Are Women More Peace-Oriented Than Their Male Colleagues? : Korean Women Legislators' Voting Behavior on War Bills

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Abstract

The purpose of my study is to identify whether female legislators behave differently than their male counterparts when it comes to voting on war bills. While an increasing number of studies examine the influence of gender on legislative politics, quite a few give empirical evidence outside of western democracies. During the 16th and 17th Korean National Assembly sessions, my analysis discovered that female members were less inclined to vote in favor of sending troops to Iraq and Afghanistan. Additionally, I find that female members of the president party are less likely to vote for war bills as their electoral superiority grows. My work advances our understanding of the effect of gender on roll call votes in Korean legislative politics by providing interesting empirical evidence.

Keywords : Gender, Korean National Assembly, War, Roll Call

Ⅰ. Introduction

In August 2004, the South Korean legislature, amid strong opposition, approved 155 to 50 (with seven abstentions) in a roll call vote to deploy 3000 South Korean soldiers to reinforce the 660 military and engineering personnel already stationed there the previous year. South Korea's parliament delayed but finally authorized the beginning mission in Iraq in favor of the US coalition a year ago, by a vote of 179 to 68. While the Iraq War debates centered on the liberal-conservative division, a significant anti-Iraq War protest developed among women's non-governmental groups. In 2004, the anti-war women forum, a coalition of 51 women's organizations, raised objections to the Iraq War and urged female lawmakers to vote against Iraq War legislation. As a consequence of this pressure, fifteen newly elected female members of the 17th Congress decided to urge the government to rethink its decision to deploy soldiers to the Iraq War. While the actual voting choices of female legislators differed according to a variety of conditions, this raises the issue of why they behave differently. While previous study has examined whether a gender difference exists in foreign policy, there is no consensus on the factors influencing the conduct of women representatives. To answer this question, I examine available data on legislative foreign policy voting and outline the situations under which women members' voting behavior differs.

Ⅱ. War Issues and Women Representatives

Existing research indicates that women are less likely to endorse the use of force than men (Fite, Genest and Wilcox 1990; Frankovic 1982; Sarkees and McGlen 1993; Caprioli 2000; Regan and Paskeviciute 2003). According to this study, increasing women's political participation may result in a more pacific foreign policy. The influence of gender on foreign policy, on the other hand, is inconsistent and dependent on a number of confounding variables. Norris and Lovenduski (1989) observe that female candidates are more inclined to advocate for defense cutbacks and oppose military budget increases. However, another research reveals that after the party aspect is eliminated, women behave similarly to males on military issues (Norris 1996).

Rather than that, Swers (2007) notes that women lawmakers support defense legislation as a counterbalance to negative assumptions about women's abilities to lead on military affairs. She argues that women members of the Democratic party, in particular, have a strong incentive to support defense legislation because they confront the dual challenge of gender stereotypes and their identification with a liberal party regarded to be weak on defense. This is an intriguing argument since previous research indicates that the public has a preconceived notion that women lawmakers are better equipped to handle social welfare and humane concerns than military and foreign policy issues (Alexander and Andersen 1993; Rosenwasser and Seale 1988). Thus, the active

engagement of women lawmakers and their hawkish posture on foreign policy issues may be interpreted as a direct reaction to gender norms. This approach, however, raises the issue of which component is more essential in understanding women legislators' foreign policy activity. Koch and Fulton (2011) offer a contradictory finding: increasing the amount of women in the legislative reduces conflict behavior, but increasing the proportion of women in the executive branch increases conflict propensity. This mixed conclusion demonstrates the difficulty that women legislators have when dealing with foreign policy concerns. While women lawmakers should exhibit a genuine preference for peace over conflict in foreign policy matters, they should also demonstrate resolve in actively fighting gender preconceptions that women are incapable and unable to manage such matters. Our study, based on the current literature, proposes two distinct hypotheses concerning women lawmakers' roll-call behavior on war issues.

Hypothesis 1: South Korean women legislators in single member districts and proportional list are less likely to vote for military deployment to Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as for their extension.

Hypothesis 2: South Korean women legislators in single member districts and proportional list are more likely to vote for military deployment to Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as for their extension.

