

**Евразийский Союз Ученых.
Серия: исторические, политические и
социологические науки**

Ежемесячный научный журнал

№ 02 (116)/2025 Том 1

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Журнал зарегистрирован Федеральной службой по надзору в сфере связи, информационных технологий и массовых коммуникаций.

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ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ НАУКИ

УДК 323.2

РОЛЬ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИХ ЛИДЕРОВ В РЕСПУБЛИКЕ КОРЕЯ

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THE ROLE OF POLITICAL LEADERS IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

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АННОТАЦИЯ

В статье рассматривается период правлений глав государства Южной Кореи с момента основания Третьей Республики до настоящего времени. Работа посвящена анализу роли политических лидеров в процессе политического и социально-экономического развития Республики Корея. При анализе лидеров делается акцент на их биографические особенности, личностные качества и управленческие решения президентов, повлиявшие на внутреннюю и внешнюю политику страны. Теоретической основой анализа послужила классификация лидерства Маргарет Херманн, включающая такие модели, как «знаменосец», «служитель», «торговец», «пожарный». В работе исследуются лидерские стили десяти президентов. Проведён сравнительный анализ роли политических лидеров с целью выявления эволюции подходов к управлению страной. Результаты исследования показали, что каждый президент проявлял черты нескольких типов лидерства, при этом наблюдается тенденция к трансформации лидерских стратегий в зависимости от международного положения Республики Корея. Особо подчёркивается универсальность типа «пожарный», так как каждый из президентов сталкивался с кризисами и непредвиденными обстоятельствами, требовавшими оперативного реагирования.

ABSTRACT

This article examines the leadership periods of South Korean presidents from the establishment of the Third Republic to the present day. The study focuses on analyzing the role of political leaders in the political and socio-economic development of the Republic of Korea. Particular attention is given to the presidents' biographical backgrounds, personal characteristics, and managerial decisions that influenced the country's domestic and foreign policy. The theoretical framework of the analysis is based on Margaret Hermann's leadership classification, which includes the models: flag bearer, servant, merchant, fireman. The leadership styles of ten presidents are explored in the study. A comparative analysis is conducted to trace the evolution of governance approaches over time. The results of the study showed that each president exhibited a combination of leadership types, with a clear tendency toward transformation of leadership strategies in response to South Korea's changing international status. The study emphasizes the universality of the "fireman" type, as each leader had to confront crises and unforeseen challenges that required urgent and adaptive responses.

Ключевые слова: политическое лидерство, Республика Корея, президент, политика, авторитаризм, демократия, Маргарет Херманн, политический лидер.

Keywords: political leadership, Republic of Korea, president, politics, authoritarianism, democracy, Margaret Hermann, political leader.

INTRODUCTION

The history of the development of South Korea is a prominent example of the modern history of the political, economic and social success of an East Asian country. This success would not be possible without political leadership, which has become an integral factor in the country's development. Therefore, when analyzing South Korea's economic achievements through democratization, it is essential to consider

political leadership as one of the primary driving forces behind such progress. Since the establishment of the Republic in 1948, leadership has played a decisive role in shaping the country's development trajectory, reflecting the dynamics of socio-economic changes and political transformations.

With the emergence and consolidation of an authoritarian regime, South Korea also witnessed the strengthening of the presidential institution. The main

objective of this leadership was to transform an agrarian society into an industrial one. Moreover, during and after the Korean War, South Korea ranked among the poorest countries in the world. Thus, comprehensive economic modernization, driven by military-authoritarian leadership, formed the foundation of nation-building, which was followed by a gradual process of democratization.

In each country a change of political leader occurs over time, and each of them directs its policy to such areas of the state as military, economy. Consequently, each leader introduces their own vision and strives to realize distinct objectives.

Objects and methods

The object of this study is contemporary political leadership in the Republic of Korea. The subject of the study is the role and significance of political leaders in the Republic of Korea. The aim of the research is to identify the key factors influencing the formation and transformation of political leadership in South Korea from the establishment of the Third Republic to the present day, as well as to analyze the characteristics of presidential leadership styles and their impact on the country's political development. To achieve this aim, the study sets out the following objectives: to clarify the concept of political leadership in the context of the Republic of Korea; to analyze the biographical and behavioral characteristics of presidents; to study the classification of political leaders; to conduct a comparative analysis of approaches to governance; to identify patterns in the transformation of leadership styles depending on the political context.

