

## The 19<sup>th</sup> National Assembly Election and Post-Election Political Changes in Korea<sup>202</sup>

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**Introduction:** In this paper, the author will not examine whole issues of parliamentary institutions, but examine some aspects of Korea's legislature. At the beginning, this work covers historical and constitutional basis of the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea (ROK). Then it shows the National Assembly as a national law-making body as well as a political representative institution. In the field of parliamentary institutional research, the study of the electoral system and its realization is of the utmost importance. Therefore, this paper covers the issues on election system for a legislative institution, and its effect on the country's political process. Next part is about 19<sup>th</sup> Assembly election results and political parties of Korea, and election results implications for the presidential elections of Korea. Last but not least, Korean women's political achievements are discussed.

### Historical Background of Korean National Assembly

History of Korean parliamentary institution is a rich of development changes and challenges. Historical development and significance of the legislature has been studied by parliamentary scholars (Kim and Pai, 1981; Yoon, 1991; Park, 1998: 66-68, 2002a: 330-32) and practitioners or politicians such as former Members of the National Assembly (Kil, 1964: 1-12; Pak, 1976: 115-34) by various attempts. For instance, Park (1998) investigated the changes of the Korean legislature's policy activity in the context of the historical dimension. As Park briefly emphasized, the Korean National Assembly has a relatively short but turbulent history (Park, 1998: 68). I, the author of this paper, concurred with this, however, not only in terms of parliamentary institutional changes but also development of contemporary Korean politics.

From the beginning of the First Republic through the current Sixth one, Korea has experienced a series of political alterations. In line with this, the place of the legislative institution in the Korean political system has ever changed (see Table 1). With the heavy influence of the Constitution, the legislature became the focal point of politics and exercised a great deal of power (See more on Kim and Pai, 1981: 23).

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For instance, in case of the Korean National Assembly of the Fourth Republic, Mezey classified that legislature as a marginal type, a category of legislatures with modest policy-making power and a relatively low degree of support (Mezey, 1979: 21-44).

**Table 1. A Chronology of the Korean National Assembly.**

Republic	Regime Type	System of Government	Assembly	Term
First	Authoritarian	Presidential	Constituent	May 1948-May 1950
			Second	May 1950-May 1954
			Third	May 1954-May 1958
			Fourth	May 1958-May 1960 (curtailed due to the student uprising)
Second	Democratic	Parliamentary	Fifth	July 1960-May 1961 (dissolved by the military coup)
Third	Authoritarian	Presidential	Sixth	December 1963-June 1967
			Seventh	July 1967-June 1971
			Eighth	July 1971-October 1972 (dissolved due to martial law)
Fourth	Authoritarian	Presidential	Ninth	March 1973-March 1979
			Tenth	March 1979-October 1980 (dissolved by the military coup)
Fifth	Authoritarian	Presidential	Eleventh	April 1981-April 1985
			Twelfth	April 1985-May 1988 (curtailed due to pro-democracy protest)
Sixth	Democratic	Presidential	Thirteenth	May 1988-May 1992
			Fourteenth	June 1992-May 1996
			Fifteenth	May 1996-May 2000
			Sixteenth	May 2000-May 2004
			Seventeenth	May 2004-May 2008
			Eighteenth	May 2008-May 2012
			Nineteenth	May 2012-present (Elected on 11 April 2012)

Source: Park: 2002<sup>203</sup>

Likewise, in his study of the National Assembly's place in the Korean polity, Park (1998: 68-71) defined about the current Sixth Republic's case. As shown in table 1,

<sup>203</sup> Original form of this table is created on Park's article (Park, 2002: 331). However, last three lines of given table is added by the author.

Sixth Republic has started since May 1988 and the National Assemblies in the current Republic has still been moving forward. For instance, as Park more clearly viewed that the National Assembly in the first two years of the current Sixth Republic was a vulnerable legislature, having strong policy-making power but not being so well supported. It could be said to be a fairly weak form of vulnerable legislature. The legislature's strength of policy-making power has declined. More recently, the legislature has shown more vigor than at the peak of authoritarianism in terms of its policy-making power, but it still has modest policy-making power. The degree of support for the legislature has declined much further since the early years of the Sixth Republic. Presently<sup>204</sup>, the legislature is just a fairly strong form of marginal legislature (Park, 1998: 69). Although Republic of Korea is a country of presidential system of government<sup>205</sup>, its National Assembly is the most competitive<sup>206</sup>, open and democratic materialization of political life, and its role is a lot in Korean political system. The parliamentary institute of this country has overcome plenty of obstacles and hierarchy of political formation and development during the period of authoritarian and democratic political regime, presidential and parliamentary system of government.