Along with the effect of gender stereotypes on the behavior of women representatives on foreign policy issues, additional explanatory variables exist. According to scholars, parties and the president have a sizable influence on how members of Congress vote on foreign policy issues. Wildavsky (1998) asserts that presidents are more successful in foreign policy. This is because executives have constitutional and institutional advantages over legislatures when it comes to foreign affairs. This is referred to as the "two-presidency" argument (McCormick and Wittkopf 1990).

Additionally, scholars have long debated the effect of party affiliation on congressional foreign policy votes. While scholars disagree about the extent to which party affiliation affects congressional voting (Snyder Jr and Groseclose 2000; Ansolabehere, Snyder Jr, and Stewart III 2001), it is assumed that parties have a sizable independent effect on foreign policy votes. Recent research indicates that even when the primary foreign threat or issue is widely agreed upon at the national level, partisan disagreement exists over foreign policy preferences (Fordham 2002; Koch and Sullivan 2010).

These two factors significantly influence how women representatives vote on foreign policy issues. Due to the vulnerability of women's status within a party in comparison to their male colleagues, they may be compelled to support the president and the party line on foreign policy issues. In the occasion that women representatives' chances of being nominated as candidates in primary elections are strongly influenced by the party leader or the president, their behavior would be constrained to support the president and the party

line, in contrast to their male counterparts. On the other hand, if their electoral competency was established during the previous election, they may exercise greater discretion in their voting behavior. In this case, female representatives can demonstrate their true preference; a greater propensity for peace.

Thus, women legislators' preference for peace in foreign policy is contingent on their electoral safety, as electorally competitive women legislators are a valuable asset to the party. In this sense, I argue that women legislators in a president's party have greater autonomy to act according to their own will if they have demonstrated their ability to do so.

Women members, on the other hand, who are assigned to competitive or dangerous districts are expected to adhere to the party line and the president. Given their awareness of their district's vulnerability, they must demonstrate their loyalty to the party leadership and president in order to be considered for candidacy in the upcoming election. Candidate selection in Korean politics has long been influenced by the party leadership and the president.

While grass-roots party members' participation in selecting candidates has increased since 1989, the party leadership and the president have had a significant influence on the candidate selection process in South Korean politics. In this context, women members who face gender bias and electoral vulnerability have a greater incentive to support the party leadership and president when their electoral prospects are bleak, even if it contradicts their peace preferences.

In the case of the Iraq and Afghanistan War bills, a liberal

president chose to join the war as a long-standing US ally. While individual members of the two liberal parties, the Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) and the Uri Party (UP), held divergent views on war, the president and party leadership pressed members to support the government's decision. In this case, I hypothesize that electoral competency influenced the autonomous behavior of party members, as well as the behavior of female members.

Hypothesis 3 (Single-member district): As female members of a president's party gain a greater vote share in their districts, they are less likely to vote for troop deployment to Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as for their extension.

Ⅲ. Research Design Dependent Variable

As Table 1 demonstrates, very few female candidates were elected in the 16th and 17th general elections in Korea. Despite a historically low proportion of female members, the 17th KNA saw a remarkable increase in female membership. The 2004 revised Public Official Election Act and Political Parties Act enacted both the 50 percent quota system for the National Assembly and the Zipper nomination system, which resulted in an increase in the number of female legislative members. Additionally, the Democratic Labour Party's (DLP) historical ascension to the national assembly fueled the growth of female members.

Additionally, Table 1 indicates that both the president and

opposition parties voted in favor of war bills. Conservative parties in the KNA, such as the Grand National Party (GNP) and the United Liberal Democrats (ULD), were expected to take a more pro-US alliance position.

