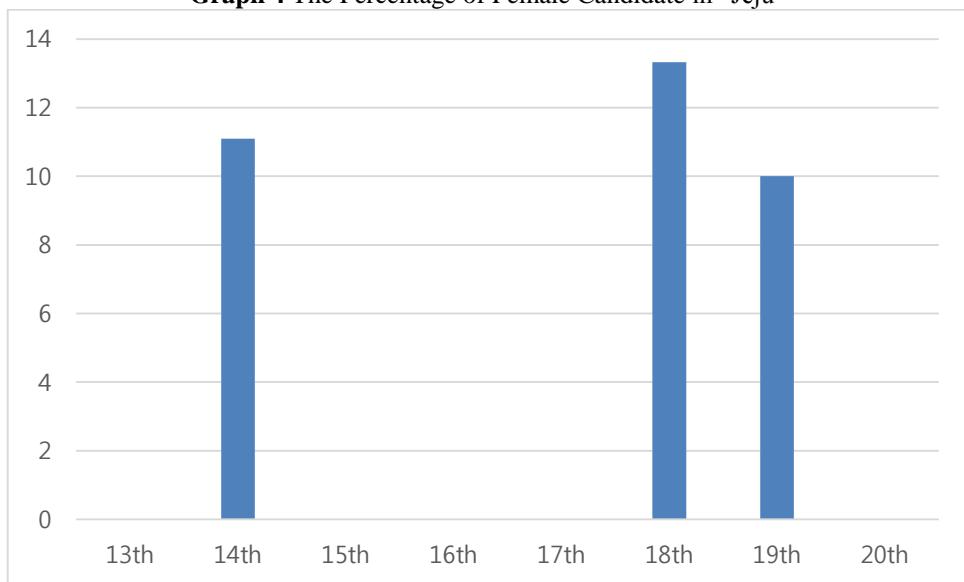
Source: National Election Commission

**Graph 3** The Percentage of Female Candidate In “Chungbuk”



Source: National Election Commission

**Graph 4** The Percentage of Female Candidate in “Jeju”



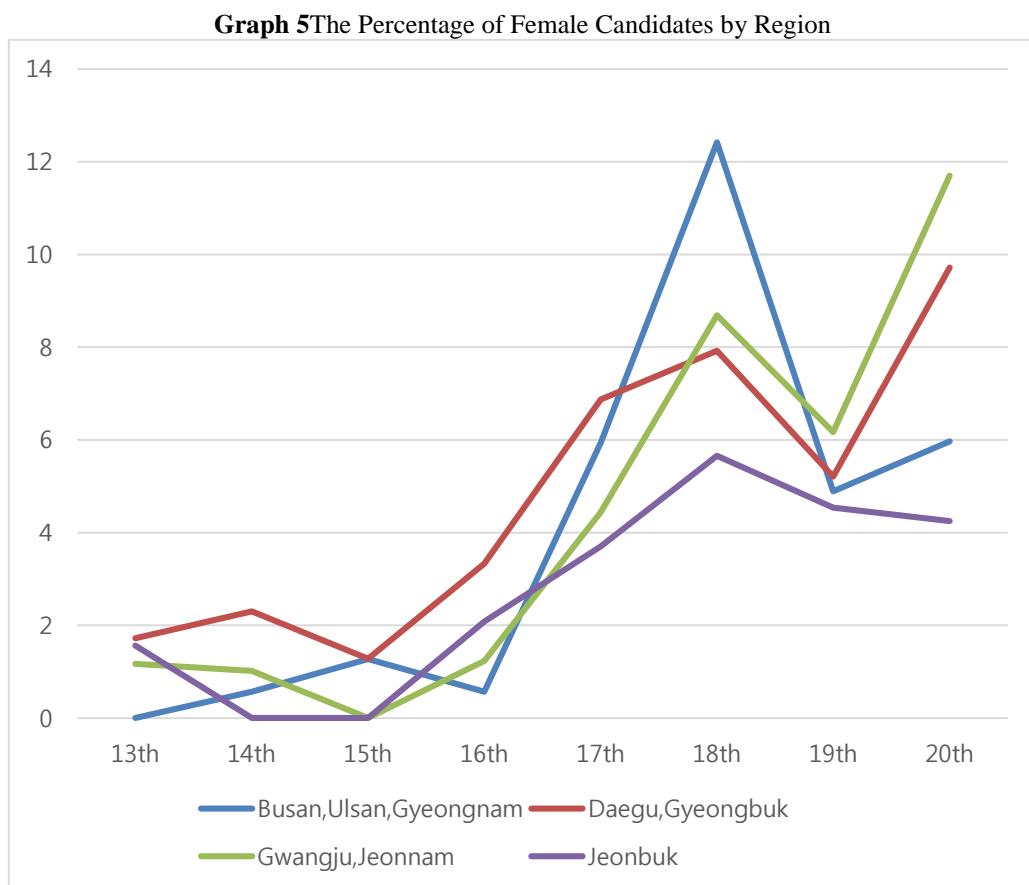
Source: National Election Commission

## **2. Comparison between Yeongnam and Honam**

First and foremost, the verification of regional hypotheses begins with the following analysis. The first regional hypothesis is about the regional characteristics related to the ideological orientation of region associated with partisan support based on the regional identity. We've hypothesized that liberal parties will nominate more women than do conservative parties. Additionally, through previous research, we've confirmed that conservative parties tend to get more support in Yeongnam than in Honam region. On the other hand, liberal parties tend to be especially popular in Honam region.

In this regard, the regions are likely to follow their ideological orientation aligning with the political parties they support. Therefore, we could assume that Yeongnam tends to be conservative and Honam region tends to be liberal on the basis of their regional voting behavior. Taken these things together, the first regional hypothesis suggests that female candidates will be nominated more in liberal Honam region than in conservative Yeongnam region.

In the beginning of analysis with respect to the hypothesis, the table below shows the percentage of female candidates in four regional groups belonging to Yeongnam and Honam.



