

Special Section**Gender and Political Leadership****Gender, Election Campaigns, and the First Female President of South Korea**

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South Korea elected Park Geun-hye as its first female president in 2012. She was also the first woman to ascend to a top political leadership position in Northeast Asia. Her bid for the presidency as a leading candidate throughout the election campaign brought keen attention to the question of gender. The literature on women in political leadership suggests that elections are a profoundly gendered terrain where women and men face different opportunities and challenges. This article analyzes the critical role played by gender in the campaign strategies used by Park and her male opponent, Moon Jae-in. Both Park and Moon mobilized widely accepted gender norms as core campaign strategies to expand their support bases beyond their partisan constituencies. They also strived to prove themselves qualified for the highly masculinized national leadership position. This article argues that Park was able to present positive new messages on women's political leadership, capitalizing on the promise of a "historically first" female presidency. Park's construction of her gender identities as a filial daughter of a former national leader committed to the nation successfully portrayed her as the one and only woman destined to be president. This gendered campaign helped establish her not only as a qualified and competent candidate but also one likeable and sympathetic to voters, which eventually led to her successful election.

Keywords

Park Geun-hye, woman president, presidential election campaign, masculinity, Moon Jae-in

Introduction

Park Geun-hye was elected the first female president of the Republic of Korea (Korea hereafter) by a majority vote in December 2012 and stayed in office until March 2017, when she was impeached and ousted. Her

dramatic rise to and fall from power drew a great deal of attention, for she was the first female head of state in Korea as well as in the Northeast Asian region, where male dominance in politics remains pervasive.¹

¹ Taiwan appears to be an exception, as women held 38% of the legislative Yuan in the 2016 election.

Unlike other women political leaders in Korea, Park demonstrated her political competence within a relatively short period since her return to politics in the 1998 by-election. She rose quickly to become a potential presidential candidate, after she led the national election assuming the position of party leader.

The literature on women and political leadership notes that women leaders tend to face a double-bind dilemma. If women leaders look feminine and soft, voters view them as less competent and thus not qualified for national leadership. However, if women show too many masculine traits, voters criticize them as cold and unlikeable. Voters evaluate women leaders much more harshly than men when they diverge from the expected gender roles. Women leaders have a hard time finding the right balance between femininity and masculinity to meet voters' expectations (See Deckman, Dolan in this volume).

However, not all women leaders experience and respond to these double-bind dilemmas in the same way. As Park Geun-hye's presidential election demonstrates, gender stereotypes often benefit women leaders in certain political contexts. Various factors such as personal background, political career, family ties, and most importantly (male) opponents in the election influence the gender dynamics in elections. Moreover, whether or not a society has already experienced female leadership, or whether or not it already has culturally specific gender roles associated with women leaders exist (such as St. Mary in Catholic culture), all

shape different opportunities and challenges for women aspiring to political leadership.

Previous studies on Park Geun-hye have attributed her political fortunes mainly to her family background (Lee 2017, Hahm and Heo 2017, Hüstebeck 2013, Lee 2012, KwonKim 2013, Kim 2012). These studies have viewed Park as a surrogate for her father, Park Chung Hee, a controversial authoritarian leader from 1963 to 1979. Park Chung Hee contributed to the nation's "miracle economic development," yet was criticized for serious human rights abuses and authoritarianism. This complicated legacy Park inherited sharply polarized voters. Members of the older generation nostalgic for Park Chung Hee lent strong support to Park Geun-hye's political leadership, while those critical of his authoritarian rule doubted her political competence. Her family ties motivated both her supporters and her opposition. Thus, although Park's family background facilitated her entrance into politics, she also needed to overcome the disadvantages of her family reputation to expand her support base and win the presidential election.

This article examines how Park managed to accomplish this in her presidential campaign. While both Park and Moon mobilized socially accepted gender norms to appeal to larger parts of the general public, Park was also able to present positive new messages on women's political leadership, capitalizing on the promise of a "historically first" female presidency. Park's construction of her gender identities as a filial daughter of a former national leader committed to the

nation successfully portrayed her as the one and only woman destined to be president.