### **Constitutional background of contemporary Korean polity**

The Constitution of the Republic of Korea is the general instrument of Korean government and the supreme law of the land. For 60 years, it has guided the evolution of governmental institutions and has provided the basis for political stability, individual freedom, economic growth and social progress. The current constitutional system, which started in 1987, was based on a constitutional bill that was passed by the National Assembly on October 12, 1987, and subsequently approved by 93 percent of the voters in a national referendum on October 28. This change of constitutionalism transferred power from the authoritarian Fifth Republic into the Sixth Republic or the country's present-day government system. The current Sixth Republic constitution went into effect on February, 1988 when Roh Tae-Woo was inaugurated as the Republic's President.

In the Constitution, the system of governing of the Republic of Korea is a presidential system based on such principles as separation of powers, and checks and balances. According to the Constitution, the President is the Head of State (*The Constitution of Korea*, Article 66:1) and executive power is vested in the Executive branch headed by the President (*The Constitution of Korea*, Article 66:4). The President appoints a Prime Minister who runs the government as directed by him. The President has power to attend and address the National Assembly, to convene its extraordinary session, and to exercise a veto on the bill passed by it. He/she appoints high-ranking public officials, including the prime minister and chief justice, with consent by the

<sup>204</sup> This article by Park is published in 1998.

<sup>205</sup> The Constituent Assembly of the Republic of Korea adopted a constitution containing a basically this type of government in 1948 (Park, 1998: 65).

<sup>206</sup> As Kim and Pai (1981: 37) noted in advanced manner, this legislature is the most important linkage institution. In this regard, one of ideas of this field research is found.

National Assembly. Constitution enables him that in time of internal turmoil, external menace, natural calamity, or a grave financial or economic crisis, the President may take in respect to them the minimum necessary financial and economic actions or issue orders having the effect of law, only when it is required to take urgent measures for the maintenance of national security or public peace and order, and there is no time to await the convocation of the National Assembly. In the executive branch, the prime minister is formally the second powerful next to the president.

The legislature called National Assembly or Daehan Minguk Kuk Hoe is a unicameral and has 299 members who are elected to four-year terms. Legislative power is vested in the National Assembly. It can also exercise power to investigate specific matters when deemed necessary. Moreover, the legislature has power for fiscal control which provided by the Constitution and the National Assembly Law. However, such fiscal control power is examined by Park as a passive role for the legislature (Park, 2003: 495). The National Assembly members and the President are elected respectively by universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot by the citizens of the Republic of Korea (*The Constitution of Korea*, Articles 41:1 and 67: 1).

Korea's judicial system comprises a Supreme Court, appellate courts, and a Constitutional Court. Korea has a legal system which combines certain elements of continental European civil law systems, Anglo-American law, and Chinese classical thought. Particularly, the German civil code has been the basis for the legal systems of South Korea because "...the expansion of the colonial empires of the European powers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought the civil law system based on Roman law to many countries in Asia and Africa" (Badr, 1977: 187).

As mentioned above, the Constitution provides for a three-branch governing system whereby law-making functions are in the preserve of the National Assembly, administrative functions are in the preserve of the executive branch, headed by the President, and judicial functions belong to the courts. Structurally, these three branches are highly independent of each other. The members of the National Assembly are elected by the people, and the National Assembly's leaders and officers are chosen by the members themselves. As for the President, he/she is not required to obtain the approval of the National Assembly in appointing top executive officials, except in the case of the Prime Minister and the Director of the Board of Inspection and Audit. The head of the Supreme Court, the Chief Justice, although appointed by the President with the consent of the National Assembly, possesses the power to recommend to the President the appointment of Supreme Court Justices, and has the power to appoint all other judges.

Another noticeable one is which the economic developments of the country have been strongly influenced by the constitutional principle which supports a free-market economy. The Constitution declares that the nation's economic order is based on recognizing individual and corporate freedom and creativity (See *The Constitution of Korea*, Article 119:1).