The highest percentage of female candidates in the four regional groups is mainly the group belonging to Yeongnam. The regional groups belonging to Yeongnam have always recorded the highest female candidate rate except only two times(in the 19th and in the 20th election). In the two regional groups within the Honam region, especially, female candidates have nominated at a lower rate in "Jeonbuk" than in "Gwangju,Jeonnam". Meanwhile, in case of "Yeongnam", out of the two regional groups belonging to "Yeongnam", it is "Daegu,Gyeongbuk" in which female candidates have been nominated at a higher rate compared to the other regional group "Busan,Ulsan,Gyeonnam". In conclusion, this result implies that more female candidates have been nominated in Yeongnam than Honam.

Further, if we look at the rankings of top three regions that have the highest percentage of female candidates, especially, a part of Youngnam reigon, "Daegu,Gyeongbuk" has always been ranked in the top three regions during elections from the 13th to the 17<sup>th</sup>. On the contrary, the Honam regions ("Jeonbuk" and "Gwangju,Jeonnam") were recorded in the top three region ranking only twice. "Jeonbuk" came in third in the 16th election at a rate of 2.08% and "Gwangju,Jeonnam" took the third place(11.7%) in the 20th election. The features are represented in tables below.

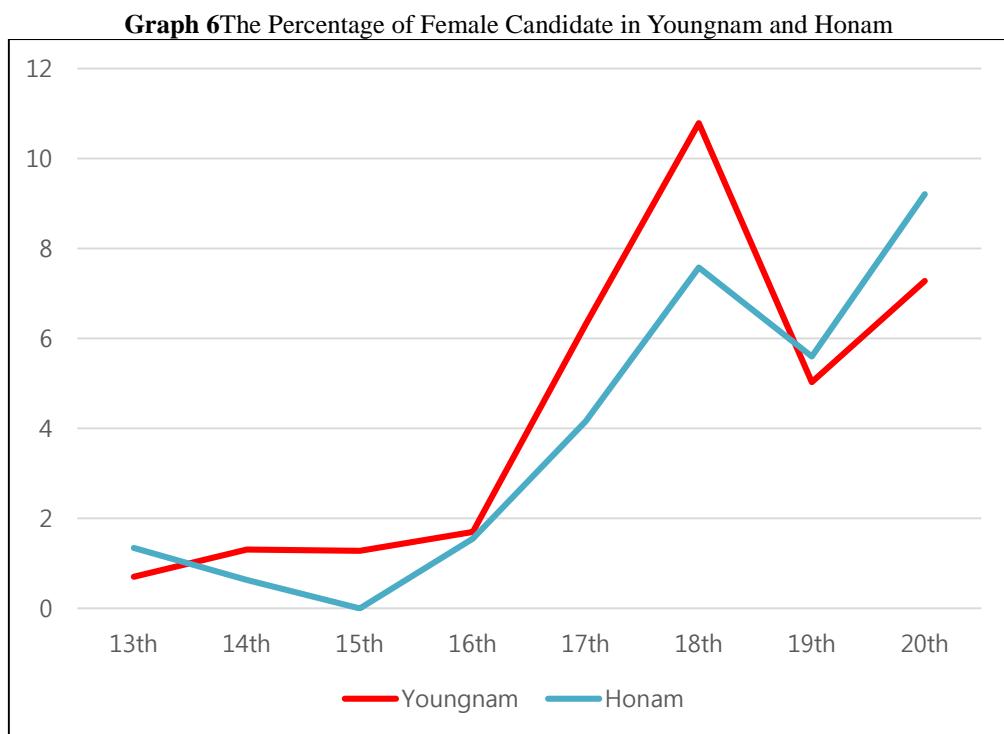
**Table 19**The Percentage of Female Candidates by Region