Table 1. Elected Legislative Members for 16th and 17th General Elections

16th Korean National Assembly								
Party Names	Number of Seats						President Party	Opposition Party
	Single Member District		Proportional Members		Total			
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women		
Grand National Party (GNP)	111	1	15	6	126	7		●
Millennium Democratic Party (MDP)	92	4	12	7	104	11	●	
United Liberal Democrats (ULD)	12	0	5	0	17	0		●
Minor Parties	7	0	0	1	7	1		
Total	222	5	31	14	254	19		
17th Korean National Assembly								
Grand National Party (GNP)	95	5	10	11	105	16		●
Uri Party (UP)	124	5	11	12	135	17	●	
Millennium Democratic Party (MDP)	5	0	2	2	7	2		●
United Liberal Democrats (ULD)	4	0	0	0	4	0		●
Democratic Labor Party (DLP)	2	0	4	4	6	4		●
Minor Parties	3	0	0	0	3	0		
Total	233	10	27	29	260	39		

Liberal parties, on the other hand, such as the Millennium Democratic Party (MDP) and the Uri Party (UP), were traditionally expected to take an autonomy-centric stance. While confronting the president on domestic issues, the GNP demonstrated strong support for war issues. During the 16th

KNA, the ULD also demonstrated their unwavering support for the US-Korea alliance. As a result, the cleavage between the president's party and the opposition party on war issues was ambiguous. Women members of the president party faced a dilemma between liberal and president party membership. Although this dilemma existed among male president party members as well, I argue that women members were more vulnerable to pressure from the president and party leadership to vote for the war bill because their status in the party was more vulnerable than male colleagues.

My study examines how members of the KNA voted on the Iraq and Afghanistan War bills. During the 16th (2000-2004) and 17th (2004-2008) sessions of the Korean National Assembly, war bills included dispatching Republic of Korea (ROK) forces to Iraq and extending the deployment of its troops. There were a total of 11 bills addressing issues related to the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. A vote is coded as a 1 if it was in favor of one of the War bills, and as a 0 if it was opposed to one of the War bills or was absent. I analyze each member's roll-call votes on alliance issues using the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea's Bill Information System. The study's unit of analysis is legislators who responded to a survey conducted by Joongang Daily-the Korea Party Association at the start of each assembly for newly elected legislators. The survey of newly elected legislators sought to ascertain their ideological and policy positions on North Korea and US foreign policy. Despite the fact that not all legislators responded to the survey, the data demonstrate a high degree of accuracy in capturing legislators' ideology and issue

positions. I pool the roll call voting records for each bill based on this survey. 11 War bills received a total of 1,799 individual roll call votes. Single district members conducted 1,340 roll call votes, while proportional members conducted 459 roll call votes.

1. Independent Variable

To assess women legislators' electoral competitiveness, I draw on previously published research that utilized district-level candidate vote share. While there has been considerable debate about what constitutes a reliable measure of electoral competency, I used the candidates' percentage of the vote in an election to assess electoral competitiveness. Some research indicates that members feel unsafe at any margin (Jacobson 1987). As a result, I use absolute vote share as a proxy for the safety of Korean legislators in their districts. I anticipate that as the vote share of female candidates increases, they will feel more secure in their districts and recognize their competence has been established. As a result, they have more autonomy to be peace-seeking than other female members with a low vote share. Additionally, I examine the robustness of hypothesis 3 by examining the interaction between a female member's seniority (up to three).

2. Control Variables

In my models, I take into account confounding variables that may affect my estimation. According to studies of the Korean National Assembly voting, ideological conflict between liberals and conservatives plays a significant role in explaining the KNA's voting patterns (Hix and Jun 2009; Jin-Young 2006). Given that liberals in Korea have historically demonstrated anti-Americanism on foreign policy issues, while conservatives have demonstrated strong support for the US-Korea alliance, this research assumes that an ideological dimension accounts for members' voting behavior on war bills. Two methods are used in the measurement developed by Joongang Daily and the Korean Party Studies Association. It directly assesses members of the National Assembly's ideology by asking them to rate themselves on a scale of 0 (most liberal) to 10 (most conservative). I also include a number of other control variables that influence members' voting behavior, such as national defense committee affiliation, education level, seniority, and the average of public opinion on troop dispatch to Iraq and Afghanistan.

3. Methods

The model is estimated using logit analysis. The conventional method for estimating the data's variance-covariance matrix assumes that a single value characterizes the variance across

observations and that no observations are correlated with one another. However, when observational units are correlated within well-defined clusters that are distinct from other clusters, such as roll call voting, the homoscedastic and independence assumptions are violated. To address these violations, I adopted the clustered approach (Arceneaux and Nickerson 2009; Aronow, Samii, and Assenova 2015).