As the methodological basis of the research, the analysis of texts by foreign scholars and analytical studies was selected. The following research methods were used in the course of the study: the comparative method, which allows for the comparison of different types of political leadership and the identification of their specific characteristics based on the reviewed literature; the historical method, which is instrumental in tracing the evolution and trends of political leadership in South Korea over time.

Results and discussion

Currently, there are numerous definitions of the term "political leadership." Political leadership is considered as a subtype of human social leadership. Political leaders possess institutional authority and have the ability to influence group values, goals, and behaviors [1, p. 3957]. Thus, political leadership can be defined as the process or capacity of an individual to influence society in various ways [2, p. 239].

Political leadership is a process of interaction between individuals who possess real power and society, in which leaders exert legitimate influence on the public, which voluntarily delegates part of its political and legal authority and rights to them [3, p. 133].

A political leader is a figure of authority within the sphere of political activity and a recognized actor in the political process. Their personal influence enables them to unite and lead various social groups in addressing issues of collective development [3, p. 135].

In the study of national leaders, many researchers have attempted to identify certain types and categories of leadership. As a result, various typologies of political leadership have emerged. Among them, Margaret

Hermann's classification based on the image of the leader has gained widespread recognition. This classification is designed to construct a collective image of a political leader by considering the leader's personality traits, patterns of interaction with followers, and the specific context in which leadership is exercised.

According to Margaret Hermann, there are four distinct types of political leadership: "flag bearer", "servant", "merchant", and "fireman." Each of these types is associated with a leader's actions, personality, individual qualities, level of education, and other related factors [4, p. 175].

To determine which type of leadership predominates in a given political regime, it is essential to examine the key characteristics of each leadership type identified by Margaret Hermann:

1. The "flag bearer" – this type of political leader has the ability to attract a large following. Such individuals assume full responsibility for the well-being of society and set ambitious goals, striving persistently to achieve them. Flag bearer leaders aim to reform the political system in pursuit of ideals they deeply believe in. It is worth noting that these leaders often possess a distinct and personal vision of reality.

2. The "servant" – this leadership type typically emerges during periods of stagnation or crisis. The servant leader represents the interests of their followers, actively seeks dialogue with constituents, and listens to their concerns and ideas. This type of leader acts as a transmitter and advocate of the electorate's ideas and aspirations.

3. The "merchant" – persuasion is one of the defining traits of the merchant leader. This leader can effectively "sell" their ideas to gain public support and votes. One of the president's primary functions in this role is to unify the population and secure trust through strategic communication and negotiation.

4. The "fireman" – the most significant trait of this leadership type is the ability to respond swiftly and effectively to emerging crises. The fireman political leader focuses on urgent and pressing issues, addressing them pragmatically and in accordance with the specific situation, essentially "extinguishing fires" as they arise.

According to A.I. Solovyov and N.P. Sashchenko, in addition to Margaret Hermann's classification, a separate type of political leader — the "puppet" leader — can be distinguished. Leaders of this type are dependent on the will and interests of their immediate circle. In this model, the leader functions merely as a transmitter or intermediary between a specific group of individuals and the general public. Thus, the head of state becomes a representative of the interests of a particular group, serving as a trusted figure who articulates that group's goals and ideas on their behalf. Margaret Hermann also notes that, in actual political practice, most leaders embody various combinations of these leadership archetypes rather than fitting neatly into a single category [4, p. 175].

By applying Margaret Hermann's classification of political leadership, it becomes possible to better understand and analyze the political legacies and influence of individual political leaders. In order to determine which leadership type has predominated in the Republic of Korea, it is necessary to examine the

country's historical context. Following the division of Korea in 1945 into North and South, the latter came under the jurisdiction of the United States. Within a relatively short period, the Republic of Korea experienced both democratic and authoritarian regimes. The head of state is the president, and as of recent years, the country was led by its thirteenth president, Yoon Suk Yeol. Currently, the acting head of state is Lee Ju-ho.