## **Election system reforms and party representations in the National Assembly**

An election is a process in which a vote is held to elect candidates to an office. It is the mechanism by which a democracy fills elective offices in the legislature, and sometimes the executive and judiciary, and in which electorates choose local government officials.

Generally, democratic elections are viewed as possibilities through which voters influence political leaders. But even in free democracies they can also be seemed from the top down, as institutions which expand the authority of the rulers over the ruled. For some authors such as Ginsberg (1982), this is the major function of elections - competitive elections as well as elections without choice. King (1981) provides a very clear review of the rather technical literature on the consequences of competitive elections.

Precisely six decades have passed since the first election was held in ROK under the supervision of the temporary U.N. Korean Commission in May, 1948. In the past years Korea elected its National Assembly 19 times. In thirteen of these nation-wide elections, political leaders stood for office under election regulations that had been modified.

Elections and its historical lessons have faced many obstacles and hardships in Korea. At the beginning of independence in Korea, people had never experienced the election (Pak, 1976: 119). Very fortunate for the nation in newly democratizing era is free and fair elections have settled in this country. Park expressed importantly that “the only game in town” is this free, fair, and regular elections<sup>207</sup>. In accordance with Article 41 of the Constitution of Korea, the members of the National Assembly are elected by universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot by the citizens. The constituencies of members of the National Assembly, proportional representation, and other matters pertaining to National Assembly elections are determined by law.

Electoral systems are a set of rules for conducting an election and a matter for choice. These rules specify which public officials are subject to election, which is eligible to vote, how these eligible can claim their right to vote, how the candidates must be selected, and how the votes are to be counted so as to produce an overall result.

Since the establishment of the Korean government then, the election system has been changed many times. Since 2004 National Assembly election, according to the Constitutional court decision on July 19, 2001, there has been an important change in the electoral system. This was from “one-vote” to “two-ballot”. In 2001, the Constitutional court made decision on “one-vote” is unconstitutional as well as unfair and restrictive of voter’s rights. Why?

The previous one was a kind of mixed where plurality dominated proportional representation. This domination was not only in the seat allocation but also in the

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<sup>207</sup> The author strongly recommends to those who interested much in Korea’s parliamentary institutional study, professor Park Chan Wook’s tremendous and significant articles for the scholars. For instance, in this case, Park (2007: 103) noted it in his article.

balloting system. Although a voter was allowed to cast only one vote to a candidate in the single-member district, the vote would be also used in distributing proportional representation seats among the political parties. Therefore, this brings out that a voter’s single vote was counted two times for two different purposes. As Park notes:

In this ostensibly mixed system, the plurality component is dominant. A voter casts a single ballot in choosing his or her district representative. This vote is counted again as the vote for the candidate’s party list for proportional representation. The at-large seats are divided in proportion to each party’s nationwide vote share among the parties with at least five district seats, or with five per cent or more of the total valid votes. Of the legislative members, district representatives do not lose their seats when they change their party affiliation. Only at-large representatives are deprived of their legislative seats when they leave their own original party (Park, 1998: 75).

Anyway, Korean National Assembly passed new electoral law which reflected by the Constitutional court rule. The established system allows voters to cast two votes, one to a candidate in single-member district and the other to a party list in proportional representation. The first one determines the winner in each constituency, and the second one is used to distribute proportional representation seats among parties. One candidate from each electoral district is selected by a plurality of votes. Each voter casts two votes, one for an individual, and one for a closed party list in the proportional representation tier. Seats in both tiers are allocates separately; each party is allocated its parallel share of the proportional or at-large seats plus the district seats won by its candidates. The proportional representation system is aimed at appointing Assembly members who will represent national interests rather than local interests.

Under the revised electoral system, the National Assembly was composed of 300 seats. Out of the 300 members, 246 members are elected by popular vote in single-seat constituencies, while the remaining 54 seats allocated to each political party that has obtained 3/100 or more of the total valid votes or five or more seats in the local constituency election.

Post-democratic transition or during 24 years of 1988-2012, the following table shows briefly the general ratio of the parties’ seats obtained in the Assemblies.