	Seoul	Incheon Gyeonggi	Busan Ulsan Gyeongnam	Daegu Gyeongbuk	Gwangju Jeonnam
13 <sup>th</sup>	2.39	1.84	0	1.72	1.17
14 <sup>th</sup>	4.97	0.58	0.57	2.3	1.02
15 <sup>th</sup>	3.61	0.77	1.27	1.28	0
16 <sup>th</sup>	8.33	0.93	0.57	3.33	1.23
17 <sup>th</sup>	6.02	6.64	5.94	6.87	4.44
18 <sup>th</sup>	15.94	14.43	12.42	7.92	8.69
19 <sup>th</sup>	10.46	8.92	4.89	5.21	6.17
20 <sup>th</sup>	16.91	12.15	5.97	9.72	11.7

	Jeonbuk	Daejeon Sejong Chungnam	Chungbuk	Gangwon	Jeju
13 <sup>th</sup>	1.56	1.08	0	0	0
14 <sup>th</sup>	0	2.04	0	0	11.1
15 <sup>th</sup>	0	1.78	0	0	0
16 <sup>th</sup>	2.08	1.88	0	0	0
17 <sup>th</sup>	3.7	7.14	0	2.7	0
18 <sup>th</sup>	5.66	6.32	12.5	2.5	13.33
19 <sup>th</sup>	4.54	5.71	0	3.44	10
20 <sup>th</sup>	4.25	5.63	0	4	0

Source: National Election Commission

To see the disparity between Yeongnam and Honam, here, I will follow the regional classification on a broad way. "Busan,Ulsan,Gyeongnam" and "Daegu,Gyeongbuk" are grouped into one group, and "Gwangju,Jeonnam" and "Jeonbuk" is combined into another one group. Therefore, the region for analysis is the two; Yeongnam and Honam region.



The graph above shows that the disparity of the female candidate rate nominated in Yeongnam and Honam regions. Youngnam has always been nominated for female candidates at a higher rate than Honam except only three times during the eight elections (in the 13th, 19th, 20th).

Taken the findings together, they clearly represent that female candidates have been nominated in Yeongnam region at a higher rate than Honam region. When I made a hypothesis, I assumed that Honam region which is considered liberal would have higher rates of female candidates than Youngnam. However, the analysis has proved that it is contrary to the hypothesis.

### 3. Comparison between Seoul capital areas and non-capital areas

Next, we will look into the second regional hypothesis, which suggests that female candidates will be nominated more in Seoul/capital cities than in non-capital cities. We can clearly see the differences between the two regions by analyzing the top three proportion ranking of the region in which female candidates are nominated.