In this article, I define gender politics in elections as the politicization of candidates' femininity and masculinity from the perspective of political representation as manifested in campaign strategies. Toward this end, I analyzed and compared Park Geun-hye's campaign under the motto the "well-prepared female president" and the opponent's "people first." Since both Park's and Moon's campaign strategies were carefully aimed against each other, this comparative approach is essential for demonstrating how gender shapes election campaigns as well as how gender is a relational concept constantly redefined and constructed in specific political contexts.

Emergence of Park Geun-hye and Women's Political Representation in Korea

Women are globally underrepresented in high-profile political office. Only in the last two decades has women's presence begun to increase in executive office and national legislatures (Zalalzi and Krook 2010, Zalalzi 2013, IPU). The global average rate of women's representation in legislatures reached 20% for the first time in 2012. Women's representation in top political leadership positions, lags behind legislative representation: As of January 2017, only 11

heads of state (7.2%) and 11 heads of government (5.7%) were women. However, women have not been completely absent from top political leadership in Asia. Until 2018, India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Korea, and Taiwan have elected or appointed women in top political leadership positions at least once. A majority of them were from powerful political families (Zalalzi and Krook 2010; Zalalzi 2013; Derichs and Thompson 2013; Skard 2014). When Park Geun-hye was elected president in 2012, she was the only elected female president in the region.² Like other female Asian leaders, her rise to power benefited greatly from her family background.³

Until Park rose to power (and even when she was in office), women's political representation in Korea was significantly low in all levels of the legislature and the administration. It took seventeen years for women to become ten percent of the national legislature even after the transition to democracy in 1987. Legislative gender quotas, first introduced in 2000, helped improve women's legislative representation, but the rate of increase has been sluggish (Shin 2014; Yoon and Shin 2015).⁴ Since the mid-1990s, women's movements have consistently pushed for better representation of women in politics. However, their demands targeted legislative bodies and

2 In 2016, Tsai Ing-wen was elected president by the popular votes in Taiwan.

3 But there have been other cases in Asia, such as through participation in the movement for democratization (Skard 2014).

4 In the 2016 national election, women held 17% of the seats in the national legislature. In the last three elections, there has been only 4% increase in the number of women.

electoral reforms and rarely considered women's representation in the administration as a target (Shin 2015).

Before Park Geun-hye's election, two women had been nominated for prime minister in Korea. The first prospective female prime minister was Chang Sang, who was nominated by the left-leaning president Kim Dae-jung (1998–2002) in 2002. However, the Hannara Party (then the opposition party) blocked her appointment for the real estate speculations and her son's US citizenship, and the expectation for the first female prime minister was aborted. Later the Roh Moo-hyun administration (2003–007) nominated Han Myeong-suk, a longtime women's rights activist who had headed the Ministries of Gender Equality and Environment, as prime minister. She managed to gain the endorsement of the national legislature and was sworn in as the first female prime minister (2006–2007).

These two women were promoted on the platform of left-wing governments. Their nominations were welcomed by women's movements on a wide spectrum of ideological positions. Women's groups argued that increasing women's presence in all levels of politics was essential for

democracy and for the realization of gender equality in society. "Women" in this case represented a minority perspective and a group facing discrimination. However, when a conservative politician and daughter of a former dictator, Park Geun-hye, emerged in a similar context, the assumed straightforward relationship between women's political representation and gender equality became complicated.

Park Geun-hye rose to become a popular political leader in the early 2000s when she was selected to lead the corruption-stricken Hannara Party, then in disarray, as part of the party's strategy for the national parliamentary election in 2004.⁵ The party was so unpopular that it was expected to lose most of its seats in the 2004 election. Park was elected party leader to save the party from crushing defeat. Her personal fame and commitment to the election campaign helped the party defend many seats that otherwise would have been easily lost. This event elevated Park to become by far the most popular and favored politician across opinion polls.⁶ Being a woman had rarely been a problem for her, nor had it been seen as reflecting a lack of leadership qualifications. On the contrary, gender equality advocates

5 Park was selected as a party leader when the Hannara Party fell into crisis as a result of illegal political fund collection. She decided to dispose of the party-owned building and moved the party headquarters to a tent pitched on the street. In the following national parliamentary election in 2004, the Hannara party won surprising 121 seats under her leadership, which was far more seats that the party had expected to win during such a crisis.

