



**FEMALE LEADERSHIP REPRESENTATION AND GENDER MAINSTREAMING
EFFORTS: CLOSER LOOK INTO PARK GEUN-HYE'S PRESIDENCY AND
CHILDCARE LEAVE POLICY (2013-2016)**

UNDERGRADUATE THESIS

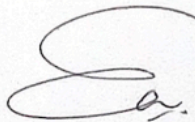
**Submitted as one of the requirements to obtain
Sarjana Ilmu Sosial (S.Sos)**

**By:
DEVIKA NATISHA REVI
016201900089**

**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STUDY PROGRAM
CIKARANG
JUNE 2023**


**PANEL OF EXAMINER
APPROVAL SHEET**

The Panel of Examiners declare that the thesis entitled “**Female Leadership Representation and Gender Mainstreaming Efforts: Closer Look Into Park Geun-Hye’s Presidency and Childcare Leave Policy (2013-2016)**” that was submitted by Devika Natisha Revi majoring in International Relations from the Faculty of Humanities was assessed and approved to have passed the Oral Examinations on 21 June 2023.



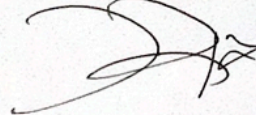
26/06 '23

Witri Elvianti, S.IP. M.A.
Chair - Panel of Examiners / Advisor



26/06 2023

Natasya Kusumawardani, S.IP., MProfStuds (Hons).
Examiner I



26/06/23

Anggara Raharyo, S.IP, M.P.S
Examiner II

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

In my capacity as an active student of President University and as the author of the undergraduate ~~thesis~~/final project/business plan stated below:

Name : Devika Natisha Revi
Student ID number : 016201900089
Study Program : International Relations
Faculty : Humanities

I hereby declare that my undergraduate ~~thesis~~/final project/business plan entitled Female Leadership Representation and Gender Mainstreaming Efforts: Closer Look Into Park Geun-Hye's Presidency and Childcare Leave Policy (2013-2016) is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, an original piece of work based on sound academic principles. If there is any plagiarism, including but not limited to Artificial Intelligence plagiarism, is detected in this undergraduate ~~thesis~~/final project/business plan, I am willing to be personally responsible for the consequences of these acts of plagiarism, and accept the sanctions against these acts in accordance with the rules and policies of President University.

I also declare that this work, either in whole or in part, has not been submitted to another university to obtain a degree.

Cikarang, 26 June 2023



Devika Natisha Revi

SCIENTIFIC PUBLICATION APPROVAL FOR ACADEMIC INTEREST

As a student of the President University, I, the undersigned:

Name : Devika Natisha Revi
Student ID number : 016201900089
Study program : International Relations

for the purpose of development of science and technology, certify, and approve to give President University a non-exclusive royalty-free right upon my final report with the title: Female Leadership Representation and Gender Mainstreaming Efforts: Closer Look Into Park Geun-Hye's Presidency and Childcare Leave Policy (2013-2016)

With this non-exclusive royalty-free right, President University is entitled to converse, to convert, to manage in a database, to maintain, and to publish my final report. There are to be done with the obligation from President University to mention my name as the copyright owner of my final report.

This statement I made in truth.

Cikarang, June 25 2023.



Devika Natisha Revi

• • •

ADVISOR'S APPROVAL FOR PUBLICATION

As a lecturer of the President University, I, the undersigned:

Advisor's Name : Witri Elvianti, S.IP. M.A
NIDN : 0409108602
Study program : International Relations
Faculty : Humanities

declare that following thesis:

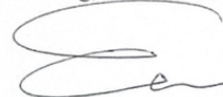
Title of undergraduate thesis : Female Leadership Representation and Gender Mainstreaming Efforts: Closer Look Into Park Geun-Hye's Presidency and Childcare Leave Policy (2013-2016)

Undergraduate Thesis author : Devika Natisha Revi

Student ID number : 016201900089

will be published in **journal / institution's repository / proceeding / unpublsh /**

Cikarang, 26 June 2023



Witri Elvianti, S.IP. M.A

Turnitin

Final Thesis_Devika

ORIGINALITY REPORT

8%	8%	4%	2%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	www.genderindex.org Internet Source	1%
2	Submitted to Monash University Student Paper	1%
3	repository.president.ac.id Internet Source	1%

GPTZero

Stats

Average Perplexity Score: 3269.571

A document's perplexity is a measurement of the randomness of the text

Burstiness Score: 13409.559

A document's burstiness is a measurement of the variation in perplexity

Your sentence with the highest perplexity, "Examiner III", has a perplexity of: 91977

Your text is likely to be written entirely by a human

The nature of AI-generated content is changing constantly. As such, these results should not be used to punish students. While we build more robust models for GPTZero, we recommend that educators take these results as one of many pieces in a holistic assessment of student work. See our [FAQ](#) for more information.

GPTZero Model Version: 2023-06-12

FEMALE LEADERSHIP REPRESENTATION AND GENDER MAINSTREAMING EFFORTS: CLOSER LOOK INTO PARK GEUN-HYE'S PRESIDENCY AND CHILDCARE LEAVE POLICY (2013-2016)

By

DEVIKA NATISHA REVI

ID NO.

