**Appendix 1. World Values Surveys, “Men Make Better Political Leaders than Women Do” before and after a Woman Leader’s Term**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Name | Title | Country | Time in Office | Avg. Score (1: agree, 0: disagree)  | Difference (Post minus Pre) | t-score | WVS Waves Compared |
| Pre | Post |
| Julia Gillard | Prime Minister | Australia | 2010-13 | .24 (.01) | .11 (.01) | -.13  | 10.21 | WVS 7- WVS 5 |
| Dilma Rousseff | President | Brazil | 2011-16 | .31 (.01) | .19 (.01) | -.12  | 8.05 | WVS 7- WVS 5 |
| Michelle Bachelet (1st term) | President | Chile | 2006-10 | .40 (.01) | .28 (.01) | -.11  | 5.48 | WVS 6-WVS 4 |
| Ana Brnabic | Prime Minister | Serbia | 2017-present | .41 (.01) | .30 (.01) | -.11 | 6.49 | WVS 7-WVS 5 |
| Angela Merkel | Chancellor  | Germany | 2005-21 | .19 (.01) | .08 (.01) | -.11  | 9.27 | WVS 7-WVS 5 |
| Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner | President | Argentina | 2007-15 | .32 (.01) | .20 (.01) | -.11  | 5.69 | WVS 7- WVS 5 |
| Jacinda Ardern | Prime Minister | New Zealand | 2017-present | .17 (.01) | .06 (.01) | -.10 | 6.95 | WVS 7-WVS 6 |
| Theresa May | Prime Minister | United Kingdom | 2016-19 | .20 (.01) | .11 (.01) | -.09 | 6.07 | WVS 7-WVS 5 |
| Mari Kviniemi | Prime Minister | Finland | 2010-11 | .19 (.01) | .10 (.01) | -.08 | 5.8 | WVS 7-WVS 5 |
| Ewa Kopacz | Prime Minister | Poland | 2014-15 | .36 (.02) | .29 (.01) | -.07 | 3.46 | WVS 7-WVS 6 |
| Erna Solberg | Prime Minister | Norway | 2013-21 | .14 (.01) | .07 (.01) | -.07 | 5.36 | WVS 7-WVS 5 |
| Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo | President | Philippines | 2001-10 | .63 (.01) | .57 (.01) | -.06 | 3.2 | WVS 6-WVS 4 |
| Alenka Bratusek | Prime Minister | Slovenia | 2013-14 | .24 (.01) | .20 (.01) | -.04 | 2.44 | WVS 7-WVS 6 |
| Yingluck Shinawatra | Prime Minister | Thailand | 2011-14 | .51 (.01) | .48 (.01) | -.04 | 2.03 | WVS 7-WVS 5 |
| Kamla Persad-Bissessar | Prime Minister | Trinidad and Tobago | 2010-15 | .25 (.01) | .25 (.01) | 0 | 0.21 | WVS 6-WVS 5 |
| Michelle Bachelet (2nd term) | President | Chile | 2014-18 | .28 (.01) | .30 (.01) | +.02  | -1.06 | WVS 7-WVS 6 |
| Park Geun-hye | President | South Korea | 2013-17 | .44 (.01) | .52 (.01) | +.08 | -4.19 | WVS 7-WVS 6 |
| Roza Otunbayeva | President | Kyrgyzstan | 2010-11 | .57 (.02) | .64 (.01) | +.07 | -3.38 | WVS 6-WVS 4 |

* **Note 1:** Original responses to the survey question are measured on a 4-point Likert scale (1: agree strongly, 2: agree, 3: disagree, and 4: strongly disagree). I recoded the data as a dummy variable (1: agree, 0: disagree). “Pre” and “Post” reports the average scores, and the lower the number, the more open to women’s leadership. Do not know/no responses were excluded. The decrease of the number after the leader’s term means the country is more open to women’s political leadership.
* **Note 2:** The data include the countries with a woman leader served in or after 2010 (based on Paxton, Hughes, and Barnes 2021). WVS data are not available to compare pre- and post- responses for Austria, Bangladesh, Barbados, Central African Republic, Costa Rica, Croatia, Denmark, Iceland, Jamaica, Latvia, Liberia, Malawi, Marshall Islands, Moldova, Myanmar, Slovakia.