**Table 2. Political party representations in the 13<sup>th</sup> through 19<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (1988-2012)**

Assembly	Year	Party	District seats	At-Large seats	Total
13 <sup>th</sup>	1988	DJP	87	38	<b>125</b>
		PPD	54	16	<b>70</b>
		RDP	46	13	59
		NDRP	27	8	35
		9 minor parties	1	0	1
		Independents	9	0	9
		Total	224	75	299

14 <sup>th</sup>	1992	DLP	116	33	<b>149</b>
		DP	75	22	<b>97</b>
		UNP	24	7	31
		NPP	1	0	1
		2 minor parties	0	0	0
		Independents	21	0	21
		Total	237	62	299
15 <sup>th</sup>	1996	NKP	121	18	<b>139</b>
		NCNP	66	13	<b>79</b>
		ULD	41	9	50
		DP	9	6	15
		Independents	16	0	16
		Total	253	46	299
16 <sup>th</sup>	2000	GNP	111	21	<b>133</b>
		MDP	96	19	<b>115</b>
		ULD	12	5	17
		DPP	1	1	2
		4 minor parties	1	0	1
		Independents	5	0	5
		Total	227	46	273
<i>Under revised system</i>			<b>Local seats</b>	<b>Block seats</b>	
17 <sup>th</sup>	2004	UP	129	23	<b>152</b>
		GNP	100	21	<b>121</b>
		DLP	2	8	10
		MDP	5	4	9
		ULD	4	0	4
		Other / Independents	3	0	3
		Total	243	56	299
18 <sup>th</sup>	2008	GNP	131	22	153
		UDP	66	15	81
		LFP	14	4	18
		PP	6	8	14
		DLP	2	3	5
		RKP	1	2	3
		SPP	12	0	12
		Independents			
		Independents except Pro-Park	13	0	13
Total	245	54	299		
19 <sup>th</sup>	2012	NFP	127	25	152
		DUP	106	21	127
		UPP	7	6	13
		LFP	3	2	5
		Independents	3	0	3
		Total	246	54	300

*Source:* the data source of the table is from Park (2002b: 171-75) for the 13<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> National Assembly and some columns showing the percentage and advantage ratio is not used in this table. However, last three main rows for the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> ones have been added by the author, respectively.

*Note:*

1. as for the 13<sup>th</sup> National Assembly: DJP = Democratic Justice Party; PPD = Party for Peace and Democracy; RDP = Reunification Democratic Party; NDRP = New Democratic Republican Party

2. as for the 14<sup>th</sup> National Assembly: DLP = Democratic Liberal Party; DP = Democratic Party; UNP = Unification National Party; NPP = New Politics Party

3. as for the 15<sup>th</sup> National Assembly: NKP = New Korean Party; ULD = United Liberal Democrats; NCNP = National Congress for New Politics

4. as for the 16<sup>th</sup> National Assembly: GNP = Grand National Party; MDP = Millennium Democratic Party; ULD = United Liberal Democrats; DPP = Democratic People's Party

5. as for the 17<sup>th</sup> National Assembly: UP = Uri Party; GNP = Grand National Party; DLP = Democratic Labour Party; MDP = Millennium Democratic Party; ULD = United Liberal Democrats

6. as for the 18<sup>th</sup> National Assembly: GNP = Grand National Party; UDP = United Democratic Party; LFP = Liberty Forward Party; PP = Park's Party; DLP = Democratic Labour Party; RKP = Renewal of Korea Party; SPP Independents = Solidarity for Pro-Park Independents

7. as for the 19<sup>th</sup> National Assembly: NFP = New Frontier Party or Saenuri-dang; DUP = Democratic United Party; UPP = Unified Progressive Party; LFP = Liberty Forward Party

As we can see here, ratio of the political parties on the level of the legislature has been going toward the formation of the two dominant or big parties. The table 2 shows that either party has obtained the seats of majority and main opposition power seats not depending on that a party managed to become a majority in the legislative institution; however, there has been not a few process of unification and separation among the political parties of Korea from one National Assembly to another one.