016201900089

Abstract

This thesis aims to answer the research question, “*Does Park Geun-Hye’s representation as female president of Korea (2013-2016) translate to gender mainstreaming in the childcare leave policies in the South Korean workforce?*”. Methodology being used is qualitative research, narrowing into qualitative coding of 50 Park Geun-Hye (hereinafter PGH)’s speeches, and 26 Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (hereinafter MOGEF)’s PR policy reports with the ministers’ speeches on it, being coded accordingly to the theoretical frameworks being deployed. This thesis finds that PGH’s leadership does results in gender mainstreaming policies in the scale of gender responsive, due to the finding that the Father’s Month childcare policy did not results in change of “norms, cultural values, and power structure”. The Father’s Month policy do mainstreaming of more men/fathers to take part in childcare, in addition to the aforementioned statement, PGH, while addressing the issues and interest of women, furthermore envision the policy to be able to have career interrupted women contributed to the Korean economy, in terms of human resources, while men/fathers take part in Father’s Month childcare leave.

Keywords: women representation, gender mainstreaming, park geun hye, feminist leadership

Abstrak

Tesis ini bertujuan untuk menjawab pertanyaan penelitian, “*Apakah representasi Park Geun-Hye sebagai presiden perempuan Korea (2013-2016) diterjemahkan menjadi pengarusutamaan gender dalam kebijakan cuti pengasuhan anak di angkatan kerja Korea Selatan?*”. Metodologi yang digunakan adalah penelitian kualitatif, menyempit ke pengkodean kualitatif dari 50 pidato Park Geun-Hye (selanjutnya PGH), dan 26 laporan kebijakan Humas Kementerian Kesetaraan Gender dan Keluarga (selanjutnya MOGEF) dengan pidato para menteri di atasnya, diberi kode sesuai dengan kerangka teoritis. Tesis ini menemukan bahwa kepemimpinan PGH menghasilkan kebijakan *gender mainstreaming* dalam skala *gender responsive*, karena kebijakan pengasuhan anak *Father’s Month* tidak menghasilkan perubahan “norma, nilai budaya, dan struktur kekuasaan”. Kebijakan *Father’s Month* melakukan pengarusutamaan laki-laki/bapak untuk ikut mengasuh anak, selain itu, PGH, sembari mengangkat isu dan kepentingan perempuan, mencita-citakan kebijakan tersebut agar perempuan yang putus karir dapat berkontribusi pada perekonomian Korea.

Kata kunci: representasi perempuan, pengarusutamaan gender, park geun hye, kepemimpinan feminis

Acknowledgement

First of all, I would like to thank Allah SWT, as it is only by Allah's will that I am able to do what I do— typing with fingers attached to fully working hands and arms. Seeing from working eyes. Breathing from my nose with working lungs and diaphragm. Oh, and also, perfectly working nerves, and other healthy and working organs that I do not think I should mention one by one as this would look like a biology textbook. However, I never take it for granted. I am eternally grateful.

Next would be my family, my father, my mother, and my brother. Big reason why I am able to extend my horizons and experiences beyond class would always be credited to my parents who supported me financially. I realize that I am utterly privileged to be able to even experience college at the very first place, but also participating in co-curricular activities, especially activities that are deemed expensive, thanks to them that I could participate there at the very first place. As I spent most of my college years during the pandemic, I am thankful for the internet they provide me, so that I am able to participate in classes.

I would like to thank IRPU's staff, from lecturers since when I was a freshman in PU, and also the staff that are helping me to obtain this degree. I would also like to thank Miss Witri for being my thesis advisor, as her feedback and guidance are also big factors in making this thesis possible.

As much as I believe to not attach myself to anything externally, I will forever be grateful for PU Model United Nations Club, from PUMUN Glory to PUMUN Prestige. I do not think I could have the same confidence in my abilities if I did not join PUMUN during my freshman year. From batch 2017, to batch 2018, to my fellow 2019, and my 2020— PUMUN is truly the pinnacle of my college life. Also for President International Model United Nations (PresMUN) 2021, begin with the committees, my fellow Substance crews, delegates, chairs, and other participating staff, thank you very much. I am confused that one of my highest-high is also one of my lowest-low. As much as I am not a perfect person now with all of my weaknesses, one thing for sure is my experience with PUMUN-related activities are a big leap for me personally. I have nothing else to say, but thank you, thank you, and thank you.

Last but not least, I would like to acknowledge myself. After a lot of emotional meltdowns, burnouts, tears, confusing moments, trying my best to hold my composure, feeling of inadequacy, and battling negative internal monologue, I am once again standing in this very existence of me, who are flawed in many ways, but still picking herself up every single time. I wish I could write positive scenarios in the first part of this paragraph, but I realize that is just

not realistic, as life is not all roses and bunnies. However, the point is that I have the opportunity to learn, to be educated, and to grow— as I will always be learning even after I get my degree. The only time when I stop learning is when I am dead.

