

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSE (MONGOLIAN AND KOREAN CASES)

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INTRODUCTION: *In this paper, the author proposes to study and compare women's participation in political decision-making of Mongolian and Korean cases. Firstly based on cases examine women representatives in political decision-making and proposed to study election system outcomes. Secondly study role of Political parties, NGO's on increasing women's political participation.*

Women representatives in political decision-making

Until today in Mongolian and Korean cases, among all sectors in women employment of women and ensuring social position, only representatives in legislature and in political decision-making position are comparatively low.

In my research, it is no coincidence that choosing those two countries as study cases. Because in 2012, Korean first female candidate elected in Presidential election. But in 2013, Mongolian first woman ever became a candidate in Presidential Election. However it has Nomadic tradition, Mongolia has women social position is higher than any other Asian countries. (Enkhtsetseg 2008, 35)

But its women participation in political decision-making level is still limited. In 1924, Mongolian women regain their right to participation in politics. First Constitution Law in 1924, Declare that "No person may be discriminated on the basis of ethnic origin, language, race, age, sex, social origin or status, property, occupation or post, religion, opinion, or education" (Constitution of Mongolian People's Republic 1924 1:11). This states no change in 1940, 1960 and 1992 of Mongolian Constitution.

In 1924, Mongolian People's Republic (Mongolia known before 1992) aiming to establish Socialism. In Socialist Culture, Considerably improving women's education and secure equality of gender.

Government responses free health and education policy. And hence care in women health service, maternity health service was free. In this historically short period, Mongolian women had much changes appeared. For women employment, preschool nursery and kindergartens were built and taking care their children free of charge. This helps women can have actively participate in politics. Unfortunately political rights for women still limited and under one-party system, single ideology women participation in politics, were only symbolic nature. (Tsetsegjargal.Ts2009, 64)

On 27th September 1999, Mongolian Government and United Nation's Women's Development Foundation have agreed and signed on Memorandum of Understanding. This was beginning of cooperation of Mongolia and other world on Women rights in Mongolia. But until now more than half of Mongolian populations were women and their influence in politics not sufficient. In 1990, Mongolian huge political and social changes make women

situation worse. And it makes gender policy failed, social care on children and mother worsened, economic circumstances deteriorated. And also because of patriarchy restored women's family liable got higher and their politics and social participation got lower.

During transition period employment degraded, had unfair equity of social wealth, political and economic circumstances deteriorated, gender equality got worse. Before 1990, women participation in legislature reached 22%, new formed parliament in 1992 women members are only 3.9%.

Since 1990, Permanent functioned parliament formed by democratic elections for 20 years. During these 20years still women members number not sufficient.

Table.1 Women representatives in the Mongolian Parliament

	Total representatives	Total women	Women %
1992-96	76	3	3.9
1996-00	76	7	9.2
2000-04	76	9	11.8
2004-08	76	5	6.6
2008-12	76	3	3.9
2012-16	76	11	14.5

Source;Mongolian National Election Commission, <http://gec.gov.mn/> various sites, author's tabulation

According to history, women's rights for vote gained 20th century in Korea. During the Japanese colonial rule, nationalism and liberation rather than women's rights dominated the agenda. After South Korea was established as the Republic of Korea in 1948, however, women achieved constitutional rights for equal opportunities to gain access to public education and to work outside the home. (Mee-Hae Kong,2007)

In order to study Korea's political decision making level, we need to study legislature. Until today in history of Republic of Korea declared 6 Republic states.

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 check and balances. According to the Constitution, the President is a 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 legislature called National Assembly. (Politology, 2013, 202)

However Republic of Korea became Highly Developed Country in past 60 years, Women participation in political decision-making level still not sufficient.

Women memberseats in National Assembly are 15.7% in 2013, this number lower than world such numbers average 21.3%.

Today in National Assembly of Republic of Korea, there are 47 women out of 300 members.

Table.2 Women representatives in the National Assembly:

	Total representatives	Total women	Women %
1992-96	299	7	2.3
1996-00	299	11	3.6
2000-04	273	16	5.9
2004-08	299	39	13
2008-12	299	41	13.7

2012-16	300	47	15.7
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Source; IPU. Women in national paliaments, [archive of statistical data](#)

According to Confusion's ethics influenced women role are lower in family and social life. (Lee 1996). This perspective gradually changes in contemporary world, but still in economic power position, political decision-making level there are not sufficient women representatives. In minister positions there are less number of women. Park Geun-hye's government formed in 2013, there are 3 women ministers work in government. Researcher Diamond and research Kim are considered that 6th Republic State is successful model of democracy in history of Republic of Korea. (Hermanns 2006, 4)

In mid of 1980s Republic of Korea successfully changed from Military regime to Democracy. Also Mongolia changed its Socialist regime into Democracy. Hence our 2 cases have similarities. One similarity is in all level of Elections are held by democratic principle.