6 Park failed to win her party's nomination in 2007, defeated by Lee Myung-bak, but in 2012, she was selected as the party's presidential candidate by earning an overwhelming 84% of votes in the primary in 2012, where no other candidates of the party gained more than 9% of votes (Korea National Election Commission 2013, 68).

did not share the idea that she deserved the first female presidency, because she was not qualified to represent women.

Park has never been in a minority position in her life, nor had she been an advocate for women's policy issues. Her father became a president in 1963 when she was eleven. Since then, she lived a life different from that of most ordinary people. When her mother was assassinated by a North Korean agent, she assumed the role of first lady and acted in her mother's place until Park Chung Hee was assassinated himself by an aide. Even after she left the Blue House, Park never married, unlike most Korean women of her age. Because of her uncommon and tragic life experiences, the Korean public regarded Park as a unique type of woman, but also sympathized with her.

Park's emergence triggered harsh debates among women's rights activists. Their views varied from welcoming support for her bid for the presidency to strong reservations about her credentials for representing women's interests. For feminist activists on the left who had long struggled for gender equality and women's political representation, Park was simply not the right woman to serve as the first female president of Korea. In their view, Park was a collaborator with an authoritarian leader whose military regime brutally cracked down on a fledgling democracy and reinforced women's

oppression in the name of economic development and national security. Park's rising prominence in politics spurred them to ask what women's interests meant and who truly represented women's interests (KwonKim 2013). This question reemerged when she was later impeached.⁷

Campaign as Gendered Terrain

The results of the presidential election were so close that Park (of the Saenuri Party) won by a slim margin of 3.53% of the votes (51.55% to 48.02%).⁸ Gender politics added a completely new dimension to the traditionally partisan nature of the campaign. In previous presidential elections, candidates' sex and gender had rarely drawn any attention. This was mainly because all presidential candidates were male and the top executive power and political leadership positions were assumed to be a male arena. In the 18th presidential election in 2012, however, two competitive candidates of opposite sexes raised the profile of gender politics throughout the entire campaign period. The election might well be seen as a competition between men and women, highlighting women's leadership potential as head of state and its potential contribution to a more substantive representation of women.

Drawing on feminist election studies, the following section analyzes the ways in which gender played a significant role in the 2012

7 This article does not address how gender played out during the impeachment process, but some critics did not hesitate to devalue Park's failure as "women's failure." This view seems to have been more prominent in opposition camps.

8 National Election Commission, http://www.nec.go.kr/engvote_2013/main/main.jsp (Accessed March 27, 2013).

presidential election in Korea.

Gender Politics in the Eighteenth Presidential Campaign

Park Geun-hye: “A Well-Prepared Woman President”

Feminist political theorists have argued that the division between the public and private in liberal democracy is associated with the gender division between masculinity and femininity. Men participate in the public sphere as equal citizens while women take responsibility for domestic responsibilities (Pateman 1988). Femininity is thus associated with family or the domestic sphere. These stereotypical gender norms are a significant disadvantage for women running for public office. Women are criticized for discarding their primary gender roles, and their expression of femininity appears inappropriate and unsuitable in public office. While some women can take advantage of culturally ascribed gender roles such as those of motherhood and caregiving, they are often viewed as representing only women rather than all citizens.

In contrast, overly masculine traits or shows of dominance risk triggering claims of inappropriate aggressiveness, even though some aggressiveness is expected in public office. Women tend to be punished for displaying dominance, while men never do

(Duerst-Lahti 2014). As they are criticized for being too soft or too tough, women can never be just right (Carroll and Fox 2014). Thus, while gender is intrinsic to all public life and leadership, gender poses difficult challenges to women running for public office (Duerst-Lahti and Kelly 1995).

Gender Stereotypes?