One of the most significant periods in South Korean history was the era of Park Chung-hee's rule (1961–1979). Park Chung-hee is a dictator who served as president for three consecutive terms, came to power through a military coup and directed all efforts toward economic development and national security. Despite the authoritarian nature of his regime, he is widely regarded as the architect of Korean modernization.

With the beginning of the Third Republic, he committed to the country's development and placed strong emphasis on economic reforms. The economic measures implemented under his leadership led to rapid economic growth and industrialization. However, in the early 1970s, as growth began to slow, his popularity declined. In response, he amended the Constitution and declared martial law. Park steered the economy toward close cooperation with the chaebols, providing them with cheap steel in exchange for establishing the first automobile factories in the Republic of Korea [5, p. 48].

Park Chung-hee was one of the "flag bearer" leaders of developmental authoritarianism, leading a population largely willing to accept his dictatorship in light of the economic progress achieved. Aiming to transform South Korea into one of the world's most developed nations, he pursued an export-led growth strategy known as the "planned economy" using authoritarian methods. This policy gave rise to what became known as the "Miracle on the Han River," a period of extraordinary economic advancement [5, p. 48].

However, the authoritarian methods of governance and suppression of political opposition provoked discontent within civil society. This illustrates the dual nature of political leadership: on the one hand, leaders can serve as drivers of progress, while on the other, they can become sources of social conflict.

Beginning in the 1980s, South Korea entered a period of democratization, during which key leadership roles were played by figures such as Roh Tae-woo, Kim Young-sam, Kim Dae-jung, and Roh Moo-hyun.

Chun Doo-hwan came to power following a military coup in 1980. His initial rule was marked by brutal repression, including the violent suppression of the Gwangju Uprising [6, p. 121]. At first, he exhibited characteristics of a "puppet" leader, as his ascent to power was supported solely by the military and elite circles. However, over time, by implementing a strict authoritarian approach accompanied by economic stabilization and modernization, Chun began to display traits of a flag bearer leader.

He sought to consolidate power and suppress political activism among the populace. Nevertheless, his repressive style of governance sparked widespread public dissent and became one of the catalysts for the transition to democratization following his departure from office [6, p. 121].

After that in 1988 Chun's former ally, Roh Tae-woo, became the first president elected through a national vote during a period of mass protests for democracy. His leadership can be categorized as that of a "fireman" type, as his primary role was to manage social tensions and oversee the transition toward democratic governance.

Roh Tae-woo organized the first direct presidential election in the nation's history, marking a significant step in the consolidation of democracy. However, his presidency was also accompanied by economic challenges, corruption scandals, and weak political will for reform. Rather than acting as a decisive leader, he governed more as a mediator among competing forces [7, p. 157].

After decades of military dominance in politics, Kim Young-sam became South Korea's first civilian president in 1993, symbolizing a victory for democratic values. His leadership can be classified as that of a "flag bearer," as he actively promoted reforms aimed at strengthening democratic institutions and eradicating corruption [7, p. 160].

One of his most significant achievements was the introduction of mandatory asset disclosure for public officials and the vigorous pursuit of high-level anti-corruption measures. These initiatives transformed public perceptions of governance, enhancing transparency and accountability in state institutions.

In the economic sphere, he initiated major reforms aimed at integrating South Korea into global financial markets. His administration championed the abandonment of outdated economic management practices and worked to strengthen the role of the private sector. However, his presidency coincided with the 1997 Asian financial crisis, which brought the country to the brink of economic collapse. This crisis severely damaged his public standing, although the measures taken during this period laid the groundwork for South Korea's subsequent economic recovery [8, p. 167].

The next political leader, Kim Dae-jung, was a prominent example of a "servant" leader, who committed to protecting citizens' rights and enhancing their well-being. As the leader of the "National Congress for New Politics" Party, he was elected president during the economic crisis in 1998. He focused on economic recovery, initiated reforms in the financial sector, and worked to attract foreign investment [7, p. 163].