Both countries have common feature, that is leaders have most influence in their parties. In Korea, leaders are mostly Conservative in 1990s, but leaders have changed and became younger in 2000s. Unfortunately, these two countries while democratic consolidation they lost attention in gender inequality.

In 6th Republic State of Korea, first 3 elections outcomes show that women members decreased. During 1948-1972, there were up to 5 woman members in National Assembly. Totally 25 women members from direct election out of 72 women members in National Assembly during 1948-2004. During these time women representatives were 2.5%.

The constitution of the 6th Republic states of Korea stipulates single-member constituencies and includes a provision for proportional representation for about 20%-25% of the National Assembly. This effect on increase women representatives number. Since using provision for proportional representation, party leaders don't want to put women members in above the list.

Gender researchers always emphasize that proportional representative system is most convenient women political participation. Based on research in 23 Democratic countries, Wilma Rule concluded main lever of increase women's participation in politics, is their election system. (Bryson.2003,77) In some countries in their proportional representation system 1 in 2 must be women.

10 countries have most women representatives in legislature in the world, 8 of them have proportional election system, 2 of them have mixed system.

But countries have no women representatives in their legislature, they are all have majority election system. They are Jordan, Kuwait, Papua, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu.

In case of one mandate in majority election system, it's difficult to win woman. It showed in Mongolian election outcome case.

Since 1st January 2012, uses mixed Majority and Proportional representation in Mongolian Parliament election. Also there is quotation, not less than 20% candidates must women. Before 2012 parliament election, securing gender equality law implemented, it much infected outcome of election in 2012.

But in late 1990s, Mongolian parties' rules have women quota, such as Mongolian People's Party has 25%, Democratic Party has 30%, Civil Will Green Party has 50%.

Mongolian Parliament election uses following 3 types of system. Those are 1 mandate in constituency, multiple mandates in bigger constituency, Proportional and Majority mixed. Among all those three, most women representatives elected in mixed system. Since 1992, most women candidates in election 2012, 174 women candidates among 544 and 11 women became Member of Parliament. Also we have 3 women ministers in government.

In parliament candidate list of proportional in 2012, women are after 20 out of 26. In MPR (Mongolian People's Party) women are 10-23. In DP (Democratic Party) women are 7-

27. In CWGP (Civil Will Green Party) women are 1-26, Fair Justice Coalition 7-25. From those women candidates on the list, 7 women became member of Parliament. This proves that if women were above in the list more would be member.

Since 1948, Republic of Korea uses several methods in its election. They used also one mandate in constituency, multiple mandates in bigger constituency, proportional and majority mixed. In 2005 according to new law of election, multiple mandates in bigger constituency used in legislature, proportional representation used in local elections. Outcome of this, before 2.2% women were reached up to 15%. From them 75% were in the list.

Since 1990s, in order to have more votes, political parties promised securing gender equality, improve women's participation in politics. In 1998 major party and minority party both promised 30%-50% women quota in the list. But in local election quota doesn't apply well. In 2000, officially women quota appeared in local election. That is parties list must have 13% are must be women. After this law implemented women representatives became from 2.3% to 5.9%.

However quota law implemented, in common sense of lower the women perspective doesn't changed much in Korea. (Chang and Bae 2012,9)

High educated women still face difficulty in getting job. Even employed women are mostly left their job after their marriage.

In Korea politicians are mostly experienced in business or state administration organization. But women have not enough experience. Since 2004, public perspective dramatically changed and hence parties increase their women members. Major parties leaders became woman politicians.

On 12th March 2004, the Political Party Law of 2000 was reformed to include a quota for women. Article 31 of the law specifies that for the list PR elections, whereby 56 deputies are elected, political parties must include 50% women on the lists. For the majority portion of the election, whereby 243 representatives are elected in one mandate constituency, political parties are recommended to include at least 30% of women candidates in their constituencies. (Lowe-Lee, Florence. 2006)

But according to law of local election 2002, stated that in city councils the women's representation must be 50%. Women and men must be placed alternately on candidate lists (zipper-system). Considers Voluntary Political Party Quota GNP (Grand National Party) supports quotas of 30% for women candidates. GNP supports quotas of 30% for women candidates

Republic of Korean first woman organization, Korean National Council of Women have Founded in December 1959, the Council has launched initiatives over the past 4 decades to establish gender equality society. Collaborating with numerous women's organizations, they have been urging women to take part in and join forces for promoting women's progress, and creating a more humane and fair society for all. The Council's member pool, consisting of 42 organizations and 16 cooperatives (municipal · provincial women's cooperatives), is one of Korea's largest federations of women's associations (3 million members).