**Table 20**Top 3 ranking of the region in which Female Candidates are nominated (%)

	13th	14th	15th	16th
1 <sup>st</sup>	Seoul	Seoul	Seoul	Seoul
2 <sup>nd</sup>	Incheon, Gyeonggi	Jeju	Daejeon, Sejong, Chungnam	Daegu, Gyeongbuk
3rd	Daegu, Gyeongbuk	Daegu, Gyeongbuk	Daegu, Gyeongbuk	Jeonbuk

	17th	18th	19th	20th
1 <sup>st</sup>	Daejeon, Sejong, Chungnam	Seoul	Seoul	Seoul
2 <sup>nd</sup>	Daegu, Gyeongbuk	Incheon, Gyeonggi	Jeju	Incheon, Gyeonggi
3rd	Incheon, Gyeonggi	Jeju	Incheon, Gyeonggi	Gwangju, Jeonnam

Source: National Election Commission

The tables above show top three ranked regions that have female candidates at the highest rate during eight elections from 13th to 20th. The largest percentage of female candidates have always been nominated in Seoul except only once(in the 17th). Also,

large percentage of women have been nominated in metropolitan cities bordering on Seoul ("Incheon,Gyeonggi"). Noticeably, the two metropolitan regions have always been in the top three of the rankings since the 17th election.

This result implies that female candidates have been nominated in Seoul and Capital regions at a higher proportion than other non-capital regions. Consequently, we can confirm that the finding is consistent with the hypothesis.

## **4. Findings**

Through this chapter, we could confirm second and third hypothesis. First of all, the result of analysis represents that female candidates have been nominated in Yeongnam region at a higher proportion than Honam region. That is, it is contrary to the second hypothesis.

Secondly, the analysis also found that female candidates have been nominated in Seoul/capital areas at a higher percentage than in non-capital areas. Thus, this result is consistent with the third hypothesis.

## **Chapter 6. The Female Candidates as Sacrificial Lambs**

The main concern of the sacrificial lamb hypotheses is to find out whether a party's safe region<sup>5</sup> affects the nomination of women. This hypothesis is set on the premise that each party is particularly popular in certain regions and at the same time, they could be given less support in some other regions.

That is to say, political parties' competitiveness differs by region, so the possibility of winning the election is high in a specific region. Meanwhile, it also could be unusually low in another region. Here, I will see if the sacrificial lamb theory applies to Korean cases.

We've seen this phenomenon in Korea through regional voting behavior, which has been prevalent in two regions especially, Yeongnam and Honam region. The great regional conflict between the Yeongnam and Honam regions have been widespread in Korea. Consequently, it seems clear that conservative parties have their competitiveness in Yeongnam relatively and liberal parties tend to have their competitiveness in Honam.

Getting down to application to Korean cases, on the basis of regional voting behavior in Korea, I will look into whether political parties nominate female candidates in the unsafe region where the parties have little chance of doing well, as the theory suggests.

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<sup>5</sup> 'Party safe region' refers to the region having electoral competitiveness for the party. Here, the word 'competitiveness' means the ability of a political party to compete successfully with others. Thus, party safe region will generally be the districts which the political party has almost won in the past few elections or the party currently holds.

As we've confirmed before, the Yeongnam region is considered as the safe region for the conservative party. On contrary, the Honam region is considered as the safe region for the liberal party. Consequently, the two regions would be the region for analysis and I will see the female candidate nomination in the two regions by party.

This chapter will be analyzed from two perspectives. First, I will see the proportion of female candidate in the Yeongnam and Honam regions by party. As a second method of analysis, I will investigate the number of times of female candidate nomination in the two regions by party. Sometimes women have not been nominated at all. Therefore, I will examine how many times each political party nominated women in the two regions and compare the figures.

## 1. Proportion of Female Candidate Selection

As for the first analysis, I will see the percentage of female candidate in the two regions by party. The focus of the sacrificial lamb hypothesis is to find out how many female candidates each political party has nominated in unsafe regions for themselves. In order to verify the hypothesis, I will use the second regional classification method; Yeongnam and Honam categorization. First of all, I'll examine four subdivided regional groups belonging to the Yeongnam or Honam areas. I'll see where each party has nominated their female candidates at the highest percentage in the four regional groups during the elections from the 13th to the 20th. And, I'll go over which of the two regions(Yeongnam and Honam) the highest ratio-recorded regional group among the four is in.