At the same time, he can also be considered a "flag bearer" leader according to his pursuit of reconciliation with North Korea through the development of the "Sunshine Policy," for which he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2000. His commitment to reconciliation and the promotion of democracy laid a foundation for the country's sustainable development [7, p. 164].

Elected in 2003 as the 9th President of the Republic of Korea, Roh Moo-hyun, who continued Kim Dae-jung's democratic reforms, became one of South Korea's most charismatic presidents. Roh Moo-hyun was affiliated with the progressive Uri Party, which was formed in 2003 as a breakaway faction from the Millennium Democratic Party. The Uri Party positioned itself as reformist and progressive, advocating for greater social equity, transparency, and

decentralization of political power. His political philosophy was grounded in participatory democracy, regional integration, and the reduction of traditional elite dominance in South Korean politics. He emphasized civil society engagement and sought to transform the political landscape by promoting a bottom-up approach to governance, which aimed to empower ordinary citizens and dismantle entrenched hierarchies.

His leadership style can be described as that of a "merchant", as he actively promoted democratic and social reforms and sought to "sell" them to the public. Roh pursued transparency in governance and advocated for equal opportunities. The success of his political leadership became increasingly tied to the president's ability to inject new momentum into the country's socio-economic development and to respond to public sentiment in a timely manner [9, p. 91].

He stood firmly against corruption and oligarchic influence but faced strong resistance from the political elite. His presidency was marked by numerous conflicts and declining approval ratings. Nevertheless, Roh Moo-hyun left a significant legacy in strengthening democratic institutions.

After Roh Moo-hyun, Lee Myung-bak came to power in 2008 and became known as a "flag bearer" of economic pragmatism. Lee Myung-bak was a member of the Grand National Party, a conservative political party that later rebranded as the Saenuri Party and eventually became part of the current People Power Party. His political ideology was grounded in conservative and pro-business values, emphasizing market-driven economic growth, deregulation, and close cooperation with the private sector. He advocated for strong executive leadership, administrative efficiency, and state-led infrastructure development, drawing on his background as a former CEO of Hyundai Engineering and Construction. In foreign policy, he adopted a more hardline stance toward North Korea compared to his predecessors, shifting away from the conciliatory "Sunshine Policy" and favoring a strategy of conditional engagement based on reciprocity and denuclearization.

His presidency was marked by the ambitious "747 Plan," which aimed to achieve 7% annual economic growth, raise per capita GDP to \$40,000, and elevate South Korea to the world's seventh-largest economy. While these targets appeared overly ambitious—if not unrealistic—from the outset, such bold promises contributed to his electoral victory. In 2007, South Korea's GDP growth was 5.1%, and per capita GDP did not exceed \$20,000. By 2008, growth had slowed to just 2.2%, with projections for subsequent years not exceeding 4%. In 2009, the administration was forced to officially acknowledge the failure to meet its goals, largely due to the global financial crisis [10, p. 144].

Lee Myung-bak's economic policy provoked widespread public discontent during his first year in office, compelling the presidential administration to alter its leadership style. His tenure was accompanied by significant civil unrest and growing criticism of his governance approach [10, p. 144].

In 2013 Park Geun-hye became South Korea's first female president. However, her presidency was cut short due to impeachment. Born into the family of former President Park Chung-hee, she received

education in several disciplines at some of the nation's top universities. Throughout her political career, Park Geun-hye was often referred to as the "election queen" and was a lifelong member of the conservative Grand National Party, which later rebranded as the Saenuri Party, which is New Frontier Party [11, p. 100].

To be honest, Park Geun-hye is often characterized as a "puppet" political leader, as her presidency was heavily influenced by close personal associates who pursued their own interests. She was reportedly susceptible to the influence of various controversial figures, including cult-like spiritual advisors and other fringe individuals. These relationships ultimately led to a major political scandal, resulting in her impeachment, removal from office, and a conviction that included a 25-year prison sentence along with significant financial penalties [5, p. 48].