However, majoritarian and proportional, which are the most general two electoral systems, are being used for the election of the National Assembly as they are simplest and plainest variation for the election. Voters mostly tend to express dual opinion depending on the peculiarity of the electoral system. It is a requirement to elect a specific one party on the basis of party's election program and a candidate according to his/her order of list order in the party. Due to this "tiny" problem of the



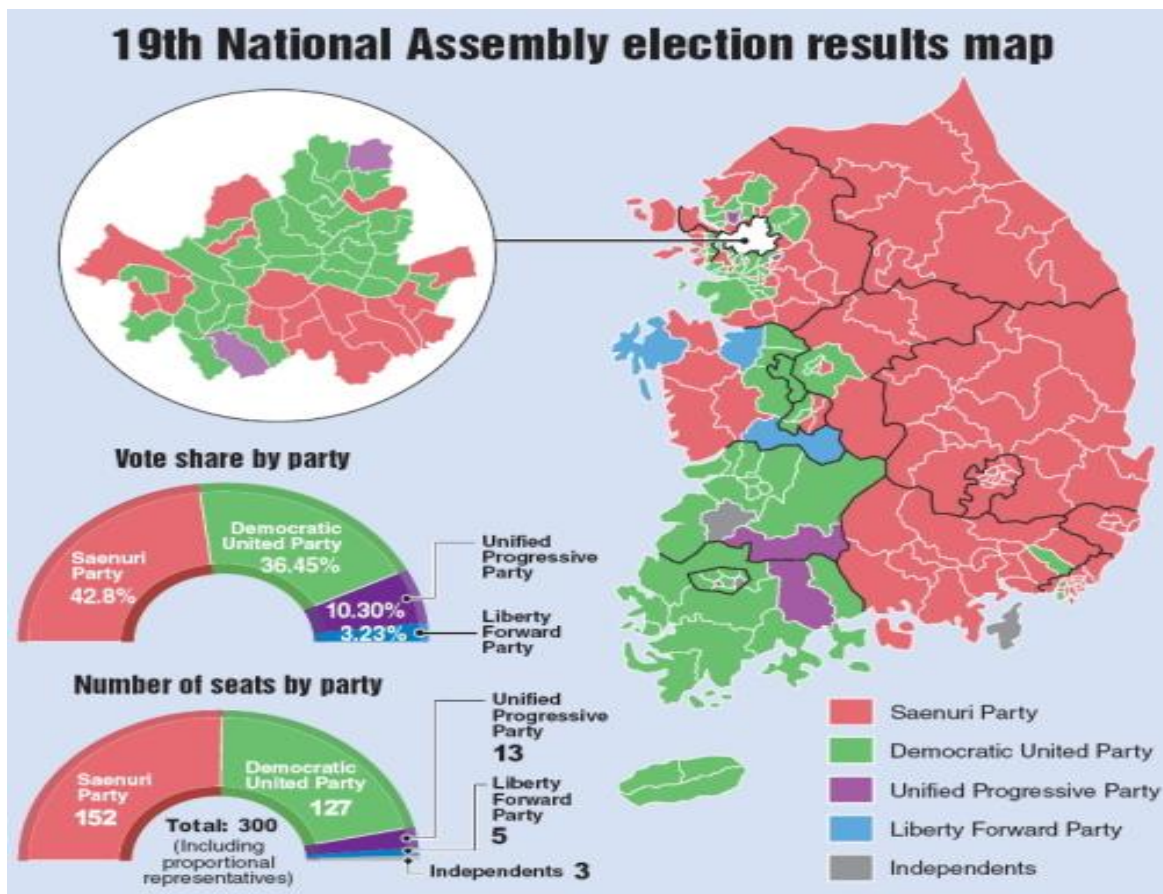
mixed system the voters' participation is seen to drop. The reason is that if a voter decides to vote in the election, he/she needs to make a dual vote for the election.

This peculiarity of the electoral system, which can be “problem” for the voters, tends them to vote for the main parties which have long years of experience and are well-known among the public. Although a proportional system helps a lot of parties to be represented in the legislative institution, it is difficult for the small parties to obtain seats to compose legislative majority. Moreover, setting an electoral threshold limits the minimum amount of necessary votes to obtain seats in the parliament. It is, as well, becomes an obstacle for the small parties.