**Appendix 2. Descriptive Statistics of the Survey Participants**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Sample Characteristics  | South Korean Population\*  |
| N | 1197 | 51 million (as of 2018) |
| Gender  |  |  |
|  Men | 50.38% | 50.12% |
|  Women | 49.62% | 48.80% |
| Residence |  |  |
|  Big city | 49.87% |  |
|  Mid-size city | 38.93% |  |
|  Rural  | 11.19% |  |
| Age | mean 44.74 (min 20, max 69) |  |
| Monthly Household Income | median range: $2900-$3700 | Median range: $1670-$2500 |
| Education |  |  |
|  Less than HS | 3.09% | 35.75% |
|  High school | 14.95% | 22.29% |
|  (Some) College | 72.51% | 41.68% |
|  (Some) Graduate degree | 9.44% | .27% |
| Social Class Self-Identification |  |  |
|  Upper | 6.18% |  |
|  Upper-middle | 44.03% |  |
|  Middle | 41.69% |  |
|  Working | 7.77% |  |
|  Lower | 0.33% |  |
| Political Ideology |  |  |
| Conservative | 10.7% | 22.6% |
|  Moderate | 59.06% | 30.04% |
| Liberal | 30.24% | 32.53% |

All the South Korean population data are based on the 2018 census published by the ﻿Korean Statistical Information Service (Statistics Korea 2018), except for the political ideology based on the Gallup Korea data (Gallup Korea 2020).

**Appendix 3. Count of Focus Group Participants Mentioning Positive and Negative Aspects**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Unit of analysis: individuals  | **Total (n=35)** | LW-2030 (n=5) | LW (n=6) | CW (n=6) | LM (n=6) | CM (n=6) | CM-Rally (n=6) | Conserv. (n=18) | Liberal (n=17) | Cons-Lib Diff(t-tests) | Women (n=17) | Men (n=18) | W– M Diff (t-tests) |
| Prospects of electing the first female president | Positive | **11** | 4 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 6 | not sign | 8 | 3 | not sign |
| Negative | **22** | 2\* | 4 | 4 | 6 | 5\*\* | 1 | 10 | 11 | not sign | 9 | 12 | not sign |
| Park impeached because a woman | Agree | **11** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 10 | 1 | sign | 0 | 11 | sign |
| Disagree | **22** | 5 | 6 | 6 | 4\* | 1 | 0 | 7 | 15 | sign | 17 | 5 | sign |
| Overall impact of Park on women's political representation | Positive | **19** | 4 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 10 | 9 | not sign | 10 | 9 | not sign(t=-1.99) |
| Negative | **30** | 5 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 14 | 16 | not sign | 15 | 15 | not sign |
| Another female president in Korea? | Difficult | **24** | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | Did not ask | 11 | 14 | not sign | 15 | 10 | sign |
| Not difficult | **4** | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | Did not ask | 1 | 3 | not sign | 2 | 2 | not sign |
| Reason why the second female president unlikely | Individual | **14** | 0 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 1 | 10 | 4 | not sign (t=1.985) | 6 | 8 | not sign |
| Society | **16** | 5 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 11 | sign | 11 | 2 | sign |

**Note:** The unit of analysis is individual; the counts are based on the number of participants in each category. Some participants mentioned both positive/negative aspects so the total count exceeds the number of participants in each group.

\*One person mentioned both positive and negative aspects

\*\*Two people mentioned both positive and negative aspects

**Appendix 4. Selected Quotations Illustrating Themes from the Focus Groups**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Theme | Position | Examples |
| The first female president | Positive | LW #4: I did not truly know anything about Park politically, so when I heard she became the first female president in Korea, I thought it was so great that a woman could be president, even though I was not interested in politics back then. |
|  | Negative | LW #2: She did not have much experience and did not seem to have any interest in social issues. But just because she was the daughter of the former president, she was able to get into politics.  |
| Park impeached = woman | Agree | CM–Rally #5: Had she actively responded to the situation at that time like her father [with the pro-democracy activists] [ . . . ] or even though controversial, had she controlled the protests using military forces . . . If she had done these things, I don’t think the impeachment would have happened. Isn’t it the difference between women and men in the end, in terms of leadership?LM #5: Park being a woman was not an issue before, but after she was impeached [ . . . ] being a woman was something to be looked down upon [*Moderator: Then, do you see that such a perception is being promoted in a way*?] Yes, it is being promoted and used. |
|  | Disagree | CW #6: she didn’t have any experience or ability, because she’s single, because she didn’t have any experience as a mother, helping a husband, or caring for her parents-in-law. |
| Overall impact on women’s political representation | Positive | LW2030 #4: I think [Park’s overall impact on women] could be positive. Not because Park Geun-hye did something well, but because her impeachment protests were the first rally many young women attended. The political sensitivity of women in their 20s and 30s and their ability to act politically have become slightly more developed.LM #2: Although she failed, Korea became a country where a woman president was possible. |
|  | Negative | CW #5: I think she regressed women’s rights in Korea by at least 10 years.LW2030 #1: Even before Park Geun-hye, misogynistic social phenomena existed [ . . . ]. I think that the failure of the first female president became a very good excuse for sexist people. |
| Another woman president? | Difficult | LW2030 #3: Unless a woman is a superhuman with both masculinity and femininity, plus has abilities that exceed men, this society will probably never tolerate another woman president.CW #3: People chose her with the expectation that she could make their lives better, thinking she must have learned something from her father, not because she was a woman. But at the end of the day her failure painted the image that women cannot do well in politics.  |
|  | Not difficult | LM #4: Since Park Geun-hye kicked the worst shot [a soccer reference], doing a little better than Park Geun-hye can have the effect of making the person look different.CM #2: I think being the first female president is a big deal [ . . . ] people will be less reluctant to pick another female presidential candidate next time. |
| Reason why a second female president is unlikely | Individual | CW #2: There aren’t many female talents, honestly.CW #4: I was a supporter of [a female politician] but I withdrew my support. So right now, no one comes to mind. |
|  | Society | LW2030 #4: I’m actually a bit pessimistic. The conflict between genders in Korean society has intensified [ . . . ] No matter how liberal and progressive women are now, half of the voters are men. |