Following the successful struggle for democracy in the late 1980s, women's organizations began to focus on women's individual freedom, equality and human rights. Democratic society allowed women's organizations to become more professional and to diversify to reflect various strata, concerns and interests of women. Gender-specific issues, including equal opportunities and equal employment, rape and trafficking in women, and sex slavery during World War II, have come to dominate the agenda of women's organizations. Progressive women recognized the importance of cooperation for the advancement of women's issues and founded an umbrella organization called 'Korean Women's Association United', with 28 members nationwide in early 1987. More conservative groups were assembled under the umbrella of the aforementioned 'Korean National Council

of Women' after it had gained greater independence from government influence. The two organizations cooperate to pursue their goals, unlike many other civic groups and political parties in Korea that are frequently plagued by factionalism and an inability to work together.

By the second half of the 1990s, most women's groups no longer saw the state as an antagonist, and concluded that engagement in legislative politics is a suitable means of gaining influence on politics and policies. Since the local elections of 1995, women's groups have actively supported female politicians with financial contributions, manpower and education. The Kim Dae-jung administration (1998-2003) emphasized the relationship of state and civil society and consequently, prominent NGO-leaders joined his administration, either as ministers, high-ranking officials or as advisors.

Women's organizations influence government policies not only through well-qualified and trained activists but also undertake efforts to mobilize the general public for their causes, using diverse strategies such as lobbying, signature collections, demonstrations, and issue fighting. While women's organizations are relatively well organized, groups that could present opposition are less coordinated. Political parties are also in a weak position to oppose legislative changes in favor of women. They depend on a broad basis of voters and thus aim at appealing to as many voters as possible, including women. (Hermanns 2006,13)

Major women's organizations, including 'Korean Women's Association United', became incorporated in order to secure their formal legitimacy and gain access to state funds. Other civil groups, however, have declined government support to maintain their independence (most prominently one of the biggest NGOs 'People's Solidarity for Participatory Democracy'). Since there is only finite funding available, competition for government sponsorship erupted, leading to friction within the women's movement. Government support is also targeted at certain types of projects, steering activities in one direction, so that some groups have changed their focus in order to be able to access government funds. Critics also point out that institutionalisation brought a less democratic decision-making process and increased the 'oligarchy' of a few organizations in the movement

In 1990, Mongolian democratic revolution obtains market economic system. This system helps women express themselves freely. Property relation changed much and hence nationwide company owned women have appeared. During this time many women rights organizations are founded and still actively working today.

Firstly their main goal was increase number of women in political decision-making level as well as in political parties. During this time they consider that culture, ethics, voterspsychology are not main problem but political structure is the biggest problem for women participation. Hence their main interest was on Mongolian political structure changes.

Based on those organizations' scope, influence on political decision-making process, they can be categorized as below.

1. Women organization under Political Party. (Social Democracy Mongolian Women's Union, Democratic woman union, Civil Will Women Organization, etc.)
2. Nationwide woman organization (Mongolian women organization, Monfemnet etc.)
3. Non-Government Organization have less influences on Political decision-making process

Before 1990s, women's issues are activity under Women's Committee of the Central Council. But after 1990s, Women's Committee of the Central Council separated as small individual organizations. Inspired case of Scandinavian countries women organizations, their closely cooperative activities incredibly helpful women to increase their number in political decision-making level.

Reform in 1990, is considered as new era of women political activity. Today reform brings us following main advantages.

1. Empowering influenced gaining women experience in politics, social life.
2. Women faced problems are able reach governance by help of women rights organizations.
3. Through women organization under parties, women can participate their parties activity and involve its decision-making level

Conclusion

In Democratic strengthening, one the main expressing indicator is women participation in political decision-making level. However Mongolian and Korean cultures are different but women involvements have similarity.

In those two countries cases show that, both considered women involvement in politics and voluntarily made quotation in proportional system since 1990s. And hence both countries increase their number of women members in legislature. But in proportional representation system, we need more attention on where women in the list.

Biography

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