Ⅳ. Estimation Results and Interpretation

The results of logit models estimated for the 16th and 17th Korean National Assembly voting on war bills are presented in Tables 2 and 3. First, in Column (1) of Table 1, female members are less likely than male members to vote in favor of deploying troops to Iraq and Afghanistan.

As a result, we can confirm Hypothesis 1 rather than Hypothesis 2. In order to testify Hypothesis 3, I include the interaction term between president party's female member and her vote share in the last election. The interaction term has a positive statistical significance, as expected. Figure 1, based on Model 2 in Table 2, illustrates the predicted probabilities of roll call voting on troop deployment depending on female members' vote share. As you can see, female members of the president party are less likely to vote for sending troops to Iraq and Afghanistan as their voter share in the previous election increases.
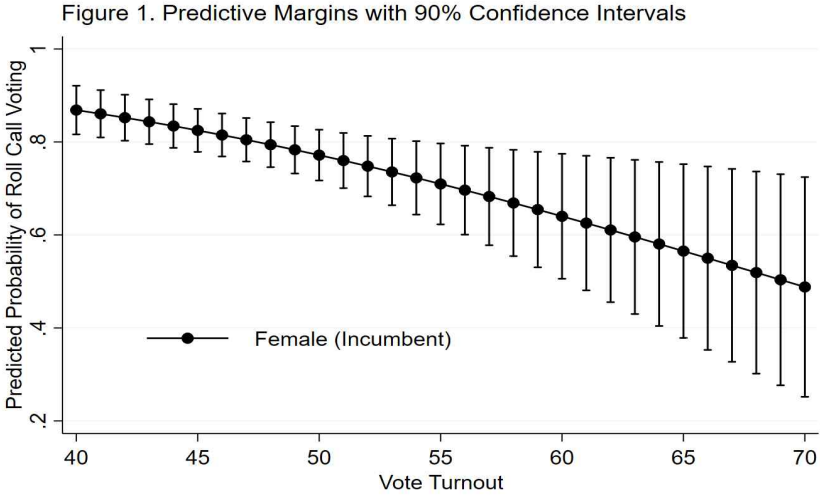
Table 2: Results of Logit Model Estimation for Voting on War Issues

	(1) Whole	(2) SMD	(3) SMD
Female	-0.62** (0.25)		
Female (Incumbent)		4.69*** (1.59)	
Vote Share		0.016* (0.0096)	0.015 (0.0096)
Female (Incumbent)*Vote Share		-0.094*** (0.032)	
Female (Opposition)			1.06 (2.20)
Female (Opposition)*Vote Share			-0.050 (0.048)
Public Opinion	0.027*** (0.0074)	0.029*** (0.0088)	0.030*** (0.0087)
Seniority	0.43*** (0.13)	0.26* (0.14)	0.27* (0.14)
Defense Committee	0.72 (0.66)	1.85*** (0.72)	1.83** (0.72)
Education Level	-0.69*** (0.14)	-0.44*** (0.14)	-0.40*** (0.14)
Ideology	0.49*** (0.057)	0.55*** (0.068)	0.57*** (0.066)
Constant	-0.92 (0.59)	-2.44*** (0.77)	-2.59*** (0.76)
N	1799	1425	1425
Log Lik.	-824.6	-642.6	-641.1
AIC	1663.3	1303.2	1300.2
BIC	1701.8	1350.6	1347.6

Cluster standard errors by legislators in parentheses
* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

From this estimation result, we can infer that when female members' electoral competitiveness rises, they will be in a stronger position to demonstrate peace-making inclination, even if it goes against the party line and the president's preferences. If female members' vote share falls, on the other hand, they are more inclined to support the party line or the president.

Figure 1. Predictive Margins with 90% Confidence Intervals

In Table 3, I evaluate the electoral competitiveness hypothesis using the seniority of female members rather than their vote share. If a female member has a high success record in previous elections, she is more competitive in party primaries than members with a low seniority record. As a result, they are more likely to exhibit their genuine preference in a roll call vote, even if it runs counter to the party line and the president.