### 13th

**Table 21** Percentage of Female Candidate in Yeongnam and Honam regions in the 13th Election

		Conservative Party	Liberal Party
Yeongnam	Busan,Ulsan,Gyeongnam	0	0
	Daegu,Gyeongbuk	0	0
Honam	Gwangju,Jeonnam	0	0
	Jeonbuk	0	0

Source: National Election Commission

**14<sup>th</sup>****Table 22** Percentage of Female Candidate in Yeongnam and Honam regions in the 14th Election

		Conservative Party	Liberal Party
Yeongnam	Busan,Ulsan,Gyeongnam	0	0
	Daegu,Gyeongbuk	0	0
Honam	Gwangju,Jeonnam	0	0
	Jeonbuk	0	0

Source: National Election Commission

**15<sup>th</sup>****Table 23** Percentage of Female Candidate in Yeongnam and Honam regions in the 15th Election

		Conservative Party	Liberal Party
Yeongnam	Busan,Ulsan,Gyeongnam	0	5.55
	Daegu,Gyeongbuk	0	0
Honam	Gwangju,Jeonnam	0	0
	Jeonbuk	0	0

Source: National Election Commission

**16<sup>th</sup>****Table 24** Percentage of Female Candidate in Yeongnam and Honam regions in the 16th Election

		Conservative Party	Liberal Party
Yeongnam	Busan,Ulsan,Gyeongnam	0	0
	Daegu,Gyeongbuk	3.7	3.84
Honam	Gwangju,Jeonnam	0	10.52
	Jeonbuk	10	0

Source: National Election Commission

**17<sup>th</sup>**

**Table 25** Percentage of Female Candidate in Yeongnam and Honam regions in the 17th Election

		Conservative Party	Liberal Party
Yeongnam	Busan,Ulsan,Gyeongnam	2.43	2.43
	Daegu,Gyeongbuk	3.7	3.7
Honam	Gwangju,Jeonnam	16.66	0
	Jeonbuk	0	9.09

Source: National Election Commission

**18<sup>th</sup>**

**Table 26** Percentage of Female Candidate in Yeongnam and Honam regions in the 18th Election

		Conservative Party	Liberal Party
Yeongnam	Busan,Ulsan,Gyeongnam	2.43	0
	Daegu,Gyeongbuk	7.4	16.66
Honam	Gwangju,Jeonnam	5	0
	Jeonbuk	0	9.09

Source: National Election Commission

**19<sup>th</sup>**

**Table 27** Percentage of Female Candidate in Yeongnam and Honam regions in the 19th Election

		Conservative Party	Liberal Party
Yeongnam	Busan,Ulsan,Gyeongnam	5	3.84
	Daegu,Gyeongbuk	3.7	9.52
Honam	Gwangju,Jeonnam	0	5.88
	Jeonbuk	0	9.09

Source: National Election Commission

## 20<sup>th</sup>

**Table 28** Percentage of Female Candidate in Yeongnam and Honam regions in the 20th Election

		Conservative Party	Liberal Party
Yeongnam	Busan,Ulsan,Gyeongnam	5	5.71
	Daegu,Gyeongbuk	8.3	7.69
Honam	Gwangju,Jeonnam	0	5.55
	Jeonbuk	0	0

Source: National Election Commission

If we compare the percentage of female candidates nominated in four regional groups in each election, liberal parties nominated female candidates at the highest rate for the region belonging to Yeongnam four times; 15th, 18th, 19th, 20th. On the other hand, conservative parties nominated women at the highest rate for the region belonging to Honam only two times; 16th, 17th. There was no female candidate in the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> elections.

The result shows that when compare the safe and unsafe areas for each party, the liberal party has nominated female candidates at the highest percentage in unsafe region relatively more than does the conservative party.

Next, we will analyze the percentage of female candidates using a broader perspective. I will put each Yeongnam and Honam as one group respectively. Here, "Busan,Ulsan,Gyeongnam" and "Daegu,Gyeongbuk" is grouped together into "Yeongnam". In addition, "Gwangju,Jeonnam" and "Jeonbuk" is combined and considered as one group. Consequently, we can compare the female candidate rate in the two regions. Through this analysis, I'll see where each party nominated more female candidate at a higher proportion in the two regions during the elections from the 13th to the 20th.