In 2017, Moon Jae-in was elected President of South Korea as the candidate of the Democratic Party of Korea, known as Toburo. He had received a solid education and worked for many years as a human rights lawyer. One of the key qualities necessary for a "flag bearer" leader is being close to the people, and Moon Jae-in embodied this through his campaign promises and initial policy steps. One of his early priorities was the reform of conglomerates (chaebols) aimed at establishing fair trade practices.

Moon Jae-in was perceived as a "servant" leader for his efforts to restore public trust in governmental institutions. His administration focused on social justice, human rights, and combating corruption [5, p. 48].

In the realm of international relations, he also demonstrated characteristics of a "merchant" leader, particularly through his emphasis on peace on the Korean Peninsula. His historic summits with North Korean leader Kim Jong-un marked a significant step toward initiating sustained inter-Korean dialogue [12, p. 110].

In 2022, Yoon Suk-yeol was elected as the 13th President of South Korea. He is a former Prosecutor General of South Korea, who ran as the candidate of the conservative People Power Party. His leadership style can be described as that of a "fireman", as he seeks to respond swiftly to emerging crises and stabilize domestic affairs. Yoon Suk-yeol gained public recognition for his firm stance against corruption, having led investigations into high-ranking officials and business elites, aiming to enhance governmental transparency and accountability. However, over time, his approval ratings declined, and his administrative capabilities were increasingly called into question [13, p. 45].

In an effort to bolster his administration's legitimacy and reputation, he initiated several populist reforms, including efforts to restructure the pension and education systems, improve labor market flexibility, and revise labor laws to create a more business-friendly environment.

In foreign policy, Yoon Suk-yeol's administration adopted a hardline approach toward North Korea, emphasizing the cessation of provocations and demanding denuclearization. This policy led to heightened tensions in inter-Korean relations. In response to these developments, the South Korean government pursued a strategy aimed at exhausting the

North Korean regime materially through a large-scale arms buildup, further intensifying the regional security dilemma [13, p. 48].

In December 2024, Yoon Suk-yeol declared martial law, citing the need to protect the nation from "anti-state forces" and referencing threats posed by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. This decision triggered a major political crisis and widespread public protests, ultimately resulting in the impeachment of the president [14, p. 19].

Yoon Suk-yeol's policies elicited mixed reactions among the public. His decisive measures in combating corruption and initiating economic reforms gained support from segments of society eager for change. However, the imposition of martial law and his hardline stance toward the opposition provoked mass demonstrations and drew significant criticism. These developments cast doubt on his leadership abilities and his capacity to govern the country effectively during a time of crisis.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, the nature of contemporary political leadership in the Republic of Korea reflects the outcome of a complex transformation that combines elements of personal influence and institutional constraints. Margaret Hermann's leadership classification provides a deeper understanding of the behavioral and strategic traits of South Korean presidents, allowing for the identification of effective reformers and crisis managers. Most presidents exhibit characteristics that align with multiple leadership types within the classification. One of the most consistently present types is the "fireman" political leader, as every presidency inevitably faces unexpected challenges that require prompt and decisive action.

During the early stages of the Republic's development, dictatorial and authoritarian governance models predominated, giving rise to "flag bearer" leaders committed to national transformation. Among more recent leaders, some failed to assert themselves independently and one political leader effectively acted as "puppet" within the influence of close inner circles. Notably, former President Moon Jae-in embodied nearly all types of leadership described by Margaret Hermann, demonstrating a flexible and multidimensional approach.

Over time, South Korea's leaders appear to be evolving—becoming more attuned and responsive to their citizens and electorate. It is essential to emphasize that even within the limited terms of the presidential mandate, South Korean presidents have demonstrated a commitment to initiating wide-reaching reforms of national importance. The South Korean experience shows that successful political leadership is possible when the personal attributes of a leader are effectively aligned with the institutional logic and dynamics of the political system.

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**Евразийский Союз Ученых.
Серия: исторические, политические и
социологические науки**

Ежемесячный научный журнал

№ 02 (116)/2025 Том 1

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Журнал зарегистрирован Федеральной службой по надзору в сфере связи, информационных технологий и массовых коммуникаций.

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Тираж 1000 экз.