Column (1) of Table 3 reveals a negative statistical significance for the interaction term, indicating that as the seniority of female president party members increases, they are less likely to vote for war bills. As with the estimation finding in Table 2, seniority has no effect on female members of opposition parties' voting decisions.

Table 3: Results of Logit Model Estimation for Voting on War Issues (Continued)

	(1) Whole	(2) Whole
Seniority	0.52*** (0.14)	0.40*** (0.13)
Female (Incumbent)	1.15** (0.53)	
Female (Incumbent)*Seniority	-0.75*** (0.28)	
Female (Opposition)		-1.34** (0.61)
Female (Opposition)*Seniority		0.045 (0.39)
Public Opinion	0.028*** (0.0074)	0.028*** (0.0075)
Defense Committee	0.67 (0.63)	0.66 (0.67)
Education Level	-0.69*** (0.14)	-0.68*** (0.14)
Ideology	0.52*** (0.060)	0.55*** (0.056)
Constant	-1.28** (0.60)	-1.17** (0.57)
N	1799	1799
Log Lik.	-829.1	-815.5
AIC	1674.2	1647.0
BIC	1718.1	1691.0

Cluster standard errors by legislators are in parentheses.

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Additionally, I discovered some interesting results regarding control variables. As expected, conservative assembly members are more likely to favor war bills than liberal assembly members. Additionally, when the education level of assembly members rises, they are less likely to vote for war bills. Concerning the defense committee's affiliation, the variable has no effect on members' voting behavior.

Ⅴ. Conclusion

Existing legislative research demonstrates that election competition and party affiliation do affect roll-call voting in a variety of contexts. Despite an increase in the number of research, gender and foreign policy issues have received scant attention. Furthermore, the majority of research has been undertaken in the United States and Europe. As a result, existing study must be expanded outside European states to include additional mixed-voting systems. I analyze the impact of gender and electoral competitiveness on women legislators' voting decisions on troop dispatch to Iraq and Afghanistan using roll call voting behaviors. I discovered that female members are less likely to vote for war bills than their male peers. Additionally, when women's electoral dominance grows, they are less likely to vote for war bills, even when they run counter to the party line and the president.

In contrast to western major democratic powers such as the United States and the United Kingdom, war voting cases in the South Korean national assembly are highly limited. However, my research suggests that in other foreign policy issues, such as the relationship between South and North Korea and overseas aid, female members' voting may differ from their male colleagues. In future research, we can look into how South Korean female members vote differently than their male counterparts on other foreign policy issues.

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<논문요약>

여성은 남성보다 평화를 선호하는가? : 한국 여성 국회의원들의 전쟁관련 법안 투표행태에 관한 연구

진활민

(텍사스 A&M 대학교)

  본 연구는 한국 여성 국회의원들이 외교 안보 이슈와 관련한 호명 투표에 있어서 남성 의원들과 다른 투표 행태를 보이는가에 관한 질문을 규명하고자 한다. 젠더가 의회 정치의 행태에서 어떤 영향을 미치는가의 연구는 지속해서 증가하고 있으나 대부분의 연구는 서구 민주주의 국가를 중심으로 이루어져 왔다. 본 연구는 16대와 17대 국회 회기 당시 이라크 전쟁, 아프가니스탄 전쟁 파병안 찬성 여부의 호명 투표의 행태에 초점을 맞춘다. 정량적 연구 결과 한국 여성의원들은 남성 동료들과 비교하면 파병안에 찬성하는 확률이 낮은 점을 발견했다. 또한 여당 여성의원들의 경우 이전 선거에서의 득표율이 높을수록, 선거 선수가 높을수록 파병안에 찬성하는 확률이 줄어든다는 점을 발견했다. 이를 통해 본 연구는 그동안 정량적 연구가 부족했던 한국 국회에서의 여성의원들의 투표 행태의 요인에 대한 이해를 높이고자 한다.

주제어 : 젠더, 한국 국회, 전쟁, 호명 투표