**Election results and political parties**

General election for the 19<sup>th</sup> term of the Korean National Assembly was held in April 11, 2012 as it was scheduled. The vote determined 300 members of the National Assembly and shaped the political arena for presidential elections on December, 2012. The election was conducted under a mixed system which consists of 246 directly elected seats and 54 nationwide proportional representation seats chosen under First-Past-The-Post – Proportional Representation parallel voting system. In Korea’s political system, the loss of control in the parliament could have hindered the head of state’s cabinet substantially.

**Figure 1. 19<sup>th</sup> National Assembly Election Results Map**



Source: National Election Commission (*The Korea Herald*, 2012-04-12)

Voter turnout was 54.3 percent, up from the all-time low in 2008 when voter turnout fell just short of 46 percent<sup>208</sup>. Voters want fair, responsible and clean politics and the election generated much enthusiasm and rocked big discussion among society.

The election was won by the ruling Saenuri-dang or New Frontier Party, which the largest conservative party in this country while incumbent government. With 152 seats, the party formed its majority in the National Assembly, despite losing seats. Not only caused by the largest conservative force but also the results were surprisingly heat politics which the party is former the Hannara-dang or the Grand National Party that renamed just two months before the general election. However, in case of Hannara-dang, it wanted to change its public confidence and broaden its political and public support base, thus took this new name as Saenuri.

Minju Tonghap-dang or the Democratic United Party, liberal, took 127 seats. This center-left one is a newly established party, which in December 2011 reorganized a liberal coalition by merging the Democratic Party, a group of former supporters of late president Roh Moo-hyun, and some activists from the Korean Trade Union.

As for other parties, Jayu Seonjin-dang or the Liberty Forward Party won 5 seats, Tonghap Jinbo-dang or the Unified Progressive Party won 13, while independents won 3 seats.

**Table 3. National Assembly Election Results: 11 April 2012**

Votes cast: 54.3 % voted.

Parties	District	Proportion al	Total Seats (% of all seats)
New Frontier Party (Saenuri-dang)	127	25	152 (50.66%)
Democratic United Party (Minju Tonghap-dang)	106	21	127 (42.33%)
Unified Progressive Party (Tonghap Jinbo- dang)	7	6	13 (4.33%)
Liberty Forward Party (Jayu Seonjin-dang)	3	2	5 (1.66%)
Independents	3	0	3 (1%)
Total	246	54	300

Source: National Election Commission

As see this, two main political parties were competing in the legislature elections which are the Saenuri Party and the Democratic United Party, and this figures newly established or newly formed parties were the main players of the 19<sup>th</sup> parliamentary elections, but in political reality the background of the ruling and opposition parties remains same as before.

<sup>208</sup> National Election Commission announced the voter turnout was the lowest for any national election in the history of Korea (Ser, 2008).

Not so much surprisingly, however in order to create more challenging anticongervative coalition or opposing to the Government, left Tonghap Jinbo-dang has aligned with the main opposition Minju Tonghap-dang. Before the general election those of two left forces compromised on nomination. As a result of their agreement, the nominations of only one candidate of either party in each of 64 electoral districts have allowed. It helped finding more seats in the legislature by merging voters for those who supports liberals or lefts.

Several factors made the Saenuri Party's victory possible. First, the party undertook a massive makeover under the leadership of Park Geun-hye, who is the most likely presidential candidate from the conservative party. Park proved to be extremely successful in mobilising conservative voters. Second, even at the risk of diluting its conservative identity, the Saenuri Party not only distanced itself from the Lee administration, but also shifted its policy focus to issues such as social welfare. The strategy appears to have worked and attracted some swing voters who would otherwise have voted for the Democratic United Party or the Unified Progressive Party. And the last factor was the opposition parties' inability and failure to meet the expectations of their own supporters and dissatisfied swing voters (See more on Ryu, 2012). Saenuri Party and Democratic United Party are campaigned on platforms of strengthening Korea's welfare state and implementing policies that would help small and medium entrepreneurs. This could be provided opportunities for both parties work together until the Presidential elections. On another side, current President Lee Myung-bak will work for the rest of this year and he has political support within the legislature to keep going his policies.

### **Implications for the Presidential elections of Korea**

The National Assembly election figures background for the 2012 presidential election. The presidential elections will be held in December<sup>209</sup>. At the moment, as ideology, conservative politics in both legislature and executive. Thus, the presidential elections will be formed on the basis of conservatives dominated background.