Although being a woman did not handicap Park to the same degree as other women leaders, Park was not completely exempt from gender double-bind problems. Her male challengers in her party intended to dismiss Park’s leadership qualifications based on her sex and gender in the 2007 party primary. Her marital status—she had never been married—was one prominent example. In Korea, single people are viewed as not mature enough to be considered adults. For women in particular, being single often signifies incomplete or flawed womanhood; for instance, a woman must have problems if she cannot marry, single women are negatively depicted as hysterical and are assumed to be unpopular with men. Implying these negative gender stereotypes about single women, male challengers argued that she was neither qualified nor competent to determine national education policies, since she had never experienced parenthood herself.⁹

During her second bid for the presidency,

9 Lee Myung-bak made this essentialist comment during the party nomination contest for the 17th presidential election on Jan. 20, 2007. He was criticized for the sexism. Park refuted by asking if a man who did not fulfill military service (who was Lee Myung-bak) was qualified for the presidency. http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2007/01/22/2007012200633.html (Accessed May 14, 2018).

another attempt to diminish her leadership was based on women's competence in national security issues. Korea is a divided state in direct confrontation with North Korea. Militarism and national security have always been primary concerns of the state. One of her challengers in the primary argued publicly that women are not qualified to serve as president of Korea, since they do not participate in military service, as all men do.¹⁰ For him, the idea of a female president was premature in a nation as Korea, where the current status of the cease-fire with North Korea could deteriorate into war at any time; a strong masculine and military leadership was necessary for making tough decisions in the event of war. Therefore, women with no military experience or knowledge are not qualified for such leadership.

These arguments dismissing Park's leadership qualifications by emphasizing her femininity held little resonance with the public, since Park had never identified herself as a women's rights advocate, nor had she expressed her femininity as traditionally expected. Rather, her lack of femininity sparked the often-asked-question, "is she a really a woman?", which problematized her lack of traditional femininity. Park's presidential election campaign took advantage of this underdeveloped terrain of womanhood. Her carefully constructed gender messages based on her sex added a positive slant to her masculinized leadership, which was an extension of her father's militarized leadership. As much as Park's

popularity derived from strong support for her deceased father, her inevitable association with her father, both negative and positive, was what she had to overcome to reach beyond her traditional support base. Her being a woman contributed greatly to this task.

A Marker of Change and New Politics

Park's campaign slogan "the historic first female president of Korea" helped differentiate her political identity from that of her father. The literature on gender and politics shows that because women have long been marginalized in politics, they can often be seen as markers of change and the advent of a new politics (Skard 2014). Because a female president had been regarded as impossible in Korea, Park's candidacy generated heated debates on female leadership, and the possibility of her presidency itself attracted great interest in her candidacy. It was controversial whether Park could be a symbol of new politics since she had inherited her father's loyal supporters in her particular geographical region and represented conservative values. Nonetheless, her sex suggested that she as woman could be an agent for bringing about a fundamental change in male-dominated politics. The ruling Saenuri Party boasted that a female presidency would give rise to "the greatest transformation and reform in Korea."¹¹ The public might well have perceived that a women president meant a bigger change than a change of government to the opposition

10 Lee Jae-ho, interview at the Press Center in Seoul on June 18, 2012.

11 <http://news.join.com/article/9933169> (Accessed May 14, 2018).

Image 1. Park Geun-hye with supporters.



Source: Official Campaign Gazette of the Saenuri Party, 2012.

party. In this regard, her sex benefited her campaign more than it hurt it by making her campaign a historical first. Her campaign literature was full of images of women, including Park and young women surrounding her as well as women in the market (see Image 1). In contrast, men rarely appeared in her official campaign literature. This itself seemed to demonstrate how different Park's new presidency promised to be. This value helped her overcome her negative associations with an authoritarian past to a significant extent. Opinion polls indicate that "being a woman" ranked the first reason why supporters for Park favored her (Lee 2012).

Filial Daughter

Park's unusual career and personal life translated into her specific gender image. She entered the Blue House as a child. She spent most of her youth during her father's reign in power for 18 years. However, she was isolated after her parents' deaths in consecutive tragic accidents. These unusual experiences attracted strong public sympathy for her as a "pitiful princess" with unfailing perseverance. At the same time, no one dared

doubt her commitment to national security, for she herself was the biggest victim of North Korean aggression. Her male challengers' criticism only increased public sympathy for her.

Her political career also shaped her image as a sacrificed filial daughter, long considered a venerable traditional role for women in Korean society. She left graduate school after her mother's assassination to support her father. For the next 6 years until her father's assassination, she performed the first lady's role in her mother's stead. Her life history was a good reminder to voters of older generation of how unfailingly devoted she was to her family. She declared that Park Geun-hye would again devote herself to the people of nation. She even claimed that she had married the Republic of Korea, as a symbolic proof of her sincere commitment to the nation.