### **The conservative party**

**Table 29** Percentage of Female Candidates in Yeongnam and Honam by the conservative party

	Yeongnam	Honam
13 <sup>th</sup>	0	0
14 <sup>th</sup>	0	0
15 <sup>th</sup>	0	0
16 <sup>th</sup>	1.56	3.57
17 <sup>th</sup>	2.94	14.28
18 <sup>th</sup>	4.41	3.22
19 <sup>th</sup>	4.47	0
20th	6.25	0

Source: National Election Commission

## The liberal party

**Table 30** Percentage of Female Candidates in Yeongnam and Honam by the liberal party

	Yeongnam	Honam
13 <sup>th</sup>	0	0
14 <sup>th</sup>	0	0
15 <sup>th</sup>	3.5	0
16 <sup>th</sup>	1.56	6.89
17 <sup>th</sup>	2.94	3.22
18 <sup>th</sup>	3.84	3.22
19 <sup>th</sup>	6.38	7.14
20th	6.25	3.57

Source: National Election Commission

The tables show the percentage of female candidates nominated by each political party for the Youngnam and Honam regions. The liberal party nominated female candidates more in areas deemed uncompetitive than have few electability than the competitive areas three times. On the other hand, the conservative party nominated more proportion of female candidates in non-competitive areas than in electable areas only two times. These results represent both parties nominated women in areas where there was few chance of winning the election. However, compared to conservative parties, liberal parties relatively tend to nominate female candidates at a higher proportion in unsafe regions than in safe and winnable regions.

## 2. Number of Times of Female Candidate Selection

Secondly, I will look into the sacrificial lamb hypothesis continuously based on the second analysis method, the number of times of female candidate nomination, which means the frequency of nomination in the unsafe region. Here, I will examine how many times political parties nominated women in the two regions and compare the figures in order to see which party nominated women more frequently in the certain areas. As before, I'll examine four regional groups belonging to Yeongnam or Honam first. Here, I'll check how many times each party has nominated their female candidates in the region which is considered uncompetitive during the elections from the 13th to the 20th.

### The conservative party

**Table 31** Number of Times that Female Candidates are nominated in each regional group by the conservative party

		13 th	14 th	15 th	16 th	17 th	18 th	19 th	20 th
Yeongnam	Busan,Ulsan,Gyeongnam					○	○	○	○
	Daegu,Gyeongbuk				○	○	○	○	○
Honam	Gwangju,Jeonnam					○	○		
	Jeonbuk				○				

Source: National Election Commission

## The liberal party

**Table 32** Number of Times that Female Candidates are nominated in each regional group by the liberal party

		13 th	14 th	15 th	16 th	17 th	18 th	19 th	20 th
Yeongnam	Busan,Ulsan,Gyeongnam			○		○		○	○
	Daegu,Gyeongbuk				○	○	○	○	○
Honam	Gwangju,Jeonnam				○			○	○
	Jeonbuk					○	○	○	

Source: National Election Commission

During the elections from the 13th to the 20th, the liberal party has nominated women nine times in Yeongnam and a smaller number of six times in Honam region. Noticeably, they have nominated female candidates consistently in "Daegu,Gyeongbuk" region since the 16th election even though they haven't nominated women in Honam region sometimes. On the contrary, the conservative party have nominated women nine times in Yeongnam and only three times in Honam region.

Conservative parties rarely nominated female candidates in Honam where there is little chance of winning. Contrary to conservative parties, liberal parties rather nominated female candidates more times in Yeongnam that is deemed unsafe compared to their electable region, Honam. Rather, they nominated women more frequently in the Yeongnam region.

Next, I'll analyze the number of times of female candidate nomination in the unsafe region on a broader regional classification. As before, the unit of regional analysis is the entire Yeongnam and Honam region in which subdivided four regional groups are combined into each two region respectively. I'll compare the number of times that each party has nominated female candidates in the two regions.

### **The conservative party**

**Table 33** Number of Times that Female Candidates are nominated in Yeongnam/Honam by the Conservative Party

	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th
Yeongnam				○	○	○	○	○
Honam				○	○	○		

Source: National Election Commission

### **The liberal party**

**Table 34** Number of Times that Female Candidates are nominated in Yeongnam/Honam by the liberal party

	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th
Yeongnam			○	○	○	○	○	○
Honam				○	○	○	○	

Source: National Election Commission

If we compare the number of times liberal parties nominated women in the Youngnam and Honam region, they nominated female candidates in Youngnam six times and only four times in Honam. They nominated women more times in Youngnam, which is considered unsafe to win than Honam region. On the contrary, conservative parties nominated female candidates in Youngnam five times and only three times in Honam. They nominated women more times in their safe region, Yeongnam.