Table of Contents

<i>Declaration of Originality</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>iv</i>
<i>Acknowledgement</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Table of Contents</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>x</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>I. INTRODUCTION</i>	<i>1</i>
1.1. Background of the Study	<i>1</i>
1.2. Literature Review	<i>3</i>
1.2.1. Gender Inequality and Its Implications in the Korean workforce.....	<i>3</i>
1.2.2. Discussions on PGH's Tenure Significances on Gender-based Policies towards Women	<i>4</i>
1.2.3. Application of Gender Mainstreaming in Various Countries.....	<i>5</i>
1.2.4. Democratically-elected policymakers and the underlying circumstances to attain gender-based policies.....	<i>6</i>
1.3. Problem Identification	<i>7</i>
1.4. Research Question	<i>7</i>
1.5. Research Objectives and Significance	<i>7</i>
1.6. Theoretical Framework	<i>8</i>
1.6.1. Feminist Leadership.....	<i>8</i>
1.6.1. Women Substantive Political Representation	<i>9</i>
1.6.2. Gender Mainstreaming	<i>11</i>
1.7. Research Methodology	<i>12</i>
1.8. Scope and Limitations of the Study	<i>14</i>
1.9. Research/Thesis Structure.....	<i>14</i>
1.10. Definition of Terms.....	<i>15</i>
<i>II. OVERVIEW OF WORKFORCE SITUATION ON KOREAN WOMEN</i>	<i>16</i>
<i>III. PAST POLICIES AND GENDER MAINSTREAMING EFFORTS: KIM DAE-JUNG, ROH MOO-HYUN, AND LEE MYUNG-BAK</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>III.1. Kim Dae-jung (1998-2003)</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>III.2. Roh Moo-hyun (2003-2008)</i>	<i>23</i>

III.3. Lee Myung-bak (2008-2013).....	26
IV. Gender Mainstreaming Results in PGH’s Political Leadership.....	30
IV.1. Feminist Leadership (FL)	30
IV.1.1. Desire to care for (hereinafter DTC)	30
IV.1.2. Protection	34
IV.1.3. Recognition of Different Needs	35
IV.1.4. Consensus	37
IV.1.5. Leadership Characteristics	38
IV.2. Women’s Substantial Political Representation (WSPR)	39
IV.2.1. Mentions of women and female (<i>wf</i>)	39
IV.2.2. Addressing women’s issues and interest (<i>address</i>), and the context behind it (<i>context</i>).....	40
IV.3. Gender Mainstreaming (GM)	47
IV.3.1. Gender Negative.....	48
IV.3.2. Gender Blind.....	49
IV.3.3. Gender Targeted.....	49
IV.3.4. Gender Responsive.....	51
IV.3.5. Gender Transformative.....	52
IV.4. Discussion	53
V. Conclusion	56
Endnotes	58
References	60
Appendices.....	75

List of Tables

Chapter One

Table I.1. Coding Design for FL and WSPR (read from left to right)

Table I.2. Analysis Design for Gender Mainstreaming Scale

Chapter Four

Table IV.1. Codes collections of addressing women's issues and interest of PGH and MOGEF

Table IV.2. PGH's rank of top-half of mention of women and female

Table IV.3. MOGEF's rank of top-half of mention of women and female

Table IV.4. Number of Male Workers Taking Parental Leave vs. Years (The Government of the Republic of Korea, 2015, 2016)

List of Figures

Chapter Two

Figure II.1. Korea's Number of Exports of Goods and Services (in current US\$) (World Bank, n.d.)

Chapter Three

Figure III.1. Percentages of Women in National Parliament during KDJ's Presidency (%) (World Bank, n.d.).

Figure III.2. Percentages of Women in National Parliament during RMH (2003-2008) Presidency (%), side-by-side with KDJ's Presidency (World Bank, n.d.).

Figure III.3. Percentages of Women in National Parliament during LMB (2008-2013) Presidency (%), side-by-side with RMH's Presidency (World Bank, n.d.).

Chapter Four

Figure IV.1. Findings of desire to care for other people from PGH

Figure IV.2. Findings of desire to care for other people from MOGEF

Figure IV.5. Findings of PGH's RDN vis-a-vis codes from Women's Issues and Interest category that belongs to WSPR framework

Figure IV.6. Findings of MOGEF's RDN vis-a-vis codes from Women's Issues and Interest category that belongs to WSPR framework

Figure IV.7. Findings of female leadership characteristics that PGH has addressed

Figure IV.8. PGH's Code distribution wf

Figure IV.9. MOGEF's Code distribution wf

Figure IV.10. PGH's Count of addressing women's issues and interest

Figure IV.11. MOGEF's Count of addressing women's issues and interest

Figure IV.12. PGH's Context of the mention of Women's economic participation

Figure IV.13. MOGEF's Context of the mention of Women's economic participation

Figure IV.14. Context of PGH's <job_more>

Figure IV.15. Context of MOGEF's <job_more>

Figure IV.16. Opinions on Sharing Housework: Fairly Shared (in %) (KWDI, 2017)

Chapter Five

Figure V.1. Results Discussion on WSPR and Gender Mainstreaming