Park's TV election campaign ad released on Nov. 27 in 2012, titled "Park Geun-hye's wounds," emphasized this emotional commitment (Kang and Kim 2013).

Hegemonic Masculinity

However, women in top political

Image 2. Park Geun-hye in uniform looking over the demilitarized zone.



Source: Official Campaign Gazette of the Saenuri Party, 2012.

leadership positions also need to demonstrate strong masculinity. Top political leadership is a prototype of hegemonic masculinity, which is constructed by discourse and performance (Connell 1995). Studies of Angela Merkel in Germany demonstrate that female politicians earn high recognition, “but this recognition remains within the logic of a gendered system—emphasizing the possibility of a woman acting successfully as a man...The discursive recognition of a powerful leader is often accomplished by distancing leadership from femininity” (Lünenborg and Maier 2015, 193).

As previously mentioned, Park Geun-hye had never been an ordinary woman. She is a daughter of a powerful former president by birth and by her training during her six years’ experience serving as first lady and assisting her father. This political experience elevated

her beyond a level that any ordinary person could emulate. She was viewed as having been trained for the presidency directly from her father. A single woman with no military service experience would have otherwise been considered disqualified as commander-in-chief. However, her specific gender roles as first daughter-cum-first lady, along with her familial ties to a masculine father who was a military commander, all helped her overcome those obstacles. Ironically, the militarized nature of the Korean presidency contributed to her rise as the first woman president.

Likeability and Familiarity

Many opinion polls show more women than men, and more elderly than younger voters, supported Park in the 2012 presidential election. Specifically, women in their 50s and older turned out to be her biggest support cohort. One could argue that her bid for the presidency boosted women voters’ interest in the election. In the last decade, the 2012 presidential election was the first time when more women cast a vote than men. In addition, the voting rate was the highest in all recent presidential and national elections for both women and men.

As Table 1 shows, the 2012 presidential election drew heavy attention, reversing the continuous decline in voting rates since the 1987 presidential election. The gender difference was the biggest in 2012, with 1.6% more participation among women than men.¹² Exit polls suggested that Park attracted

12 This trend continued to hold for the 19th presidential election, but the gender difference narrowed: men 76.2% vs. women 77.3% (Korea National Election Commission 2017). However, in the next

Table 1. Change in vote rate by sex and election.

	2002 Presidential election	2004 National election	2007 Presidential election	2008 National election	2012 National election	2012 Presidential election
Women	70.3	59.2	63.1	44.3	53.1	76.4
Men	71.3	63	63.3	48.4	55.7	74.8

Source: Korea National Election Commission, each year

more women voters to the polls. In the city of Daegu (Park's constituency), the voting rate was 79.7%, higher than the average voting rate of other major cities (76.8%). Both men (78%) and women (81.3%) participated in the election at much higher rates than those in other cities and regions (75.4% for men, 78.2% for women). It is notable that the voting rate of women of 40 years and older was highest in the city of Daegu (84.4%) (Korea National Election Commission 2013, 356). Also, the voting rate of women in their 50s in the 2012 presidential election (82.9%) was the highest among all elections in the Korean history (Korea National Election Commission 2017, 27).

Interviews with working class women in the 50s who supported Park echo this statistical outcomes (Lee 2012). They found Park filial and likeable, also believed that he was cleaner and more sincere than most male politicians. Women of Park's generation grew up watching Park's performance as first lady. For them, Park Geun-hye was the most familiar politician. Voting for Park was an empowering political action for women who had hardly been as having active political

agency.

Moon Jae-in: Head of an Ordinary Household

Moon Jae-in's campaign challenged Park Geun-hye's campaign to become the first female president. Moon Jae-in, a lawyer turned politician, began his career as an aide to the former president Roh Moo-hyun. He was known as a person of good will and intelligence as well as a best friend and supporter of Roh. His short political career and service as second man in the Roh government gave him a reputation for softness and a lack of political charisma. Park's masculinity posed a great challenge to Moon, despite his natural sex. Had Park not been the daughter of Park Chung Hee, Moon would have never been questioned about his masculinity simply by virtue of his being a man. However, Moon had to compete with a woman candidate to demonstrate true masculinity. This raised the possibility of men having gender apart from that determined by their natural sex and its traditional standards (Duerst-Lahti 2014, 31).