The Saenuri Party's victory came despite the current conservative administration, led by Lee Myung-bak, having a very low approval rating and the tactical alignment between the Democratic United Party and Unified Progressive Party (Ryu, 2012: 1). As Korean public see, Saenuri Party leader Park Geun-hye will continue (as she was challenged to Lee Myung-Bak for the presidential candidate run within the party in 2007) presidential candidate. However, things are not going easy for Park. Park's

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<sup>209</sup> This part of the paper's prepared in July, 2012.

leadership inside of the Saenuri will depend on public support for the Saenuri Party as a majority force in the National Assembly.

Despite the National Assembly election victory, the Saenuri Party has much to worry about in the upcoming presidential election. Recently, three of the Saenuri Party's presidential candidates – Kim Moon-soo, Kim Tae-ho and Yim Tae-hee announced that they will not take part in any of the upcoming primary events, including public speeches and debates, unless party chair Hwang Woo-yea resigns to take responsibility for the latest money fixed candidacy scandal, and moreover, they will boycott all primary-related activities until the results from the investigation into the scandal are out and party leader Hwang resigns.

For gathering and expanding public support, the above will bring a big challenge for the Saenuri as well as the party's leading presidential candidate Park Geun-hye. Meaningfully, Park criticized those of candidates for being disrespectful towards the people and the party. It is reasonable for avoiding downfall the entire party's image among public. Anyhow, the election results may enhance Park's chances in this December's presidential race. As a scholar Park noted, it would make her the first democratically elected female president in South Korea, an economically vibrant but largely male-dominated society (Park, 2012: 1). If the two liberal parties put forward united one candidate in the presidential election, Park Geun-hye or other candidate from the Saenuri will face tough fight. Because, the actual vote for the Saenuri Party was less than the combined share of the two liberals in the National Assembly election.

Briefly, the National Assembly elections affect the candidates from the parties for the Presidential elections especially in this Year of Election in Korea. Consecutive victories by conservatives since 2007 would be remained in December election.

In April election, domestic issues rather than foreign policy were key issues not only among parties but for public. This means that the National Assembly as a nationwide political represented institution has narrowly been focused on domestic issues seem to public foreign affairs which mainly ruled by the Executive as same as in presidential systems have been going correctly. Nevertheless, more clear policy or national issue differences will be appeared during the debates of the presidential election campaign.

Difficulties and challenges are not reasoned by outsourcing only. Inside the Saenuri, the battle between Park Geun-hye as a frontrunner and Kim Moon-soo as runner-up is heating up just before the final selection (*The Korea Herald*, 2012-08-13).

Now we'll see how the Saenuri Party set to elect its final presidential candidate at a national caucus on 20<sup>th</sup> August 2012<sup>210</sup>.

### **Conclusion Remarks: Is It Political Time for Women in Confucius Society?**

Korean female politicians' dramatic success and challenges in Korean society which heavily influenced by Confucianism are on the focus. In Confucian cultural society, women's social and political role was restricted to housing duties such as growing children and doing housework. However, since the 1990s Korean democratization, women's social status and their political activeness and participation has been increasing and strengthening. One of the crucial points is that of main political parties which are majority, principal opposition and third one are all ruling by women. Namely, Saenuri Party leader is Mrs. Park Geun-hye, main opposition Democratic United Party's leader is Mrs. Han Myeong-sook while third party in the legislature Unified Progressive Party's leader is Mrs. Lee Jung-hee respectively.

**Figure 2. Saenuri Party Leader Mrs. Park Geun-hye**



Source: The Telegraph (25 February 2013)

**Figure 3. Democratic United Party Leader Mrs. Han Myeong-sook**

<sup>210</sup> This part of the paper's prepared in July, 2012.



Source: Arirang News (13 April 2012)

**Figure 4. Unified Progressive Party Leader Mrs. Lee Jung-hee**



Source: Yonhap News Agency (25 September 2012)

Moreover, the revised electoral law which reflected by the Constitutional court decisions on July 2001 governing political parties stipulates that half of every party's proportional representation list has to consist of women candidates.

Thus, those of sub-parts as Confucius consideration of women in society and their historical social status, Korean adoption of Confucianism, and women's political participation in contemporary Korean politics, the latest phenomena would be integrated in this part if it may on.

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