**Appendix 5. Full Regression Results**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | DV: First woman president | DV: women policy | DV: Impeachment reason = woman | DV: broke glass-ceiling | DV: Park = barrier |
| Woman | .40 (.23) | .30 (.16) | .21 (.15) | .08 (.10) | .37\*(.15) | .27 (.15) | .06 (.19) | -.03 (.16) | .50\*(.24) | .50\*(.18) |
| Liberal | -.40 (.25) | -.32 (.19) | -.68\* (.16) | -.60\* (.11) | -.70\* (.16) | -.64\* (.14) | -.38 (.21) | -.38\* (.17) | -.40 (.28) | -.36 (.23) |
| Conservative | 1.43\*(.24) | .92\*(.23) | .89\*(.18) | .53\* (.15) | .43 (.29) | .11 (.27) | 1.01\* (.20) | .95\* (.24) | -.56\*(.25) | -.59\* (.26) |
| Voted for Park in 2012 |  | 1.21\* (.23) |  | .85\* (.14) |  | .46 (.30) |  | .15 (.21) |  | .06 (.26) |
| Age |  | .04 (.06) |  | .01 (.05) |  | .17\*(.08) |  | .01 (.06) |  | .06 (.08) |
| Hometown: Daegu & North Gyeongsang Province |  | -.28 (.24) |  | .02 (.15) |  | .17 (.32) |  | 0 (.19) |  | -.07 (.23) |
| Hometown: Gwangju |  | .41 (.31) |  | .54 (.39) |  | .08 (.20) |  | .53 (.30) |  | -.06(.30) |
| Hometown: Seoul, Incheon, Gyeonggi |  | -.06 (.18) |  | -.14 (.12) |  | -.33 (.20) |  | .01 (18) |  | -.15 (.25) |
| Political cynicism |  | -.01 (.09) |  | .15\* (.07) |  | .12 (.09) |  | .14 (.09) |  | -.10 (.10) |
| Class |  | .22 (.12) |  | .08 (.09) |  | .03 (.08) |  | .19 (.14) |  | .42\* (.17) |
| Education |  | -.11 (.13) |  | -.07 (.09) |  | -.18 (.13) |  | -.15 (.13) |  | -.26 (.17) |
| Constant | 2.33\* (.16) | 1.95\* (.46) | 2.26 \*(.12) | 1.91\* (.33) | 1.91\* (.13) | 1.77\*(.46) | 2.42\* (.15) | 2.17\* (.43) | 2.90\* (.16) | 3.03\*(.45) |
| Observations | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 |
| Population size | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 | 1197 |
| F statistics | F (3, 1194) =14.83\* | F (11, 1186) = 12.71\* | F (3, 1194) = 20.66\* | F (11, 1186) = 18.71\* | F (3, 1194) = 12.23 | F (11, 1186) = 13.57\* | F (3, 1194) = 14.02\* | F (11, 1186) =4.42\*  | F (3, 1194) = 3.28\* | F (11, 1186) = 1.77 |
| R-squared | .27 | .41 | .30 | .42 | .14 | .26 | .23 | .26 | .09 | .14 |

**Note:** Standard errors in parentheses. OLS regressions with survey weights (education, income, and political ideology). The dependent variables are measured on a 5-point Likert scale, 5 being strongly agree. \*p<0.05.