Moon employed two gender images to

presidential election in 2017 held after Park's impeachment, the voting rates in the city of Daegu and the surrounding province dropped in contrast to the general trend of increasing rates in other regions.

contrast himself from Park Geun-hye. The first was that of a first son (*Jangnam*) who was also a responsible father himself. To counter Park's filial daughter message, Moon claimed that he would be the first son of the nation. In Korean culture, the first son is the central figure of the family. First sons have been expected to take over the position as head of the family for generations. The first son takes responsibility for all family matters and makes important decisions.

The second gender construction was that of a generous but competent male leader able to understand the hardships of the young (male) generation. He also shared military service experience with the younger generation through his own lived experience as a young man. These were all carefully selected images to contrast against Park's gendered images as the first daughter and the inherited commander-in-chief traits from Park Chung Hee.

First Son

In Korean culture, the first son is a cultural icon of responsibility and someone to rely on. However, the expectation for the role of the first son is also an embodiment of patriarchal family values. Traditional families had invested most resources in the upbringing of the first son at the expense of daughters and younger brothers, since the success of the first son would guarantee the survival of family members. While daughters were expected to marry out to become a member of another family, the first son would protect the family no matter what happened. Moon put forward the message that he was a

Image 3. Moon Jae-in with his wife.



Source: Official Campaign Gazette of the United Democratic Party, 2012.

trustworthy and reliable leader just like the first son of ordinary families.

However, the first son can serve the family only when he marries a hardworking and obedient wife who would carry out all duties to serve the family. Thus the first son needs to be also a patriarchal husband and father. Image 3 represents such an image of a responsible father and husband. It was also intended to deliver an image of an ordinary family to emphasize that Moon comes from the same kind of family as other typical families, in contrast to Park. In Moon's family, the husband and wife are depicted as embracing hierarchical gender relations, with him standing and his seated wife looking up to him with love and respect. However, Moon does not even look at her. He looks to the distance as he embraces his grand ambitions and aspirations to serve the nation in the future. His wife stands by him, lending full support as his domestic partner. Moon's TV commercial, "launch of the campaign" released on Nov. 27 carried similar images. The scene where his wife was ironing in the

shadows while he was napping in a chair drew criticism from many feminist activists.

It is doubtful whether this traditional division of labor by gender could have appealed to women of younger generations whose own family values had now changed tremendously.

The Marine Corps

It was the opposition party male candidate Moon whose gender was challenged and whose qualifications were subject to doubt. Due to his softness, his own political independence apart from the former president Roh was called into question. Moon, more than Park, invited skepticism from the conservative constituency about his leadership in a time of security crises. Conservative parties had frequently criticized Moon's party for being too soft on North Korea. For Moon, the most imperative task was to dispel persistent doubts about whether he and his party were tough enough to defend the nation from outside aggression. Moon's biggest challenge was to prove a strong masculinity that would qualify him for the presidency.

Masculinity is embraced and acted out by both men and women. Duerst-Lahti analyzed U.S. presidential elections from the perspective of dominance and technical expertise masculinities and found that two to three times as many "dominance masculinity" words as "expertise masculinity" words had been represented in newspaper articles. She thus concluded that "dominance masculinity drives the ethos of presidential campaigns...posing particular challenges for

Image 4. Moon Jae-in with young soldiers.



Source: Official Campaign Gazette of the United Democratic Party, 2012.

women" (Duerst-Lahti 2014, 40).

The incumbent president at the time of the 18th presidential election was Lee Myung-bak, who came from a corporate background. Korean citizens had elected him with the hope that his business expertise would lead to a better economy in the neoliberal era. However, such a prospect did not emerge, disappointing his voters. That public sentiment generated a political apathy towards the value of technical masculinity. Therefore, Moon had to be re-gendered as a tough man in order to differentiate himself from the unpopular incumbent president; on top of that, he had to project a stronger and truly competent masculinity as a contrast to Park's inherited masculinity as a strongman's daughter.

His strategy was to play up his masculine leadership style by portraying himself as a strong and reliable man who had endured a tour of duty in a special military unit. The official campaign literature for Moon Jae-in highlights this effort. In this image, Moon

converses with soldiers sitting next to each other. In contrast to the young men's short hair and tough face, however, Moon looks more considerate than strong and tough. Competition with Park to display hegemonic masculinity resulted in Moon's intelligent and generous leadership being downplayed, when it could have successfully presented a different masculinity than a militarized masculinity.