### **3. Findings**

To sum up, we made the sacrificial lamb hypothesis that the conservative party will nominate female candidates in unsafe regions more than the liberal party nominates in their less safe regions. Through analysis, we could confirm that the findings are not consistent with the hypothesis.

There are two findings. First, with regard to the proportion, liberal parties nominated female candidates with much higher percentage in the unsafe region more times compared to conservative parties. Secondly, in terms of the number of times, that is the frequency of female nomination in the unsafe regions, it is also liberal parties that nominated women more frequently in the less safe region which has few chance of winning. However, in case of conservative parties, they rarely nominated women in the unsafe region and they mainly nominated female candidates in areas which they have more electability of their candidates.

As a result, contrary to the hypothesis, liberal parties nominated women in the region considered less safe at a higher proportion more frequently than in the region considered safe. This finding demonstrates that liberal parties tend to make their female candidates sacrificial lambs more than do conservative parties.

## **Chapter 7. Conclusion**

In politics, women is likely to be underrepresented. The imbalance of representation of women in the legislative position is serious. In order to solve the problems like gender inequality in politics, female politicians need to be increased. Also, it is priority for women to become candidates running for office. Then, it will lead to the increase of women winning the election.

Above all, the number of female candidate itself should be increased. Therefore, we need to know about characteristics or trends of nominated candidates in the first place. Then, we can establish a strategy to improve the ongoing problems on the basis of systemic and thorough analysis.

To begin with the analysis, I asked the following question. Are female candidates influenced by specific variables like parties and regions when they are nominated? To answer the question, this study analyzed the general election in Korea from the 13<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup>.

Consequently, we have found following results based on hypotheses. First, there is a trend that liberal parties nominate more percentage of female candidate in the general elections than do conservative parties. Second, female candidates have been nominated more in Yeongnam region than Honam. Third, Seoul/Capital areas has had more female candidate proportion than non-capital areas. Lastly, although liberal parties have higher percentage of female candidates, they nominate women in their unsafe region which has a

little chance of winning. On the contrary, conservative parties rarely nominated female candidates in their unsafe regions.

To sum up, the result of analysis indicates that two variables, the party and the region clearly affect the female candidate nomination. Above all, the remarkable thing is that the liberal party nominated comparatively a large proportion of female candidates in the unsafe region which seems to be not likely to win. Given the fact that unsafe region has obviously few chance of winning for the party and it is vulnerable to their candidates, we could suspect this phenomenon as a token nomination made by the party purposely to make their gender number look good.

Democracy needs parity in various fields, but our analysis confirms that it still seems stagnated in politics. In order to solve this problem, first of all, we should increase the figure of female aspirants running for public office. Finally, it will become a stepping stone for the equal political participation of men and women, in short, parity in politics.

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## **Appendix**

The name of political party in English is as follows. The period in the parentheses refers to the duration of the party from foundation to disbandment.

- 민주정의당 Democratic Justice Party (1981.1 ~ 1990.2)  
통일민주당 Unification Democratic Party (1987.5 ~ 1990.1)  
평화민주당 Peace Democratic Party (1987.11 ~ 1991.4)  
신민주공화당 New Democratic Republican Party (1987.10 ~ 1990.2)  
민주자유당 Democratic Liberal Party (1990.2 ~ 1995.12)  
민주당 Democratic Party (1992.9 ~ 1997.11)  
통일국민당 Unification Nationalist Party (1992.1 ~ 1994.7)  
신한국당 New Korea Party (1995.12 ~ 1997.11)  
새정치국민회의 New Politics National Conference (1995.9 ~ 2000.1)  
통합민주당 Integrated Democratic Party (1995.12 ~ 1997.11)  
자유민주연합 Liberty Democratic Union (1995.3 ~ 2006.4)  
한나라당 Grand National Party (1997.11 ~ 2012.3)  
새천년민주당 Millennium Democratic Party (2000.1 ~ 2005.5)  
열린우리당 the Uri Party (2003.11 ~ 2007.8)  
자유선진당 Liberty Forward Party (2008.2 ~ 2012.11)  
민주통합당 Democratic United Party (2011.12 ~ 2014.3)  
통합진보당 Unified Progressive Party (2011.12 ~ 2014.12)  
새누리당 Saenuri Party (2012.2 ~ )  
더불어민주당 Democratic Party of Korea (2014.3 ~ )  
국민의당 The People's Party (2016.2 ~ )