The outcome of the campaign was mixed. Newspaper analyses show that both the conservative news daily Chosun and the progressive news daily Hangyere used more words describing soft and feminine leadership for Moon than for Park. Although Moon's support rate increased to become close to that of Park, he never overcame Park's lead. As Youn and Lee argued, a majority of voters did not seek feminine leadership in the 2012 presidential election, but instead elected masculine leadership firmly embodied in a female leader (Youn and Lee, 2014: 218).

Conclusion

Park Geun-hye's presidential candidacy and her subsequent victory in popular vote raised many questions about gender and political representation in Korea. Park capitalized on her gender roles as a filial daughter of a former assassinated president to appeal to conservative values and recall a prosperous time for the nation, as well to

evoke new leadership to break the security crisis caused by North Korea. Toward this end, gender strategies played a central role in campaign politics. However, it is unfortunate that Park's presidency did not bring about any tangible achievement in gender equality and women's lives during her tenure. She herself had to step down following impeachment. Just like her rise and election to the presidency, her fall was also significantly gendered. Her sex became a blatant target of political criticism. She was sexualized and re-gendered as a selfish and incompetent woman.

This also raised considerable doubts that the failure of the first female presidency could be viewed as the failure of female politicians in general, and her fall seen as a proof of women's political incompetence. Yet, her presidency played a positive role in that at least considerable awareness was raised about women's representation in Korea by highlighting the masculine and militarized nature of political life and how a female presidency can change this ubiquitous yet invisible phenomenon.

The prospect for women's political leadership in Korea is therefore still far in distance. The popular discourse of Park as the one and only woman who was a princess and a strongman's daughter, all limit women's political leadership to only specific types of women. Thus, top political leadership has been reinstated as a masculine terrain.

Funding

The research for this article was funded by Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research [C], “Woman President and Women’s Political Representation: The Case of Park Geun-hye in South Korea” [grant number 26360042]; The Ministry of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation of Korea [grant number NRF-2015S1A3A2046903]

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(掲載決定日：2018年5月16日)

要旨

韓国大統領選挙におけるジェンダー・ポリティクス：朴槿恵と文在寅の選挙キャンペーンの比較研究

Ki-young Shin

2012 年の第 18 回大統領選挙で、朴槿恵が韓国初の女性大統領に選出された。彼女は東アジア地域における、初の女性の最高政治指導者でもある。2012 年の選挙は、最有力候補であった朴槿恵と、文在寅との、事実上の男女一騎打ちであったため、その性別が大きな注目を集めた。女性と政治リーダーの先行研究によれば、選挙は極めてジェンダー化された領域であり、女性と男性は異なる機会と困難に直面する。本稿では、朴槿恵と対抗馬の文在寅両候補の選挙戦略に着目し、ジェンダーがどのような役割を果たしたかを分析する。両者はともに、支持基盤である政党支持層より広範な票を獲得するために、伝統的なジェンダー規範を選挙のコアの戦略として動員した。また彼らは、分断国家の大統領に求められる軍事化された男性性を備えた候補者であることを証明しようとした。朴槿恵は、国の繁栄に身を捧げる親孝行娘として親しみと同情を持たれるとともに、元大統領の父親から政治リーダーシップの教育を受けた唯一の女性、というジェンダー・アイデンティティを打ち出すことで、大統領としての資質と能力を示すことに成功した。他方で文在寅は、革新政党的候補であったにも関わらず家父長制家族規範に訴える戦略を取り、政治的理念と相反するジェンダー戦略を取った。

キーワード

朴槿恵、女性大統領、大統領選挙戦、男性性、文在寅

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Ki-young Shin is Associate Professor in the Institute for Gender Studies and the Graduate School of Humanities and Sciences at Ochanomizu University. Ph.D. in Political Science. Winner of Betty Nosveld Best Paper on Women and Politics (Western Political Science Association, 2004). Research interests include gender quotas, comparative women's movements and gender policies in East Asia. Recent works appeared in *International Political Science Review*, *Politics & Gender*, *Pacific Affairs* as well as many English, Japanese and Korean Edited volumes.