## 국문초록

인구의 절반을 차지하고 있음에도 정치에 있어서 여성은 과소 대표되어 있는 경향성이 있다. 현재 우리나라의 경우 2017년 국제의원연맹(IPU) 발표에 의하면 여성 국회의원 비율은 전세계 161위 정도 수준이며, 여성의원 비율은 17%로 여전히 미흡한 수준이다. 이러한 우리나라 여성의 저조한 정치참여의 문제는 우리의 전반적인 경제발전 수준이나 교육수준에 훨씬 미치지 못함으로써 남녀 평등사회의 구현뿐만 아니라, 한국 정치가 선진화되는데 걸림돌이 될 것으로 생각된다.

한국 사회에서도 지금까지 여성의 정치 참여를 장려하고 대표성을 확대하기 위하여 여성할당제를 실시하거나 각 정당들이 자발적으로 규율을 마련하는 등의 노력이 행해져 왔다. 그러나 전세계적으로도 턱없이 낮은 여성 국회의원 비율은 한국 사회의 저조한 여성의 정치적 대표성 문제가 해결되지 않고 있음을 보여준다. 이러한 문제는 여성 후보 자체가 적게 공천되는 근본적인 원인이 해결되지 않고 있기 때문이다. 따라서 여성의 정치참여를 늘리고, 정치적 대표성을 확대하기 위해서는 우선 정당공천에 의해 후보로 지명되는 것이 중요하다.

여성 후보자의 수를 늘리기 위해서는 우선 역대 선거에서 공천되었던 여성 후보들에 대한 분석을 통해 특징이나 경향성 등에 대해 파악하고 있어야

한다. 공천되는 후보들에 대한 분석을 바탕으로 고쳐야 할 점이 있다면 개선책을 마련하고 더 나아가 여성 후보를 늘릴 전략을 수립할 수 있어야 한다.

본 연구는 1987년 민주화 직후 치러진 13대 총선부터 최근의 20대 총선까지 공천된 여성후보자들에 대한 통계자료를 바탕으로 한국 사회의 여성정치인 공천 현황과 특징에 대해 파악했다. 후보자를 공천하는 ‘정당’과, 후보공천이 시작되는 곳이자 이들이 선거운동을 벌이고 당선된 이후에는 일하게 될 ‘지역’을 기준으로 하여, 이 두 가지 차원에서 각각의 특징을 분석한다.

분석의 결과 본 연구는 다음과 같은 특징을 발견할 수 있었다. 첫째, 진보정당이 보수정당보다 더 높은 비율의 여성 후보를 공천했다. 둘째, 진보정당이 보수정당보다 더 많은 수의 지역에서 여성 후보를 공천했다. 셋째, 한국 정치의 특징인 영•호남의 지역갈등을 기준으로 비교했을 때 전통적으로 진보정당을 지지해왔던 호남지역보다, 보수정당을 지지해온 영남 지역에서 더 많은 비율의 여성후보자가 공천되었다. 넷째, 서울과 수도권 지역에서 비수도권 지역보다 높은 비율의 여성후보가 공천되었다. 마지막으로, 진보정당은 보수정당에 비하여 소속 정당 후보의 당선가능성이 희박하고 안전하지 않다고 여겨지는 지역에 여성 후보를 희생양으로 삼아 공천하는 경향을 보였다.

여성 후보자를 늘리고 이들의 정치적 대표성을 확대해 나가는 과정을 통해, 여성의 정치참여에 대한 사회적 인식을 전환하고 여성 친화적인 정책들이 마련될 수 있다. 본 연구를 통해 얻은 한국 사회에서 공천되는 여성 정치

인들에 대한 특징과 경향성을 바탕으로, 후보자 수를 늘릴 대책과 전략을 마련하는 데 기여할 것으로 기대해 볼 수 있다.

**주요어:** 여성후보 공천, 여성의 정치적 대표성, 정당별 차이, 지역별 차이, 희생양

**학번:** 2015-25159